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Westernization and Muslims in Western Europe

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WESTERNIZATION AND MUSLIMS IN WESTERN EUROPE

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Introduction

The presence of radical Islam in Western Europe is substantial and poses a major threat to those states as well as to the United States. But why has Western Europe been such a fruitful environment for the recruitment and conversion of many young men to radical interpretations of Islam and openness to terrorist actions toward the West? In the 1970's Europe began to be used as a safe haven for radicals fleeing their homelands from places such as Egypt and Syria. However, their intent was to keep a low profile while raising money for efforts in their homeland. In the 1990's Europe began to see an influx of radicals with a more global initiative. Specifc individuals include Abu Mus'ab al-Suri of Syria and Abu Qatada of Syria, both of whom were directly connected with Osama bin Laden as well as al-Qaeda. It is during this period that the intentions of radical's in Europe shifted toward recruiting Muslim youth for global jihad rather than raising money for efforts back home. While many people see al-Qaeda as the main jihadist threat in this region, they are not the only one, as a Pew Research Center report estimated that there were 28 active jihadi networks operating in Europe between 2001 and 2006.[1]

Many scholars argue that as a whole, Muslims in Europe are not successfully integrating into European society. The reasons why are debated and still far from understood. It is clear, however, that many Muslim communities are negatively affected by many socioeconomic factors, leaving them poor and viewed as outcasts. Given these circumstances, scholars have suggested that some individuals join radical Islamist groups to give meaning to their lives and secure a sense of inclusion because they do not feel a part of the country in which they live.

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[1] PEW. 2006. "Muslim Networks and Movements in Western Europe." *The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life.* (September 15). <http://pewforum.org/Muslim/Muslim-Networks-and-Movements-in-Western-Europe-Radical-Islamist-Movements-Jihadi-Networks-and-Hizb-ut-Tahrir.aspx>.

However, this fails to explain the numerous cases of highly educated, middle class Muslim individuals who appear to be successfully integrated into society, yet are converting to radical Islam. There is perhaps an underlying force at work that may explain why some individuals from both ends of the spectrum are turning to radical Islam: globalization.

Globalization has become an extremely popular topic studied by scholars over the last decade. This process contains several aspects, including technological, economical, political, and cultural. Globalization has produced many positive outcomes all over the world, and scholars have been very diligent at studying these. However, they are just beginning to realize that there may be serious negative consequences associated with it as well, specifically radical Islam and terrorism.

The Theory of Globalization

For the basis of this paper, I will define globalization as a concept derived from liberal institutionalism. Liberal institutionalism revolves around the use and implications of international institutions as well as international political economy, regarding the complex interactions and implications among international politics and economic matters. The complexities of globalization have led scholars to grapple among one another over a specific definition; although when examined, most are significantly similar. Thomas Friedman describes globalization as the "interweaving of markets, technology, information systems, and telecommunication networks in a way that is shrinking the world," arguing that free- market capitalism is driving this process. [2] Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye define globalization as a

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[2] Friedman, Thomas L. 2010. "Overblown Fear: Globalization." *Newsweek.* <http://2010.newsweek.com/top-10/most-overblown-fears/globalization.html>.

measure of globalism. They argue that globalism "is a state of the world involving networks of interdependence at multi-continental distances. These networks can be linked through flows and influences of capital and goods, information and ideas, people and force, as well as environmentally and biologically relevant substances." As globalism increases, which the world is experiencing today; globalization occurs.[3]

The process of globalization, regardless of how it is defined, is not a singular entity. Rather, it is the combination of different aspects or dimensions.   Thomas Friedman classifies globalization into six different dimensions: politics, culture, technology, trade, national security, and ecology. Friedman argues that the globalization process diminishes the lines that separate each of the dimensions, meaning that globalization is connecting all aspects of society.[4] Similarly, Jamal Nassar also concludes that globalization is not a singular entity. Nassar generates categories of globalization that are dependent on different schools of thought, acting in isolation or together. In his book, *Globalization and Terrorism: The Migration of Dreams and Nightmares,* Nassar classifies globalization into five different categories: interdependence, or the increase in nations relying on one another; liberalization, or the increase in global governance i.e. the United Nations, World Trade Organization, etc.; universalization, or the creation of a global village in which the world operates as a collective entity; capitalism, or the increase and spread of free market economies; and Westernization, or the push of Western culture, values, and norms as the global world culture.[5] Nassar's Westernization school of thought of globalization is the significant variable examined throughout the rest of the paper as well as its relationship to the

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[3] Well, Gary J. 2001. "The Issue of Globalization- An Overview." *Congressional Research Service.* (May 1).
        <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/crs/6/>.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Nassar, Jamal R. 2010. *Globalization and Terrorism: The Migration of Dreams and Nightmares.* United Kingdom:
        Roman and Littlefield Publishers. (2).

Muslim culture in Western Europe and the negative implications that may correspond with it. This school of thought is chosen over Friedman's view on globalization because it incorporates both the "West" as well as culture, which provide the main argument for this paper, whereas Friedman definition is much more broad. Westernization can also be looked at as cultural globalization in which there is a strong push to homogenize the world with everything associated to Western ideals, including government, market structure, and ways of life. Cultural globalization/Westernization may provide a glimpse at the understudied negative impacts associated with globalization as a whole.

Westernization at Work

Through examining Benjamin Barber's argument of Jihad vs. McWorld, one can understand Westernization at work and the negative implications that come with it. Barber argues that there is a major struggle taking place between the two entities. The first entity, jihad, ultimately means a holy war, and is most commonly associated with radical Islam (although it does not have to be). However, Barber also describes it as a literal war on the values, culture, or institutions that make up liberal democracy (206). In a simpler sense, he uses the word as a metaphor for the anti- western/ anti-universalist struggle (207). In essence, both of the definitions ultimately relate back to jihad as a holy war as they make up the means for the proclaimed jihad against the West by radical Muslims.

The second entity that Barber describes is McWorld. McWorld represents the global capitalist market as well as Western ideals, culture, and values. The struggle between the two entities occurs as McWorld acts from without while Jihad acts within. What Barber means by this is that McWorld, the West, is penetrating national boundaries all over the world through the

use of markets; spreading Western consumer goods, pop culture, and ideas such as democracy without ever stepping foot in a given country through the use of technology and media. At the same time, jihad is taking place within countries' boundaries, many of which are in the Middle East, but also within Western countries as well. Jihad is reacting against the use of the capitalist market and Western influence, which radical Muslims feel is against, and corrupting to their culture.[6] In the case of Western Europe, Jihad and McWorld are operating within the same boundaries representing an interesting security threat as the two entities are living side by side and are not separated by geographic boundaries as is the case in places such as the Middle East.

One can argue that Barbers depiction of jihad vs. McWorld justifies the prediction made by Samuel P. Huntington in 1993, predicting that the world would experience a "clash of civilizations" as a result of a globalized world. Huntington hypothesized that the dominant conflicts that will occur in the world will be between different civilizations over cultural matters rather than political or economic ones. In essence, there will be a cultural clash between civilizations. He describes a civilization as the highest cultural grouping of people and the broadest level of cultural identity. Huntington suggests that there are a number of possible areas of danger as civilizations continue to interact more closely. One of the issues revolves around conflicting beliefs of how one should live their life. He argues that as civilizations continue to come into contact with one another, they begin to realize their differences, which are more or less cultural. The implication of cultural differences is that they are often rooted into a civilization from centuries past, an example being the conflict between Europe and Muslims

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[6] Barber, Benjamin. 1995. *Jihad vs. McWorld.* Baltimore Books. (3, pg 206-10).

dating back to the time of the crusades. Cultural differences are not as negotiable as political and

economic issues, and thus represent a higher danger of conflict.[7]

Huntington also notes that the future may be inhabited by the collective action of many

civilizations against the dominant one, the West. He suggests that this issue will be the major

struggle in the modern era as the non -West sees the West as attempting to run the world to

promote their own interest by means of international institutions, military force, and control of

economic resources. The idea of multiple civilizations banning together as a means of collective

security can loosely be associated with the makeup of the Muslim population in Western Europe.

In reference to Huntington's view of civilizations, the Muslim population would fall under the

same civilization, due to their faith in Islam, however, the Muslim population is very different

and comes from many different parts of the world, representing different Islamic teachings.

Despite different traditional backgrounds, they are finding common ground against the West.

Western Europe: A dangerous situation

The current situation between Muslims and Western society is both complex and

dangerous. The conflict between Muslims and Western Europe dates back to the time of the

Crusades. However, the current conflict in Western Europe is better understood through the

examination of why so many Muslims are now residing in the region.   After World War II, the

region was in major need of cheap, skilled labor. In response, many nations opened their borders

to foreign workers. Many that came for work were from Muslim countries. The plan was for

these workers to only reside in Western Europe temporarily and then return to their homelands.

However, many did not return and were soon joined by their families. During the second half of

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[7] Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs.* (Summer 1993).

the 20th century, many Western European nations received Muslim migrants from politically

unstable regions, such as Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda in the 1960s and 1970s.

It is important to note that no matter the reason for Muslim migration to Western Europe

during the 20th century, they were not all unified in terms of the way in which they practiced

Islam. For instance, many migrants to the UK are from South Asia and Pakistan, most from

France, Belgium and the Netherlands come from North African countries, while most of the

migrant population in Germany comes from Turkey.[8] This is important to understand, because

while the Muslims that are living in Europe today may not have come from the same traditional

origins, they are unifying themselves by the overarching theme that they are all Muslims. In

essence, the struggle of one becomes struggle of all. This can be seen through the Muslim

opposition to the war in Iraq in countries all over Europe. The president of the Moroccan

immigrant body in Spain, Mustapha El M'Rabet, stated in a response to the war, "we're Arabs

and Muslims, and we see an Arab, Muslim country being attacked." [9] The Pew Research center

estimates that the Muslim population in Western Europe is around 17 million, a number which

has increased from 10 million since just 1990. The Muslim population is expected to increase

and begin to approach that of the native population as Muslims are producing more children than

native Europeans.[10]

Scholars such as Toni Johnson, author of "Europe: Integrating Islam," published by the

Council on Foreign Relations points out that the current situation with Muslims in Western

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[8] Stoddard, Allen. "Immigration and Islam in Europe." Euro Islam. http://www.euro-islam.info/key-i
    ssues/immigration/
[9] 2003. "West Europe's Muslims and the Iraq War." *The Economist.* (April 3).
    <http://www.economist.com/node/1683148>.

[10] Draper, John. 2010. "Muslims in Western Europe." Cobourg Atheist. (September 21).

Europe is associated to the alienation that Muslims are experiencing as a result of failed integration policies. When Muslim individuals are alienated from the rest of society, they are left searching for a source of identity, defined as part of an individual's psyche which identifies them with their culture.[11] This in turn makes them vulnerable to radical transformation as they are easy targets for recruiters because they have a desire to identify with something when they do not identify with the society that they live in.[12] The strong disconnect between Muslims and their respective societies is evidenced by a PEW Research Center poll conducted in 2006 asking whether Muslims identified with their religion or nationality first. Muslims surveyed in France, Great Britain, and Germany, the three countries in Western Europe with the highest Muslim populations, considered themselves as Muslims first. Great Britain recorded the highest percentage of 81, followed by Germany and France with percentages of 66 and 46 respectively.[13]

Other scholars such as Fathali Moghaddam argue that the situation in Western Europe is a result of globalization merging cultures, where one's traditional culture is no longer becomes identifiable. As this occurs, Muslims feel that their culture is being threatened and become defensive to avoid losing their distinct culture. Muslim radicalism becomes their collective action mechanism to defend their culture.[14] Similarly, Abu Nurrullah discusses the challenge that is being posed by Western cultural imperialism toward the Islamic cultural identity. He argues that this form of imperialism, which I will later refer to as Westernization, is seeking to replace traditional Islamic beliefs and values with Western ones. This is resulting in an identity

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[11] Nurullah, Abu Sadat. 2008. "Globalization as a Challenge to Islamic Cultural Identity." *The International Journal of Interdisciplinary Social Siences* (Vol. 3:6).

[12] Johnson, Toni. 2009. "Europe: Integrating Islam." *Council on Foreign Relations.* (December 1).

[13] PEW. 2006. "Muslims in Europe: Economic Worries Top Concerns About Religious and Cultural Identity." *Pew Global Attitudes Project.* (July 6). < http://www.pewglobal.org/2006/07/06/muslims-in-europe-economic-worries-top-concerns-about-religious-and-cultural-identity/>.

[14] Moghaddam, Fathali M. 2008. *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism: The Lopsided Benefits of "One World" and Why That Fuels Violence.* Westport, CT: Praeger Security International. (1).

crisis among many Muslims and they are seeking to find their true identity. Many are finding this identity within radicalism.[15]

So what is to blame for radicalism in Western Europe? I argue that Westernization is alienating Muslims in Western Europe leaving them vulnerable to solidifying their identity in Islamism and more dangerously, radical Islam. Furthermore, they see their identity as a radical Muslim as a collective action against the West who has not accepted them and has threatened their way of life. This study first examines Westernization as the independent variable. Westernization is defined from one of the schools of thought of globalization, in which Nassar describes as the push of Western culture, values, and norms as the global world culture.[16] Furthermore, "Western" is characterized by the presence of a free market society and the principals of securalism.   The dependant variable in this study is Muslim alienation in Western Europe. This variable is defined by 5 sets of factors that are believed to be causing Muslim alienation: 1) poverty and segregation 2) religion and identity 3) culture and democracy 4) discrimination and bias 5) terrorism and security.[17]

Muslim alienation also acts as in independent variable to show a possible link between Westernization, Muslim alienation, and Radical Islam susceptibility. Scholars have agreed that there is a link between Muslim alienation and the susceptibility of those individuals to converting to radical Islam. Given that there is a scholarly agreement, this is discussed only briefly at the end of the paper to show that if Westernization is contributing to Muslim alienation, then there also may be a connection between Westernization and Muslim susceptibility to radical

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[15] Ibid 11.
[16] Nassar, Jamal R. 2010. *Globalization and Terrorism: The Migration of Dreams and Nightmares.* United
        Kingdom: Roman and Littlefield Publishers. (2).
[17] Ibid 12.

conversion. In this case, Radical Islam represents the dependent variable. Radical Islam is subject to many interpretations, although the general public most commonly associates it with those individuals who are actively operating in terrorist activities and spreading terrorist propaganda. However to be a radical does not necessarily mean to be an active terrorist or even violent.   Using this definition does not properly incorporate those individuals into the study who are not actively terrorists in the name of Islam but are susceptible to crossing the line. Therefore for the purpose of this study, radical Islam will be better referred to as Islamism and is used for the remainder of the paper. Graham Fuller, former vice-chair of the National Intelligence Council and specialist in Islamic extremism refers to Islamism as an "ideology with a much broader reach than radical terrorists have." Fuller defines Islamism as the universal struggle to make sense of a troubled world using religion, striving to restore the identity and dignity of the Muslim world.[18] Using this view, my study will incorporate not only what the mainstream public would refer to as radical Islam, but also those who are susceptible to crossing the line toward radicalism.

Methodology

This study is conducted through two policy analyses. The policies selected are those implemented only at the national level. While many Western European countries have local policies that would represent Westernization, due to time constraints this study will examine only the two nations with major national policies in place representing Westernization in Western Europe: France and Switzerland. The reaction of Muslim citizens in the given states will be examined as well as the Muslim reaction around the world.

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[18] Fuller, Graham. 2003. "Combating the Ideology of Radical Islam." DanielPipes.org. (April 10).
<http://www.danielpipes.org/1056/combating-the-ideology-of-radical-islam>.

Once the policies are evidenced as representing Westernization, the study will attempt to prove that Westernization supports 5 indicators of Muslim alienation previously examined and published in the *Council on Foreign Relations* by scholar Toni Johnson. As previously mentioned, these indicators include: 1) poverty and segregation 2) religion and identity 3) culture and democracy 4) discrimination and bias 5) terrorism and security.[19] Supporting data is obtained through national polls and surveys conducted primarily through Gallup and the BBC.

Westernization in Western Europe

The presence of government policy in Western Europe that portrays Westernization is substantial. These policies are not going un-noticed by the Muslim population and are rather creating a means for them to rally behind against the West. In 2010, a group of 30 protestors in Wales organized to highlight the "ideological attack" on Islam that is occurring as a result of anti-Islamic laws being passed in Europe. Mahhamad Abu Yaffir, the leader of the group stated, "The laws being proposed are a form of oppression and we will respond to this oppression." [20]

Policy Analysis 1: The Burqa and Higab Ban in France

In 2004, the French Parliament passed a law banning all conspicuous religious symbols from public schools. The law included the Jewish skull cap, large Christian crosses, and most controversial, the Muslim burqa and higab. The burqa and higab differ slightly in that the burqa has a grill like covering over the eyes on the headscarf where they cannot be seen and the higab has an open slit on the headscarf revealing the eyes of the individual. While the law did not

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[19] Ibid 22.

[20] 2010. "Thirty at protest in Cardiff against 'anti-Islam laws." *BBC News.* (July 10).
    http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10576858.

specifically target Muslims in its wording, due to the inclusion of symbols from Christianity as well as Judaism, Muslims specifically argue that the legislation was an attack on them. [21] Jaques Chirac, the president at the time, stated, "The passing of the law was to uphold the principle of secularism, the pillar of the French constitution." The ban passed in the French parliament with overwhelming support of 276 to 20. It also had the overwhelming support of the general public as well. A survey conducted showed that nearly 70 percent of the French population was in favor of the ban.[22]

The new law did not go without response from the global Muslim community. The ban created a worldwide reaction from Europe, to the Middle East, to the United States, as protests and demonstrations were seen in London, Cairo, and San Francisco. The largest occurred in Paris, as thousands of Muslim women took to the streets to demonstrate. A response even came from Iraq in which some Muslims clerics suggested that they put a ban on French products.[23]

The issue of the burqa and higab did not stop in 2004 with the implementation of the ban in public schools. As recently as April 2011, President Sarkozy's government enacted and passed legislation banning the full face veils in all public places.[24] Upon passage Sarkozy stated, "The burqa is not welcome in France." [25] Unlike the previous law passed in 2004, the current law comes with an enforcement mechanism. If Muslim women are caught wearing the burqa or

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[21] 2011. "France Bans Burqas: A Look At Islamic Veil Laws In Europe" *Huffington Post.* (April 11).
  <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/04/11/burqa-policies-e urope_n_847575.
  html#s263174&title=France>.
[22] 2004. "Controversy over the Headscarf." *The Pluralism Project at Harvard University.*
  <http://www.pluralism.org/reports/view/159>.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid 21.
[25] Willsher, Kim. 2011. "Burqa ban in France: housewife vows to face jail rather than submit." *The Guardian."*
  (April 9). <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/apr/10/france-burqa-law-kenza-drider>.

higab in public, they are subjected to a fine of 150 Euros and also may be forced to attend French citizenship lessons.[26]

Similar to the 2004 legislation, the passage of the current legislation produced a backlash among the Muslim population as well. Kenza Drider, a 32 year old Muslim living in France, as well as a French citizen said that she will continue to wear her full face veil, even if it means going to prison or getting fined. Women's activist as well as the government argue that the full face veil represents male oppression. Drider would disagree and argues that that is the common misunderstanding between the two cultures and she chooses to wear her veil and is not forced to by her husband as many people believe is the case with Muslim women. She said that her husband is in fact surprised when she goes out in public with her veil on. Drider commented on the law saying, "The president, my president, opened the door for racism, aggression, and attacks on Islam. This is an attempt to stigmatize Islam."[27]

The banning of the veil is being discussed in countries all across Western Europe. In the Netherlands the issue is being considered and is believed that a proposal will soon be introduced as part of a political agreement to form a majority in the parliament. In order to form a majority, the minority coalition government is dependent upon Geert Wilders, a strong anti-Muslim activist. In order to achieve his support, he stipulated that the government enacts a ban on the veil. In Belgium, a ban was introduced and succeeded in passing the lower house of parliament, but since, has been stuck in the political process. In Germany, in February 2011, the state of Hesse, became the first to implement a ban. The ban outlawed the wearing of the veil by

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[26] Ibid 21.
[27] Ibid 25.

workers in the public sphere. However, a public poll showed that 61 percent of the German

populace was in favor of completely outlawing the veil. [28]

France: Westernization and Alienation

France became the first state in Western Europe to fully implement the burqa and higab

ban in all public places. This policy not only portrays Westernization but also supports the

indicators of alienation suggested by Toni Johnson. When looking at the data in France to

support this it must be understood that some of the statistics are subject to error as France does

not allow collecting data related to ethnic and religious matter. However, private organizations

have attempted studies inquiring this data which is used in this study to examine the indicators of

Muslim alienation.

Discrimination and Bias

Discrimination and bias leading to alienation is directly associated with the policy itself.

The ban represents the broadest means of discriminating against the Muslim population in

France. It shows a direct attack against the beliefs and cultural traditions of Muslims. This can

be verified through the Muslim quotations against the ban pointed out in the previous section. It

is further evidenced by a study conducted by the Open Society Foundation in 2011. The study

randomly sampled 32 French Muslim women. The sample directly mirrored the demographics

of the French Muslim population as a whole in that 85 percent were under the age of forty, 90

percent were born in France, and 60 percent possessed an Arab background. The study found

that since the debate began over whether or not to ban the garments, 30 out of the 32 women

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[28] Ibid 21.

experienced greater discrimination than they previously had, mostly in the form of verbal abuse from middle-aged men and woman. The interviewees commonly pointed out that they were most notably biased against in shopping centers in which shop owners would follow them around.[29] At first glance, this policy was directed toward Muslim women of whom much of the general public believed wore the headscarf because they were forced to by their male partners or fathers. While this may be the case for a select few, it does not represent the majority of the population that chooses to freely wear the garment. In the same Open Society Foundation study all 32 of the Muslim interviewees responded that it was fully their decision to wear the veil. Of those that were married, only one responded that it was encourage by her husband, but not forced upon her.[30] However, many of the Muslims who proclaimed that they wear the garment freely as a sign of their faith and are not oppressed by males were ignored in the debate over the issue. A further examination of the policy shows that it is not just Muslim woman that are discriminated against, but rather the Muslim populace as a whole. The policy also puts a stigma on Muslim men in such a way that it suggests that Muslim men are oppressive to their wives and daughters.[31]

A major consequence of the Westernized policy is the marginalization that it is causing among the Muslim population in France. It is clearly evident that the policy directly discriminates against Muslims. However, what may be less clear to see is that the Westernized and marginalizing policy has the potential to create greater discrimination against Muslims than

[29] 2011. "Unveiling the Truth: Why 32 Muslim Women Wear the Full Face Veil in France." *Open Society Foundation.* <http://www.soros.org/initiatives/home/articles_publications/publications/unveiling-the-truth-20110411/a-unveiling-the-truth-20100510.pdf>.

[30] Ibid.
[31] Sebian, Elizabeth. "Islam in France." *Euro-Islam Info.* <http://www.euro-islam.info/country-profiles/france/>.

simply the policy itself. This legislation provides many non-Muslims fertile ground to further

act on their belief that Muslims are second class citizens.

As a result of being marginalized, Muslims in France are discriminated not only by their

government, but in all walks of life; one specific way is through racism, specifically as a result of

"Islamophobia."   Current data on this issue is difficult to come by as the government restricts

inquiring data on religious and ethnic issues. However, the Collectif Contre l'Islamophobie en

France (CCIF) conducted a study between 2003 and 2004 which showed that there were 182

cases of "Islamophobic" acts. The researchers made it clear that their study differentiated

between racist and Islamophobic acts despite their close resemblance.   Of the 182 acts, 27

resulted in physical aggression against Muslims. They also found that 81 percent of all of the

acts were toward women wearing a veil.[32] The National Consultative Commission on human

rights found that in 2010, 34 percent of all hate crimes (the largest percentage directed toward

one group) targeted individuals of Arab dissent and Muslim structures. These crimes were

largely characterized by arson and vandalism of mosques and Muslim graveyards.[33] Similarly,

The Collective Against Islamophobia in France, a NGO, reported 152 hate crimes against

Muslims in 2010. Their report found that the crimes ranged from physical assaults to hanging

pig heads outside of mosques.[34]

Religion and Identity

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[32] Ibid.
[33] Crumley, Bruce. 2011. "France: Hate Crimes on the Decline, Xenophobia on the Rise." *Time* .
        <http://globalspin.blogs.time.com/2011/04/12/france-hate-crimes-on-the-decline-xenophobia-on-the-rise/>.
[34] 2011. "Anti-Muslim Hate Crimes and Incidents." *Turkish Forum.* (June 13).
        <http://www.turkishnews.com/en/content/2011/06/13/anti-muslim-hate-crimes-and-incidents/>.

The Westernized policy suggested by the ban of the burqa and the higab directly supports the religion and identity indicator of alienation. The Islamic burqa and higab are specific symbols of the Islamic religion. By wearing these garments Muslim women are able to assert their identity and belief in their religion. Through the banning of these garments, the government is taking away an important aspect of the Muslim identity that allows them to represent their religion. As a result Muslims feel that they are not a wanted part of society and that the government is trying to strip their identity from them because it does not represent Western culture distancing them from mainstream society. This results in Muslims being pushed away as there are not able to assert their cultural traditions in the public realm the same way that a Christian or a Jew would by wearing a cross or yarmulke.

Poverty and Segregation

As previously mentioned, the result of the ban on the burqa and the higab has further marginalized the Muslim population in France. Not only does it alienate Muslims within and of itself, the policy has the potential to spillover and produce other means of alienation within the Muslim community by heightening the view that Muslims are second class citizens. It is important to note that the Westernized policy represented by the ban does not directly support the next two sections of alienation indicators; however, it does provide the potential for this population to be affected as a result of further marginalization.

The Muslim population in France is affected by poverty more than any other group of individuals in France. As a result, they are also subjected to being segregated into low income neighborhoods or "ghettos" alienating them from the rest of society. The poverty that Muslims are experiencing is a product of the not be able to obtain sufficient employment. While subject

to error as the French law forbids collection of data on ethnicity, in 2005 the BBC suggested that

the unemployment rate of Muslims is around 14 percent as compared to the 9.2 percent of ethnic

French citizens. Those representing North African descent (a large proportion of the French

Muslim population) who obtained a university degree, were believed to have a staggering 26.5

percent unemployment rate.[35] Those that are able to find employment are often hired in laboring

positions that require little public contact. Many Muslims are unable to find employment in the

retail and hospitality sector but are nearly two times more likely than non-Muslims to have low

wage factors jobs.[36] The Institut Montaigne, a think tank in France suggested that the Muslim

unemployment rate is much higher than the BBC's report suggests. Their study, conducted in

2008, estimated the Muslim unemployment rate to be nearly three times that of non-Muslims,

falling around 24 percent.[37]

Terrorism and Security

Terrorism and security issues represent another indicator to the alienation of Muslims in

France. Muslims have fallen under extreme scrutiny from the police as well as the general

public over fears that they are all terrorists and a threat to the security of France, mainly as a

result of the September 11th attacks. Many young Muslim men are subjected to random stops

and identity checks in public settings. In places such as airports, Muslim employees have come

under the greatest amount of suspicion. Airports began conducting background checks on their

Muslim employees and some have even dismissed workers due to only suspicion that they had

[35] BBC. 2005. "French Muslims Face Job Descrimination." (November 2).
    < http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4399748.stm>,
[36] Ibid 31.
[37] Momin, A.R. 2008. "Muslim Students With Headscarves in France's Catholic Schools." *The Ios Minaret* 3 (11).
    <http://iosminaret.org/vol-3/issue11/muslim_students.php>.

connections to terrorist networks rather than fact. This specifically, occurred at Roissy Airport in

2002 where an employ was relieved of duty due to only suspicion that he was connected to a

terrorist network. [38]   The result of labeling all Muslims as a security threat and suspecting that

they are connected to terrorist networks generates resent among the Muslim population toward

the rest of society. This leads them feeling detached from society further alienating them from

the mainstream public. While this indicator is not directly supported by the burqa and higab ban

representing Westernization, the ban heightens the public awareness of Muslim differences and

places a stigma on them.

Policy Analysis 2: Muslim Minarets in Switzerland

The banning of the Islamic veil is not the only policy in Western Europe that supports

the Westernization school of thought. In 2009, Switzerland decided to ban the building of

Muslim Minarets, which are prayer towers. The ban came as a result of a public referendum that

was initiated by the Swiss People's party. Despite the governments denouncing of this initiative

the referendum went forward and passed with an overwhelming majority as it was approved by

22 of the 26 provinces in Switzerland.   The Peoples Party argued that the building of the

minarets is a sign of Islamization. Furthermore, the general secretary, Martin Baltisse publicly

stated that the ban "was against minarets as symbols of Islamic power." Other supporters of the

ban claimed that the minarets represent the growth of an ideology that is incompatible with

Swiss democracy.[39]

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[38] Ibid 31.

[39] 2009. "Swiss voters back ban on minarets." *BBC News.* (November 29).
    < http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8385069.stm>.

The reaction to this legislation was seen both domestically and internationally. The president of the Coordination of Islamic Organizations, Fahad Afshar addressed the issue by stating, "Muslims do not feel accepted as a religious community." Similarly, Elham Manea, one of the founders of the Forum for Progressive Islam, commented by arguing that it sends a particular message to Muslims. He stated, "It's a message that you are not welcome here as a true citizen of this society." [40] Quotes criticizing the legislation also came from Muslim leaders worldwide. In Libya, the now dead Moammar Gadhafi referred to the ban as an "invitation to al-Qaeda." The Grand Mufti in Egypt, Alli Gomma, described it as an "Insult to Muslims worldwide." While in Turkey, Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan stated that the legislation is a "sign of fascism."[41]

Switzerland: Westernization Policy and Alienation

Switzerland's legislation banning any future Muslim minarets from being built represents the second nation-wide legislation in Western Europe portraying Westernization, as this legislation attempts to push the Western way of life and eliminate that of the Muslim culture of those living in Switzerland. Through examination of this policy, the results were very similar to that of France in relation to the way it supports the Muslim alienation indicators.

Discrimination and Bias

Just like the burqa and higab ban in France, the ban on any future building of Muslim minarets represents discrimination against the Muslim population within the policy itself. This

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Bruce, Benjamin. "Switzerland's Minaret Ban." http://www.euro-islam.info/key-issues/switzerlands-minaret-ban/.

can be see not only because the policy singles out Muslims as a direct target but also through

Muslim discourse presented in the previous section showing that they directly feel discriminated

against. This indicator is also supported through public polling in Switzerland after the

referendum was passed creating the ban. When citizens were asked if they felt that the

referendum to ban minarets discriminated against Muslims, a 2009 Gallup poll revealed that 70

percent of Muslims felt that the ban directly discriminated against them. On the other hand, only

30 percent of the Christian population felt that the ban discriminated against the Muslim

population.[42] The poll data supports evidence that Muslims feel that they are being

discriminated against as well as supporting discrimination as a discrimination indicator of

alienation as the policy singles them out from society.

Culture and Democracy

Culture and democracy, an indicator of Muslim alienation argued by Toni Johnson

suggests that Muslims are being alienated because society does not believe that the Muslim

culture and Islamic beliefs are compatible with democracy. The ban of building future minarets

shows not only Westernization as it is attempting to erase the presence of the Muslim culture to

ensure the future of the Western lifestyle but also supports this indicator of Muslim alienation.

Many Muslims are able to practice their cultural beliefs within the framework of democracy.

The construction of minarets does not represent an incompatibility of the Muslim culture with

democracy, but simply provides them with places of prayer just as a church would for Christians

or a synagogue would for the Jewish community. However, a large portion of the Swiss

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[42] Gallup. 2009. "More Minarets in Switzerland." *The Gallup Organization Europe.* < http://www.gallup-europe.be/switzerland/minarets.htm>.

community believes that there is a significant contradiction between Muslims practicing Islam and the values of liberal democracy. A 2009 Gallup poll showed that 40 percent of the non-Muslim Swiss population believed that there is an "irresolvable contradiction between the values of liberal democracy and Islam."[43] Of the 57.5 percent of the Swiss populace that voted in favor of the ban,[44] many supporters expressed their beliefs that the minarets represent the growth of an ideology that is incompatible with Swiss democracy.[45] The result is a Muslim population that is alienated due to a misunderstanding between the two cultures as many Muslims are able to actively practice their religion while living in a democratic society although many Swiss citizens do not see this possible. This further marginalizes and pushes the Muslim population to the fringe of the Swiss society.

Religion and Identity

The religion and identity indicator of alienation is also directly supported by the minaret ban. Muslim minarets represent a symbol of identity for Muslims just like the burqa and higab. By banning construction, the Swiss are stripping a piece of the Muslim identity that allows them to assert themselves with their Islamic religion. During debate of the ban, the president of the Federation of Islamic Organization in Switzerland, Hisham Maizar, stated, "We are defending our identity as symbolized by the minarets."[46]

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[43] Ibid.
[44] Arens, Marianne. 2009. "Switzerland Bans Minarets." *International Committee of the Fourth International.* (December 3). http://www.wsws.org/articles/2009/dec2009/swit-d03.shtml.
[45] 2009. "Swiss voters back ban on minarets." *BBC News.* (November 29). http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8385069.stm.
[46] Saley, Hany. 2009. "Switzerland…Anti Muslim Minarets." *On Islam.* (November 5). http://www.onislam.net/english/news/europe/439715.html.

Switzerland has held a longstanding belief in religious freedom as it is a right given to the citizens in the Constitution.   A Gallup poll conducted after the referendum asked respondents whether or not they believed religious freedom was an important part of the Swiss identity. Seventy-five percent of those (non-Muslims) who voted in favor of the ban said that religious freedom is an important part of Swiss identity. However, the ban does not accurately reflect the large belief that religious freedom is an important part of Swiss identity.   Rather, the ban limits religious freedom, more specifically the religious freedom of Muslims. Head of the Swiss Muslim League, Adel Al-Magari stated that "The law grants all citizens, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, the right to celebrate their religious identity. How come they (right-wing) want to deny Muslims a right enshrined in the Constitution?[47] The resulting consequence of the ban is that Muslims are once again marginalized from the rest of society as this policy not only tries to strip them of their identity, but also sends a direct message to the Muslim population that both their religious symbols and way of life are unwelcome.

Terrorism and Security

Similar to the legislation in France representing Westernization, the ban on minarets in Switzerland does not directly suggest that it is causing Muslims to be alienated because they are viewed as terrorists or a security threat to the State. However, the legislation does provide the potential to enhance this view of the non-Muslim populace as it puts Muslims in the public spotlight in a stigmatizing manner. Muslim alienation as a result of non-Muslims believing that Muslims are all terrorists and a security threat comes as a result of fear. In the same 2009 Gallup poll previously mentioned, respondents were asked in an open-ended question what they

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[47] Ibid.

believed the motivation was to initiate the referendum. Thirty – five percent of those surveyed

said that the referendum was simply about the building and construction of minarets. 65 percent

of those surveyed responded that there were other issues behind the referendum. Of that 65

percent, 14 percent responded that the referendum was about fear of Muslims, Islam, and

immigrants. Another 11 percent of the 65 percent responded that the referendum was about the

Islamization of Switzerland and Muslims in Switzerland which is similarly related to fear.[48] This

poll provides evidence that there is a sentiment of fear resonating among the Swiss population

toward Muslims. While the reasons that many non-Muslims fear Muslims is not expressed in the

polling data, it is very likely that it is associated with their view that *all* Muslims represent

terrorism and are a security threat as is found in many Western European countries. However,

this view is a result of generalizing that *all* Muslims act in accordance with those who possess a

dangerous ideological interpretation of Islam and essentially, are all dangerous.

The Gallup poll conducted after the referendum shows that a portion of the population

supported it due to a fear of Muslims, Islam, and Islamization. While unknown, *if* the fear of

Muslims and Islam in Switzerland is a result of non-Muslims viewing them as a security threat,

the referendum portraying Westernization, would support terrorism and security as a source of

Muslim alienation. If this assumption is correct, alienation occurs in a similar way to all of the

other indicators as Muslims are pushed are pushed from society as a result of non-Muslims

fearing interaction.

Poverty and Segregation

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[48] Ibid.

Similar to the case of France, this indicator does not directly support Westernization. The Muslim unemployment rate in Switzerland is believed (as the government does collect data on ethnicity) to be around 14 percent as of 2008.[49] This is significantly higher compared to that of the average national unemployment rate of 2.9 percent.[50] This data shows that Muslims are subjected to poverty as compared to that of non-Muslims. However, the situation of segregation does not appear to be as extreme as it is in France. A study conducted by Open Democracy suggested that while the danger exists, it does not appear that Muslims in Switzerland will become ghettoized as they are in many other Western European nations.[51] However, the question still arises as to what effects the ban will have on Muslims securing employment as it heightens their differences from the rest of society and puts a social stigma on them.

Findings

The results of this study point out that there are two major national level policies in Western Europe that portray Westernization: the ban of the burqa and higab in France and the ban of future Muslim minaret construction in Switzerland. These policies prove that Westernization, a school of thought of globalization arguing the push for the Western culture and way of life as the global norm, is actually occurring at the national level in specific states in Western Europe.

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[49] Erlanger, Simon. 2008. "Muslims and Jews in Switzerland." *Institute for Global Jewish Affairs.* (September). http://www.jcpa.org/JCPA/Templates/ShowPage.asp?DRIT=0&DBID=1&LNGID=1&TMID=111&FID=6 23&PID=0&IID=2606&TTL=Muslims_and_Jews_in_Switzerland.

[50] 2011. "Switzerland Unemployment Rate." (November 7). http://www.tradingeconomics.com/switzerland/unemployment-rate.

[51] Piccand, Francis. 2003. " Islam in Switzerland: Dialogue Between Cultures." *Open Democracy.* (January 16). http://www.opendemocracy.net/faith-europe_islam/article_867.jsp.

The study revealed mixed results supporting my argument that Westernization is leading to Muslim alienation based on the indicators suggested by scholar Toni Johnson: 1) poverty and segregation 2) religion and identity 3) culture and democracy 4) discrimination and bias 5) terrorism and security.[52] In the cases of both France and Switzerland, there is strong evidence supporting the link between Westernization and discrimination/bias as a factor of alienation. This is most significantly evidenced by the policies themselves that directly target the Muslim population undermining their existence as citizens. In France, the existence of discrimination is evidenced by Muslim discourse while in Switzerland it is evidenced through polling data. The study also shows that in both cases there is strong evidence supporting a link between Westernization and religion/identity as a source of Muslim alienation.   This is evidenced by the way in which both policies strip key religious identifiers from the Muslim population. Furthermore they attempt to not only detach them from their religion and Westernize them, but also highlight their differences from the rest of society heightening the sense of alienation and detachment.

For the remaining alienation indicators, the study reveals mixed results between the cases in support of Westernization as the leading cause of alienation.   In Switzerland polling data provides support for culture/democracy as an alienation factor of Westernization. The polling data revolving around the policy reveals the non-Muslim belief that the Muslim culture cannot coexist with a democratic society once again detaching Muslims from society. Support for terrorism/security a cause of alienation produced by Westernization in Switzerland is debatable. Polling data reveals that the policy to ban minaret construction was largely supported as a result of the fear of Muslims, Islam, and Islamization. However, the data does not suggest the source

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[52] Johnson, Toni. 2009. "Europe: Integrating Islam." *Council on Foreign Relations.* (December 1).

of that fear. If it is a result of them feeling that Muslims are a terrorist and security threat, as is the case in many other Western European countries with a Muslim populace, the link between Westernization and terrorism/security would be plausible as non-Muslims fear interaction with Muslims resulting in alienation. However, it is not appropriate to make that assumption without additional information as to the source of the fear among the Swiss population.

Poverty and segregation as a Muslim alienation factor, highlights what I believe to be as the most significant finding of the study. Through the policy analysis, the study is unable to prove that Westernization is alienating Muslims by means of poverty and segregation. However, both policies put Muslims in the spotlight highlighting what makes them different from the rest of society. In relation to the discussion of the poverty that Muslims are experiencing in France due to employment discrimination resulting in natural segregation of Muslims into low-income neighbors and high unemployment rates in Switzerland, is Westernization further marginalizing and alienating Muslims as national policies are putting their differences in the spotlight? This study shows that Westernization, evidenced by national policies in both France and Switzerland, is marginalizing and alienating Muslims specifically through discrimination/bias and religion/identity. Although an issue for future research, I suggested in the discussion of poverty and segregation a potential for spillover effects from the policies. For instance, while Westernization may not directly prove that it causes poverty and segregation leading to Muslim alienation, does the fact that these policies highlight Muslim differences through the mass media provide further justification and peace of mind for individuals to continue and possibly increase their actions that alienate Muslims?

Overall, the study shows that specific national policies in Western Europe support my argument of the occurrence of Westernization. It also shows that Westernization is contributing to specific factors causing Muslim alienation while at the same time it is unable to neither prove nor disprove other factors of alienation. Therefore, while my argument does not entirely lack merit, it is not plausible to say that Westernization is the primary cause of Muslim alienation in Western Europe. Regardless, Muslim alienation is certainly occurring. Not only is it occurring in the examined countries, but all across Western Europe, leaving these individuals in search for an identity and becoming vulnerable to finding that identity in Islamism and furthermore to a more dangerous identity, radical Islam. The Western European arena provides sufficient opportunities for alienated Muslims to embrace these identities.

Alienated to Dangerous

Jonathan Paris, author of *Radical Islam and International Security: Challenges and Responses*, focuses on why the European arena is such a fruitful environment for those who do fail to integrate. Paris notes that there are five key factors as to why Radical Islam is able to be so successful in Western Europe. His first argument is that there has been an overall decline in nationalism in Europe. The result of this is that it is hardly possible to get a young Muslim who feels like an outcast in society to identify with the country in which he or she resides when the native citizens of that country do not have a strong identification with it. Many vulnerable Muslim youth, who are second, or even third generation citizens in Europe do not associate with their parents' roots and are at the same time not accepted by mainstream society, leaving them in search of a true identity. Paris argues that this is when "born- again Muslims" are created. By "born- again Muslims," he means that they are Muslims by nature of their parents, but they do

not hold strong ties to their beliefs and are susceptible to radical transformation as a means to generate an identity and to belong.   Paris's second argument is that there are negative demographic trends in Europe that are playing to the advantage of radical recruiters. He notes that the birthrates of Muslims as compared to ethnic Europeans are much greater. This may not seem significant, but it is giving way to a large generation of Muslim youth who are in search of an identity. When combining that with the fact that most of them live in major cities where radical recruiters are greater in numbers, the result is a large portion of the population who are not only open to radical ideas, but also have the means to transform themselves to radicalist.

Paris's third argument is that *Muslim Preceptoralism* is occurring in Western Europe. By this, he means that there are many figures or precepts that are spreading the word of radical Islam, and their message is readily accessible to the Muslim youth of Western Europe. Some of these include the imams in London, local Muslim leaders, and people such as Ayman al Zawahiri and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. In more detail, Paris describes *preceptoralism* as an intense ideological indoctrination using persuasive messages to mobilize true believers. This indoctrination process is occurring all over Europe in many unsuspecting places including internet cafes, mosques, and book shops. Paris describes that the last stage of the *preceptoralism* indoctrination process is when a young Muslim individual has the potential of becoming a danger to society. In this stage, Paris explains that converts no longer owe their primary loyalty to their nation or to the ethnicity of their parents, but rather to the Islamic faith. When an individual reaches this point, conflicts against Muslims become global, as the individual constitutes an attack against his fellow Muslim as attack against himself.

The fourth factor that Paris attributes to the rise of radical Islam in Europe is the impact of Arab satellite media exposure of the Israeli- Palestinian conflict as well as the Western

conflict in Iraq. This relates similarly to his last argument about how *preceptoral indoctrined* Muslims consider an attack on their brethren as a direct attack on themselves. Paris suggests that the Arab media is transmitting a message to European Muslims that portrays the violence against fellow Muslims in Iraq and the unwillingness of the West to un-occupy holy lands and recognize the Palestinian state. As European Muslims receive this message, major resentment occurs towards the West and a strong global Islamic solidarity is reinforced.

The final argument as to the susceptibility of radical Islam in Western Europe is the role of Muslim. Paris suggests that Muslim leaders have failed to take a stance against the radicalization of their own. Rather than calling out to Muslims and criticizing the radicalization and emphasizing the importance of integration they have often said that it is ultimately the government's fault that Muslim citizens are radicalizing. The leaders contest that if Western governments would rethink their policies toward the Israeli- Palestinian conflict as well as those in Iraq and other Middle Eastern nations, European Muslims would stop radicalizing[53]

Future Trends and Analysis

The two policies discussed in this study represent major political debates that are occurring all across Europe, specifically the debate over the banning of the burqa and higab. France became the first state to fully ban the garment in all public place however many others are considering following. Due to the strong anti-Muslim sentiment that I have found to be occurring all across Europe during my research, I have no doubt that many European nations will adopt this ban as it appears to be strongly supported by the non-Muslim public. If this occurs I see the Muslim situation in Europe becoming much more dangerous than it already is. Western Europe may see the increase in radicalism from not only those who are alienated but also from

[53]Paris, Jonathan S. 2008. *Radical Islam and International Security: Challenges and Responses*. Hudson Institute.

those who may not be alienated but are no longer going to tolerate Westernized policy that is specifically targeting their belief in Islam.

This study opens the door for much future research revolving around Westernization, Muslim alienation, and radical Islam. In conducting this study, data discussing poverty and unemployment were hard to come by. This is mainly a result of European Union member states not inquiring data ethnicity. In order for a better understanding of the economic situation of Muslims in Western Europe future private studies should endeavor to obtain this data and provide it to the public to.

Future research should also be directed toward understanding what the immediate consequences are of such Westernized policies. This study looks at how Westernization leads to Muslim alienation and radical Islam based on the premise that Muslim alienation is the main cause of radical Islam in Western Europe. It does not address whether the enactment of these policies alone caused individuals to join a radical organization or become and Islamist but rather examines how they alienate Muslims and make them susceptible to such transformations. Furthermore, future research should address the Muslim reaction to these policies. Specific questions being: Are all Muslims against these policies? Do Muslims see these policies as Westernization? Do Muslims believe it is possible to assert their identity under these policies? And, is radicalism the only way in which Muslims can reconcile with a society that preaches religious freedom, while limiting the practice of Islam?

Conclusion

It is clear to many scholars that Western Europe is experiencing a very pivotal point in its history. The mass amounts of Muslims inhabiting the region are representing a major obstacle as nearly all countries have failed to successfully integrate them into mainstream society. Many

scholars have looked at different reasons as to why they are not integrating, why they are turning to Islamism and Radical Islam, and why they are banning together against the West. I argue that there is a new variable that must be introduced into the picture to give us a better understanding of what is occurring in Western Europe, Westernization. I argue that Westernization is alienating Muslims in Western Europe leaving them vulnerable to solidifying their identity in Islamism and more dangerously, radical Islam as they attempt to create an identity in a society that has not accepted them. This study fails to connect Westernization with all five Muslim alienation indicators suggest by Toni Johnson. However, it does show that Westernization strongly supports the indicators of discrimination/bias as well as religion/identity as sources of Muslim alienation in the cases of both France and Switzerland.

The issue of Muslim alienation in Western Europe is very dangerous and has serious implications for the United States, due to the vulnerability of alienated Muslims to turn hostile toward the West by means of a terrorist attack. My research has added to existing scholarship by introducing Westernization as a possible means to explain the situation that is occurring. By further studying this issue possible policy solutions can be drawn up with hopes of negating the situation and stopping the root causes of Islamism and radical Islam in the region. I challenge scholars to further examine not only Westernization in relation to this issue but other views of globalization as the negative effects of globalization are understudied and far from understood.