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Articles

Post 9/11: Anti-Islam Discourse on Terrorism and Its Implications on Counter-Terrorism, Human Rights and National Security in the Netherlands *

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Abstract

In the aftermath of 9/11 attacks, many European governments have been dictated by a statecentric discourse on terrorism in which human rights have taken a backseat to state security. In doing so, civil liberties have been trade-off for the stake of state survival. In particular, European Muslims have been direct victim of these policies as they have been subject to repressive state practices, which are most often justified under the guise of war on terror. However, repression usually hit hard back since the ones who fall victim for those policies become more prone to take up radical thought, and thus become more willing to engage in terrorist activities, with the aim to take revenge. Consequently, in the long run, this may aggregate the threat of terrorism, and thus may pose a greater threat to the survival of the state. Hence, the purpose of this paper is to break free from a state-centric discourse on terrorism to move towards a human right framework in which terrorism and its responses are approached with all its consequences on state behavior, human security and state survival. The study consists of case-study, which is based on a qualitative research method, whereby twelve peoples were interviewed. It examined the link between counter-terrorism and human rights violations, within the Dutch context. To be more precise, it examined whether the Dutch anti-terror policies infringes on civil liberties and points out the long-term effects on the national security. The results have shown that the Dutch counter-terrorism measures are at odd with the human rights. In particular, the Dutch Muslim seems to be hit the most ever since the political debates around terrorism are dictated by an anti-Islamic political discourse. However, the securitization of the Islam has led to false security narratives, and paved way for extreme proposals to stop Islamification. In this way, the government have provided the base for radicalization within own group. Consequently, this have led to a dichotomy between Muslim and non-Muslim groups, which have crashed the togetherness of the society and and resulted in a vicious circle in which terrorism has feed itself, and with that endangered the national security even further.

Keywords: terrorism, counter-terrorism, human rights, Netherlands.

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1. Introduction

The Netherlands has never been in witness of a major terrorist attacks, although it has taken tight preventive measures to prevent such an attack from happening. These measures are mainly focused on the dimension of homegrown terrorism and has the ultimate goal to detect people holding extreme ideas at an early stage (De Boer, 2007). Although, since the radicalization process is uniquely different for each individual and thus no clear profile can be given for an extremist, the moderate Muslims as well as Muslim-looking migrants and civilians have been stigmatized and become unlawfully target of those measures (Noppe et al., 2010).

However, the scrutinization of Islam have led to a dipropionate image in which Muslims are unfairly misrepresented, irrationally feared and hated. In doing so, Muslims and Muslim-looking citizens have been constructed as suspect communities and have been subject to harsh antiradicalization policies that are most often at odd with the human rights of those groups (De Koning, 2020). Especially, in the years after 9/11 the anti-Islam rhetoric in the Dutch society have been grown stronger, which has created a base for the rise of other radical groups. In particular, the far-right extremist parties have been successful in gaining popular support by exploiting the feelings of fear and aversion against the Islam. This in turn, paved way for the normalization of repressive and discriminative government policies and create an environment in which anti-Islam hatred hostility and violence against Muslims become socially accepted (Vossen, 2010). However, this have resulted in a dichotomy of Muslims and non-Muslims and have led to further polarization of the Dutch society. Although, since this division is fueled by the feelings of fear and anger from both sides, Muslims as well as non-Muslims have become more prone to adopt radical thoughts and willing to engage in violent activities. This in turn has crashed the togetherness of the society has resulted in a vicious circle in which terrorism has feed itself, and with that endangered the national security even further.

2. Results and discussion Terrorism in the Netherlands

Unlike the United States of America (USA), the Netherlands has never been direct victim for an upscale international terrorist attack, instead the Dutch experience of terrorism is merely based on attacks carried out by homegrown terrorist organizations (Janse, 2005). The first occasion, in this sense can be traced back to 1970 when a group of young man, entered the residence of the Indonesian ambassador and took those present hostages. In this particular way, they attempt to enforce the Indonesian and Dutch government to take seriously their ideal of an independent republic of South Moluccas. In the 1980s, the Netherlands was confronted with another wave of political violence perpetrated by anti-globalist groups and squatters' movements (Gijsbertse, 2008). The most prominent group in that period is known as RaRa (Revolutionaire Anti-Racist Action), that came into existence to speak out against the apartheid regime in South-Africa. To raise attention to their cause, RaRa has been regularly involved in arson attacks, particularly on large companies whom they suspected for providing support to maintain the apartheid regime in South-Africa (Van Buuren, De Graaf, 2014). Hence, the rationale behind the arson was to inflict financial damage on SHV on leaving Africa. In the following there was a continuation of those attacks on multiple establishments, including the Makro branch in Duivendrecht (1986), and in Nuth (1987) (Kruijf, 2016).

However, at the time, all these activities in the past were not put under the definition of terrorism, rather they were referred as political violence. In the following years of the 9/11 attacks, in particular after the murder of Dutch moviemaker Theo van Gogh by an Islamic extremist in 2004, (homegrown) terrorism became a more salient topic and has entered the public as well as the political realm (Van der Woude, 2009). However, unlike the past the word terrorism is often reduced to religion, which means that terrorism is considered as a religious (Islamic) matter, rather than secular motivated. The link between terrorism and Islam became further intensified after the Syrian civil war broke out in 2011 and Dutch Muslims (foreign fighters) started to travel to Syria to join ISIL-led terrorist activities. Although, the idea that they were born and became radicalized in own land, and thus may return back further radicalized and well-trained have led to a moral panic (Weggemans et al., 2014). This in turn has resulted in a rigorous change in thinking and acting against terrorism (Schuurman, Horgan, 2016). Since then, terrorism is frequently equated with the Islam, and thus repeatedly framed as a source for violence, and murder (Brunet, 2013).

The mediated image of the Islam has resulted in false narratives, stereotyping and prejudices against Muslims living the Netherlands. Those narratives have been often built upon anti-Islam statements that portrayed the Islam as evil and an irrational religion that stands for intolerance, backwardness, ignorance, violence, woman repression, and thus a threat for the West (Funk, Said, 2004). Subsequently, this have created a breeding ground for anti-Islam led statements, hatred, violence, and even murder of Muslims (Sultan, 2016). The anti-Islam rhetoric has also resonated with Dutch policymakers and thus have had an impact on the way counter-terrorism measures have been conducted over time (Ghazali, 2012). The following section explains how the Dutch counter-terrorism framework has evolved over time.

Historical Framework: Counter-Terrorism in the Netherlands

The Netherlands is not new to terrorism it has witnessed the first modern terrorist attack a long time before the 9/11 attacks took place. So, are the efforts to combat terrorism not new either, the first response to terrorism dates back to the 1970s. Back then, the Dutch government had to deal with hostages organized by Young Moluccas groups in order to draw attention to the idea of an independent republic of South-Moluccas. At that time, the Dutch government took steps to bring a halt to the hostages as it has introduced the so-called Dutch Approach. The measures at that time are often characterized as quite mellow since they have been rested upon liberal and nonviolent means, and thus kept the military option in the background. In the 1980s the Netherlands have been confronted with another type of terrorism, inspired by anti-imperialist movements that popped up worldwide to resist against the capitalist system. Although, again the Dutch government decided to use a soft approach, with the aim to protect its reputation as a liberal and tolerant nation (Van der Wal, 2018). In doing so, the Dutch intelligence service BZC, predecessor of AIVD has given extensive powers to initiate investigations, share information and cooperate with other government branches. Besides, it was also concentrated on intensified international cooperation, with as ultimate goal to disrupt the import of political conflict into the Netherlands (Nimwegen, 2006). Altough, the Dutch secret services have been limited in their executive powers to prevent such institutions from growing into an FBI like agency. To be more precise, they have been prohibited to intervene in private life by, for example cross-border investigations, house searches, secretly eavesdropping, and the like (Tolboom, 2016).

Post-11 September: Dutch Framework on Counter-Terrorism

After a relative stable period in the 1990s, the Netherlands have been shocked by the 9/11 attacks in 2001. Although, while those attacks were not a direct attack on the Dutch society it has been seen as a wake-up call. In 2004, after the murder of Theo van Gogh by an Islamic extremist, the rhetoric surrounding terrorism has drastically changed. Not long after the attack, the most prominent public figures, such as Geert Wilders (PVV), Jozias van Aartsen (PVV) came together in an emergency debate and made a call to reconsider the rethoric surrounding terrorism. In this setting, the assassination has been described as "Holland's 9/11" and thus characterized as a terrorist act, inspired by religious (Islamic) concerns, which is ought to create unrest and fear, with the aim to destroy the principles of the Dutch society (Maussen, Hajer, 2004). Another turning point in the Dutch terrorism debate was in 2011 when Dutch Muslims (foreign fighters) started to travel to Syria to join ISIL-led terrorist activities. Although, the idea that they were born and became radicalized in own land, and thus may return back further radicalized and well-trained have led to a moral panic (Weggemans et al., 2014). This in turn has resulted in a rigorous change in thinking and acting against terrorism, and thus led to a paradigm shift in which terrorism started to be seen as a religious and domestic matter. In this setting, in particular far-right populist parties have proclaimed that the Netherlands has entered a new era of religious terrorism (Islamic), which is claimed to be far more dangerous than the past. Accordingly, they have made a call for retribution and championed for the introduction of harsh measures against radical Muslims and terrorist suspects. In a similar move, minister Gerrit Zalm has adopted a hard and robust tone too by saying that 'We are at war' and, hence he called for tougher action. This have paved way for the introduction of repressive policies that infringes with the civic rights of, especially Dutch Muslims. In doing so, the Netherland have been drifted away from the principle of liberal and tolerant nation.

A wide-range approach on counter-terrorism

However, it is not always clear what measures have been taken to tackle the radicalism issue. This is mainly due to the fact that they are often shredded and fragmented and are not brought

together in an integral approach. This has to do with the fact that issues surrounding radicalization are often approached broadly, in which the core of the problem is often seen as more then religious based, instead it is often blamed on multiculturalism too as it has been seen as an failed attempted of integration citizens with a migration background into the wider society (Akerboom, 2003). In other words, the anti-radicalization policies are mainly directed to a broader population, in which moderate Muslims as well as citizens with migration background have been seen as a potential danger. For this reason, the anti-radicalization policies in the Netherlands are often referred as the so-called wide-range approach in which policies regarding to de-radicalization are strongly intertwined with integration and migration policies. Those policies are introduced to signal radicalization on an early stage, stop further radicalization in order to decrease the likelihood of terrorist engagement (De Graaf, 2008). The ultimate goal is to win the hearts back of those who are in their initial phase of radicalization, with the aim to reintegrate them to the Dutch society. Although, determine the extent to which someone is radical or not is quite problematic for the reason that the radicalization process is uniquely different for each individual, and with that no clear profile can be given for an extremist. This ensures that a large part of the population, especially well-integrated Muslims and citizens with a migrant background, are unfairly portrayed as a potential danger to the Dutch society and thus fall victim for harsh measures. However, the racialization of danger, have stigmatizing effects that leads to further exclusion, and with that opened door for further radicalization (De Koning, 2020).

Anti-radicalization policies in the Netherlands

As mentioned earlier, the issue of radicalization has been fixed to Islamic fundamentalism and blamed on a failed attempt of integration. In this particular way, the Dutch anti-radicalization, migration and integration policies have been knit together in which Muslims and citizens with migration background have been fall direct victim for those policies. In doing so, a great part of the population has been categorized as 'dangerous classes' and become target for harsh antiradicalization policies (Bakker, 2017). Although, until 2004 the Netherlands was not at the disposal of an emergency legislation for terrorist incidents or had not signed any specific Act that criminalized terrorist offences. This means that at that time no one could be stentenced for being member of a terrorist group or for being engaged in terrorist activities. This situation has changed in a rapid phase, direct after the Netherlands had experienced its first homegrown jihadist terrorist attack in 2004 when Theo van Gogh, Dutch moviemaker was murder by an Islamic extremist. The assassination acted as a firm wake-up call for the Netherlands and opened door for a radical shift in criminal justice and law enforcement policies. The most significant legal response to the homegrown terrorism threat is the Law on Terrorist Crimes (Wet Terroristische Misdrijven), which have been inserted as a separate category in the criminal law and entered into force in 2004. This means that terrorist activities, recruitments have been criminalized by law and thus can be convicted as a criminal act (Den Boer, 2007). On top of this, th change in perception threat has also led to admistrative changes, which has led to the emergence of new counter-radicalization measures. The most prominent step towards this is the introduction of the Netherlands compherensive action plan to combat jihadism, concieved in 2014 and has significantly evolved since then. The plan was primarily designed to weaken the jihadist movements in the Netherlands in order to take away the breeding ground for radicalization. The action programme is both preventive and repressive and is designed on the five lines of policy: risk reduction, intervention, tackling radicalization and societal tension, social media, and exhancing information and (international) cooperation. Those policies are performed on broad front in which cooperation at a national, international and local level is of great importance (Ministery of Justice and Security, 2014). In doing so, the central government works together with the Dutch General Intelligence and Security Service (AIVD), police officers, primary care providers such as the youth care, and municipalities, but also with schools, mosques and Islamic organizations. In this particular way, the government tries to improve the information traffic on radicalization cases, with the aim to identify and tackle radicalization at an early stage (Experts in Media en Maatschapij, 2015). In addition, polarization has been seen as one of the crucial factors that leads to radicalization, hence the Dutch government has also committed to improve the social cohesion and protect the mutual solidarity in the society. In this regard, an action plan for polarization and radicalization has been set up in order to win the minds and hearts back of radicalized citizens and to reintegrate them to the Dutch society. The ultimate goal is preventing the processes of further isolation,

polarization and radicalization by closing in people who are at risk of turning away from the Dutch society and democratic legal order. On this matter, a particular attention has been drawn on reducing discrimination, promoting participation of young people into the job market, prevention of early school leaving, providing parenting support, fighting crime, and the like. Although, those measures differ from one municipality to another, for which it is not always possible to clearly describe what measures have been taken (en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2007). In relation to this, the outcome of the interviews indicates that a great part of the respondents are not aware and wellinformed about what measures have been taken to combat radicalization: 'I deduce from what I read from the media that AIVD and NCTV (which is not "the government") have specific people in the picture and/or even infiltrate networks to discover plans and intervene in time. I am thinking of the group that was arrested in a holiday park. But of course, I do not know exactly what the government does'. This has to do with the fact that counter-radicalization policies are based on a wide approach in which the measures are often interwoven with migration and integration policies, and thus splintered and fragmented. However, while all respondent agree that the government response is necessary to prevent terrorism, more than the half have been in doubt with its effectiveness and impact. In this sense, comments can also be made, regarding the effectiveness of radicalization policies. For example, many respondents indicated that effectiveness measurements of radicalization policies are often insufficient, in which the side effects have been out of the public eye: 'It is good that they try to prevent things with these kinds of measures, but I have mixed feelings. I think the impact analysis of the government is very bad. I am not against introducing and implementing the measures at all, with all due respect, because I also want to live in a good and safe society. But the measures they choose for this I do wonder what the impact is.'. On top of this, the enforcement of those policies is often perceived as harsh and unethical, hence most often at odd with human rights: 'In most cases there is a great deal of tension between anti-radicalization measures and various fundamental rights in the Netherlands'. The next part provides some real-life examples in which human rights are violated under de guise of counterradicalization.

Counter-Radicalization, the Dutch Constitution and Human Rights Violations

As mentioned earlier, the issue of radicalization has been fixed to Islamic fundamentalism and blamed on a failed attempt of integration. In this particular way, the Dutch anti-radicalization, migration and integration policies have been knit together in which Muslims and citizens with migration background have been fall direct victim for those policies. In this broad approach, a great part of the population has been categorized as 'dangerous classes' and become target for harsh antiradicalization policies (Bakker, 2017). In spite of this, on paper those policies seem to be harmless and have been displayed as necessary to serve the national security, although, in reality the opposition turns out to be true. Instead, the counter-radicalization policies are most often claimed to be harsh and discriminative, and not even meet the threat of terrorism. In the first glance, more than the half of the respondents indicates that those policies are most often one sided, or better said secular oriented in the sense that they are only fixed to the radicalization processes among Muslim youth and Muslim looking citizens with migration background: 'Good that they also focus on prevention, but current policy is one-sided and limited. If we focus on jihadi terror, it is a great lack that individual policy is all secular oriented'. For this reason, the Dutch response have been often criticized for being harsh, repressive, discriminative and thus having a great tendency to turn into assimilation, in which individuals are forced to adhere to the Dutch norms: 'These measures all go hand in hand with migration and integration policy, but also with xenophobia towards refugees and often turn into assimilation policy where citizens with a migration background are, as it were, forced to adapt to Dutch norms'. The Dutch Muslims seems to be the first victims of those repressive policies ever since the threat of terrorism is perceived as something Islamic. Consequently, this has an stigmatization effect in which Dutch Muslims, even those who are well-integrated are seen as an potential danger an thus become increasingly confronted with it: 'We see terrorism very quickly as something Islamic, while that is not the case at all and the stigma that Islamic Dutch people are dangerous then becomes very strong and they are increasingly being confronted with those harsh measures'.

Despite this, the Dutch government deemed to failed in conducting an effective impact analyze to address the side-effects of those policies and have fall short to review these measures with the constitutional court to see in whether it is in violation with the Dutch constitution. For this reason, the consequences of those policies are not always clear as they have remained out of the public sight. To this effect, more than half indicates that a great part of the counter-radicalization program is most often at odd with the civil liberties and fundamental rights of, especially Dutch Muslims. In case, slightly less than half said that they have experienced human rights violations, while the rest has one or more people in the vicinity who experienced it: :'There is a great deal of tension with the various Dutch fundamental rights with regard to all the measures mentioned above, only these are not sufficiently tested at the constitutional court'. As an illustration, the following section contains experiences and stories of respondents who have been victim of human rights violations or at least know someone who has experienced it.

The Dutch Experiences and Stories on Human Rights Violations

In consideration of the stories of the respondents it become clear that most of the policies to counter-radicalization are in contrast with the fundamental rights of, especially Dutch Muslims. In relation to this, a great part of the respondent's states that the Dutch government tends to drift away from the rule of law in time of emergence. In particular, when it comes to counterradicalization the Dutch government seems to be harsh ever since it has adopted a war prone language, in which human rights have been turned off: 'The measures do feel strong with regard to the terrorist threat in the Netherlands. I think that the Dutch government is old-fashioned in counter-radicalization in the sense that it maintains a war mentality in which they deploy very strong measures and do everything they can do without thinking about the consequences'. Unfortunately, this turns out to have devastating consequences for minority groups. In this setting, based on the experiences and stories gathered from the interviews it became clear that some have fallen victim for human rights violations, while the rest knows to name at least one case in which a person has experienced such a case. Accordingly, based on the results, the most frequently violated human rights are as followed: Article 1, prohibition of discrimination on religion, race and sex or on any grounds, Article 6, freedom to express religion of belief, Article 8, The right of association and Article 10, respect for the right for privacy. To name some examples, nearly a quarter said that they have been often targeted for ethnic profiling compared to European looking friends: 'I always go to work on my scooter, I usually take a slightly longer route because I stopped by the police almost every day. They ask if I have papers, and recently I also faced a very nasty situation, in which the police asked if I had stolen this scooter'. The rest claims that they know at least one Muslim friend who has been often stopped by the policeman, or have been subject to tight controls at the airport on a regular base: 'Islamic Dutch people are confronted very firmly, in the sense that Islamic friends are stopped more often, or are checked at the airport and that kind of things'. Hence, its rightful to conclude that the act of profiling and controlling based on ethnic or religious grounds is in contrast with article 1 of the Dutch constitutions that prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, sex or on any other grounds. In the second, Article 10, the law on privacy seems to be the most violated article. For example, more than half have cited an example in which the right for privacy, especially that of Dutch Muslims is infringed. To name a few, the Dutch government has started a referendum to implement the sleepwet law, also known as the wiretap law, which gives an extensive authorization, in particular to the Dutch intelligence services such as the AIVD and MIVD to intercept online information on a large scale without having a hard evidence for any criminal offense. This means the AIVD may hack all digital devices, such as phones, or laptops to collect data, from citizens who have nothing to do with terrorists. In other words, this means that the whole neighborhood, in which the suspect lives may, as it were wiretapped: 'I notice this especially in the discussions about wiretap law that is tried to be enforced in which people are being watched, but also the loved ones of these people. So, on the one hand, you have the security utopia that is being pursued, which then clashes with the right to privacy that we as humans have. And I don't know where the boundary is, there is certainly a tension between security and privacy'. Although, this law seems to target all Muslims whom have been suspected for something they did not even commit; hence this law is concerned by many and have been perceived as an invasion of privacy without having any legal ground to do so: 'If you look at privacy law, it is not respected, chasing people, wiretapping, eavesdropping. I think people are wrongly placed within the radar of AIVD. But people like Breivik and perpetrator of other terrorist attacks, like the on the Christchurch mosques have never been within the radar. The measures are not exhaustive, they only target a specific target group. So, one is humanized, like probably has problems at home but the Muslims are dehumanized it doesn't take into account where someone comes from, so the physiological side of it'. When it comes to Article 6, the interviews revealed that Muslims, especially visible Muslims such as women with a headscarf or face covering are more often restricted in their right for freedom to express their religion of belief. This appears to be evident from the most recently enacted burga-ban law, which prohibits Muslim women wearing a face veil and may denies them from entering public places such as hospitals, public transportations, schools, and government institutions. However, more than half indicates that such a ban is not even a bad idea, because they do believe it is nice to see who you are talking to and it also gives you a sense of safety: 'It's a little uncomfortable of what's underneath you don't know. I understand that they have forbidden it, you are allowed to walk with it, but it is good that they prohibit it in public places because you want to know who is opposite you and it is also a lot safer'. To add some nuance, the ban in itself has not been seen as a problem, although, its enforcement has been for a great part described as inhumane. This is mainly because, the government has portrayed the wearing of the Islamic veil in public as a criminal offense, and for that, according to Article 53 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, it has given the ordinary citizens the authorization to hold a civil arrest, i.e. to push the woman in case to the ground in order to carry out an civilian arrest. Hence, this provides evidence for that the ban is in violation with article of the law on freedom of religion, because the state interferes with the dress of women is also in violation of self-determination: 'To be honest, I think the ban is a bit exaggerated and unnecessary, especially because there are only 300 people walking around in a burga in the Netherlands and there has never actually been an incident in the Netherlands in which a woman with a burga blows herself up. So, I wonder what this is good for, and what the underlying thought here is'. Last but not least, there are many cases that shows article 8, the right of association is violated on a regular base. This becomes clear after many proposals and application on funds for Islamic schools and institutions have been hindered or even denied. The underlying reason given for this is often related to the problem of radicalization. In other words, there is an inexplicable fear and distrust towards Dutch Muslim communities within society. In this way of thinking, they are often unlawfully suspected for coming together to organize themselves against the Dutch state. As a result, their right to association is often violated and existing associations such as Islamic schools are closely monitored or even attempted to be permanently closed without any rightful justification.

The anti-Islam sentiment

However, those illiberal state practices have been often justified under the name of security in which the Islam is most often depicted as an enemy, and thus a threat to the society. The securtinization of the Islam have created a disproporite image of the Islam, in which the Islam is frequently framed as barbaric, backwarded, and a religion of violence and murder. Hence, the Islam is claimed to be incompatible with the Dutch values and thus have been displayed as an enemy and thus a threat to the Dutch society (Motilla, 2018). Consequently, this have led to false security narratives, in which moderate Muslims citizens are irationally feared, stigmatisized, constructed as suspect communities, and thus became unlawfully target for harsh antiradicalization policies that are most often at odd with their civil liberties and fundemental rights (De Graaf, 2014). Although, the securitization of the Islam turns out to have societal implications as well. In other words, the governments perception and approach to radicalization, in whether (un)intentional or not, usually relies on a misplaced mistrust of Islam/Muslims. This have led to an distort image, in which Dutch Muslims are in general seen as a potential danger. This in turn have send out a signal to the average Dutch population that terrorism always occurs among Islamic people, and that its normal to see Muslims as a danger and thus to act harshly: 'Those measures give the average Dutch citizens the signal that terrorism always only occurs among Islamic people, while it is not correct. So, emotionally it feels focused. I understand that it is a reaction to the numbers of radicalized people, and we do not have school shootings or another radical group, but maybe we do, but I do not know maybe it was not put in the media. So, the signal they give to the average Dutch person and the effect of it in society feels bad '. This in turn has led to an aversion against the Islam and has provided a breeding ground for the rise of the anti-Islam rhetoric. On top of this, it appears that injustices against Muslims have been spread further into multiple aspects of social life, and thus have become socially accepted: 'The double standard has an effect on everything, almost everywhere you see that Muslims have been often subject to discrimination, such as in the job market, schools, housing association and much more'. For instance, Muslims and Muslim-looking citizens are more often subject to discrimination and exclusion on grounds of their religion, or ethnic background. For example, many studies have shown that the unemployment rates among Muslims and immigrant groups are higher than native Dutch citizens. This is due to the fact that those groups are most often discriminated on the job market, and thus faces more complications in finding a job, especially in top positions. When speaking about discrimination in school, it is often proven that children with a migration background are much more likely to receive under-advice than their native fellow students. When it comes to housing market, persons with a foreign name, especially that of Arabic origin have to wait much longer to get a rented house, or it is made harder for them to buy one. This became evident, after a social experiment was conduct in which it became clear that people with a different name who wanted to buy a house were not given an appointment or were not even called back at all: 'An investigation has been carried out, in which they systematically called estate agents and give them a foreign name and say that they want to buy a house and call them with a Dutch name and ask for a house it turned out that the person with a foreign surname in many of the cases was not given any appointment or not even called back'.

In short, its rightful to conclude that the Dutch anti-radicalization policies are one sided ever since it is reduced to Islamic terrorism only. This in turn have led to false security narratives, in which a great part of the Muslims is portrayed as a potential danger. This have resulted in harsh and discriminative measures and led to an irrational fear and aversion against, and with that laid down the base for the anti-Islam discourse in the Netherlands. By the day, the anti-Islam sentiment in the Netherlands continues to grow and poses a threat to Dutch Muslims in particular, but also to citizens with a migrant background. Although, according to the stories of the respondents the Dutch media is seen as a culprit in reproducing and reinforcing this sentiment. Hence, the next chapter clearly points out in whether the Dutch media contributes on the reproducing and reinforcing of this sentiment.

The Dutch Media: Terrorism, Counter-Terrorism and Anti-Islam Propaganda

In consideration of the interviews, the Dutch mainstream media seems to play a crucial role in the reproduction and maintenance of this false anti-Islam security narratives. This have become more evident after the reporting about terrorism and the Islam is examined more closely. According to the interviewees, the media coverage about terrorism in the Netherlands seems to be quite biased and prejudiced. So, is terrorism often portrayed as an Islamic problem that poses a great danger to the existence of the Dutch society. Especially, after the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004, the link between terrorism and Islam has even grown stronger and a kind of consensus have been reached on what constitutes terrorism. In relation to this, a recent study on Muslims in Dutch newspapers has revealed that 80 % of the Dutch media coverage on terrorism is about Islamic terror, while similar incidents carried out by non-Muslims are not placed under the same label (Balcik, 2019). For example, the word terrorism has never been applied on the attacks on two mosques in Christchurch, or the air bombings regularly carried out by Israeli armies on Palestine territories. This has to do with the fact that the media community consists mainly of white content makers and editors that finds itself in a fairly progressive secular and nationalist setting. This means that the definition power of terrorism is in white hands: 'I think that terrorism is mainly approached from a white perspective and is also very racist. So, it is certainly not a reflection of Dutch society. This is mainly due to the fact that the media is not complete and often gives a Western impression, because only white editors work there '. In the same setting, the traditional media is often characterized as one sided and a way much Eurocentric since it maintains a Western perspective in reporting. However, this way of reporting has been concerned by all interviewees ever since it leads to a distorted view of the reality. For this reason, a great part said that they have little faith in Dutch reporting, and thus often choose to read news reports coming from other sources. In this particular way, they concluded that they get the opportunity to compare different perspectives to get a completer picture of the reality: 'If big things happen, I will just google things about okay what other media say about it. Then I often end up with British media, Aljazeera but also Surinamese news. I'm not sure it's more objective, but comparing different perspectives feels more solid '. In spite of this, when it comes to the reliability of the Dutch media it scores relatively high, for example, more than half indicates that the factual information in the Dutch media is often credible. But the problem is more that the news is often misplaced in a certain frame and therefore often distorted and incomplete. According to the interviewees the word selection and the tone of

voice really matters in news reporting since it gives a different turn to the representation of an actual event: 'The news is always subjective, sometimes it can be the truth, but sometimes half the truth. I trust the hard figures, but the way the tone and the choice of words can give it a different turn to the story '. When speaking about Islam and Muslims the frames used by the Dutch Media seems to be quite negative. According to a great part of the respondents, the media coverage about the Islam and Muslims is found problematic ever since the Islam has been displayed as a religion that stands for backwardness, women oppression and violence, hence this in turn have led to false narratives in which Muslims in the Netherlands have been most often perceived as uncivilized and barbaric, and thus seen as incompatible with the Dutch values: 'Reports of terrorism are always negative and related to Islam. All the reporting about Muslims is then quite often negative and it is mainly about women's oppression, and it gives the image that as a Muslim you are very retarded '. Consequently, this has led to misconceptions about the Islam for which Dutch Muslims often have to pay the hard price. On top of this, not only Muslim groups, but also people with a migration background appear to be disadvantaged. For example, they are often seen as problem groups that are not properly integrated into Dutch society. However, stereotypes like gives a total misplaced representation of those who are well integrated. Hence, as a large part of the interviewees argued the traditional media is still very much back in time when it comes to reporting about especially, Dutch Muslim and citizens with a migration background. These groups are often put in a negative daylight, in which the positive developments that shows that these groups are much better integrated, growing and thus doing better dan 20 years ago are often underexposed: 'The media does not show that certain groups are growing and doing better than 20 years ago and that a child from a quest worker family is studying, working and better suited to society. If you look at it that way, the media is still very much back in time, when you talk about the image of people with an Islamic and migration background. Certain perceptions are still there, while a very large group has changed'.

Unfortunately, this quite negative and biased media frame has a stigmatization effect, in which innocent citizens, especially the moderate Muslims who have never used any violence in their entire life are discarded as a danger for the society: 'But even the moderate Muslims who have never used violence in their lives are often stigmatized by being called terrorists'. However, the securitization of the Islam seems to have devastating consequences ever since it activates the feeling of fear and aversion against the Islam and its followers, and thus contributes to the further reinforcement of the anti-Islam sentiment in the Netherlands. However, the anti-Islam rhetoric has also a negative impact on policymakers that decide upon anti-radicalization related policies. So, are most Dutch policymakers dictated by false security narratives, in which moderate Muslims have been cast out as suspect communities. Subsequently, this have laid ground for the anti-Islam sentiment in the Netherlands and paved way for the normalization of harsh policies and injustices against Muslims: 'The anti-Islam sentiment in the Netherlands is often presented from a perspective that these anti-feelings are not strange, so very dangerous. A Muslim woman in the street is being scolded or something like that, which is very unpleasant, but I devote that very much to the media and the image the media has created of it. even at a larger level, at the political and administrative level, things can also go wrong, for example certain laws can be passed that can have dire consequences for Muslim groups '. Furthermore, more than half of the interviewees claimed that the Dutch media and politics are in kind of a hold on each other. To be more precise, the media stirs up politics with the anti-Islam sentiment, which is then taken over by politicians. As a result, negative anti-Islam statements by political parties are in turn brought back to the attention by the media once again: 'I think that the Politics and the media are in a kind of hold on each other. So that media that makes politicians warm with the anti-Islam sentiment and then the politicians are put under pressure and then you have politicians such as wilders, that makes harsh and Islamophobic statements that is then broadcasted, reproduced by various media '. Besides this, a bit lesser then half of the respondents argued that the media has even become a playground for those who are ought to propagate their extreme thoughts about the Islam, Muslims and immigrant groups. This in turn have been a trigger for the rise of other radical groups. In particular, in the recent years the far-right extremist groups has enormously grown stronger in the Netherlands as they have been exploiting the anti-Islam sentiment, or fear for the Islam to gain popular support and legitimization for anti-Islam led policy proposals: 'The media also plays a role in the sense that there are more and more people who have the anti-Islam stigma and stereotype deeper in their heads and are also going to propagate it to the supporters of the radicals, so the extreme right is very often getting bigger and that makes their power increasingly and dangerous'. However, since the Dutch anti-radicalization policies are reduced to Islamic extremism only, other extreme groups, especially far-right radical groups have been overlooked as they have become the blind spot of counter-radicalization policies. The next part deals with in whether the anti-Islam sentiment is present in the Netherlands and how those sentiments have become a breeding ground for the rise of far-right extremist groups.

The Anti-Islam Narratives and the Rise of Far-Right Extremism

In the recent years the political landscape in the Netherlands has dramatically changed in the sense that there is a clear shift to the far- right wing within the political spectrum. In this setting, the far-right populist parties have grown gigantic strong as they seem to be the crucial actors in upholding the anti-Islam sentiment in the Netherlands (Kešić, Duyvendak, 2019). In consideration of the last figures, it's appears that the majority of the political parties on the top adhere to the extreme right-wing ideology. To start with, the VVD (Peoples Party for Freedom and Democracy) that takes place on the right side of the political spectrum is with 33 seats the ruling party in the Netherlands. Next, according to the results of the last parliamentary election in 2017 the PVV (Party of Freedom), which is known by its extreme anti-Islam statements has become the second largest party in the House of Representatives by winning 20 (out of the 150) in the parliament (Kiesraad, 2017). In addition to this, the most recent opinion polls clearly show that the support for this party continues to grow and is expected to increase further in the near future. On top of that, in the last provincial elections on 20 March 2019 the Forum for democracy (FvD), also known for its radical statements about the Islam, has become the largest member party in the Netherlands in a very short time (eenVandaag, 2020). Further, the CDA (Christian Democratic Appeal), which is positioned at the center-right has gained 19 seats to become the third-largest part (Akkerman, 2018). When counting all of this together, this is more than half of the electorate, which means that the anti-Islam sentiment is not only visible within political circles, instead it seems to be also strongly present among the constituencies too, thus a large part of the population.

As a matter of fact, the anti-Islam sentiment seems to be a breeding ground for the far-right extremist parties ever since it is often getting exploited to gain victory in the elections. In doing so, the Muslims and people with migrant background are being made scapegoats as they have been most often blamed for the negative outcomes of neo-liberal policies, such as economic problems, inequalities in the society and the like. This has created a kind of aversion towards a multicultural society in which cultural diversity is often seen as a major problem rather than an enrichment of the society. In this point of view, people with a different background are often seen as profiteers of the Dutch welfare state that causes many troubles within the Dutch society: 'As one columnist wrote, it is a monocultural drama in which the native cannot accept different cultures. This has various reasons, a feeling of superiority, but also economic reasons, for example, economic reasons are not going so well in the Netherlands anymore and that is portrayed as if it were the foreigners. So, the outcomes of the neo-liberal policy, especially the negative outcomes, are blamed on people with a migrant background. The Netherlands is becoming more unequal, and migrants and Muslims are being made scapegoats '. In relation to this, all respondents have indicated that the anti-Islam sentiment is very much present in the Netherlands. In a similar move a couple of interviewees have even referred to the centuries-old concept of orientalism and have claimed that it is still very much alive in de Dutch society ever since there is a strong sense of of superiority and contempt towards the Islam and Muslims: 'Orientalism is still alive in the west, but also in the Netherlands you still see a Western Eurocentric view in which non-Western people such as migrants with an Islamic background are very often described in a way as violent, and that all Muslim men try to rape white women look that are the cliché images, but that is very old, but it still lives on in how people are described, it is mainly mistrust of Islam and that is a fixed thing and the west is another thing and that never comes together and the Islam is seen as a threat and that is the rationale behind why Muslims are always associated with terrorism'. In particular, in political circles the feelings of aversion against Islam seems to play an dominate role, which has also become a platform for anti-Islam led hate speeches. For example, the PVV, who is the second biggest political party in the Dutch parliament is completely based on anti-Islam statements, hate speeches, and has an Islamophobic and xenophobic political agenda. For example, Geert Wilders, political leader of PVV is known for his bold and extreme statements about Islam and Muslims. He often cites, that the Islam is a dangerous ideology, hence never compatible with the Dutch liberal democratic state. In his speech in 2017, he claims that the Islamic faith is even more dangerous than Nazism in which he compares the mosques to Nazi temples and calls for the closure of all mosques (Algemeen Dagblad, 2017).

Furthermore, it is evident to say that the anti-Islam sentiment also seems to strongly alive on societal level ever since the affirmed political parties are built upon the commitment to discredit Islam and Muslims and have nevertheless succeed to receive the majority of the votes. However, this is quite alarming, because this indicates that anti-Islam led hate speeches and hostility towards Muslims is at some point become socially accepted and thus has started to become institutionalized in about every aspect of social life. In relation to this, a few respondents said that they could name at least one case in which they had been fall victim for anti-Islam-led hatred and hostility. For example, one respondent indicates that she has been insulted enough, after she was converted to the Islam at first, she was bothered by her family. In particular, after she start wearing the headscarf, she claimed to have lots of troubles with her father, who she said is an anti-Islamic in heart and soul. Another incident that has stayed with her was on the train when she was insulted by a man who called her a stupid Muslim and that she should therefore shut up: 'Another incident that has stayed with me was on the train, then there was a gentleman and I stood up for an elderly lady, but that man sat down in her place and then I said I get up for this lady but you sat down, but he called me a stupid Muslim and told me to shut up'. Another heartbreaking example is a mother of three who lives in a fairly white neighborhood, she indicated that she has often been a victim of false reports to the police by her white neighbors. For example, her neighbor has often called the police for no apparent reason to report her. She would have said that her son is being abused by her mother. As a result, they often visited her on the floor and tried to force her son out of the house and then place him with a Dutch foster family with the reason to give her son a Western so according to them a better education: 'My neighbor has often made false reports by saying that I was abusing my son. One day they came to me to force my son out of the house. I have had sleepless nights and now I still wake up at night and often have crying fits '. Last but not least, among the respondents were also a number of public figures who have been converted to Islam. A few of them have indicated that they are daily confronted with allegations via different online platforms. One has even said that he is often called a "traitor" and even worse frequently threatened with the death: 'I think there is no doubt that there are anti-Islamic sentiments in Dutch society. I am treated unfairly on social media almost daily on the basis of my religion. An arbitrary example here to illustrate is that the most commonly heard swear word for a convert is traitor '. The latter implies that the Islam and "the country" are in a conflict, in which someone chooses for Islam chooses against the country. Although this war mentality against the Islam and the growing hostility against Muslims has had negative consequences for the social cohesion ever since it leads to a division within the society. On the long run this have led to further radicalization from both sides, and with that have poses a greater danger to the national security. The following part deals with the growing tension between moslims and non-Muslims in consideration of its implications on both political and societal level.

The Political and Societal Implications

In consideration of the former, it is evident to say that the Dutch society has become strongly polarized over the years. In particular, the rise of far-right populist parties has ensured that the polarization within Dutch society has even taken deeply root. Especially after the murder of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh, the Netherlands has turn out to become very nationalistic in terms of white nationalism from the indigenous community. In this particular way, citizens with a migration and Islamic background, or better said the whole concept of multiculturalism has been displayed as a major problem that threatens to undermine the Dutch democratic state and bring an end to the survival of the Dutch folks. Consequently, this have led to false security narratives that have infused an irrational fear about the Islam that has paved way for the introduction of harsh measures that most often curtails with the fundamental rights of, in particular the Dutch Muslims. Although, this turns out to have devastating consequences on political as well as societal level.

The Political Implications

To start with the implication on political level, in the recent years the political climate in the Netherlands has become rougher in the sense that extreme far-right populist parties has succeed in obtaining a powerful position within the parliament. This development seems to be quite

dangerous ever since those parties are most often propagating the anti-Islam sentiment to infuse fear, with the aim to gain popular support for harsh and repressive policies that are most often in conflict with the Dutch constitutional law. In spite of this, these groups continue to grow as it has been successful in gaining legitimization for illiberal state practices. This in turn has serious implication on political level. For example, in this way the Netherlands tends to drift away from the rule of law, hence it threatens to undermine the fundamental principles of the Netherlands as a democratic state. In relation to this, a great part of the respondents has expressed their concerns by saying that if the extreme right populist parties continue to grow, it could end dangerously if one of those parties win victory to become first after the elections. For example, some of the interviewees have even referred to the Second World War, in which they said that they see a similar pattern of Hitlers scenario returning back. To add some nuance to it, unlike the Jews, the Muslims are not deported to gas chambers to be subsequently murdered, as was done with the Jews in World War II. But similar patterns are demonstrable in the sense that the same sort of propaganda that preceded the murder of millions of Jews is also very visibly applied to Muslim communities living in the Netherlands. In this setting, like the Jews in the past, the Muslims are often displayed as a danger that are ought to undermine the fundamental liberal principles of the Dutch society, as it has seen as incompatible with the Dutch values. Instead, as many prominent figures, such as Geert Wilders have stated that the Islam does not even belong to the Netherlands. For the reason they believe in, a war prone language against the Islam and its people has been adopted and many radical proposals have been made to fight against Islam. Over the years, the anti-Islam sentiment have grown stronger and taken deeply root, within political circles. Subsequently, this have paved way for the normalization of repressive policies in which Muslim communities are often systematically downgraded on the basis of their appearance and religious beliefs. Especially, the visible Muslim, or better said the woman with the headscarf or the man with the beard seems to be the mostly hit by those discriminative policies. For example, like the Jewish community who were banned to enter public places in the past, the woman wearing a face veil are by law denied entering hospitals, government buildings and public transportations. In a similar way, the man with a beard, or an Islamic outlook are watched or stopped by the policeman more often. Although, the enforcement of this sort of restrictive legislation clearly shows that the oppression of people with an Islamic background has been brought into mainstream and has even become institutionalized over time. In relation to this, some respondent has indicated, that this in turn has challenged the resilience of the democratic system ever since policymakers, who tend to drift away from rule of law can easily get away with it without being held accountable for the consequences In a similar way, more than half of the respondent have even claimed that in the recent years the idea of the Netherlands as a peaceful and tolerant country has been faded away in the sense that the political decisions that are made with regard to Muslims and immigrants are most often in noncompliance with the Dutch legislation. On top of this, a great part of the respondents has expressed their concerns and have criticized the attitude of the Dutch state against Muslims. In doing so, they have said that in the first glance the repressive policies taken by the government might be seen as necessary and harmless, but in consideration of the long-term consequences, they indicated that they are quite worried about it. For example, if the government continues to offer a platform for extreme right-wing parties that propagate anti-Islam ideas, these groups will grow stronger in the future. In case, they might even win victory and become the ruling party and may pass certain laws that might deprive more civic rights of people with an Islamic background. If it comes to that point, in the worst-case it can also translate into a comparable Hitler scenario in which, like in the Second World War it may have devastating consequences, or even worse it might even cost human life.

The Societal Implications

When it comes to the implications on societal level the increase of popular support for extreme far-right parties evidentiary shows that the aversion against Muslims is strongly present too within the society. According to the interviewees, this comes due to the fact that the security narratives are dictated by an anti-Islamic political discourse that gives a signal to the wider population that a crackdown against Muslims is necessary, hence legit to be carried out. In this particular way, the people are either intentionally or unintentionally frightened and incited to take action against Islam and its people. This in turn provides a breeding ground for extreme right-wing radical groups. In spite of this, as a great part of the respondents indicates, the radicalization among right-wing extremists is often being overlooked or even kept out of the public eye. This is mainly due to

the fact that terrorism is often portrayed as an Islamic problem, hence this biased view on terrorism has downplayed the existence of far-right extremisms and made people blind to radicalization within own group. Subsequently, those groups sneaked into the society through the backdoor to exert a great influence on a large part of the population. In doing so, they have infused fear among the wider population by proclaiming that the Islam and Muslims are posing a danger to the society. As a great part of the respondents have claimed, this have activated the feeling of fear and anger among a great part of the population and incited people to assume extreme ideas about the Islam/Muslims, or in most extreme cases even inflamed people to engage in violent activities against Muslims.

The Impact on the Long Run: Sociel Cohesion and National Security

The aversion against the Islam on political as well as societal level has created a division within the society. This means that both sides, the Dutch Muslims and Non-Muslims have become strange to each other, as they have activitaded the feelings of fear and anger to each other. However, the division within the society has raged extremism on both sides as it has aggregated the threat of terrorism even further. For instance, on the one hand you have the non-Muslim groups who have the feeling of fear, hatred and anger towards Muslims. This have incited people to rely on self-defense and have created the sense of justification for attacking Muslim people. In this setting, there are many cases where religious places such as mosques and Islamic centers have been set on fire, or even worse covered with excrements. The practicing Muslims, or better said the visible Muslims wearing a headscarf or having a long beard are often insulted or threatened with the death, furthermore, Muslim groups have been stigmatized to such an extent that they are excluded from all areas of social life. For example, the respondents indicate that they are often discriminated in the labor market and therefore cannot easily find a job. This also applies to the housing market, people with an Islamic name are more difficult to find a rental home or buy a house. In worst cases, children with an Islamic background are often removed from home without valid reasons and placed in indigenous families. After to have said this, its valid to conclude that that the extreme right ideology has established itself in all aspects of life and has taken over to exert a strong influence on individuals to adopt the same line of thoughts to act accordingly. However, this have not only invited radicalization within own group, but it also has triggered the feeling of injustice and discontent within the Dutch Muslim community. In relation to this, almost half of the respondents have claimed that there are days that they experience the feeling of exclusion, and that they feel that they are not fully involved in the society. A few respondents have even said they are in most cases not treated equally as they have started losing faith in the Dutch government and its democratic system. Although, almost all interviewees stated that, the sense of inequality and discontent may activate the feeling of isolation and makes people more likely to take in radical ideas. On the long term, this may lead to radicalization and even proceed to inspire the feeling of impotence, and anger, which in turn may invite people to rely on self-help. Consequently, this makes people more vulnerable for terrorist recruit, and thus makes them more willing to involve in terrorist engagement, with the aim to take revenge or change the status quo: 'So the moment someone is oppressed or injustice is done, they are very prone to take in radical ideas and engage in violence. If this happens in a systematic way and no compensation or compensation is ever given, the confidence in the democratic system and the Netherlands as a rule of law diminishes, which is making people more likely to resort to violence '.To round up, as things stand now, the respondents have claimed that the government's approach to anti-radicalization have crushed the togetherness of society, in which both groups have drifted apart from each other. As some respondents have stated, both groups have fallen into a war mentality as they have become more prone to act violently against each other. However, this have formed the base for further radicalization on both sides with that it has led to a vicious circle of terrorism that feeds itself. Consequently, this in turn have brought the human security as well as the national security in further danger.

3. ConclusionThis research was based on a case study, with a particular focus on the Dutch context. The aim of the study was to examine to what extent the Dutch anti-terrorism policies have been dictated by an anti-Islam discourse on terrorism to figure out into what extent those policies have led to human right violations and with that endangered the national security even further. The results have shown that the anti-Islam discourse on terrorism is strongly present in the Dutch society ever since terrorism is often equated with the Islam. In doing so, the Islam is portrayed as a backward religion and a source of violence, and thus claimed to be incompatible with the Dutch society. However, the securitization of the Islam has led to false security narratives in which the Islam has been represented as an enemy to the Dutch society. In the same setting, the results have shown that the Dutch mainstream Media is seen as a culprit in reproducing and reinforcing the anti-Islam discourse on terrorism. So, is the media coverage about the Islam and Muslims quite negative, as it is frequently related to terrorism. In particular, in the wake of the 9/11 attacks and the murder of Theo van Gogh in 2004 the link between terrorism and Islam have been grown stronger.

However, the anti-Islam led security narratives has had a great impact on the counterterorrism related political decisions. A turning point in Dutch framework on terrorism was in particular after the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in 2011 when Dutch Muslims fled over to Syria to engage in terrorist activities. In this setting, the homegrown and terrorism has been started to be seen as an Islamic problem. This has resulted in a rigorous change in thinking and acting against terrorism. In doing so, the Dutch government have made a shift to counter-radicalization and adopted a secular orientation in which radicalization has been seen as something that only occurs within Muslim communities. This in turn have opened door for the introduction of harsh and repressive measures, that are at odd with human rights. Although, the Dutch Muslims seems to be hit the most as they have been fallen victim for human rights violations. However, the negative state behavior against Muslims have led to the normalization of inappropriate behavior against Muslims, in which anti-Islam led hatred, hostility and violence have become socially accepted on societal level as well. In doing so, the anti-Islam sentiment in de society have grown stronger, which in turn have provide ground for the rise of far-right extremist groups. Those groups have been successful in gaining popular support through the exploitation of the feelings of aversion and fear for the Islam. In spite of this, they have been overlooked and thus remained out of the public eye. This has to do with the fact that the problem of radicalization has been reduced to Islam fundamentalism, hence other forms, or better said extreme right-wing radicalization have become the blind spot of counter-radicalization, as they have sneaked in from the back door.

However, the results have shown that this have devastating consequence on political as well as societal level. In consideration of the political implications, the empowerment of the far-right extremism has provided podium for those who want to propagate extreme views about the Islam as it has paved way for extreme anti-Islamic proposals and with that given authorization for the enforcement of controversial law. In doing so, the democratic institutions have been challenged and the Netherlands have been drifted away from the principle of a liberal and tolerant state. When speaking about the implications on societal level, is evident to say that the anti-Islam sentiment is strongly present on societal level too, ever since the far-right populist parties have succeed in receiving the majority votes, nevertheless their political programs have been based on radical anti-Islamic ideas. However, this is quite alarming, because this indicates that anti-Islam led hate speeches and hostility towards Muslims have been somehow brought into mainstream. So, are many cases in which religious places such as mosques have been set on fire, or even worse covered with excrements. The visible Muslims, in particular the woman wearing a headscarf, or a man with a long beard are often insulted or threatened with the dead. On top of this, Muslim groups have been discriminated on the labor market and therefore face more difficulties to find a job. This also applies for the housing market since people with an Islamic name find it more difficult to rent or buy a house. After to have said this, its valid to conclude that that the extreme right ideology has established itself in all aspects of life and has taken over to exert a strong influence on individuals to adopt the same line of thoughts to act accordingly. However, this have not only invited radicalization within own group, but it also has triggered the feeling of injustice and discontent within the Dutch Muslim community. This have led to a dichotomy between Muslims and non-Muslims in which both sides have fallen into a war mentality. This in turn has crushed the togetherness of the society and formed the base for radicalization on both sides. This in turn have end up in a vicious circle that feeds terrorism in itself and with that put the national security in further danger. To round up, in consideration of all there is enough evidence to conclude that there is a significant positive correlation between the anti-Islam discourse on terrorism, and counter-terrorism policies, human rights violations and national security.

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