

## СОЦІОЛОГІЧНІ РОЗВІДКИ

УДК 316.6.7

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**AGENT-CULTURAL MODEL OF RADICALIZATION OF IMMIGRANTS MILIEUS IN THE WEST**

*The project deals with exploration of the heuristic utility of the Agent-Cultural sociological model of radicalization of migrant social milieus in the West (ACSMR). The interpretation of radicalization is based on the research finding by M. Sageman concerning the four phases in critical changing in individual beliefs, feelings and behaviors. The radicalization is conceptualized as a non-linear networked social process of self-organization in large-scale social milieus on the bases of critical transition in beliefs and attitudes, which lead to a formation of radical social networks. The ACSMR was developed by the authors to monitor and predict the development over time of social milieus of the religious-concerned immigrants towards support of political violence. It is a statistical model based on the analysis of correlation-covariation of variables. For a reduction of the complexity of the dynamic structural properties of radicalised groups (including terroristic ones), the authors define compactly factors (which support the radicalization) and the critical conditions for transition of the social milieu to the radical state.*

**Key words:** radicalization, immigrant milieus, complexity, self-organization, Agent-Cultural Model of radicalization

The modeling of the terrorists activities emerging in the West, which is based on network analysis and psychological approach, has recently become popular as a starting point for greater theoretical and methodological recognition of the dynamic structural properties of terrorist groups [Horgan 2004; Borum 2004; Dalgaard-Nielsen 2008, 2010; Sageman 2004, 2007; Hoffman 2010; Mullins and Dolnik 2010 etc.]. However, applications of this approach to empirical studies and monitoring are complicated essentially due to latent state of the radical networks and groups, which become apparent only through the terrorist actions (or other political violence), and their close functioning. The fact that accessibility of the group's (network's) representatives in empirical studies is very limited sets a limitation over research and practical use of this theoretical and methodological approach. By contrast with this approach, we are going to attack the problem from other angle. We propose to explore the utility of the Agent-Cultural sociological model of radicalization (ACSMR) of social milieus of Muslim migrants in the West through statistical (multi-level and log-linear regression, path analysis) and mathematical (using differential equations) modeling and empirical validation of the model. The ACSMR model is developed by O. Kutsenko, V. Sherstoboev in collaboration with L. Berlyand in several research projects during 2004-2011 to monitor and predict the development over time of social milieus of highly religious immigrants towards support of terrorism and other political violence [Berlyand, Kutsenko 2005; Kutsenko 2010; Sherstoboyev 2012]. The model is applicable not only to monitoring of general situation with intolerance in a country but also to defining of social milieus, which potentially can support the politically justified violence.

The model is grounded on conceptual interpretation of radicalization developed within the research finding by M. Sageman [Sageman 2004]. This interpretation distinguishes the four phases (stages) in critical changing in individual beliefs, feelings and behaviors: from the moral outrage as an initial trigger spreading in a social milieu (the phenomenon of the 'morality play') up to fusing between the global and the local, and finally an individual joining a terrorist cell, which becomes a 'surrogate family' [Sageman 2004, 2008; see also: Horgan 2009, 2008; McCauley 2008; Silber and Bhatt 2008; Sliotman and Tillie 2008; Kühle, Lene and Lindekilde 2010; Kydd 2011]. As the basic indicators (dependent variables) of radicalization of social milieus our model uses the propagation in the milieu of beliefs and attitudes at

supporting and approving violent ways of upsetting the existing political and social order in a society (at local, national, regional or global levels) based on the cultural justification (political, ideological, religious, moral) of the violent ways. We conceptualize the radicalization as a non-linear networked social process of self-organization in large-scale social milieus on the bases of critical transition in beliefs and attitudes, which lead to a formation of radically-oriented social networks or even radical group organizations. Two factors, namely: a social milieu ('nutrient medium' in physical sense) and information/cultural transmissions (from a moral authority, via mass-media and Internet) forming a learned behaviour, – play the key role as a possible catalyst of the radicalization process.

It is well-known that the rich spectrum of networked internal processes and their interactions result in multiple complexities. For a reduction of this complexity we propose to study the compactly supported factors and the critical conditions for transition of the social milieu to the radical state. On the background of the theoretical achievements both the so-called 'cultural turn' in sociological methodology [Alexander 1999; Harrison & Hantington 2001, etc.] and the agency and structural theoretical synthesis in explanatory sociological models (P. Bourdieu; M. Archer; G. Therburn, etc.) we develop a sociological explanatory model of radicalization of social milieu of Islamic migrants, which can be verified on cross-cultural empirical data. One of the basic concepts in this explanatory model is 'cultural kinetics' [Moody and White 2003; White 2011]. The concept describes a transmission of cultural patterns and relationships as learned behaviour (e.g. of migrants) via interpersonal interactions within a large-scale community (or social network) that happen even under the strong pressure from the side of the control social institutes (e.g. of 'accepting society'). By using this concept so it is able to study networked social processes, emergent phenomena in large networked communities, and formation and transmission of cultural patterns and social structure as learned behavior. The cultural patterns emerge out of the lives of ordinary persons, which interact and are networked within a certain social milieu, and produce these patterns in the course of their everyday life. The cultural patterns are continually updated with respect to the field of interdependencies between the environment, interpersonal relationships, bundles of behaviours/affects/cognitions, and access to resources and information through groups. These interdependencies form structures ('shared' culture,

parts of which may be distributed differentially), which may change relatively slowly, but may also change abruptly as they reach critical transition thresholds. The study of complex systems demonstrates that it is a mistake to regard structures as fixed, immobile or recurrent in exactly repetitive form. Rather, these structures tend to be 'vibrant' within 'oscillatory' fields of motion. Studies of large-network phenomenon show important properties of self organization, including those of redundancy and resilience, in networks of low density that are central to understanding the emergence and functioning of processes of social and political influence and social organization.

The primary dimensions of 'cultural kinetics' are the horizontal plane of multiple agent/environmental interactions and the vertical plane of single agent/interior process interactions. The lag-time for results of internal processes to re-emerge into an overt behaviour far exceeds the time scale at which agents affect one another or agent/environment reactions take effect. The 'cultural kinetics' can be resulted in producing of threshold phenomena in the networked histories of people's lives, that produce phase transitions or structural transformations of milieu, which may happen very rapidly.

The social milieu, characterized by the high level of support and approving of political violence, having well-developed interpersonal trust network, can potentially become the source for recruiting of violent acts performers.

Our previous study (2004-2011) reveals that the push factors (such as: economic and civic frustration, social and cultural distance and status deprivation, pinched personal dignity, conflict of personal identities, social isolationism) can form the sensitiveness of milieu to radicalization and can lead to the lost of durability and tolerance by social milieu. Thus, the pull factors perturb the milieu and catalyze the emergence of coherent large scale structures of radical attitudes and beliefs. The following principal pull factors were identified in our study [Sherstoboyev 2012]:

- the ideological values (cultural, political, religious, moral);
- justification of the political violence;
- extensive social ties within a milieu;
- intolerant and aggressive attitudes towards outer social groups,
- authoritarian leadership ("agents of radicalization"),
- cultural / information influence.

However, the theoretical model tested on Ukrainian empirical data should be verified more thoroughly at least taking into account its the cultural sensitiveness. The empirical study of social milieus has to be oriented to the certain limited parameters of social milieus of migrants considered as a prototype of a milieu with high probability of radicalization.

According to the M. Sageman, Khosrokhavar, Hoffman and other researchers [Sageman 2004, 2007; Khosrokhavar 2006; Dalgaard-Nielsen 2008, 2010; Hoffman 2010, etc.], there have been essential changes in radicalized groups in the West in 'post-Iraq' period after the transition phase of 9/11/01 – 3/03, i.e., the increase of number of poorly educated persons and homegrown dominance, as well as the decrease of the average age in such groups (from 25.6 to 20 in the current period). Taking into account these recent research findings about radicalization in the West and the peculiar features of its subjects in so-called post-Iraq generation, a further field study has to be focused on young migrants from Islamic states, in age of 16-30 attending Islamic religious or cultural centers in their city of residence. Personal devotion to Islam should be a crucial feature of the milieu; however, it can be combined with such religious as secular practices in everyday life.

Paying attention to the conceptual focus, the collecting of empirical data has to be conducted in cities of the Northern American and European continents with Muslim migrants' communities. To minimize the influence of the cultural and institutional national specifics in the model the study needs comparison of national cases distinguishing in three-dimensions, namely: the national economic well-being, the immigration flows and the terrorism index. Each of the selected national cases has to have a moderate rate on the Global Terrorism Index (GTI), and strong representation of Islamic migrants in the immigrant flows, but they have to be differing on indicators of national wellbeing, political (un-)stability, the migration net flows as well as their historical preconditions.

The preliminary list of selected national cases matching the dimensions mentioned above is the following: the U.S., Austria (or German), Ireland, Portugal (or Spain), and Ukraine. Their profiles are:

The U.S. – the GTI is 41 from 158 (in 2011); immigration from Asia to the U.S. has increased considerably since the 1965 US Immigration and Nationality Act. In 1960, the Asian born immigrants accounted for just five percent of the foreign-born population in the US, while in 2000 they made up over a quarter of those born outside the United States. Today, the Asian born are the country's second largest foreign-born population by world region of birth; e.g. half of the Pakistani-origin foreign born lived in the New York, Houston, Chicago, Washington, DC, and Los Angeles greater metropolitan areas (according to 2006 data – [Migration Information 2013].

Austria – located in the central Europe; high political stability and national wellbeing; the GTI is 69 from 158 (2011 data); the net migration in the country in absolute numbers is one of the largest in the EU (+61,000 in 2005) after Spain, Italy, France, Germany and Portugal; has one of the largest in the EU foreign-born population (15.1%); the number of immigrants to the country increased considerably during the 1990s and early 2000s [The Global Terrorism Index 2012; Muenz 2006].

Ireland – located in the northern Europe; facing deep economic and political crises since 2008 (just after the period of economic boom) and the high level of unemployment (especially among the youth; the male unemployment rate in 2012 was 16.9%); the GTI is 68 from 158 (2011 data); the net migration in the country in absolute numbers is one of the largest in the EU (+47,000 in 2005); also has one of the largest in the EU foreign-born population (14.1%); the number of immigrants to the country also increased considerably during the 1990s and early 2000s.

Portugal – located in the southern Europe; facing deep economic and political crises since 2008 and the high level of unemployment (especially among the youth; the unemployment rate in total civilian labor force in 2012 was 12%); the GTI is 77 from 158 (in 2011), much higher than in Spain; the number of foreign-born population is significant; the number of immigrants to the country also increased during the 1990s and early 2000s.

Ukraine – located in the eastern (post-Soviet) Europe; its geographical position has made it one of the main transit countries along the path of the migration flows from the Asia and Eurasia to the EU, moreover the flow of illegal migrants from the East countries grows due to the porous borders with the Russian Federation and Belarus; it faces permanent deep economic and political crises since the middle of the 1990s, and the high level of unemployment (especially among the youth and men, according to the Mundi index the youth unemployment rate in 2012 was 14.9%) [Index Mundi];

the GTI is 56 (2011 data); according to a report of UN Secretary General on monitoring of the world population, Ukraine is the fourth in the world in terms of number of international migrants; the portion of immigrants among the total population was 14.7% in 2008; there has been a visible upward trend in the net migration during the 2000s [Migration in Ukraine 2008] with growing number of immigrants of Chechen, Uzbeks and Azeri origins.

To clarify the structural dimensions of the model (AGM) and estimate quantitatively its parameters, we propose to explore the following set of the data mining methods in all national cases listed above:

- expert surveys of public leaders and civil servants dealing with immigrant, religious, public defense issues; a purpose of this expert surveys is to determine the range of possible values for model quantitative parameters, to define the intervals of normative values for model basic parameters, to specify the parameters of population and sample for survey on the next stage;

- sampling survey in the social milieu, potentially (theoretically) inclined to radicalization;

- content-analysis and qualitative text analysis (for the period of scrutiny) of speeches, publications by public, religious, political, nongovernmental and other organizations leaders posted on internet (web-sites) with focus at the organizations potentially capable to network the milieu inclined to radicalization ("points of attraction").

The main result of the proposed work will be a development of a formal model of radicalization of a migrant's milieu and quantitative and qualitative validation of the model. This model will include a set of empirically based criteria for monitoring of radicalization of social milieu and will allow one to further justify policy-making suggestions. Combining the results of empirical study and novel theoretical modeling we expect to explain mechanisms of radicalization, or critical transition in social milieu with the clearly identified parameters that will allow early diagnostic and prevention of radicalization of social milieu.

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*The paper is prepared within the NATO\CLG projects 'Radicalization of Social Communities towards Support of Terrorism: sociological investigation and mathematical modeling' and 'Critical transition in social networks supporting terrorism: social empirical study and modelling by random graphs' (2005-2013, Ref. No. 983046)*

Надійшла до редколегії 31.01.13

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### АГЕНТНО-КУЛЬТУРНА МОДЕЛЬ РАДИКАЛІЗАЦІЇ СЕРЕДОВИЩ МУСУЛЬМАНСЬКИХ МІГРАНТІВ

*Проект спрямований на з'ясування пізнавальної корисності агентно-культурної соціологічної моделі радикалізації соціокультурних середовищ мігрантів на Заході (ACSMR). Інтерпретація радикалізації ґрунтується на дослідницьких здобутках М. Сейдґмена стосовно чотирьох фаз критичних змін в індивідуальних віруваннях, почуттях та поведінці. Радикалізація визначена як не-лінійний мережевий соціальний процес самоорганізації у великих соціальних мілью, що відбувається на основі критичного переходу у віруваннях та установках, що в результаті призводить до формування радикальних соціальних мереж. ACSMR-модель розвинута авторами для моніторингу й передбачення розвитку протягом часу релігійно-небайдужих соціальних мілью імігрантів в напрямку підтримки політично-мотивованого насильства. Відповідна статистична модель ґрунтується на аналізі кореляцій-коваріацій змінних. Для обмеження складності упізнання динамічних структурних властивостей радикалізованих груп (у т.ч. терористичних) автори виділяють компактні фактори (підтримки радикалізації) та критичні умови переходу соціальних мілью до радикального стану*

*Ключові слова: радикалізація, соціо-культурне середовище мігрантів, складність, самоорганізація, агентно-культурна модель радикалізації*

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### АГЕНТНО -КУЛЬТУРНАЯ МОДЕЛЬ РАДИКАЛИЗАЦИИ СРЕД МУСУЛЬМАНСКИХ МИГРАНТОВ

*Проект направлен на проверку познавательной пользы агентно-культурной социологической модели радикализации социокультурных сред мигрантов на Западе (ACSMR). Интерпретация радикализации основана на исследовательских выводах М. Сейдґмена относительно четырех фаз критических изменений в индивидуальных верованиях, чувствах и поведении. Радикализация определяется как не-линейный сетевой социальный процесс самоорганизации в больших социальных милью, который осуществляется на основе критического перехода в верованиях и установках и в результате приводит к формированию радикальных социальных сетей. ACSMR-модель разработана авторами для мониторинга и прогнозирования развития во времени религиозно-вовлеченных социальных милью иммигрантов в направлении поддержки политически-мотивированного насилия. Соответствующая статистическая модель основана на анализе корреляций-ковариаций признаков. Для ограничения сложности распознавания динамических структурных характеристик радикализированных групп (в т.ч. террористических) по результатам анализа авторы выделяют компактные факторы (поддержки радикализации) и критические условия перехода социальных милью к радикальному состоянию*

*Ключевые слова: радикализация, соціо-культурные среды мигрантов, сложность, самоорганизация, агентно-культурная модель радикализации.*

УДК 316.28

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### ЖИЗНЕННЫЙ МИР ПОВСЕДНЕВНОСТИ И СОЦИОКУЛЬТУРНЫЕ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ ИНЖЕНЕРОВ-МИГРАНТОВ ИЗ ПОСТСОВЕТСКИХ СТРАН В ГЕРМАНИЮ: ПОСТАНОВКА ПРОБЛЕМЫ

*Предлагается характеристика проблемного поля исследования повседневного жизненного мира и социокультурных идентичностей инженеров-мигрантов, прибывших из постсоветских стран в Германию. Теряют ли национальные идентичности свое прежнее значение для высококвалифицированных инженеров-мигрантов в условиях глобализации общества и высокой мобильности высококвалифицированных сотрудников на мировом рынке (в созвучии идеи по поводу "архипелага диаспор", сформулированной Зигмундом Бауманом)? Выходят ли на первый план профессиональные идентичности, формируя основу для новых солидарностей? Обсуждается перспективность и направления исследования данных проблемных вопросов в контексте феноменологической социологии. В качестве основных методов исследования предлагается использовать биографический и лингвоконфликтологический методы. Представлены основные методологические характеристики биографического и лингвоконфликтологического методов, а также варианты исследовательской процедуры, основанной на синтезе этих двух методов.*

*Ключевые слова: мир повседневной жизни, социокультурные идентичности, мигранты, инженеры, "чужой", "тот, что возвращается домой", конфликт, биографический метод, лингвоконфликтологический метод*

Последние два десятилетия в Германию приглашают на работу все большее количество высококвалифицированных инженеров из других стран, в том числе из стран восточной Европы. С одной стороны, появляются новые программы, способствующие увеличению потока инженеров-мигрантов (например, программа Blaue Karte EU, которая ставит своей целью повышение конкурентоспособности и экономического роста за счет трудовой миграции высококвалифицированных специалистов в западную Европу) С другой стороны, в западных странах и, в частности, в Германии, разрабатываются программы интеграции мигрантов. При этом возникает целый ряд проблем, требующих теоретического осмысления и эмпирического социологического изучения. Для лучшего понимания происходящих процессов интеграции высококвалифицированных специалистов

представляется важным изучить мир повседневной жизни инженеров-мигрантов во взаимосвязи с особенностями трансформации социокультурных идентичностей. Важный фокус – выявление полей потенциальной конфликтности и солидарности, которые могут влиять на процесс интеграции.

В качестве методологического фундамента для изучения этих вопросов мы предлагаем рассмотреть идеи А. Шюца (прежде всего, идеи, изложенные в работах "Чужак: социально-психологический очерк" [8] и "Возвращающийся домой" [9]), а также идеи, представленные в ряде работ в области феноменологической социологии и социологии знания: о социальном конструировании реальности [Бергер, Лукман, 1995], о взаимосвязи действий, мыслей и высказываний [Srubar, 2003], о коммуникативном конструировании социальной реа-