

Volume XIII, Issue 3 June 2019

A JOURNAL OF THE

TRI **TERRORISM RESEARCH INITIATIVE**
Enhancing Security through Collaborative Research

Table of Contents

Welcome from the Editors.....i

Articles

Global Jihadism after the Syria War.....1

by Tore Refslund Hamming

Call of Duty Jihad: How the Video Game Motif has Migrated Downstream from Islamic State Propaganda Videos.....17

by Cori E. Dauber, Mark D. Robinson, Jovan J. Baslious, and Austin G. Blair

A Phoenix Rising from the Ashes? Daesh after its Territorial Losses in Iraq and Syria.....32

by Ronen Zeidel and Hisham al-Hashimi

Knowing What to Do: Academic and Practitioner Understanding of How to Counter Violent Radicalization.....44

by Daniel Koehler and Verena Fiebig

Blurred Lines: The New 'Domestic' Terrorism.....63

by Gregory D. Miller

Research Notes

The Utility of Disabled Fighters in the Islamic State76

by Chelsea Daymon

Resources

Bibliography: Islamic State (IS, ISIS, ISIL, Daesh) (Part 5).....87

Compiled and selected by Judith Tinnes

Bibliography: Boko Haram131

Compiled and selected by Judith Tinnes

Counterterrorism Bookshelf: 62 Books on Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism-Related Subjects....165

Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

Book Review: J.M. Berger, *Extremism*. (The MIT Press, Essential Knowledge Series 2018).....180

Reviewed by Daniela Scerri

Recent Online Resources for the Analysis of Terrorism and Related Subjects.....182

Compiled and selected by Berto Jongman

115+ Academic Theses (Ph.D. and MA) on the Role of the Internet in Facilitating and Combating Radicalization, Extremism, Terrorism and Cyber-Terrorism, written in English between 1995 and 2019.....233

Compiled and selected by Ryan Scrivens

Announcements

Conference Monitor/Calendar of Events (June – September 2019).....241

Compiled by Reinier Bergema

About *Perspectives on Terrorism*.....250

Welcome from the Editors

Dear Reader,

We are pleased to announce the release of Volume XIII, Issue 3 (June 2019) of *Perspectives on Terrorism*, available online now at: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/PoT>.

Our free and independent online journal is a publication of the Vienna-based Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) and the Institute of Security and Global Affairs (ISGA) of Leiden University's The Hague Campus. Now in its thirteenth year, *Perspectives on Terrorism* has nearly 8,400 regular e-mail subscribers and many more occasional readers and website visitors worldwide. The Articles of its six annual issues are fully peer reviewed by external referees while its Research and Policy Notes, Special Correspondence, and other content are subject to internal editorial quality control.

The opening article by Tore Hamming examines the evolution of global jihadism following the conflict in Syria. The second article, by a team of researchers led by Cori E. Dauber, offers a unique analysis of the intersection between video games and jihadist propaganda videos. In the third article, Ronen Zeidel and Hisham al-Hishami provide a research-based projection on the future evolution of Daesh (ISIS) following its territorial losses in Iraq and Syria. Next, Daniel Koehler and Verena Fiebig explore the quality of CVE initiatives and their potential usefulness for practitioners. And in the final research article of this issue, Greg Miller examines how to properly categorize domestic terrorist attacks where the perpetrator was inspired by a foreign ideology.

In our Research Notes section, Chelsea Daymon examines a relatively under-studied question of how the Islamic State uses disabled fighters in their propaganda and recruitment efforts. The Resources section includes our regular contributions from Joshua Sinai (book reviews), Judith Tinnes (with two bibliographies), Berto Jongman (web-based resources), Ryan Scrivens (theses), and Reinier Bergema (conference calendar). In addition, there is a review by Daniella Scerri of an important new book, *Extremism* (The MIT Press, 2018), authored by J.M. Berger.

The current issue was jointly prepared by James Forest (Co-Editor) and Bart Schuurman (Associate Editor), with the assistance of Alex P. Schmid (Editor-in-Chief), Christine Boelema Robertus (Associate Editor for IT), and Jodi Moore (Editorial Assistant).

Global Jihadism after the Syria War

by Tore Refslund Hamming

Abstract

The period 2012-2018 is turning out to be an important transformative period for the global Jihadi movement, most importantly because of events in Syria but also resulting from Jihadists' ability to expand and take advantage of beneficial opportunity structures in other war theatres. The article identifies the most important trends of this period for the future evolution of Jihadism, namely the ideological evolution, Jihadism as a tangible political project, internal conflict, networks and training, the coming of a new generation of ideologues and technical evolution. Similar to previous transformative periods in Afghanistan and Iraq, the argument made here is that these six trends will have a long-lasting impact on the Jihadi movement and guide the behaviour of groups and individuals for years to come.

Keywords: Jihadism, Syria, Global Jihad, Fratricide, Ideology

In 2013, Danish researcher Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen posed the question of whether Syria would become a school for terrorists.[1] Now, six years later, the answer appears to be a resounding confirmation. The war in Syria will go on record as one of those key periods that transformed the state of Jihadism, similar to previous experiences of Jihadi melting pots like Afghanistan in the 1980s-90s and Iraq in the 2000s. In 2006, Thomas Hegghammer published the article “Global Jihadism after the Iraq War” examining how the war in Iraq impacted the Jihadi movement and its engagement in other battlefields.[2] This article builds on Hegghammer’s piece in that it identifies how the Syrian war—and more generally the period 2012-2018—has had an impact on developments and trends within Jihadism.

Looking at past transformative periods, like the experiences in Afghanistan and Iraq, helps to understand how current events may change the future. Hence, our knowledge of how these past experiences influenced the ensuing evolution of the Jihadi movement offers further insights into how current trends affiliated with the Jihadi school of Syria will influence the future development and configuration of the Jihadi movement. The article does not only deal with the Syrian war, but more generally, its evolutions within Jihadism during the period (2012-2018) of the Syrian war as Jihadists have been active on several battlefields, but with Syria being the most dominating, not least because of the success of the Islamic State and Syria being the centre of its caliphate. Moreover, it identifies the most important trends of this period and discusses how they may influence the future. These trends are: ideological evolution, Jihadism as a tangible political project, internal conflict, networks and training, a new generation of ideologues, and technical evolution. Each of these aspects has been characteristic of the ongoing Jihad in Syria and other battlefields since 2013 and will likely have an impact on the future development of Jihadism locally, regionally, and globally.

This article is founded on several years of close observation of the Jihadi movement as part of a larger research project on the internal dynamics within Jihadism. This process has involved reading thousands of Jihadists’ own written products, following their online behaviour on Twitter and later Telegram, and interviewing senior ideological figures. Based on this research, the article first describes each of six identified trends before concluding with a discussion of how these trends will have an impact on the future evolution of the Jihadi movement.

Ideological Evolution

The emergence of modern Jihadism is usually dated to 1960s Egypt although it can be traced back to the 19th century and the military struggles of Abd al-Kader and Omar Mukhtar against Western imperialism. Abu Musab al-Suri, one of the most prominent contemporary Jihadi strategists and thinkers, sets the start of the

Jihadi current to 1963.[3] Since then, Jihadi ideology has evolved considerably in terms of the definition of the main enemy, the objective, its modes of legitimation and how it related to the broader society.

Prior to the Syrian war, three distinctive currents of Jihadism can be identified: The first current emerged in the early 1960s in Egypt with Sayyid Qutb and later Muhammad Abd al-Salam Faraj as the intellectual and organizational pioneers. This current, which can be termed a *nationalist Jihad* with an ideological foundation in the Muslim Brotherhood, viewed local governments as illegitimate since they were not ruling according to God's law, the shariah. While they did have their disagreements, both Qutb and Faraj considered Jihad as a means to achieve a certain objective: to topple the near enemy (*al-aduw al-qarib*) through the struggle of a vanguard movement.

The second current, the *solidarity Jihad*, started in 1979 and dominated until the mid-1990s. Led by Abdallah Azzam, this current still emphasized the need for a vanguard, but it centered around the anti-Soviet struggle in Afghanistan. In that sense it was much closer to classical Jihadi doctrine, which emphasizes the fight against an occupying enemy, but its innovation was Azzam's reframing of Jihad as an individual duty (*fard al-ayn*) and that Jihad was not a matter of a certain nationality but the concern of the entire ummah. The obvious result was an internationalization of Jihad which would turn out to have a lasting impact. It was also around this time that the debate about whether to prioritize the near enemy (un-Islamic Arab governments) or the far enemy (Israel) emerged within Jihadist circles. Ayman al-Zawahiri, a senior member of Egyptian Al Jihad, wrote that the liberation of Palestine goes through Cairo,[4] but in the mid-90s, other Jihadists slowly started to doubt such an assertion.

This re-orientation towards the far enemy after the fall of the Soviets initiated the third current, the *global Jihad*, but unlike early debates, it was now the US and not Israel that was viewed as the main far enemy, the head of the snake, that had to be defeated to facilitate successful national Jihadi campaigns. There have been different accounts of whether this re-orientation was led by Bin Laden or the Egyptian contingent represented by al-Zawahiri.[5] It appears likely, however, that it came as an amalgamation of al-Zawahiri becoming disillusioned with the unsuccessful struggle against the Egyptian regime, and Bin Laden, being extremely preoccupied with the issue of Palestine, starting to see the US as the main obstacle to Palestinian liberation and as transgression against Islam with its presence in the holy land of Saudi Arabia. The rise to prominence of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi implied a return to prioritize the near enemy and, thus, does not represent a qualitative shift or evolution in the characteristic of the Jihadi current despite his strong emphasis on sectarian violence, which certainly made him stand out even in Jihadi circles. Salafi ideas were already a strong influence within al-Qaida, but they gained even more traction within al-Zarqawi's Iraqi movement, especially in terms of the impact of concepts such as *al-wala' wa-l-bara'* (loyalty and disavowal) and *takfir* (excommunication). With the US invasion of Iraq, the ideas of Bin Laden and al-Zarqawi coalesced to some degree, which eventually facilitated a union between the two in 2004 and, to Bin Laden, striking the far enemy in the Middle East region became an acceptable substitute to strike in the far enemy's own countries.

A fourth current, *hybridised Jihad*, emerged with the Islamic State in 2014 and represents one of three key ideological evolutions resulting from the Syrian war. Arguably, since al-Qaida's branching out through its affiliate-structure, Jihadi groups have been hybrids in their enemy hierarchies to some extent, but the Islamic State became the first Jihadi group that rightfully could be described as a hybrid due to its concurrent military campaigns against local and Western enemies.[6-7] Such "glocal" outlook is evident from its consistent campaign of international terrorist attacks simultaneously with its establishment of provinces around the world and military struggles against local regimes. Since May 2014, the Islamic State can be connected one way or the other to 54 terrorist attacks in the West (including Australia), while leading insurgencies against local regimes in Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Libya, Nigeria, the Philippines, Afghanistan, Yemen and to a lesser extent in Somalia, Pakistan, Kashmir and Indonesia.[8]

No other Jihadi group has ever managed to run dual campaigns against both the far and the near enemy with a similar attack frequency as the Islamic State. This enabled the group to communicate with and attract a diverse

group of people with differences in ideological motivations and grievances. In his 2009 article studying the phenomenon of ideological hybridization, Hegghammer argues that the negative effects of hybridization likely surpass its positive impact. He identifies three risks for hybrids: inconsistency between discourse and action, internal ideological division, and provoking unnecessary enemies. Interestingly, the Islamic State has only suffered from one of these risks, namely the provocation of unnecessary enemies, but that did not stem directly from its campaign of international terrorist attacks, but more from its successes locally on the ground.

A simultaneous ideological evolution within Jihadism is a diversification of ideological orientation. With the emergence of groups like the Islamic State, Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, Ahrar al-Sham and Jaysh al-Islam on the Syrian battlefield, Jihadism has become a much more complex ideological landscape. Previously, al-Qaida Central and its affiliates represented the mainstream, albeit an extreme, ideological position within the Jihadi movement. Other groups of a more nationalist and socio-revolutionary character existed and differed from al-Qaida in terms of objectives and their relations with states, but the emergence of new groups nonetheless represents a broadening of Jihadism as an ideological movement.

On one side of the ideological spectrum, the Islamic State emerged from the ashes of al-Qaida in Iraq, but the extremism characterizing its predecessors became even more pronounced, distinguishing it from other Jihadi groups including al-Qaida. Thus, its horrifying use of violence, exclusivist attitude to other Jihadi groups and theological rigidity made it stand out on one extreme. On the other side of the spectrum, groups like Jaysh al-Islam and especially Ahrar al-Sham represent a new and more 'moderate', or revisionist, face of Jihadism.[9] Despite an obvious Salafi influence, Ahrar al-Sham appeared as a third way between Jihadism and the broader scope of militant Islamism.[10] Compared to al-Qaida and the Islamic State, it was especially Ahrar al-Sham's willingness to cooperate with non-Jihadi and external actors, including states like Turkey, that sets it apart. More recently, tensions between al-Qaida and Hayat Tahrir al-Sham have emerged over the future of the Jihadi project. After splitting from al-Qaida and changing its name from Jabhat al-Nusra to Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, the group has aligned increasingly with Turkey in an attempt to navigate in an opposition environment under intense pressure from the Syrian regime assisted by external actors. The schism between Hayat Tahrir al-Sham and al-Qaida is founded in diverging opinions on how to cope with this pressure, with the former propagating the necessity of abandoning *organizations* as the foundation of the Jihadi struggle and instead support a jihad of the ummah (*jihad al-ummah*), while the latter stresses the need for Jihad of the elite (*jihad al-nukhba*) to uphold the correct Islamic creed (aqida).[11-12]

This shows how al-Qaida continues to subscribe to the idea of Jihad fought by a *vanguard* in contrast to a mass movement. This division between supporters of a popular jihad absent of organizations as the center of gravity and those in favour of a pure vanguard movement has also led to fractures in the relationship between the arguably two most influential Jihadi ideologues alive, Abu Qatada al-Filastini and Abu Muhammed al-Maqdisi.[13] The two Jordanian ideologues and personal friends have long been considered supportive of al-Qaida, but the recent schism has revealed differences in their view of *reality* (waqi') and how to deal with it. While al-Maqdisi continues to stress the necessity of a purist creed and upholding monotheism (tawhid), Abu Qatada appears willing to accept certain actions that perhaps dilute the proper creed but benefits the Jihadi project.

The ideological evolution within the Jihadi movement since 2013 has impelled the necessity to develop new analytical categories to capture the internal diversity between Jihadi groups. Previously, the dominant way of conceptualizing Jihadi groups was according to their primary enemy (far or near enemy) or their driving rationale for militant activism (classical, global or socio-revolutionary Jihadism).[14-15] Other research has distinguished between *strategists* and *doctrinarians*. [16] But these terminologies fail to capture much of the evolution explained above to a satisfying degree and are incapable of explaining the nuances and dynamics that characterize contemporary Jihadism. This prompted Stenersen to develop a new typology presented in the article "Jihadism After the 'Caliphate': Towards a New Typology," which places Jihadi groups on two scales; how they relate to society (integration vs. separation) and whom Jihadists fight for (the nation vs. the ummah).[17] This typology offers an important framework tuned to a more fine-grained analysis of the internal diversionary

issues within the movement that allows for a nuanced understanding of the internal diversity and dynamics over time. Thinking of Jihadi groups in terms of these two scales helps conceptualizing groups' primary objective and how they see not just the surrounding society but also other groups including potentially rival Jihadi groups.

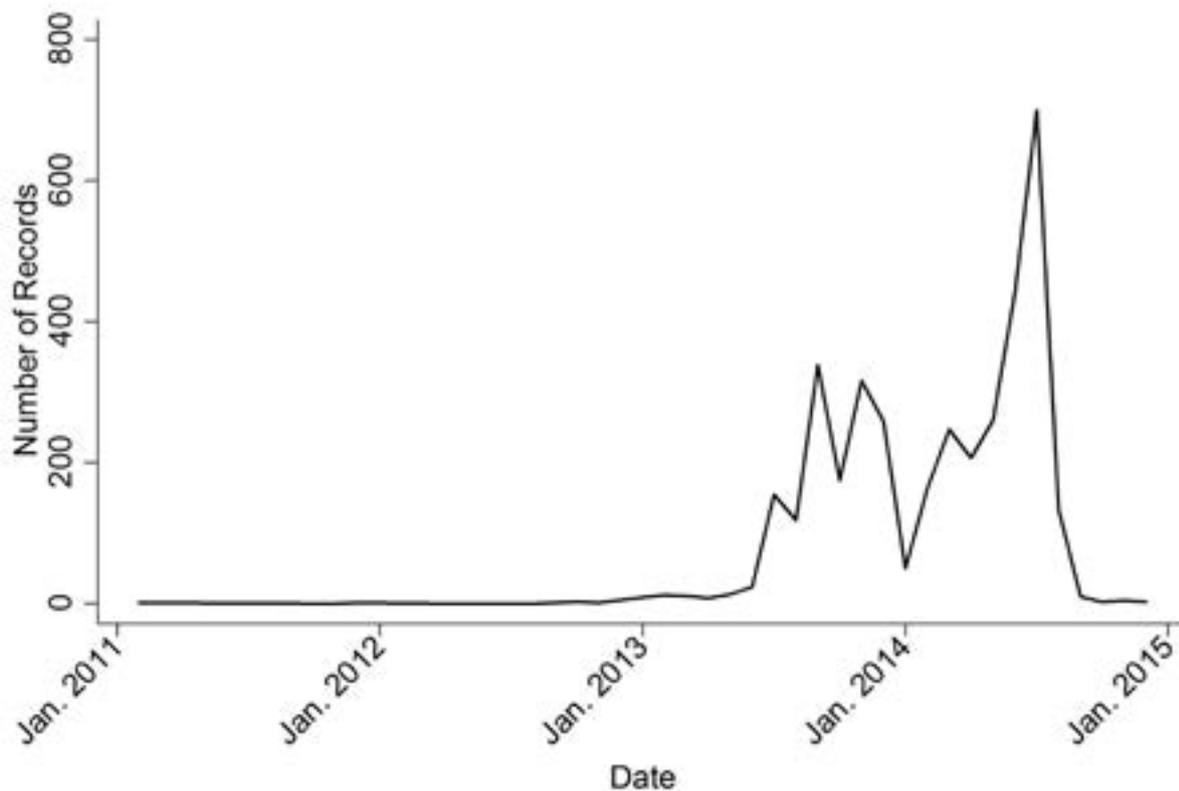
Jihadism as a Tangible Political Project: The Caliphate and Strategic Experiences

The Islamic State's caliphate declaration presented a second evolution within the Jihadi movement. Existing Jihadi groups, including al-Qaida, have always been rather vague about their actual political objective besides identifying an Islamic state as the end goal. A more specific definition of how that state should be established and how it should look has been absent. Examples of the establishment of political entities do exist, however. These includes Abu Eesa al-Rifai's Jama'at al-Khilafa (aka Jama'at al-Muslimin) in Peshawar and later in London, the Islamic Emirate of Kunar founded by Jamil al-Rahman in Kunar, al-Shabab in Somalia and AQAP's emirate in Yemen in 2011-2012.[18]

In his seminal 2001 book *Knights under the Prophet's Banner*, Ayman al-Zawahiri is realistic albeit vague about Jihadists' objective. "The establishment of a Muslim state in the heart of the Islamic world is not an easy goal or an objective that is close at hand", he writes. But "If the goal of the jihad movement in the heart of the Islamic world in general and Egypt in particular is to cause change and establish an Islamic state, it must not precipitate collision or be impatient about victory. The jihad movement must patiently build its structure until it is well established. It must pool enough resources and supporters and devise enough plans to fight the battle at the time and arena that it chooses." [19] In the post-9/11 period, much of the debate has centered around the strategy of the Jihadi movement in a new security environment rather than elaboration of the configuration of the ideal political Islamic entity. This discussion has mainly taken its foundation in the writings of Abu Musab al-Suri and Abu Bakr Naji both of who authored detailed strategies of how to approach the enemy, either through campaigns of *qital al-nikaya* (fighting to hurt the enemy) or *qital al-tamkin* (fighting to consolidate control of territory).[20]

The Islamic State's decision to announce a caliphate on 29 June 2014 put immense pressure on the entire Jihadi movement and instigated a debate on the process of the establishment of a political entity, which particularly unfolded in 2015-16. As already mentioned, ideas such as controlling territory or establishing an Islamic political entity, whether it being a caliphate or an emirate, were not new, but were simply taken to new heights by the Islamic State's declaration. For the al-Qaida leadership in AfPak, this was a challenge for two reasons. First, it knew from history that some within al-Qaida were in favor of establishing a political entity of some form. Second, it quickly turned out that the caliphate declaration had a massive impact on support mobilization with the migration of foreign fighters spiking around the time of the declaration (see Figure 1, courtesy of the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point). The Islamic State's state project thus put pressure on other groups to actually discuss the political project further than just 'the action of jihad', which arguably illustrated the lacking depth of a political program within Sunni Jihadism.

The main response from the al-Qaida leadership came in a publication series by al-Zawahiri titled *The Islamic Spring*, which was published from March 2015 to July 2016. In the nine episodes, al-Zawahiri rejects the legitimacy of the caliphate, criticizes its methodology while laying out the requirements for a 'legitimate' caliphate on the 'prophetic methodology' taking inspiration from the companions of the prophet, *the sahabah*. The Islamic State's caliphate, al-Zawahiri claims, caused disunity and confusion among Muslims, while the purpose of a truthful caliphate should be the exact opposite. A similar debate took place among Jihadi ideologues in Syria.[21]

Figure 1: Fighter Entries per Month

Source: Brian Dodwell, Daniel Milton & Don Rassler, 'The Caliphate's Global Workforce: An Inside Look at the Islamic State's Foreign Fighter Paper Trail', *Combating Terrorism Center at West Point*, April 2016, p. 7. Reprinted with permission.

Even though the territorial caliphate has been almost entirely dismantled in Syria and Iraq, the group's organizational structure contracting and arguments being made that it is now mainly a virtual caliphate, the fact that it was established and controlled large swaths of territory for several years will have a lasting impact on the Jihadi movement.[22] State creation has become a part of Jihadi consciousness and Jihadists are likely to discuss the political objective of their project in more tangible terms in the future based on the experiences from 2014-2018. Another likely result of the post- or lost-caliphate period is caliphate nostalgia as argued by Hegghammer.[23] The current generation will refer to its success in standing up to local Arab regimes and the entire West although they might disagree with its religious interpretation and violent strategy, while younger generations will idolize it as the vanguard of the Jihadi cause.

Considered its obsession with establishing an Islamic state or a caliphate, Jihadists have dedicated exceptionally little time and few words to explaining what they actually mean by the caliphate and how its establishment should be achieved. The most elaborate document prior to 2014 was likely "Informing the People about the Birth of the Islamic State of Iraq" authored by the Islamic State of Iraq's shariah official Uthman Bin Abd al-Rahman al-Tamimi in 2007.[24] The Islamic State's caliphate declaration, however, has led to new discussion on the caliphate including several written pieces published either in support of the new caliphate or against it.[25] The result is that Jihadists' state project has evolved both on a theoretical and a tangible level. It is no longer the utopia it appeared prior to 2014 and, in the future, Jihadists will have a literary corpus and a concrete strategic experience to rely on. The experience of building the caliphate not only offers a lot of 'dos' but also 'don'ts' for the future.

Fragmentation, Polarization and the Normalization of Infighting

The Jihadi current has seen internal debate, contestation and occasional infighting from its inception, but the Syrian war entailed hitherto unseen levels of intra-Jihadi conflict and animosity between groups that are ideologically close (like the Islamic State and al-Qaida) and distant (like the Islamic State and Ahrar al-Sham or the Taliban) from one another. The tensions that emerged from the Islamic State of Iraq's expansion to Syria in early April 2013 led to discursive contestation with Jabhat al-Nusra and the al-Qaida leadership, which over time translated into direct military infighting between the Islamic State and a wide range of groups for the control of territory and Jihadi authority. This *Jihadi civil war* critically escalated in January 2014 and spiraled out of control in the Spring until the Islamic State declared its caliphate in June.[26]

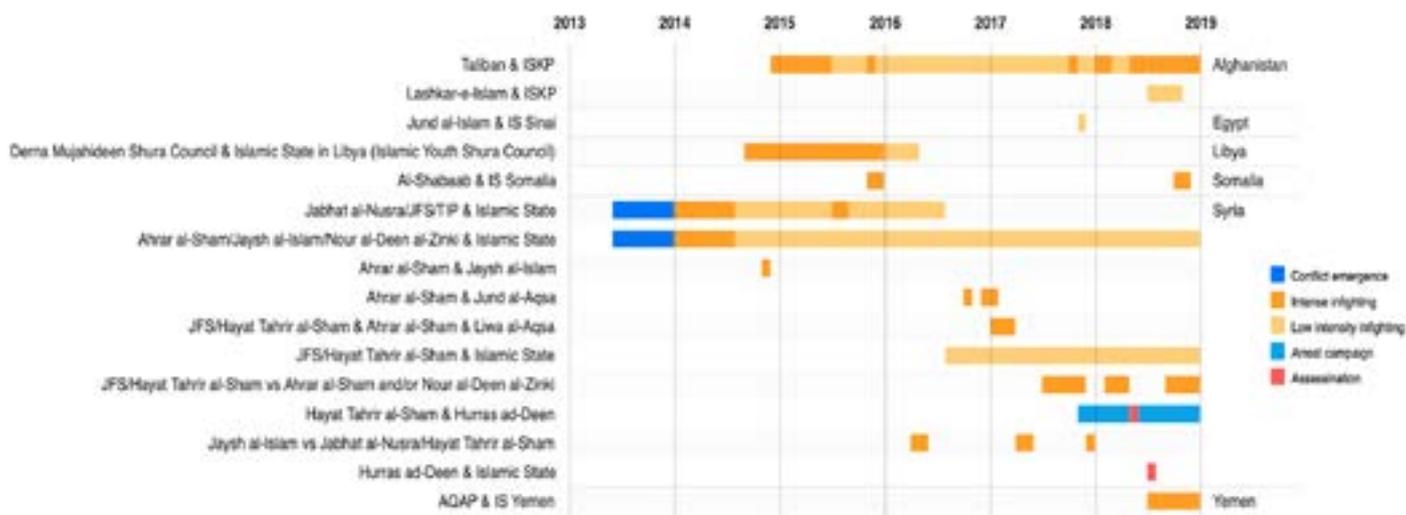
Despite being prone to internal conflict, Jihadists have always stressed the illegitimacy of infighting as it not only threatens their political project but also because it potentially entails spilling the blood of Muslims, which is deemed impermissible.[27] Back in the days of the sahabah, a supporter of Husayn ibn Ali allegedly told a supporter of Yazid ibn Muawiyah that "Until now we have been brethren with the same religion and community ... if the sword is used ... we will be an umma and you will be an umma".[28] In 2014, the sword was not only introduced, but became a default feature used by Jihadists against other Jihadists, cementing the failure of peaceful institutional mechanisms to settle internal conflict. Amidst the intensifying infighting, senior al-Qaida leader Abu Khalil al-Madani cautioned on 9 April 2014 his fellow Jihadists in other groups saying "We are like one body, and we are in one ship", but only three days later a senior Jabhat al-Nusra leader concluded that the "methods [of the Islamic State] clearly caused the biggest rift in the global Jihad that the ummah has ever seen since the fall of the Khilafa".[29-30] It started to appear as if Abdallah Azzam's prophecy that "Muslims cannot be defeated by others. We Muslims are not defeated by our enemies, but instead, we are defeated by our own selves" would become true.[31]

The infighting turned very al-Qaida-Islamic State centric although it involved most of Syria's Jihadi groups. The Islamic State narrative was that al-Qaida leader Ayman al-Zawahiri was at fault for the conflict, famously claiming that "here we are extending our hands to you again, to be the worthy successor to the best predecessor; for the shaykh Usama bin Ladin united the Mujahidin upon one word, while you [al-Zawahiri] disunited them, split them and dispersed them in total dispersion".[32] Al-Qaida and other Jihadi groups would argue that it was due to the Islamic State's aggressiveness and exclusivist approach. While the intra-Jihadi conflict first emerged in Syria, it eventually spread to Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia, Libya and Egypt concurrently with the Islamic State's territorial expansion outside the Levant. Numbers are notoriously challenging to measure, but qualified estimates are that casualties from fratricidal Jihadi infighting number in the thousands in Syria and Afghanistan, in the hundreds in Yemen, Somalia, and Libya and likely even lower in Egypt.

The intra-Jihadi conflict has left the Jihadi movement more fragmented and polarized than ever before. Bakke et al. define fragmentation according to three dimensions: (1) the number of groups in the movement, (2) the degree of institutionalization across groups, and (3) the distribution of power among groups.[33] Based on this we can conclude that in the period 2013-2018, the Jihadi movement has experienced severe fragmentation resulting from and causing infighting and at the expense of movement cohesion. While competitive cooperation was still dominant among Jihadi groups opposing the Islamic State, over time it developed into a general logic of factionalism within the Jihadi movement at large.[34] From late 2013 and until October 2014, 15 calls for arbitration and reconciliation can be identified with 10 of them involving tangible initiatives to settle the conflict, but none of them succeeded in illustrating a Jihadi failure at establishing institutional setups to manage inter-groups issues. Although supra-group military alliances have been more successful, they have nonetheless been short lived and volatile.

Figure 2: When Jihadis Fight Jihadis

Six years of militant infighting between Jihadi factions, 2013-2018



Source: Author's own data compilation

The Jihadi movement also became polarized, mainly as a result of the Islamic State's self-perception and its caliphate declaration which entailed an imperative—according to the Islamic State—to either join the caliphate or be considered an enemy. This logic was evident in two now famous texts. The first is a declaration by the late Islamic State spokesman Abu Muhammed al-Adnani from June 2014 when he declared the caliphate and announced that “As for you, O soldiers of the platoons and organizations, know that after this consolidation and the establishment of the khilafah, the legality of your groups and organizations has become invalid”. Indicating that this was not only a ruling for Syria, he emphasized that “The legality of all emirates, groups, states, and organizations, becomes null by the expansion of the khilafah’s authority and arrival of its troops to their areas.”[35] The second is an article published in the group’s English language magazine, *Dabiq*, in February 2015, titled “The Extinction of the Grey Zone,” in which the author argues that neutrality is not a legitimate position.[36] The intention was to force groups and individuals to take a stance on the Islamic State, and in light of its military strength at the time it was likely the author assumed that a compelling argument like this would lead competing groups to join.

Among the opponents of the Islamic State, prominent Jihadi ideologues have partly contributed to this polarizing environment. Some ideologues, like the Egyptians Hani Sibai and Tariq Abdelhaleem and the Syrian Abu Basir al-Tartusi, were quickly out declaring the Islamic State as *khawarij*, referring to a historic extreme Islamic sect, and calling for Jihadists to fight the group.[37-39] Others, like Abu Qatada and al-Maqdisi were more hesitant to call for such attacks and initially only considered it legitimate to defend against attacks instigated by the Islamic State. In particular, al-Maqdisi tried to soften the perception of the Islamic State by arguing that “What makes them [the Islamic State] differ from the khawarij is that IS do have an ok idea and intentions, but they are simply doing things wrongly. The khawarij had bad intentions when they were killing Muslims”.[40] Abu Qatada and even al-Maqdisi would eventually turn more explicitly critical of the Islamic State, thus enabling their followers to target more aggressively Islamic State fighters.

Now, after five years of directing bombs and bullets towards other Jihadists, intra-Jihadi conflict is becoming increasingly normalized within the movement. The boundaries for what it takes to attack fellow Jihadists has been lowered and a new generation of militant Islamists and sympathizers have grown up being socialized into the legitimacy of infighting. Ideological texts enabling infighting or internal criticism now exist in abundance making it easier for future generations to engage in similar fratricidal behavior.[41]

Networks and Training

Arguably the most important short-term impact of the Syrian conflict on the global Jihadi movement can be seen in the networks established and the skills gained from years on the battlefield. It is hard to overstate the importance of previous active battlefields like Afghanistan (1980s-90s) and Iraq (2000s) on the ensuing evolution and effectiveness of Jihadism around the world. Organizationally, Jihadists returned home to their respective countries and established new groups engaged in local struggles. In terms of efficiency and social networks, active battlefields have been key to educate and connect people from all over the world, who have benefitted from this know-how and social capital in the following years. Experience from previous battlefields has even become a prerequisite for future leadership positions, while the ideological and technical training at camps in battlefields have been essential for perpetrators of international terrorist attacks.[42-43]

On the importance of training camps in Afghanistan, Hegghammer wrote: “The training camps generated an ultra-masculine culture of violence which brutalized the volunteers and broke down their barriers to the use of violence. Recruits increased their paramilitary skills while the harsh camp life built strong personal relationships between them. Last but not least, they fell under the ideological influence of Usama bin Ladin and Ayman al-Zawahiri”.[44] Similar conclusions can be drawn from Aimen Dean’s account of his own experiences in several training camps.[45] Just as we can talk about a Jihadi *generation* of Afghanistan and Iraq, so we can talk about the generation emanating from the Syrian Jihad. We will see new networks and groups emerge based on connections established during years of interaction in Syria. We will see future Jihadi leaders with experience from the Syrian Jihad. And we will see perpetrators of international terrorist attacks who learned their trade and prepared in Syria’s training camps. In this light, battlefields are extremely effective *socialization platforms* both in terms of ideological, strategic and tactical socialization.

Table 1: Overview of Foreign Fighters (FF) Mobilized in Recent Conflicts

Location	FF mobilization period	Conflict (simplistic)	Number of FF
Afghanistan	1980-1992	Mujahideen vs. Soviet Union	5,000-20,000
Bosnia	1992-1995	Bosnians vs. Serbs/Croats	1,000-2,000
Chechnya	1995-2001	Chechens vs. Russia	200-300
Afghanistan	1996-2001	Masoud vs. Hekmatyar Taliban vs. Northern Alliance	1,000-1,500
Afghanistan	2001-2010	Taliban vs. Kabul/USA/NATO	1,000-1,500
Iraq	2003-2010	Sunnis vs. Baghdad/Coalition	4,000-5,000
Somalia	2006-2010	Al-Shabaab vs. Transitional government/Ethiopia	200-400
Syria-Iraq	2012-2017	Jihadists/Islamists/revolution- aries vs. Assad/Russia/Iran government/Baghdad/External actors	30,000-42,000

Sources: Numbers on conflicts prior to the Syrian Jihad are taken from Thomas Hegghammer, “The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad,” *International Security* 35, no. 3 (2010): 61; Estimate on foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq comes from UN CTED Trends Report, “The Challenge of Returning and Relocating Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Research Perspectives,” 2018.

Numbers of Jihadists are notoriously difficult to estimate because of the clandestine nature of the movement in general and should thus always be viewed critically.[46] Nonetheless, if we take a look at the number of foreign fighters joining the conflict in Syria and Iraq (Table 1), it is striking how high the number of foreigners mobilized to fight is compared to historic examples of Jihadi foreign fighters mobilization. While these numbers are not disaggregated in terms of the specific groups people fought with, we can with confidence say that the vast majority of the 30,000-42,000 people joining the conflict in Syria and Iraq between 2012-2017 fought in the ranks of the most hardcore Jihadi groups, namely the Islamic State and Jabhat al-Nusra.

In the period 2012-2018, thousands of people, locals as well as foreigners, have trained and fought in active Jihadi battlefields in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Sinai, Algeria, Somalia, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the Philippines (to mention the most important). In the training camps, fighters have followed military courses and received ideological education. The military skills are further developed and refined in active battle while the fighters' ideological stance hardens. In terms of military and ideological training, a generation has thus received its bachelor, master and—for those living long enough—Ph.D. degrees on these battlefields, making them experts in what they do. While many have died, others left disillusioned and some eventually returned to live their previous life before war broke out, the sheer magnitude of the number implies that a substantial number of well-trained Jihadists will continue as believers in the Jihadi project and in search of new battlefield arenas. In such future endeavors, their militant social network is important. Being on the battlefield has turned fighters into brothers-in-arms and established a high degree of trust so essential for (clandestine) militant activity. Either people are already connected or they can easily do in the future because of their pedigree as seasoned fighters.

Strong *networks*, both in the Middle East region but also when foreign fighters returned back to the West or joined third country conflicts, were a defining feature of the post-Afghan and Iraqi wars. Experienced fighters set up their own groups, became Jihadi entrepreneurs or perpetrated terrorist attacks on their home soil. So far, the rate of Jihadists with experience as foreign fighters who later carried out terrorist attacks in the West post-2012 has been surprisingly low compared to historical estimates and the number of returnees.[47-48] This has arguably led to premature conclusions that the threat of returning foreign fighters is perhaps not as severe as initially thought.[49] But arguably the most critical blowback from foreign fighters is still awaiting.[50] Two factors may explain this: first, Jihadists are still fighting a war and for those joining the Islamic State, the objective has been to establish and later protect the caliphate. This has obviously influenced their immediate priorities in favor of ongoing conflicts. Second, it must be assumed that most of those fighters who returned early have been the least committed. Those still fighting after several enduring years on the battlefield, who have not yet succumbed to bullets or the strenuous life as a Jihadist, are likely those we should fear the most. While few will survive and states around the world have made a serious effort to ensure they will not return to their home countries, they should nonetheless be considered a greater threat than early returnees or than during the zenith of the Islamic State's military and governance project.

A New Generation of Ideologues

An often underappreciated element is the emergence of a new generation of Jihadi ideologues helped by the context of the Syrian war and the organizational platform offered by certain groups. At the outset of the Syrian war, well-established Jihadi ideologues included Anwar al-Awlaki and Ahmed Musa Jibril for non-Arabic speaking audiences, and in the Arab world famous figures like al-Maqdisi, Abu Qatada, Abu Basir al-Tartusi, Umar al-Haddouchi, Abu al-Walid al-Ansari, Abu Yahya al-Libi, Atiyyatullah al-Libi, Iyad al-Qunaybi and the Shuaybi-school of Saudi scholars like Sulayman al-Ulwan. Although these figures remained influential (both al-Libis died quickly after the outbreak of war), a new cadre of mainly young ideologues has also blossomed up.

At first, the Islamic State sought to attract, without success, the support of senior ideologues like al-Haddouchi, al-Maqdisi and Abu Qatada. Out of necessity, the new state had to promote its own cadre of in-house ideologues

that were largely unknown within the Jihadi environment or at least not considered household names. When the Islamic State realized that it would not succeed in attracting any established ideologues—besides Abu al-Mundhir al-Shinqiti for a brief period—it initiated a campaign to vilify these figures by questioning their credentials and personality.[51] Simultaneously, it offered its own ideologues an organizational platform through which to publish their work, which stands in clear contrast to how other groups including al-Qaida operate. Abu Ali al-Anbari, Turki al-Binali, Abu Bakr al-Qahtani and lesser known figures like Abu Yaqub al-Maqdisi, Abu al-Mundhir al-Harbi al-Madani and Abu Zeid al-Iraqi, to mention a few, have all produced pools of written and audio material shared widely on the Internet mainly through media platforms utilized by the Islamic State. Al-Anbari (Abd al-Rahman Mustafa al-Qaduli) had been a central figure on the Iraqi Jihadi scene for more than a decade when he emerged as the most senior ideologue within the Islamic State. An emissary of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi to Khorasan and later the emir of the Mujahideen Shura Council in Iraq using the kunya *Abdullah al-Rashid al-Baghdadi*, al-Anbari was certainly not new to the world of Jihad, but he had always managed to operate under the radar. However, as a deputy to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in the Islamic State, his name and face was finally revealed. Besides his organizational role, his ideological ideas were presented in lectures and books on issues related to creed (aqida) and methodology (manhaj).

However, the Bahraini Turki al-Binali was the main ideological voice of the Islamic State, at least initially in 2013 and 2014. Al-Binali was portrayed as the *mufti* of the Islamic State and the main ideological voice of the group to bolster its claim to represent a caliphate and to counter the criticism from opposing ideologues. But this changed in mid-2014, as al-Binali's role became less public as he dedicated his time to his organizational role of heading the office of research and studies (*maktab al-buhuth wa-l-dirasat*). Generally, for the ideological figures within the Islamic State, being able to produce and disseminate material through official and semi-official Jihadi media centers was important to lend credit to their material and make it more authoritative. Although most of these ideologues have now been killed, their material is still available and will be used by Jihadi sympathisers in the future. Whether any one of them will reach the same standing of established Jihadi scholars is uncertain, but their vast production, still available and being translated into numerous languages, will be important to future generations of Jihadists. Especially al-Binali's writings on the caliphate and his critique of higher-ranking ideologues, including his previous mentor al-Maqdisi, will serve as an example, legitimizing the questioning of existing authorities.

Opposing the Islamic State, senior Jihadi ideologues unequivocally sided with al-Qaida or more moderate Jihadi factions and this decreased the pressure to promote new ideological figures. A few *new faces* supportive of al-Qaida, or later, Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, did cement their names on the Jihadi scene, however. After his arrival in Syria in 2013, Abdallah al-Muhaysini, a Saudi preacher, quickly emerged as a rising ideological star of the Syrian Jihad. With a Ph.D. in Islamic jurisprudence from the Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University in Riyadh, al-Muhaysini is well-educated compared to many other Jihadi ideologues, but his contribution to the Syrian Jihad was not limited to a shari' role as he engaged heavily in fundraising, reconciliation efforts and mobilization.[52] His lectures and videos often show him on the battlefield preparing al-Qaida affiliated fighters before battle, talking in his characteristic high pitch voice—sometimes screaming, sometimes crying—in an extremely passionate fashion. Mainly acting independently of any group, although close to *Jabhat al-Nusra*, he was briefly a member of its later iteration *Hayat Tahrir al-Sham*. A central figure behind the military coalition *Jaysh al-Fatah*, al-Muhaysini sought to portray himself as the *Abdallah Azzam* of the Syrian Jihad, trying to cross organizational boundaries and be perceived as *the* authoritative figure of Jihadists in opposition to the Islamic State.

Compared to al-Muhaysini, the Jordanian Sami al-Uraydi built his reputation inside the group *Jabhat al-Nusra* as a senior shari'. Close to al-Maqdisi, al-Uraydi was always part of the theological hardliners within his group, but it was first after leaving al-Nusra in February 2017, subsequent to the group's split from al-Qaida and name change to Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, that the Jordanian seriously established himself as a central figure. In 2017 and 2018, he produced several major written productions, mainly critical of his former comrades in Hayat Tahrir al-Sham and striking a similar criticism to that of al-Maqdisi emphasizing the importance of doctrinal purity and *tawhid* (monotheism).[53] In 2018, al-Uraydi was a central figure in the establishment of a new

al-Qaida affiliated group in Syria, named *Hurras al-Deen* (Guardians of Religion), claiming loyalty to Ayman al-Zawahiri and attacking Hayat Tahrir al-Sham for being *diluters* (mumayyi‘a) of religion.

A third emerging figure is Abu Mahmoud al-Filastini, a Palestinian based in London, but supportive of Jabhat al-Nusra and later Hayat Tahrir al-Sham. Abu Mahmoud was a student of Abu Qatada during his time in Britain and the two have remained ideologically close during the evolving Syrian conflict. Similarly to al-Uraydi, Abu Mahmoud really established himself in 2017 and 2018 as a strong supporter of Hayat Tahrir al-Sham, regularly posting articles in defense of the group on his Telegram channel and launching a strong criticism against al-Maqdisi, al-Uraydi and their supporters. This has placed Abu Mahmoud in opposition to both the Islamic State and al-Qaida and a strong proponent of *jihad al-ummah* and the dissolution of Jihadi *groups* for the benefit of the general Jihadi *project*.^[54] Other figures like Anas Hassan Khattab and Abdallah al-Shami (Abd al-Rahim Atoun) have been important ideological voices within Hayat Tahrir al-Sham and its predecessors as in-house ideologues, but their contribution is most in an organizational setting rather than as independent figures.

Technological Evolution

Arguably one of the most important features of the Jihadi current in the past five years, and key to understanding the rise of groups and individuals, is the evolution in information technology and how Jihadists have taken advantage of the opportunities offered by new IT-platforms. It is not that Jihadists are newcomers to the use of the Internet. Previously they relied on online fora to disseminate their material and communicate, but the outreach potential was rather limited. With the introduction of social media and file sharing platforms, the Jihadists now have an extremely powerful tool to reach new audiences, communicate with one another and ensure that their material is ever available.

At the outset of the Syrian conflict, Facebook was the main Jihadi alternative to their closed fora, but it was quickly replaced by Twitter and later Telegram as the media platform of choice. All these platforms have enabled Jihadists to disseminate, propagate and recruit at a hitherto unseen degree. Not only have these media platforms ensured a broader distribution of Jihadi material but also a certain consistency in availability. Although media companies have intensified their efforts at closing down Jihadi use of their platforms, they have been unable to prevent it entirely. Hence, these media platforms, in addition to file sharing platforms such as justpaste.it and archive.org, have ensured that Jihadi material is ever present. Groups like the Islamic State, al-Qaida, Hayat Tahrir al-Sham and the Taliban manage accounts on online platforms themselves, but the impact is magnified even further through supporter (*munasirun* or *ansar*) networks functioning as semi-independent online *entrepreneurs*. Supporters either manage channels that specialize in specific elements or as individuals disseminating their own or official group material.

Compared to other groups, the Islamic State has been the pioneer in terms of the quality and the quantity of online dissemination. A plethora of unofficial media centers are publishing and circulating official group material, their own production facilitates discussion between sympathizers.^[55] This has not only eased the pressure on official group channels to circulate material through a decentralization of responsibility, but also offered agency to a broad group of actors and helped ensure a constant online presence. This responsibility is being acknowledged by the Islamic State, but it is a relationship the group is carefully managing. The group considers its online presence as equally important to its battlefield operations, which was illustrated by its booklet published in 2015 titled *Media Operative, You Are a Mujahid, Too* and which explains the role of the *media mujahid* in the group's *information jihad*.^[56] In October 2018, the Islamic State published a video in its *Inside the Caliphate* series focusing on the role of its *munasirun* and illustrating its advanced IT-infrastructure connecting the group with these unofficial channels.^[57] But as the Islamic State has experienced, such decentralization of its information jihad comes with the risk of misinformation. Hence, on several occasions the group has issued directives to its *munasirun* to only publicize information coming from its official media establishment.^[58]

Ascribing the media an important role is not an innovation by the Islamic State. Ayman al-Zawahiri once

wrote Abu Musab al-Zarqawi that “we are in a battle, and that more than half of this battle is taking place in the battlefield of the media” and more recently Abu Qatada al-Filastini similarly underlined the impact of media. [59-60] Al-Qaida’s online presence, however, is more centralized compared to the Islamic State and relies on accounts run by official media centers like al-Sahab (al-Qaida Central), al-Malahim (AQAP) or Shahada Agency (Al-Shabaab).[61] Instead, the group gets its online support from channels ran by sympathetic ideologues like Abu Qatada, al-Maqdisi, Hani Sibai and lesser known figures like Adnan Hadid.

Disregarding the degree of centralization in their use of media, IT-platforms have revolutionized Jihadists’ online behavior and perpetuated the existence of its digital material for the benefit of future generations of Jihadists who can easily access material once published. This implies easier access for future generations and enables them to tap into existing Jihadi narratives and legal judgements in an unprecedented way.

The Future of Global Jihadism

Where does the Jihadi movement stand after seven years of intensive fighting in Syria, Iraq and other battlefields? The period 2012-2018 saw the establishment of a caliphate, the geographical expansion of Jihadi military campaigns, unprecedented numbers of terrorist attacks in the West and foreign fighter mobilization. [62] It involved a broad international coalition against Jihadi groups, organizational fragmentation and ensuing infighting and the dissolution of the caliphate in all but its name. But has the period 2012-2018 been a success or a failure for the Jihadi movement and how will the six identified trends impact the future of the movement?

Since its emergence in the early 1960s, the Jihadi movement has experienced its ups and downs. The general assessment of the Jihadi movement by outsiders, however, has tended to be rather negative and the success of Jihadists (and terrorists in general) appear to be judged much more critically than other actors.[63] This is evident in Abrahms’ conclusion that terrorism does not work because, he argues, terrorists rarely reach their ultimate goals.[64] But as Richard English rightly points out, we make a mistake if we keep labelling Jihadists as failures unless they reach these ultimate objectives.[65] Based on the identified trends in this article, the period 2012-2018 should generally be considered a highly successful transformative period in the history of the modern Jihadi movement for the simple reason that the positive experiences and developments outweigh the negatives.

Jihadists have managed to take their political project further than ever before with the establishment of a tangible political entity in the form of the Islamic State’s caliphate. While the group’s governmental epicenter was the Levant, it has also controlled territory in Yemen, Libya and to some extent Nigeria and the Philippines. Despite the dismantling of the physical caliphate, the narrative still exists and so does the strategic experience that the state project entailed. Jihadists showed that they are capable of mobilizing supporters in unprecedented numbers and those of their followers who did not die have now gained invaluable battlefield experience, established social bonds locally, regionally and globally and learned important strategic lessons. A new generation of Jihadi ideologues is coming forward and a massive pool of writing material and audio-visuals of both an ideological, strategic and tactical character has been produced. Online communication and file sharing platforms are now available in abundance, and Jihadists have shown that they know how to make savvy use of these platforms to communicate with each other and reach new audiences, not least the media. None of these positives will simply go away but will likely benefit the future Jihadi movement one way or the other.

And yet, the last seven years have not been exclusively positive for the Jihadi movement. While discursive contestation has always occurred between Jihadists, recent years have witnessed a catastrophic escalation in military infighting between Jihadists, many of whom used to be fighting in the same group. Discursive vilification of opposing figures has similarly escalated and helped break down existing authority structures within the movement. This will have a lasting effect in that it has significantly lowered the threshold for engaging in infighting through normalization and socialization processes. For new generations of Jihadists, fighting other Jihadists is simply another enemy to crush on the way to the caliphate. Despite Jihadi groups’ recent successes of mobilization, the number of potential Jihadi sympathizers is still relatively low in absolute numbers. Hence,

Jihadists would do better allying rather than fracturing since internal conflict has a demobilizing impact.[66] The indiscriminate and limitless violence employed by the Islamic State is another detrimental experience for the Jihadi movement more generally. While the group may have succeeded in attracting vast numbers of youth who were fascinated with the brutality, it likely will not appeal to all future generations.[67] Other Jihadi groups have made an effort to distinguish themselves from the Islamic State's brutality but beheadings, burnings, massacres and indiscriminate terror attacks have nonetheless tainted the broader Jihadi movement.

That said, despite appearing more fragmented than ever, the experiences gained during the 2012-2018 period have generally made the Jihadi movement more dangerous, popular and arguably more mainstream. Jihadism is no longer the utopia supported by the few and promoted by men hidden in Afghanistan's caves. At least for a period, it emerged as a popular movement attracting and educating thousands of locals and foreigners. While the previous decade involved both positive and negative experiences for the movement, the objective going forward is to learn from its mistakes in its attempts to establish new religio-political entities. The diversification of group ideology and methodology is particularly noteworthy. Groups now appeal to a broader range of people and have shown themselves capable of adopting increasingly pragmatic attitudes to state authorities. Groups like al-Qaida and the Islamic State representing more hardline ideologies will continue to oppose any reaching out to the states they are fighting. But, as we have witnessed with Hayat Tahrir al-Sham and the Taliban, serious engagement with the enemy is no longer inconceivable. This leaves us with a Jihadi movement more fragmented, more networked, more mature and politically sophisticated and more diversified than ever before.

About the Author: **Tore Refslund Hamming** (tore.hamming@eui.eu) is a Ph.D. candidate at the European University Institute working on internal conflict within the Sunni Jihadi movement.

Notes

[1] Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen, "Bliver Syrien En Skole for Terrorister?," in *Mellemøstens Nye Verden*, ed. Clement Behrendt Kjærsgaard and Lars Erslev Andersen (København: Ræson Medier, 2013), 28–42.

[2] Thomas Hegghammer, "Global Jihadism after the Iraq War," *The Middle East Journal* 60, no. 1 (2006): 11–32.

[3] Abu Musab Al-Suri, *The Global Islamic Resistance Call*, 2004.

[4] Ayman al-Zawahiri, "The road to Jerusalem passes through Cairo" (Al-Mujahidun, April 1995)

[5] In general, there seems confusion about the authoritative relationship between Bin Laden and al-Zawahiri with some arguing that the latter was in fact the real thinker of al-Qaida while Bin Laden was its poster boy. E.g. Gilles Kepel calls al-Zawahiri for Bin Laden's *mentor*, see Gilles Kepel, *Fitna: Guerre Au Cœur de l'islam* (Paris: Gallimard, 2004), 13.

[6] Barak Mendelsohn, *The Al-Qaeda Franchise : The Expansion of Al-Qaeda and Its Consequences* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[7] Thomas Hegghammer, "The Hybridization of Jihadi Groups," *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology* 9 (2009): 26–45.

[8] Author's own database over international attacks committed by al-Qaida and the Islamic State since 2010.

[9] Sam Heller, "Ahrar Al-Sham's Revisionist Jihadism," *War on the Rocks*, September 30, 2015: <http://warontherocks.com/2015/09/ahrar-al-shams-revisionist-jihadism/>

[10] Aron Lund, "Syria's Salafi Insurgents: The Rise of the Syrian Islamic Front," *UI Occasional Papers*, 2013: <https://www.ui.se/globalassets/ui.se-eng/publications/ui-publications/syrias-salafi-insurgents-the-rise-of-the-syrian-islamic-front-min.pdf>

[11] See especially Abu Mahmoud Al-Filastini, "An Indispensable Though Imperfect Unity," *Telegram Channel*, April 2017. All references to articles on Telegram have been stored by the author.

[12] Abu Muhammed al-Maqdisi and Sami bin Mahmoud al-Uraydi, "Jihad al-ummah wa jama'at al-ummah" [jihad of the ummah and groups of the ummah], July 2017. Maqdisi and Uraydi say that one cannot disagree with the concept of *jihad al-ummah* but the difference lies in how to interpret it. They believe that jihad is obligatory, even more important than obligations like fasting, but the

Jihad (of the ummah) must be led by knowledgeable figures (al-nukhba) to ensure it follows the correct creed and methodology.

- [13] Cole Bunzel, "Abu Qatada Al-Filastini: 'I Am Not a Jihadi, or a Salafi,'" *Jihadica*, October 26, 2018: <http://www.jihadica.com/abu-qatada-al-filastini-i-am-not-a-jihadi-or-a-salafi/>
- [14] Fawaz A. Gerges, *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- [15] Thomas Hegghammer, *Jihad in Saudi Arabia: Violence and Pan-Islamism since 1979* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- [16] Nelly Lahoud, *The Jihadis' Path to Self-Destruction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010).
- [17] Anne Stenersen, "Jihadism after the 'Caliphate': Towards a New Typology," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 2018, 1–20, doi:10.1080/13530194.2018.1552118.
- [18] Kévin Jackson, "The Forgotten Caliphate," *Jihadica*, December 31, 2014: <http://www.jihadica.com/the-forgotten-caliphate/>; Kevin Bell, "The First Islamic State: A Look Back at the Islamic Emirate of Kunar," *CTC Sentinel* 9, no. 2 (2016); Harun Maruf and Dan Joseph, *Inside al-Shabaab: The Secret History of Al-Qaeda's Most Powerful Ally* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2018); Christopher Anzalone, "Black Banners in Somalia: The State of al-Shabaab's Territorial Insurgency and the Specter of the Islamic State," *CTC Sentinel* 11, no. 3 (2018); Michael Horton, "Fighting the Long War: The Evolution of Al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula," *CTC Sentinel* 10, no. 1 (2017).
- [19] Ayman Al-Zawahiri, *Knights Under the Prophet's Banner* (Translation by Laura Mansfield, 2006), 215–16.
- [20] See Joas Wagemakers, *A Quietist Jihadi: The Ideology and Influence of Abu Muhammad Al-Maqqadi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 84 for discussion of these notions.
- [21] Joas Wagemakers, "What Should an Islamic State Look Like? Jihadi-Salafi Debates on the War in Syria," *The Muslim World* 106, no. July (2016): 501–22.
- [22] Charlie Winter and Jade Parker, "Virtual Caliphate Rebooted: The Islamic State's Evolving Online Strategy," *Lawfare*, January 2018.
- [23] Andrew Anthony, "Interview: The Art of Making a Jihadist," *The Guardian*, July 2017.
- [24] Uthman ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Tamimi, "I'lam Al-Anam Bi-Milad Dawlat Al-Islam [Informing the People of the Birth of the Islamic State]," *Al Furqan Media Foundation*, 2007. See also Nibras Kazimi, "The Caliphate Attempted: Zaraqawi's Ideological Heirs, Their Choice for a Caliph, and the Collapse of Their Self-Styled Islamic State of Iraq" *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, July 2008.
- [25] Wagemakers, "What Should an Islamic State Look Like? Jihadi-Salafi Debates on the War in Syria."
- [26] See Daniel L. Byman and Jennifer R. Williams, "ISIS vs. Al Qaeda: Jihadism's global civil war," *Brookings*, 24 February 2015.
- [27] Atiyyatullah Al-Libi, "The Importance of the Sanctity of Muslim Blood," 2011, <https://azelin.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/ae1b9adc4abbyatullah-abc5ab-abd-ar-rae1b8a5man-maximizing-the-sanctity-of-muslim-blood.pdf>; Christopher Anzalone, "Revisiting Shaykh Atiyyatullah's Works on Takfir and Mass Violence," *CTC Sentinel* 5, no. 4 (2012): 10–13; Abu Muhammad Al-Maqqadi, *Hadhihi Aqidatuna [This Is Our Aqida]*, 1997, 62.
- [28] Patricia Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 24.
- [29] Abu Khalil Al-Madani, "Advice to All the Fighting Groups in the Cause of Allah," *As-Sahab Media Productions*, April 2014.
- [30] Abu Sulayman Al-Muhajir, "Interview with Abu Sulayman Al-Muhajir," *Al Basira*, 2014.
- [31] Jed Lea-Henry, "The Life and Death of Abdullah Azzam," *Middle East Policy*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, Spring 2018.
- [32] Abu Muhammed Al-Adnani, "Apologies, Amir of Al-Qaida," *Al-Furqan Media Foundation*, May 11, 2014, <https://pietervanostaeyen.wordpress.com/2014/05/12/new-audio-message-by-isis-shaykh-abu-muhammad-al-adnani-as-shami-apologies-amir-al-qaida/>.
- [33] Kristin M. Bakke, Kathleen Gallagher Cunningham, and Lee J.M. Seymour, "A Plague of Initials: Fragmentation, Cohesion, and Infighting in Civil Wars," *Perspectives on Politics* 10, no. 2 (2012): 265–83. DOI:10.1017/S1537592712000667.
- [34] Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, 2. edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 157.
- [35] Abu Muhammed Al-'Adnani, "This Is the Promise of Allah," *The Islamic State, Al-'Itisam Media*, June 29, 2014, <https://pietervanostaeyen.wordpress.com/2014/06/29/the-islamic-state-restores-the-caliphate/>.
- [36] The Islamic State, "Dabiq 7: From Hypocrisy to Apostasy," *Al Hayat Media Center*, February 2015.

- [37] Tariq Abdelhaleem and Hani Al-Sibai, "A Declaration of Disownment and Divergence From the Ideology and Actions of ISIS," *Al Maqreze Centre for Historical Studies* (London, 2014); Tariq Abdelhaleem and Hani Al-Sibai, "Statement on the reality of the Islamic State," (London, 2014).
- [38] See Abu Basir al-Tartusi, "A Declaration Regarding the Fighting Between the ISIS and the Mujahedeen of Al-Sham," 15 January 2014 (accessed here: <https://justpaste.it/bas2>) and Abu Basir al-Tartusi, "The Validity of the Victorious Emirate," 15 March 2014 (accessed here: <https://justpaste.it/i8eg>).
- [39] Crone, *God's Rule: Government and Islam*; Lahoud, *The Jihadis' Path to Self-Destruction*.
- [40] Abu Muhammed al-Maqdisi, "Awradaha sa'ad wa sa'ad mushtamil. Ma makadha ya sa'ad turid al-ibal [This is not how cattle is taken to the water spring, Saad]," September 2014.
- [41] Tore Hamming, "When Jihadis Kill Jihadis: The Implications of Militant Infighting," *World Politics Review*, December 13, 2018.
- [42] Lennart van Leeuwen and Daan Weggemans, "Characteristics of Jihadist Terrorist Leaders: A Quantitative Approach," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12, no. 4 (2018): 55–67.
- [43] Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), 278.
- [44] Hegghammer, "Global Jihadism after the Iraq War," 14.
- [45] Aimen Dean, Paul Cruickshank, and Tim Lister, *Nine Lives: My Time as MI6's Top Spy inside Al-Qaeda* (London: Oneworld Publications, 2018).
- [46] The report CSIS, "The Evolution of the Salafi-Jihadist Threat: Current and Future Challenges from the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, and Other Groups," November 2018 is a good example of the problems in estimating numbers within the Jihadi movement. The report suggests a gross overestimation of the number of Sunni Jihadists. For a critique, see Sam Heller, "Rightsizing the Transnational Jihadist Threat," *International Crisis Group*, 12 December 2018.
- [47] Thomas Hegghammer, "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Explaining Variation in Western Jihadists' Choice between Domestic and Foreign Fighting," *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 01 (2013): 1–15.
- [48] Bibi van Ginkel and Eva Entenmann, "The Foreign Fighters Phenomenon in the European Union: Profiles, Threats & Policies," *ICCT*, April 2016, DOI:10.19165/2016.1.02.
- [49] Daniel Byman and Jeremy Shapiro, "Be Afraid. Be A Little Afraid: The Threat of Terrorism from Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq," 2014.
- [50] For a discussion of blowback and the time lag of foreign fighter involved terrorist attacks, see David Malet and Rachel Hayes, "Foreign Fighter Returnees: An Indefinite Threat?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2018). DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2018.1497987.
- [51] Wagemakers, "What Should an Islamic State Look Like? Jihadi-Salafi Debates on the War in Syria."
- [52] See Waleed Rikab, "Abdallah al-Muhaysini, a Pivotal Figure in the Islamist Insurgency in Syria," *Syria Comment*, 7 October 2015. For an overview of Muhaysini's statements and videos, see <https://jihadology.net/category/individuals/ideologues/dr-abd-allah-bin-muhammad-al-muhaysini/>
- [53] Sami al-Uraydi's most important writings after Jabhat al-Nusra changed to Jabhat Fath al-Sham include "Advice to the Mujahideen," *Telegram*, March 2017; "Methodological messages from the Syrian front," *Telegram*, May/June 2017; "Jihadist movements, the Muslim peoples and the dead end," *Telegram*, 4 July 2017; "Methodology: Between Praise and Contempt, the Sunnah and Heresy," *Telegram*, 9 October 2017 and "Testimonies about the disengagement between Al-Nusra (Fatah al-Sham) and al-Qaeda Part 1-5," *Telegram*, 15-21 October 2017.
- [54] Abu Mahmoud al-Filastini's most important writings include "Jihad of the Ummah or Puritanical narrow," *Al Masra*, 17 January 2017; "The Jihadi movement march between Success and Failure," *Telegram*, February 2017; "An indispensable though imperfect unity," *Telegram*, April 2017; "The Jihadi Movement Between the Jurisprudence of Balances and the Jurisprudence of Comparisons," *Telegram*, 28 July 2017; "The ummah before organisations," *Telegram*, 14 October 2017 and "Maqdisi and the free fall," *Telegram*, 20 January 2018.
- [55] A few examples of such unofficial media foundations include al-Ghuraba (an archive of al-Ghuraba material can be accessed here: <http://web.archive.org/web/20160307213149/http://justpaste.it:80/archivealghuraba>), al-Battar (Al-Batter used the twitter handle https://twitter.com/me_bttr), al-Baqiya and al-Wafa' (Al-Wafa used the twitter handle https://twitter.com/alwaf_aa) on Twitter and the websites of Ansar al-Khilafa (the website is now defunct but used to be on <https://ansarukhilafah.wordpress.com>) and Ahl ul-Tawhid (the website is now defunct but used to be on <https://ahlutawheed.wordpress.com>).

[56] Charlie Winter, “Media Jihad: The Islamic State’s Doctrine for Information Warfare,” *ICSR*, 2017; The Islamic State’s video titled “Media Man, You Are a Mujāhid Too” published by its wilayat Salahuddeen in May 2015 can be accessed here: <https://jihadology.net/2015/05/27/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-media-man-you-are-a-mujahid-too-wilayat-salah-al-din>; Charlie Winter, “What I Learned from Reading the Islamic State’s Propaganda Instruction Manual,” *Lawfare*, April 2017.

[57] The Islamic State, “Inside the Caliphate 8,” Video published 30 October 2018.

[58] See for instance Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, “Give Glad Tidings to the Patient,” *Al Hayat*, 22 August 2018.

[59] Ayman al-Zawahiri’s letter to Abu Musab all-Zarqawi dating 9 July 2005 can be accessed here: https://fas.org/irp/news/2005/10/letter_in_english.pdf

[60] Abu Qatada al-Filastini’s article “The Importance of Jihadi Media” can be accessed here: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/article-shaykh-abu-qatadah-al-filistini-importance-jihadi-media>

[61] This is not to say that al-Qaida does not have munasirun channels. Examples of such include the *Global Islamic Media Front* (GIMF) and *Al Hijrah*.

[62] Petter Nesser, “Military Interventions, Jihadi Networks, and Terrorist Entrepreneurs: How the Islamic State Terror Wave Rose So High in Europe,” *CTC Sentinel* 12, no. 3 (2019).

[63] Fawaz A. Gerges, *Rise and Fall of Al-Qaeda* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[64] For example Max Abrahms concludes terrorism *does not work* simply because terrorists, including Jihadi groups, have failed to reach their ultimate objectives. See Max Abrahms, “Why Terrorism Does Not Work,” *International Security* 31, no. 2 (2006): 42–78. In contrast, other authors claim that terrorism is a useful strategy to reach one’s objectives, see Bruce Hoffman, “Terrorism in History,” *The Journal of Conflict Studies*, 2007, 8–28; Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara F. Walter, “The Strategies of Terrorism,” *International Security* 31, no. 1 (2006): 49–80.

[65] English, Richard. *Does Terrorism Work?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

[66] Assaf Moghadam, *Nexus of Global Jihad: Understanding Cooperation among Terrorist Actors* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017); Tricia Bacon, “Alliance Hubs: Focal Points in the International Terrorist Landscape,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 8, no. 4 (2014): 4–26.

[67] Olivier Roy, *Jihad and Death: The Global Appeal of Islamic State* (London: Hurst & Company, 2017).

Call of Duty: Jihad – How the Video Game Motif Has Migrated Downstream from Islamic State Propaganda Videos

by Cori E. Dauber, Mark D. Robinson, Jovan J. Baslios and Austin G. Blair

Abstract

From a technical standpoint, Islamic State (IS) videos are demonstrably superior to those of other groups. But as time goes by, their aesthetic is migrating downstream as other groups attempt to copy it. Specifically, IS has turned to video games, regularly mimicking and even directly copying the aesthetic and design of First Person Shooter games, most often Call of Duty, in their videos, and other groups have followed suit. This specific aesthetic offers a way to recruit young, technologically savvy, men while sanitizing the violence they were being recruited to participate in. This study offers an instrument for tracking the IS aesthetic as it moves to other groups as well as its evolution over time, and offers a case study of a specific group that has copied the IS aesthetic, Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham (HTS.)

The Game Motif

This study examines the relationship between the visual aesthetic expressed in the video propaganda of the so-called Islamic State (IS) and the visual aesthetic expressed in the video propaganda of other, “downstream” groups to answer a deceptively simple question. We are seeing “downstream groups” trying to mimic or copy the Islamic State (IS) aesthetic. In examining what this means, the question we take up here is, “How do IS video propaganda aesthetics and standards appear in the work of other groups?” The dissemination of the IS aesthetic is in and of itself problematic and worth tracking. They have set a standard other groups are clearly aiming for. Furthermore, IS has multiple styles and motifs that its media makers employ. Aside from the overall problem of jihadist propaganda quality improving and IS becoming a model for other groups, the specific motif of “game” is being used by IS and copied by others, and that specifically is of concern for a number of reasons.

To that end, we compared a set of IS videos with videos from Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham (HTS.) The goal of this study was first, to establish the parameters of when a video ought reasonably be considered to be built on a video game motif, and second, to assess how the method behind IS's use of such a motif has migrated “downstream” to a group that has historically produced weaker video propaganda than IS. The paper first establishes what the characteristics of this motif are, discusses why it has become a popular choice in jihadist propaganda, then charts the downstream migration from IS. It should be noted, “video game motif” or “video game aesthetic” has in practice for these groups almost always meant the aesthetic of “Call of Duty,” a choice we discuss below. HTS and IS almost obsessively focus on copying the style of (and sometimes just copying) the various games in the Call of Duty franchise.

Our interest in propaganda focuses on videos specifically. Islamic State's choice to use the gaming motif is not a random one but is, in fact, an incredibly savvy decision. Videos that make use of such a motif are a “visual dog whistle” to the all-important gaming demographic. [1] The following meme has been widely referenced in the popular press.[2]

Figure 1: “This is Our Call of Duty” Meme



The argument has been made for a number of years that IS materials are littered with memes, images, and even ripped footage from popular culture materials marketed to what could be called the global youth demographic,[3] because that, more than any specific nationality or ethnic group, is the target audience, certainly for IS, but also for any of these groups who recruit outside of a narrow nationalist base. Video games are an important example of this approach on the part of groups' media makers.

Characteristics That Define the Game Motif

For this study we compared IS product with those of HTS. We chose HTS intentionally because this group's product quality—which has been gradually improving over a long period of time,[4]—is now closest to that of IS. (Indeed in many videos it is its equal, even in some sections surpassing that of IS.) Therefore, our argument is easier to see for those not used to regularly making qualitative judgments about video production.

In order to establish that both IS and HTS borrow from video games to create game motifs in their media products, we need to identify what precisely defines a particular video as “game.” While there are many characteristics that reflect a gaming sensibility (and IS in particular will choose to put individual gaming characteristics into videos in a scattered way so that there are many videos that include references to gaming that we would not call gaming videos) only when multiple gaming characteristics *dominate* a video can that video genuinely be said to represent a game motif.

There are several characteristics that we identify as “game.” These are First Person Shooter (or “FPS” games) so it is no surprise that a primary element of these videos is the heavy use of first person (sometimes called subjective) camera angles, powerful because they create an immersive experience—just as in game play, or game space. The use of first person camera is probably the visual characteristic that is “first among equals” in identifying a video as belonging to the gaming category.[5]

Figure 2: Frame Grab: FPS Shot, Image of Gun Visible, from HTS “Eastern Al-Ghoutah 2”

The next visual marker to appear prominently in gaming videos is the use of drone footage. But any groups who can use drones to capture footage rely on such footage, because it is dramatic and effective. (The primary use of such footage is to “objectively” establish a context, referred to by media professionals as an establishing shot.) The leap to “game” is made with the addition of two additional elements. First, there are colored graphics overlaid on top of the drone footage to permit the viewer to distinguish “bad guys” (always in red, as in video games) from “good guys” (always in green.) See for example “Epic Battle of the Lions”[6] or “Racers to Paradise”[7] and “Metals of the Men.”[8]

Figure 3: Frame Grab of Drone Footage, from IS “Stay for the End Times”

The second visual characteristic that points without a doubt to “game” is the use of drone footage in brief screen-in-screen appearances in the corner of the frame when first person footage is playing. This technique, applied in games (in the games it is called a “mini-map”) there offers players a sense of the overall “battle-space,” with the objective of providing context so as to eliminate extreme fixation on their own viewpoint, which in turn risks distracting the player from the overall action.[9] Here, actual drone footage recreates that effect, and it would be immediately recognized as such by gamers. Non-gamers in many cases either would not process the screen’s appearance and disappearance, given how inconsequential the overlay often appears, or would be disoriented by it, not understanding the intended relationship to the larger screen and not being experienced in switching perspectives, as gamers are.[10]

Figure 4: Frame Grab: Mini-Map, from IS “Raid of Abu Hasan Al Khathami”

The next visual feature consists of narrative elements which are often presented with a specific type of graphic, where suddenly instead of high-resolution footage images are grainy, in an extremely washed-out color palette, often all in grey or sepia toned. This again presents a “dog whistle” mimicking a very specific visual from the game, and thus capitalizing on association with the game environment. For example, the introduction of a new “mission” in Call of Duty would present a scene or weapon as the primary focus, while the introduction of a new character would use this kind of graphic, in which case a face would be the centerpiece. For IS see, “Epic Battles of the Lions”[11] or “Harvest of the Soldiers #1”[12] or especially “Profit Selling.”[13] Animated writing appears in the space remaining, accompanied by a techno sound effect taken from the game (if you are not a gamer, think of the sound effect that accompanied the appearance of the graphics in the film *Hunt for Red October*.) These graphics, and the timing with which they unfold, almost precisely mimic those in the game, except that they are mirror images, since of course English reads left-to-right and Arabic right-to-left, so the focal point of the images in the game and in gaming videos will appear on opposite sides of the screen. For HTS see again “Metals of Men.”[14]

Only someone who plays versions of Call of Duty specifically would notice that the introduction of larger and more powerful weapons is sequenced and timed in a very specific way. In the game, at least in “multiplayer” mode where one plays against other people, as a player becomes more successful one “earns” more powerful weapons. This is what is known as a “kill-streak” or “score-streak.” Mortars and artillery never appear until roughly two thirds of the way through the gaming “mission.” IS and HTS have incorporated the same sequencing of the introduction of weapons—“players” are never shown with these “reward” weapons until after they are shown with AK-47s or RPGs for example—but the mortars and artillery pieces appear, proportionally speaking, at roughly the same point in the narrative action of the video as in the game. This extremely subtle and precise point is very unlikely to be a reflection of anything other than intent. Very great care is being taken to copy the game in a number of details that viewers unfamiliar with the game simply would never notice or care about.

Finally (and strikingly), compared with other videos (particularly those of IS), the violence in gaming videos appears highly stylized to the point of being sanitized. This study is not specifically discussing the ultra-violent videos that have received so much attention in the press: it has been well established that these are a small percentage of IS output and have been throughout the group’s existence.[15] Rather, we are comparing violent gaming videos to the average video in the jihadist combat genre, which—while typically not showing the enemy during actual combat itself—often delights in showing the bodies of fallen foes in every imaginable state, as a final display of domination, of humiliation, and as a warning. These images are grotesque and horrifying.[16] Yet they are almost completely absent from the jihadists’ gaming videos. There are plenty of people being killed, but as in video games themselves, they are killed at a distance and with no focus on the aftermath, on the effects these weapons have on actual flesh and blood, on the actual carnage involved; not for the “bad” guys and not for the “good” guys who—just as in the game space—when shot, simply get back up and start over, as for instance in “Roar of the Lions”[17] or “And God Will Be Sufficient #4”[18] for the Islamic State, and “Metals of Men” or “Eastern al-Ghuthah” for HTS.[19]

The Benefits of the Game Motif for Terrorist Propagandists

What is driving this aesthetic choice? Answers, obviously, will be speculative, but examining the gaming demographic closely, the actual numbers provide strong evidence. Globally, approximately two billion people play some kind of video game, roughly one in every three people on the planet.[20] That number, of course, is inflated by virtue of the fact that it includes everyone playing every type of game. In other words, it includes parents giving small children educational games on tablets to entertain them in restaurants, and senior citizens playing Farmville or Candy Crush on their phones on the bus on the way home from work. From the perspective of terrorist groups, what matters is who (and how many) play First Person Shooter games. These are the games which insert an individual or group of players directly into a combat scenario of some kind (they literally become a “shooter”), giving them weapons and ammunition, and asking them to perform tasks which inevitably require them to directly engage an enemy to succeed. What additionally sets these games apart is that they offer the player a “first person” perspective—they are designed in such a way as to immerse the

player in the game space. It appears that the player is “in” the space, looking at their own hands, through their own eyes and so forth. Global player numbers for these types of games are, of course, far lower, but are still enormous when you realize the starting figure is two billion. Some 57% of those two billion play FPS games, and are below the age of 35.[21] Well over 90% are male.[22] These numbers not only mean that these motifs are familiar to hundreds of millions, but that they are in the exact sweet spot in terms of recruitment for these jihadist groups: young, male, and technologically savvy.

Still, why Call of Duty specifically? Because worldwide more than 100 million play that specific game.[23] One of the most recent iterations of the franchise made the company one billion dollars on the first *day* of its release.[24]

To be clear, we are not arguing that IS videos have been so good that thousands saw them, got swept up and simply made their way to Syria to join the fight. It is our argument that other groups saw how much better IS videos were than their own, and that thousands were joining IS, and drew their own conclusions – and therefore decided they had to step up their game (so to speak) both by attempting to increase the quality of their work *and* by including game elements in their aesthetic.

Available research offers extremely useful insights on why a game motif might be attractive to these groups, because it explains how the use of such a motif might increase the chances that “gamers” would be attracted to their cause (and at the same time be particularly attractive recruits.) Marcus Schulzke, very cautious about making arguments about the impacts of First Person Shooter (FPS) games on those who play them, makes compelling arguments about the power of these games as a form of strategic communication, if not outright propaganda.[25] Moreover, an extensive body of empirical research finds at least a correlation between regular play of violent games and increased aggressiveness (although there is some question whether FPS games correlate with aggression more than third person games.[26])

One key difference between games and other forms of entertainment media is that the game experience is fully immersive. They work, in other words, because they engage multiple senses, including the sensation of movement, cannot be played without full concentration, and foster identification with the characters being played.[27] These elements produce a sense of “transportation,” of actually being *in* the world of the game.[28] These findings stem from research on the actual *playing* of games, not looking at images that are essentially using games as memes. But until research on looking at imagery based on games is available, these studies seem reasonable proxies.[29] And what is called “transportation” seems very much like the phenomena referred to as “presence” in studies of the first person camera angle critical to the reproduction in videos of the gaming motif, and those studies come to very similar conclusions.[30] We doubt very much any of these groups are aware of such research, but it does go a long way towards explaining their choices. It seems likely these groups would prefer to recruit young men with aggressive tendencies, and the gamer communities are, for whatever reason, a place to find them. Terrorist groups have no doubt discovered this through experience.

There is, however, almost no research on the integration of video games as a *motif* in terrorist propaganda.[31] Miron Lakomy writes at length about jihadist groups attempting to incorporate video *games* into their propaganda, but notes that they simply lack the technical capacity to produce games that compete in any real way with the sophistication of those being produced in the West, and concludes that is likely why Islamic State has done no more than release “trailers” (if those trailers were actually official IS products, which is in question.) Professor Lakomy references the use of Call of Duty as a meme by IS, but does not mention the way it functions as a motif for them, perhaps because he is somewhat dismissive of their capacity to produce high-quality video propaganda (a conclusion with which we obviously disagree.)[32]

There has been intense debate for many years over whether FPS (and other violent games) simply attract young people with aggressive tendencies or actually increase the aggression of the young people who play them, and that is a critical question for educators and policymakers, but completely irrelevant to terrorist and extremist groups looking for aggressive young men. Either way, they need only tap the FPS gamer community in some way in their recruiting, and they are likely to be accessing a recruiting pool that includes young men who are more aggressive than the norm.

Charting the Migration Downstream

Previous work developed a basic instrument for the evaluation of extremist propaganda, and initially demonstrated that tool could successfully evaluate the impact on Islamic State propaganda of coalition bombing.[33] That forensic tool enables a focus on the ways in which compositional elements of video (editing, lighting, graphics, audio, camera angles and so forth) contribute to the rhetorical and persuasive power of video propaganda. Since the production of quality requires intent, it should therefore be possible to generate predictive models based on where and how the makers of these videos apply that intent. That first step demonstrated the basic viability of the instrument, and so we build on that earlier work.

In order to properly assess the relationship between “downstream” groups and IS, we created a version of the original instrument using the typical IS propaganda product as a baseline against which the aesthetic choices of other groups can be measured. The original instrument itself was straightforward. Down the vertical (Y) axis all the components of video production and messaging, which can be graded based on quality are listed. Along the horizontal (X) axis are the grading levels, ranging from “Consumer,” which is essentially what you see when a naïve user picks up a camera for the first time, through to a level defined as “Hollywood.”

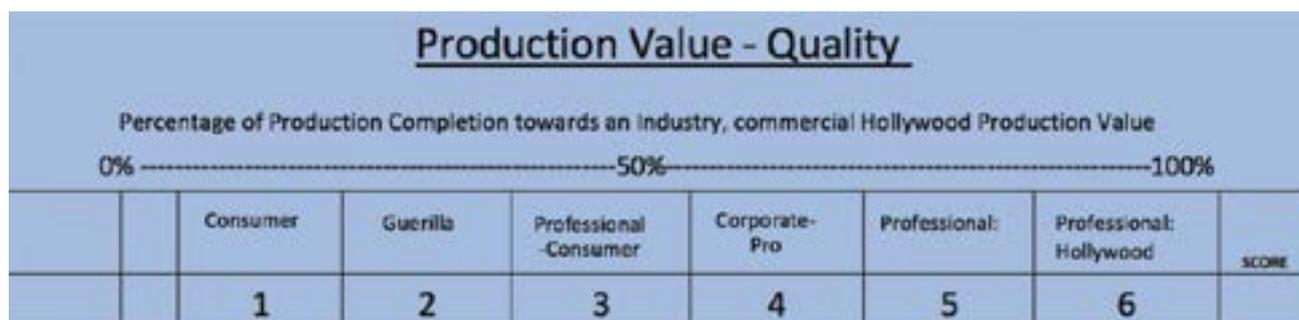
Here the vertical (Y) axis starts with a list of production components from the original Quality Assessment Grid and converts them into points of assessment shifted into an aesthetic—in other words, a point of comparison against which a non-IS video can be measured. In addition to this inheritance from the original grid, we added components which characterize and define the IS standard. In this study we use video games as a specific motif or expression of that aesthetic. Within the motif there are aesthetic elements, some of which are shared with other motifs and some that are unique to gaming. Pulling out motifs within the overall aesthetic points us towards the particular demographics extremist groups are attempting to recruit as well as what comprises their message and how that message is presented.[34]

We modified the X-axis, now with a scale from 1-6 (or 0 to 100%), to provide the aesthetic value (or choices) relative to the IS standard. That now allows a graded aesthetic of the propaganda of other groups, such as HTS, relative to IS. And the Y-axis has been modified, now listing the points or elements of aesthetic assessment.

Figure 5: New Y Axis

MESSAGING
Delivery Technique - Compression, Metadata, Low DRC (Dynamic Range Compression)
Quality - Pixilation
Editing Enhances Story
Graphics - Messaging
Marketing
Message: Target
Resolution
Story - Content Organization
Story/ Scene/ Sequence
Symbology
Target and Appeal
Target Audience
Use and Type of Media Elements
Delivery
Narratives and Implication
MEDIA PRODUCTION
Image Quality (Scale; Flattened; 3-D; Intention)
Set/ Location - Use; Intent
2-D Graphic Implementation
FX (AfterEffects)
3-D Graphic Implementation
FX (ex. Cinema or Maya, Motion)
Actors: Identity, Continuity, Character
Audio - Craft
Acquisition - Microphone - Craft/Skills
Foley
Audio - Mix - Engineering
Auteur - Level and Sophistication
Camera Technique (Movement, Angles, etc.)
Camera Type
Cinematography
Composition - Image (1/3rds)
Continuity
Diegetic Representation
Editing Craft (Mechanics, Timing)
Equipment Knowledge (Grain, Depth of Field etc.)
Graphics - Introduction Quality
Intention
Intersection Points - Vulnerability - Valence
Lighting Type/ Technique
Logo, Brand (Quality, Inference)
Mechanics (Sophistication of Technique and Craft)
Mise-en-Scene
Standards --> Location: Local, Regional, National or International
Synchronous Audio
Timing
Visual/ Artistic/ Craft Sophistication

Figure 6: New X Axis



When the IS video “Sniping One of the Apostates”[35] is run through this grid, not all values score 6 (or 100%) because that particular IS video does not represent a “perfect” representation of an IS video: there is no such thing (See Figure 7).[36]

Our initial comparison was between IS and HTS propaganda (see Figure 8)

This would seem to beg the question: how do we prove that HTS is in fact following IS, copying them, as opposed to independently making comparable aesthetic judgments about the value of a game motif? In point of fact we cannot conclusively prove this, because the forms of evidence we would need to lock down such a claim—interviews with media makers, production notes, or just raw, unedited footage—are simply unavailable, absent. As a proxy, however, we can examine historical works, and look at what HTS production choices were when the (IS) Caliphate was first declared, and IS initially began pushing out product. This would allow us to compare those to more recent examples of HTS work, thus focusing on the trajectory of their development.

Of course, when the Caliphate was first declared, HTS itself did not exist. They were then Jabhat al-Nusra.[37] Figure 9 illustrates a comparison between representative videos made by IS and Al-Nusra:

Al-Nusra videos prior to “infection” of IS standards and propaganda success, despite the fact that Nusra and IS had originally been a single organization, are markedly weaker, across the board.[38] As samples from this time period we examined “Liberation of al-Umiyyah Checkpoint”[39] and “Satisfy the Breasts of a Believing People,”[40] which are examples of poor craft, design, aesthetic, and execution. Yet HTS, after IS introduced the game motif, begins incorporating that aesthetic as well (admittedly after its own technical capacities have improved.) “Metals of Men” for example, which incorporates drone footage, also uses graphic overlays and sound effects ripped straight from the game[41] to create the look and feel of a FPS game.

HTS videos clearly feature gaming references, and importantly these include not only the First Person Shooter camera angles that a casual observer would be familiar with, (and that Nusra videos tried to incorporate), but much more subtle elements—again, the “dog whistles”—that would be immediately obvious to members of the gamer community, but which to others might be confusing, or even appear as “weaker” quality.[42] For example, videos with diluted or reduced color palettes and shots that are very grainy interspersed amongst very high-resolution footage make sense within a game comparison, whereas they otherwise might be taken for accidents or even evidence of poor craft. But when Call of Duty is the point of reference, then the diluted color palette provides an obvious shout-out, and the quick use of grainy footage (with graphic overlays) obviously imitates the manner in which a game introduces a break in the action, visually signaling that a new “mission” is beginning or a new character is being introduced.

Figure 8: IS[43] vs. HTS[44] Grid

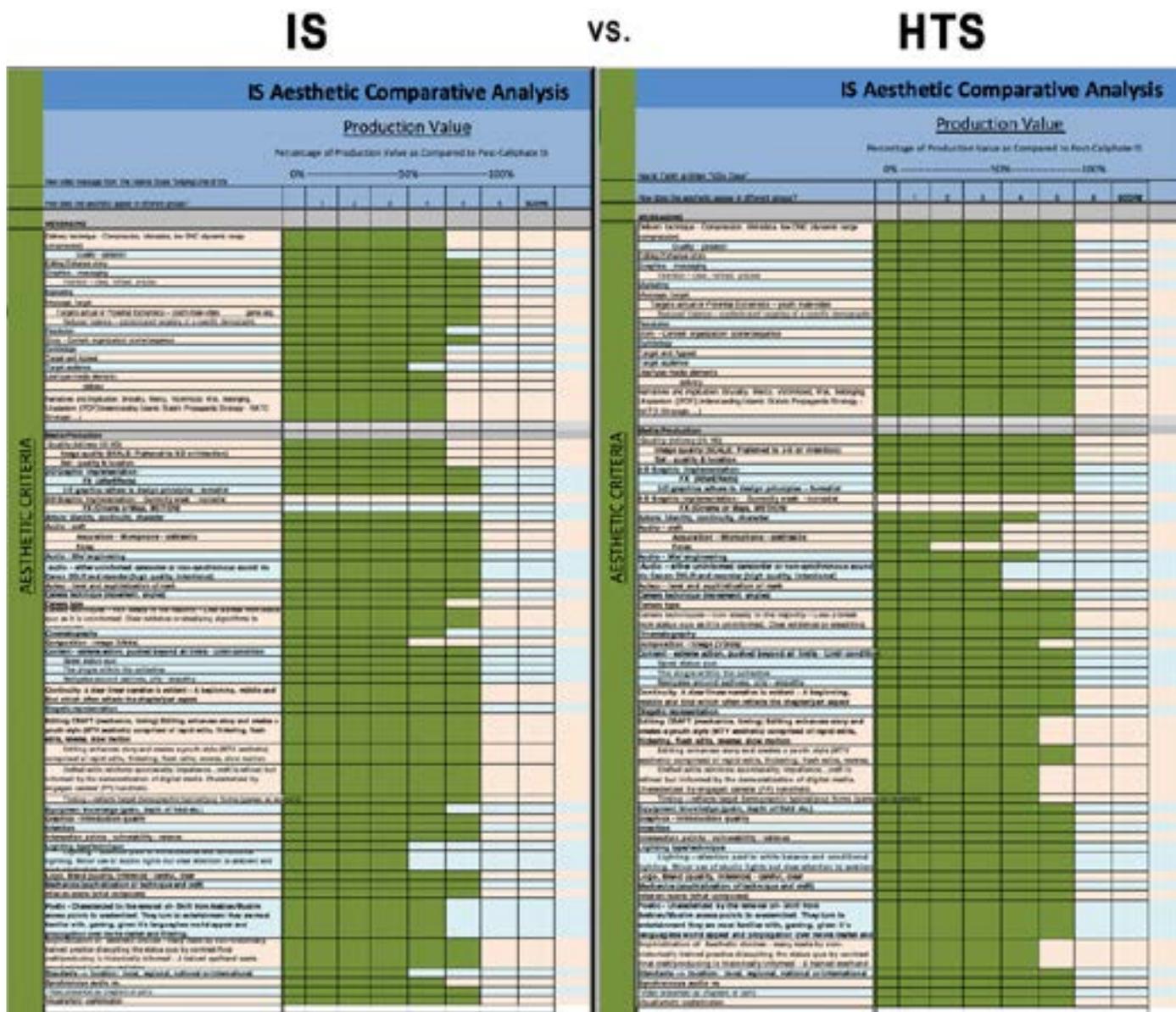
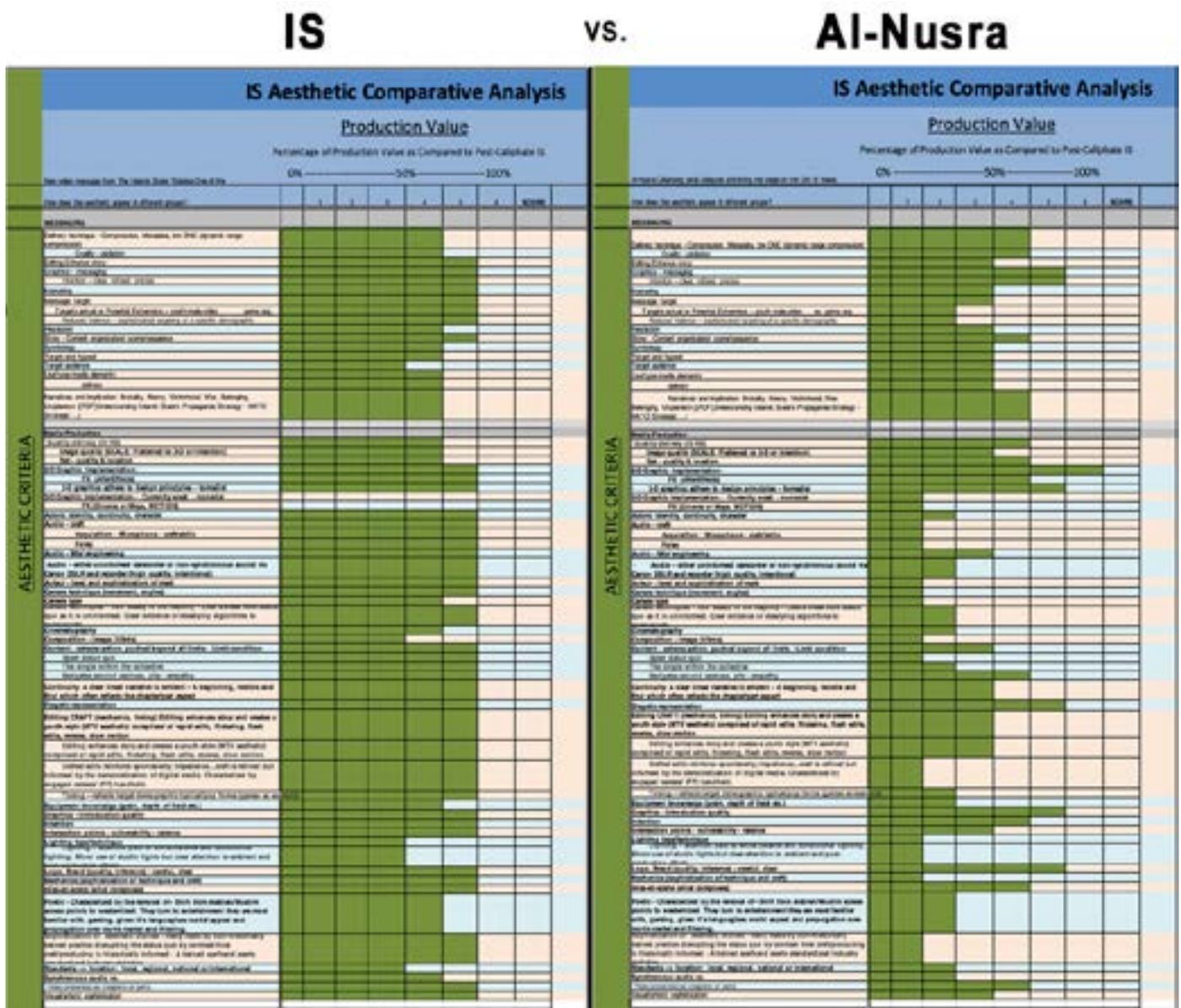


Figure 9: IS[45] vs. Nusra[46] Grid



Conclusion

Providing a metric for the IS visual aesthetic, and the game motif in particular as it moves to other groups, matters for several reasons. First, the ability to quantify how close (or how far) a group’s output is to emulating (or deviating from) “IS standard” remains one of the critical long-term goals of this project, the development of an “aesthetic fingerprint” we can use to track media teams. As noted, HTS improved gradually over a long period of time. That is not the case with other groups now affiliated with IS, whose production quality jumped almost overnight. Not only has the quality jumped, but it jumped in precise ways making their videos entirely consistent with the IS aesthetic, which we take as a demonstration of intent. Mapping quality changes over time through the use of this modified tool makes these linkages more directly apparent.

Also, the methodology seems to greatly strengthen the argument that popular culture materials intended for the global youth market are being targeted by terrorist propagandists, something those in the P/AVE community should take into account, and indeed ought to capture and make their own. There are any number of ways the use of a gaming motif could be addressed by that community (designing games being only the most obvious) but the bottom line of our research argues the target audience must in some way be addressed. There is no reason these motifs cannot be subverted, and used against the groups as counter-programming, for example

using FPS to lead a “player” to a gory death followed by the message THERE IS NO RESPAWN.

The enormous popularity of e-sports also provides tremendous opportunities. Governments and NGOs ought to be sponsoring advertisements during games and tournaments (or even teams or, frankly, smaller events.) E-sports provides a burgeoning arena, with literally tens of millions watching events via the web, and tens of thousands participating. It is well worth considering this new venue, a place where the precise demographic being targeted by extremist groups of all sorts are gathering, as a space that is just waiting for positive messaging from counter- and anti-extremist organizations.

Acknowledgements: The authors would like to thank the editors of *Perspectives on Terrorism* and two anonymous reviewers for their very helpful suggestions to an earlier draft.

About the Authors: **Cori E. Dauber** (@coridauber) is Professor of Communication at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where she is also a Research Fellow at the Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS.) **Mark Robinson** (mark@deepskyanalytics.com) is the Director of the Media Laboratory of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. **Jovan J. Baslios** is a graduate of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, majoring in both History and Peace, War, and Defense, with an additional interest in intelligence in the classical era. **Austin G. Blair** is a graduate of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, majoring in Peace, War, and Defense, and has written an honor’s thesis on “Millennial Jihad.”

Notes

- [1] In political rhetoric, the “dog whistle” is a commonly used metaphor, meaning rhetoric that will sound largely neutral to the main audience, but means something very different to the targeted sub-set of that audience. It is a strategy employed by both right and left. See Tanzina Vega, “Decoding the ‘dog whistle’ politics of Trump and Clinton,” *CNNmoney*, October 19, 2016. <https://money.cnn.com/2016/10/19/news/dog-whistle-trump-clinton/index.html>. We here transfer it to the study of visuals.
- [2] See for example, Matthew Hall, “‘This is our Call of Duty’ How ISIS is using video games,” *Salon*, November 1, 2014. https://www.salon.com/2014/11/01/this_is_our_call_of_duty_how_isis_is_using_video_games/ as well as Jay Caspian King, “ISIS’s Call of Duty,” *The New Yorker*, September 18, 2014 <https://www.newyorker.com/tech/elements/isis-video-game>.
- [3] Cori E. Dauber and Mark D. Robinson, “Comments on Video Propaganda,” in Allison Astorino-Courtois, ed., SMA Reach-back: Question QL 5 (CENTCOM NSI December, 2016) http://nsiteam.com/social/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/QL-5_-_response_-_how-audiences-receive-info_10-4-2016FinalDraftV2.pdf.
- [4] We make this claim based on our assessment of videos of first Nusra, then the follow-on groups, and finally HTS over the period between 2014 and the present.
- [5] For particularly clear HTS examples, see “New video message from Hay’at Tahrir al-Sham: ‘Glories in the Field #13,’” *Jihadology.net*, April 22, 2018, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2018/04/22/new-video-mesaage-from-hayat-ta%E1%B8%A5riral-sham-glories-in-the-field-13/> or “New video message from Hay’at Tahrir al-Sham: ‘Glories in the Field #14,’” *Jihadology.net*, April 25, 2018, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2018/04/25/new-video-mesaage-from-hayat-ta%E1%B8%A5riral-sham-glories-in-the-field-14/>.
- [6] See “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘Epic Battles of the Lions – Wilayat al-Anbar,’” *Jihadology.net*, June 27, 2017, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2017/06/27/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-epic-battles-of-the-lions-wilayat-al-anbar/> at 19:40.
- [7] “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘The Racers to Paradise #2 – Wilayat al-Raqqah,’” *Jihadology.net*, January 26, 2015, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin, <https://jihadology.net/2015/01/26/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-the-racers-to-paradise-2-wilayat-al-raqqah/>. This is also a good example of the “bookending” feature discussed below.
- [8] See “Metals of Men,” the very end.
- [9] For IS examples, see “The Raid of Abu Hasan al Khathami,” or, “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘Stay for the End Times – Wilayat Halab,’” *Jihadology.net*, April 16, 2017, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2017/04/16/new-video->

- [message-from-the-islamic-state-stay-for-the-end-times-wilayat-%E1%B8%A5alab/](#) or “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘Traditions and Practices of God – Wilayat al-Barakah,’” *Jihadology.net*, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin, January 6, 2018 <https://jihadology.net/2018/01/06/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-traditions-and-practices-of-god-wilayat-al-barakah/> or “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘And Prepare Against Them Whatever You Are Able of Power – Wilayat al-Jazirah,’” *Jihadology.net*, May 31, 2015, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin, <https://jihadology.net/2015/05/31/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-and-prepare-against-them-whatever-you-are-able-of-power-wilayat-al-jazirah/>. For HTS, see “Metals of Men.”
- [10] “al-Furqan Media presents a new video message from The Islamic State: ‘And Wretched Is That Which They Purchased,’” *Jihadology.net*, March 10, 2015, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin, <https://jihadology.net/2015/03/10/al-furqan-media-presents-a-new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-and-wretched-is-that-which-they-purchased/> is not precisely a mini-map, but it does demonstrate how this kind of footage can be used as screen-in-screen to create a game aesthetic in the middle of a narrative to add to its credibility.
- [11] Starting at 11:51. Although more a video that incorporates game elements than a straight game video, see “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘Swords of Jihad – Wilayat al-Iraq, Shamal Baghdad,’” *Jihadology.net*, July 29, 2018, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2018/07/29/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-swords-of-jihad-wilayat-al-iraq-shamal-baghdad/> where at 6:51 the action is interrupted so that a vehicle can be transformed into a graphic, complete with all the relevant information about its firepower, cost, and so forth. (Warning: extremely graphic.)
- [12] The quality of Islamic State infographics is well known, but in this case because the background figures are fighters, and are animated, we feel comfortable putting it in the “game” category. These silhouettes resemble CoD Ghost mission introductions. “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘Harvest of the Soldiers #1,’” *Jihadology.net*, August 2, 2018, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin, <https://jihadology.net/2018/08/02/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-harvest-of-the-soldiers-1/>.
- [13] “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘Profit Selling – Wilayat al-Furat,’” *Jihadology.net*, October 4, 2017, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin, <https://jihadology.net/2017/10/04/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-profit-selling-wilayat-al-furat/> where there is, throughout the narrative, a recurrent sepia-hued image with the face to the right and writing, in Arabic and Cyrillic letters, on the left. See 3:40.
- [14] “Metals” starting at 4:35. “Metals” appears to be specifically based on the “World War II” iteration of the Call of Duty franchise.
- [15] Multiple studies have proven empirically that the ultra-violent images that received the greatest attention in the Western media were an exceedingly small percentage of IS output. Charlie Winter, “Fishing and ultraviolence,” *BBC.com*, October 6, 2015, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/1dt-88492697-b674-4c69-8426-3ed17b7daed> or Aaron Y. Zelin, “Picture Or It Didn’t Happen: A Snapshot of the Islamic State’s Official Media Output,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 9, 4 (2015): 85-97, <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/445/876>. Lydia Wilson notes that the persistent focus on the ultra-violent videos “obscured to a Western audience the revolutionary message of idealism and joy that attracts many young people to the cause, which in turn blocks our understanding of and our ability to combat the appeal.” “Understanding the appeal of ISIS,” *New England Journal of Public Policy* 29, 1 (2017): 5, <https://scholarworks.umb.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1704&context=nejpp>.
- [16] As a particularly egregious example of the way enemy dead are displayed, see “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘And You Will Not Harm Him At All – Wilayat al-Khayr,’” *Jihadology.net*, February 1, 2018, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2018/02/01/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-and-you-will-not-harm-him-at-all-wilayat-al-khayr/>.
- [17] “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘Roar of the Lions – Wilayat al-Furat,’” *Jihadology.net*, January 30, 2017, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2017/01/30/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-roar-of-the-lions-wilayat-al-furat/>.
- [18] “New video message from the Islamic State: ‘And God Will Be Sufficient For You Against Them #4,’” *Jihadology.net*, December 10, 2017, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2017/12/10/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-and-god-will-be-sufficient-for-you-against-them-4-wilayat-al-furat/>.
- [19] “New video message from Hay’at Tahrir al-Sham: ‘Eastern al-Ghutah: A Castle of Steadfastness #2,’” *Jihadology.net*, June 9, 2018, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2018/06/09/new-video-message-from-hayat-ta%E1%B8%A5rir-al-sham-eastern-al-ghu%E1%B9%ADah-a-castle-of-steadfastness-2/> is an example of both a video where enemy dead are displayed in relatively bloodless and relatively whole positions, and where enemy dead, when shot, simply fall down. See 8:30 and just after 9:00.
- [20] Emma McDonald, “The Global Games Market Will Reach \$108.9 Billion in 2017 With Mobile Taking 42%,” *New Zoo*, April 20, 2017 <https://newzoo.com/insights/articles/the-global-games-market-will-reach-108-9-billion-in-2017-with-mobile-taking-42/>.
- [21] “Distribution of video gamers worldwide in 2017, by age and gender,” *Statista*, n.d., <https://www.statista.com/statistics/722259/world-gamers-by-age-and-gender/>.
- [22] Players of First Person Shooter games average 4.3%-7.2% female. Nick Yee, “Beyond 50/50: Breaking Down the Percentage of

- Female Gamers by Genre,” *Quantic Foundry*, January 19, 2017 <https://quanticfoundry.com/2017/01/19/female-gamers-by-genre/>.
- [23] Robert Purchase, “100 million people played Call of Duty since COD4,” *Eurogamer*, August 8, 2013 <https://www.eurogamer.net/articles/2013-08-13-100-million-people-played-call-of-duty-since-cod4>. He is reporting on an infographic provided by the company (Activision) that produces the game, and he does note that it’s impossible to tell if that’s 100 million different people, or the same people buying different versions of the game year after year. But the company’s press release helpfully points out that whoever these people are, they’ve racked up “2.85 million years playing the game, which is longer than humans have existed for,” and fired “more than 32.3 quadrillion shots,” apparently more than “even the US army (sic) has.”
- [24] Daniel Nye Griffiths, “Activision Boasts \$1Billion ‘Call of Duty: Ghosts’ Day One Sales,” *Forbes*, November 6, 2013 <https://www.forbes.com/sites/danielnyegriffiths/2013/11/06/activision-boasts-1-billion-call-of-duty-ghosts-day-one-sales/#2ed7079611e9>. For unit sales broken down by version of the game, see “All time unit sales of selected games in Call of Duty franchise worldwide as of January 2018 (in millions),” *Statista: The Statistics Portal*, n.d., <https://www.statista.com/statistics/321374/global-all-time-unit-sales-call-of-duty-games/>. It is interesting, though, that we found visual references to Call of Duty in multiple videos, yet Islamic State sympathizers recently released a trailer clearly based on Grand Theft Auto. Leon Watson, “Islamic State mocks up GTA game to recruit young fighters,” *The Telegraph*, October 26, 2018 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/iraq/11108676/Islamic-State-mocks-up-GTA-game-to-recruit-young-fighters.html>.
- [25] See Marcus Schulzke, “Video Games and the Simulation of International Conflict,” *E-International Relations*, August 1, 2014 <https://www.e-ir.info/2014/08/01/video-games-and-the-simulation-of-international-conflict/>.
- [26] See Kirstie M. Farrar et al, “Ready, Aim, Fire! Violent Video Game Play and Gun Controller Use: Effects on Behavioral Aggression and Social Norms Concerning Violence,” *Communication Studies* 68, no. 4 (September-October 2017): 369-384. Study results regarding aggression or frustration need to be contextualized by recent research findings that video game violence differs based on skill level: for less skilled players, violence is something that is done *to* you, thus resulting in frustration. For more experienced players, violence is something you do *to* others, thus resulting in increased aggression (and, depending on the game, exposure to gory imagery.) See Nicholas L. Matthews and Andrew J. Weaver, “Skill Gap: Quantifying Violent Content in Video Game Play Between Variably Skilled Users,” *Mass Communication and Society* 16 (2013): 829-846. This maybe the case because games embed the potential for “moral disengagement” – that is, either you are shooting at targets that are not human (aliens, for example), have been intentionally dehumanized, or the game narrative provides you with moral justification for shooting them. See Tilo Hartmann et al, “How Violent Video Games Communicate Violence: A Literature Review and Content Analysis of Moral Disengagement Factors,” *Communication Monographs* 81, no. 3 (September 2014): 310-332. It is also the case that negative experiences, such as losing, may not negatively impact players’ enjoyment of the experience of game play. See Daniel M. Shafer, “Causes of State Hostility and Enjoyment in Player versus Player Environment Video Games,” *Journal of Communication* 62 (2012): 719-737. See the literature reviews of all these articles for the extensive body of research conducted over a period of years on the relationship between video games and violent behavior.
- [27] See the discussion of research in Aaron Delwiche, “From *The Green Berets* to *America’s Army*: Video Games as a Vehicle for Political Propaganda,” in J. Patrick Williams and Jonas Heide Smith eds., *Player’s Realm: Studies on the Culture of Video Games and Gaming* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2006), p. 95.
- [28] Delwiche, “From *The Green Berets*,” p. 96.
- [29] Such work may become available sooner than one would think, given the increased popularity of so-called “e-sports.” Literally hundreds of millions of young people, probably mostly male, are now not themselves playing video games, but are watching others play. “First 100 million viewers in the history of esports,” *ESC*, November 8, 2017 <https://esc.watch/blog/post/100M-viewers-esports>. This seems an important direction for subsequent research, but apparently it is too new a phenomenon to have caught the attention of researchers. The only study we were able to find evaluated why people chose to watch e-sports. Juho Hamari et al, “What is e-sports and why do people watch it?” *emerald insight* 27, no. 2 (2017): 211-232 <https://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/full/10.1108/IntR-04-2016-0085>.
- [30] See the discussion of this camera angle in Cori E. Dauber, “ISIS and the Family Man,” *Small Wars Journal*, July 1, 2015 <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/isis-and-the-family-man> note xxiv.
- [31] We are aware of work coming from the critical/cultural studies perspective, but that work stems from a completely different approach from ours and asks different questions. Much of it focuses on critiques of the games themselves rather than the way actual terrorists are making use of the games.
- [32] See “Let’s Play A Game: Jihadi Propaganda in the World of Electronic Entertainment,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, 17 (2017): 1-25.
- [33] Mark D. Robinson and Cori E. Dauber, “Grading the Quality of ISIS Videos: A Metric For Assessing the Technical Sophistication of Digital Video Propaganda,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* available on line, specific issue not yet assigned: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513693>.

- [34] Our interest is in jihadist groups, but there is no reason why these grids (certainly the first, and hypothetically the second) could not be used for the assessment of the output of other categories of extremist groups.
- [35] “New video message from The Islamic State: ‘Sniping One of the Apostates of the Peshmerga in Daquq – Wilayat Kirkuk,’” *Jihadology.net*, February 2, 2015, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2015/02/02/new-video-message-from-the-islamic-state-sniping-one-of-the-apostates-of-the-peshmerga-in-daquq-wilayat-kirkuk/>.
- [36] The basis for the scoring system itself (how can you know if the editing of a particular scene should be graded as "guerrilla" or as "Hollywood?") is not subjective: it may appear that way to an observer who has no training in media production techniques or their application. Our efforts at inter-coder reliability have so far been only preliminary, but they—along with many years of classroom experience—give us confidence that in fact with training this assessment tool can be learned relatively easily.
- [37] For the history of HTS, its development out of Jabhat al-Nusra, and the changes in its relationship with both IS and the Al-Qaeda leadership, see Aymen Jawad al-Tamimi, *From Jabhat al-Nusra to Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham: Evolution, Approach and Future* (Konrad Adenauer Stiftung n.d.) http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_52977-1522-2-30.pdf?180629110003.
- [38] The weakness of Nusra relative to IS videos is discussed in Mark D. Robinson and Cori E. Dauber, “ISIS and the Hollywood Visual Style,” Guest Post, *Jihadology.net*, July 6, 2015 <http://jihadology.net/2015/07/06/guest-post-isis-and-the-hollywood-visual-style/>.
- [39] “al-Manarah al Baydā’ Foundation for Media Production Presents a new video message from Jabhat al-Nusrah: ‘Liberation of al-Umiyyah Checkpoint With a Blessed Martyrdom Operation – Rural Eastern Hamah,’” *Jihadology.net*, April 14, 2014, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin, <https://jihadology.net/2014/04/14/al-manarah-al-bay%E1%B8%8Da-foundation-for-media-production-presents-a-new-video-message-from-jabhat-al-nu%E1%B9%A3rah-liberation-of-al-umiyyah-checkpoint-with-a-blessed-martyrdom-operat/>.
- [40] “Al-Manārah al-Bayḍā’ Foundation for Media Production presents a new video message from Jabhat al-Nuṣrah: ‘The Raid ‘And Satisfy the Breasts of a Believing People’ – Besieged Ḥomṣ,’” *Jihadology.net*, April 30, 2014, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2014/04/30/al-manarah-al-bay%e1%b8%8da-foundation-for-media-production-presents-a-new-video-message-from-jabhat-al-nu%e1%b9%a3rah-the-raid-and-satisfy-the-breasts-of-a-believing-people-besieged/>.
- [41] Both of which, it is interesting to note, would have had to be added in post-production. See “New video message from Hay’at Tahrir al-Sham: ‘Metals of Men,’” *Jihadology.net*, January 24, 2018, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin <https://jihadology.net/2018/01/24/new-video-message-from-hayat-ta%e1%b8%a5rir-al-sham-metals-of-the-men/>. It isn’t, interestingly, a sound effect from that specific iteration of CoD, but players would certainly recognize it as from the franchise.
- [42] It’s interesting that both groups are using very subtle references to the games, and they work. When non-official media makers tried this motif, producing a game “trailer” (based on Grand Theft Auto) it “worked” only in the sense that it annoyed anti-ISIS viewers. See Ahmed al-Rawi, “Video games, terrorism, and ISIS’s jihad 3.0,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 30, no. 3 (2018): 740-760.
- [43] “Sniping One of the Apostates.”
- [44] “New video message from Hay’at Tahrir al-Sham: ‘100 + Days,’” *Jihadology.net*, February 4, 2018, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin, <https://jihadology.net/2018/02/04/new-video-message-from-hayat-ta%e1%b8%a5rir-al-sham-100-days/>.
- [45] “Sniping One of the Apostates.”
- [46] “al-Manarah al-Bayda Foundation for media production presents a new video message from Jabhat al-Nusrah: ‘The Battle of the Liberation of Western al-Tal al-Ahmar – Rural al-Qunaytrah,’” *Jihadology.net*, April 23, 2014, Posted by Aaron Y. Zelin, <https://jihadology.net/2014/04/23/al-manarah-al-bay%E1%B8%8Da-foundation-for-media-production-presents-a-new-video-message-from-jabhat-al-nu%E1%B9%A3rah-the-battle-of-the-liberation-of-western-al-tal-al-a%E1%B8%A5mar-rur/>.

A Phoenix Rising from the Ashes? Daesh after its Territorial Losses in Iraq and Syria

by Ronen Zeidel and Hisham al-Hashimis

Abstract

This article examines the transformation of Daesh in its post-state period. Having lost the territories in Iraq and Syria, the organization is now limited to a small enclave in the east of Syria and several other pockets in Iraq. However, various factors are helping the organization survive. Paradoxically, the loss of territory also led Daesh back to its terrorist essence. This article will show how in terms of ideology, operations, organization and manpower, Daesh at present is a small, Sunni Iraqi guerilla/terror organization. But unlike the prevailing assumption that Daesh might return to its former strength and that its existence is a sine qua non, this article concludes that the organization is neither invincible nor imperishable.

Keywords: Daesh, Iraq, Syria, ISIS, commanders, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, Ideology

In December 2017, Iraqi prime minister Haydar al-'Abadi declared an end to Daesh's presence on Iraqi territory. [1] The announcement came after a series of military battles in which the Iraqi security forces liberated all cities, towns and villages under the control of the so called "Islamic State" in Iraq. Shortly thereafter, a U.S.-led coalition, made of local Syrian forces, drove the organization out of its most significant assets in Syria, including the towns of al-Raqqa, Dayr al-Zor and Abu Kamal. Consequently, by early 2018, Daesh had suffered a considerable defeat. Its claim to run a "state" was no longer valid and its slogan "we remain and expand" (*Nabqa wa Natamadid*) was a sham.

Having dedicated so much to Islamic "state formation", the change must have been harsh and dramatic for the organization. In addition, even its capacities as a terrorist organization were diminished: no major terror attacks were perpetrated in the West during this time. In Iraq, the prime target of Daesh terrorism, the May 2019 terrorist attack in Baghdad was the first in well over a year. The group's diminished capabilities in that country were largely the result of effective counter terrorism by organs of the Iraqi state, particularly the military intelligence and counter-terrorism forces under the Ministry of the Interior, as well as the difficulty of coordinating such attacks from Syria. Even the media output of the organization was seriously hampered due to the deaths of Abu Muhammad al-'Adnani, Abu Maria al-'Iraqi and Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Furqan in 2016.

And yet, as recent events have shown, Daesh still survives despite these efforts. Attacks in previously declared "liberated" areas have resumed, particularly at night, and as illustrated by the April 2019 attacks in Sri Lanka, the group is clearly committed to organizing and/or inspiring mass casualty attacks abroad (something that is still very much within its capabilities). Its leadership and command elements were in a small area in the east of Syria, relatively close to the border with Iraq until they were chased out of it in March 2019 by the Syrian Kurds with international support. But in Iraq they maintain a clandestine presence in the Hamrin and Makhul hilly region between the provinces of Salah al-Din, Diyala and Kirkuk, in Sharqat and Qiyara south of Mosul and in the western desert. This presence is confined to uninhabited areas, but poses a daily threat to the population in the Sunni periphery. In addition, the prime goal of the leadership in Syria seems to be the reactivation of "sleeper cells" in Iraq and the transfer of combatants through the border into Iraq in order to increase its presence there.

Paradoxically, the recent setbacks suffered by Daesh may bring it some positive impacts, as this article will show. It still survives as a result of the temporary lack of interest that the various belligerents in the Syrian war show in the region in which Daesh remains. This lack of attention—also the result of the alleviation of the terrorist threat in the West—works in favor of the organization and allows it to regroup. Just as significant is the downsizing of the organization from an "Islamic State" and even a Caliphate aspiring to regional and

ultimately global control, to a small armed group operating clandestinely in remote areas of Sunni Iraq and Syria. This seems to be a more suitable framework for the organization. The article will show the various modes of adaptation to being, once more, a clandestine armed group. It will cover the ideological, operational and personnel aspects of the change. In conclusion, the article will evaluate the sustainability of the organization in its new form.

Theoretical Approach

In his recent book *Rules for Rebels*, Max Abrahms provided three rules that terrorist organizations “should” follow in order to succeed and maintain their success over time. His study, although partly focused on Daesh, comprises many terrorist organizations—some, according to him, more successful than others. His rules are “learning to win”, after the victory “restraining to win”, and “branding” the organization as a “moderate” one. Abrahms is very critical of Daesh for not following these rules, while other organizations—Hizbullah for example—do.[2] Indeed, Daesh committed many strategic errors impacting their expansion and management of success. Yet, Abrahms’ thesis should be discussed within a broader discussion on the “true nature” of Daesh. Could an organization that was largely apocalyptic in outlook, attracting fanatics from all over the globe, ever hope to brand itself “moderate”? Could it restrain the drive to expand and practice Jihad that was at the center of its activity? Did it ever want to be an Iraqi Sunni organization?

Underneath Abrahms’ assertions, and a central aspect of research on ISIS, is the expectation that this organization would start to behave according to what western scholars on counter-terrorism consider “reasonable behavior”. In the case of Daesh, this organization is expected to promote the grievances of the local Sunni population in Iraq and Syria, engage more in social welfare, tone down its global jihad and in general adopt a more moderate line. It is expected to be more organic to its environment: the Sunni areas of Iraq and Syria, more localized and less global, in order to survive and thrive. In other words, it is expected to be a different organization.

We are not judging Daesh for its failure or for not corresponding to these expectations, nor are we suggesting concrete steps that must be taken to eliminate Daesh or the future threat of the organization in its post-defeat form. However, we do not ignore the significance of the colossal failure by the organization to maintain its initial success. Concentrating on an analysis of the leadership, personnel and organizational structure of Daesh, the article will illustrate how this organization is adapting to its new operational environment. At times, it even follows some of Abrahms’ “rules”.

Methodology

Post-defeat Daesh suffers from the loss of 42 (out of 43) founders and leading commanders, including all the Iraqis who served as officers in the security services prior to 2003. This article examines the organizational makeover in the post-state period. As the organization is not as active as it used to be in Iraq before late 2017 and is not engaged in daily warfare, the information on it is rather limited. Iraqi, Arab and international media do not report on Daesh as often as they used to before 2017. Occasionally, the media reports on the capture of senior Daesh commanders, like the capture (in Turkey) of senior member Isma'il al-'Ithawi in February 2018,[3] the capture of four senior commanders in May 2018,[4] or the testimony of a middle ranking commander from Falluja.[5] The discussion in this article on the ideological change will draw upon IS publication such as the audio recordings of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and the news agency “Aa'maq”.

This article could not have been written on the sole basis of published sources. It is the product of cooperation between an Israeli and an Iraqi researcher. The latter collected information and data from sources in Iraq that have never been published before and are known to be accurate. Together, we worked on his very rich database of over 10,000 names of Dawa'ish. The Iraqi researcher had access to information from interrogations of Dawa'ish by the Iraqi security forces and has published that previously in various media,[6] including in Arabic. Security sources pose a problem. By no means are these the sole sources of information. Yet, they cannot be ruled out just because they cannot always be corroborated, while other information in circulation is in use. This information from the interrogations was given to one of the co-authors in good faith and since then it has formed the basis of his research and international credentials. Most of the “classified” information

was corroborated by open sources. Reference source citations are provided wherever possible.

Unlike a previous article,[7] in which the collective profile of commanders in the organization was garnered from hundreds of names, in this article the number of names will be smaller and most are senior commanders. We will use tables examining the same categories to analyze the composition of the personnel and to show the adaptability of the organization to its new disposition. The tables will include the nationality of the commanders, their tribal origins and what they did before 2003. We will compare that to the previous research. In analyzing the names we will rely on information found in real names and “*nommes de guerre*” (*Kuniya*)—i.e., “Abu Mas'ab al-Suri” indicates that this commander is Syrian.

Location

Before its overthrow in March 2019, the organization was based in a remote area in the east Syrian valley of the Euphrates between the villages of Hajeen, al-Sha'fa and al-Susa, north of Abu Kamal. This is where the leadership was hiding [8] and it is the nerve center of whatever remains of the organization. This is the only place in which the organization controlled a contingent piece of land, a poor vestige of the vast territory it controlled before 2017. The region is on the left bank of the Euphrates and in the south reaches the Syrian border town of Abu Kamal, still under control of the Syrian government. Beyond the river, to the south-west, the region borders an area under control of the Syrian government. To the north, it borders an area under control of the Kurdish led Syrian democratic Forces (SDF). Nearby is a border crossing to Iraq, particularly difficult to patrol, in which the Euphrates flows into Iraq through the towns of Abu Kamal (Syria) and al-Qaim (Iraq). This provides a crevice through which Daesh sends forces into Iraq.

In addition, Daesh uses the desert areas south-west of the Euphrates, an enclave within an area supposedly under control of the Syrian government, for training and reorganization. In the post-state period, the organization no longer relies on taxation of populations. The areas under its control in the east of Syria are almost totally uninhabited. Its advantages for Daesh include its remoteness and the fact that it is far less important than other areas to the competing belligerents in this war. This remoteness allowed the organization to be away from the limelight and engage in reorganization. Before its overthrow, Daesh was using the area to gain another advantage: the area is separating the Syrian army and the SDF. Daesh could benefit from the détente between them, and occasionally even used the redeployment of the SDF from some bases to take them.[9] The latter alarmed the Iraqi government and prompted a recent incursion by Iraqi forces (mainly the “Hashd al-Sha'bi) into Syrian territory around Abu Kamal.[10] Finally, the proximity to Iraq—the central stage for Daesh—is another advantage of the region and a central interest to Daesh.

In Iraq, Daesh still maintains a permanent presence in the Hamrin area near Kirkuk and in the hilly area between the provinces of Salah al Din, Diyala and Kirkuk. The main village there is Mutaibija. This pocket has never been cleansed by the Iraqi security forces. It is a constant threat to larger towns in the vicinity, including the cities of Samaraa and Tikrit. From there—and by incursions through the Syrian border—Daesh expanded its presence to the west of Anbar and to desert areas around Samarra, south and west of Mosul. Particularly dear to Daesh is Wadi Huran (a desert area south of Mosul, in Anbar province), which played a crucial role in the preparation for Daesh to take Mosul in June 2014. Unlike the pocket in Syria, the areas in Iraq do not form a contingent territory. With the Iraqi state maintaining a certain presence in the Sunni countryside, the organization does not control any region there and is forced to conduct underground activity. Significantly, Daesh in Iraq is now confined to the more peripheral villages of the Sunni countryside and not to towns or cities there.

Ideology in the Post-State Period: Ard al-Tamkin

The transition from an “Islamic State” and even a caliphate—with universal aspirations and a strong apocalyptic dimension—into a clandestine organization was harsh on many disciples of Daesh. As we shall see later in the article, manpower thinned out dramatically, with only a hardcore group of fighters and dedicated Jihadis remaining. Israeli commentator Tzvi Bar'el sums it up correctly in claiming that Daesh today “had dissipated into [remote] fragments of land in which it is [still] fighting occasional battles.”[11]

The idea of an “Islamic state” was a central pillar in the ideology of Daesh. The slogan “remains and expands” (*Baqiya wa Tatamadid*) reflected a convergence between two main principles of the organization: Islamic state-building and Jihad. Both suffered heavily as a result of the defeat, but it seems that Jihad prevailed. As Adam Hoffman points out, the organization still calls itself “Islamic State” and refers to its soldiers as “soldiers of the Caliphate” (*Jund al-Khilafa*),[12] yet this seems to be only an imagined simulation of a state.

Nevertheless, the organization shows a considerable capability for ideologically adapting to the new situation. Its ideology is cyclical in the sense that the defeat is a return to what Abu Muhammad al-'Adnani termed “our primary situation” by which he meant pre-2014 Daesh in Iraq.[13] 'Adnani implied, shortly before his death, that the organization failed in its attempt, but it failed in the first attempt and, as the turn of events follows a cyclical form, the believers should not despair as there will be another chance. This theme also appears in Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's August 2018 audio in which he promised that “the tides of war change”.[14] This ideological line differs significantly from the apocalyptic and deterministic line that, according to some, characterized Daesh.[15] Currently, Daesh's ideology is practical and not apocalyptic. It is much closer to the matter-of-fact approach of Abu Bakr Naji's manual “*Idarat al-Tawahush*” (*The Administration of Wilderness*, aka *The Management of Savagery*) than to the prophecies about Dabiq.[16] The apocalypse is absent from recent pronouncements and publications. Apparently, it is being deferred to a later stage.

The practicality is expressed in two terms which closely correspond to the organization's mode of operations. The first one, used by Daesh, is “the land of *Tamkin*” (*Ard al-Tamkin*). *Tamkin* is an Arabic term with several meanings-all relevant to Daesh's mode of operation. It could mean strengthening, consolidation, intensification, establishment, enablement and capacitation, but also deepening.[17] In practical terms it means the consolidation of Daesh's presence in remote and uninhabited areas, mostly in Iraq, creating there the capacity to reemerge. This refers to the training in bases in the desert of Wadi Huran, south of Mosul, which preceded and prepared the taking of that city in June 2014. Others areas serving as *Ard al-Tamkin* are Jazirat Samarra, Habaniya lake, the Jazira desert west of Mosul and the west of Anbar and in Syria the land south of Deir al-Zor. The Hamrin area could serve as “*Ard al-Tamkin*” for the reoccupation of nearby towns like Hawija, Baiji, Jalawla. In some of these areas, Daesh's presence needs to be established. Therefore, a major activity is the expedition of members, often across the border from Syria, to these areas. There, they are trained, new recruits are recruited and commanders form contact with “sleeping cells” nearby. The “Lands of consolidation” should be far from the watchful eye of the Iraqi state. They are not permanent and highly mobile.

Another goal is the creation of “triangles of death” (*Muthalathat al-Mawt*) in areas of the Iraqi and Syrian countryside. This is not a term used by Daesh. The idea of creating it goes back to the “triangle of death” created by the Jihadis under Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi after 2003, south of Baghdad. It also echoes Abu Bakr Naji and his book. In remote areas where the state is weak or absent, the organization will establish presence and intimidate the local population. Thus, the local (Sunni) population would quickly despair of getting help from the state and if they like it or not consider the organization as the sole power in the region. This should not be confused with state administration, as even Zarqawi, already in 2006 established small-scale Islamic states in several regions of Iraq. In the newly formed “triangles of death” the organization would not be involved in administration and would only concentrate on guerilla warfare and intimidating violence.

Modes of Operations

To a large extent and given the circumstances, the modes of operation differ between Syria and Iraq. In Syria, the organization is still under attack, especially air strikes, therefore its operations are mostly defensive. Foremost is the hiding of the leadership, headed by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. It is not known if the leadership is stationary or in the move, but it is believed that at least part of it is in the area between Hajeen and al-Susa.[18] As most of the airstrikes are in Syria, this is seriously impeding the movement of the cadres and overall activity there. This activity includes the maintenance of *Madafat* (basic training camps where new recruits are accepted and trained) and underground shelters, occasionally also taking over camps abandoned by other forces, especially SDF. Another aspect is the cooperation with local tribes. Not much is known about it. The area is unpopulated and Daesh does not control any settlement there. Therefore, this aspect does not take a large part of its activity.

Considerably more important is the passage of cadres from Syria to Iraq and, in case of necessity, from Iraq to Syria. The latter serves clearly as “*Ard al-Tamheed*” (preparatory ground) to Iraq, as it did in 2008-2014. The passage to Iraq is a basic interest of Daesh,[19] therefore the location of their last enclave near the border is an asset. Although in this part of the border Iraq built a concrete wall to prevent incursions, the Euphrates river near Abu Kamal creates a crevice through which incursions are possible.[20] The fact that on the Iraqi side only the *Hashd al-Sha’bi* (Popular Mobilization forces, a Shiite militia) is posed is a further advantage for Daesh who threatens local commanders with violence and the latter succumb and allow passage.[21] Sometimes, the passage to Iraq is for defensive purposes and in the event of an offensive by the Coalition on Daesh’s strongholds hundreds might try to cross. Daesh is returning to Iraq by infiltrating their men into internally displaced camps. When these return to their hometowns, the Daw’ish often return with them. According to uncertified information, members of Daesh returned to their posts in the public service, including the security apparatus and serve as secret eyes and spies for the organization.[22]

Over the last year there was a steady increase in the number of Daesh activities in Iraq. The operation resembles previous terrorist activities, in October 2018, a car bomb exploded in Qiyara, south of Mosul and in November a car bomb exploded in the center of Tikrit, killing and wounding 21 persons. In the two cases, C4 explosive was used, indicating that the organization still holds sufficient quantities of these explosives despite the discovery of most of its depots in Iraq.[23]

The operations in Iraq seem to be more planned than in Syria. They include the targeting of government officials and local collaborators with the government and the security forces in the Sunni countryside. Attacking some villages, Daesh caught the *Mukhtars* (local dignitaries representing the population in its contacts with the government) and executed them on the spot. This act was filmed to extend the circle of fear and to show to other villages that the government would not come to their rescue.[24] Other personal targets are officers in the security services and the *Hashd*, members of local tribes who command tribal units, government officials. These are sometimes killed by the so called “*Saytarat Wahmiya*” (fake checkpoint), whereby IS men disguise themselves in Iraqi army uniforms, put a checkpoint and kill passers by. All these operations are meant to spread terror and establish “triangles of death”.

Most of the operations in Iraq are preparatory. Daesh spots the weakness of the Iraqi security forces in control of the Sunni periphery and orders a return to Iraq. The returning cadres are ordered to contact and reactivate “sleeping cells”, to build *Madafat* and camps in uninhabited desert areas and to start recruiting among the local population. Tunnels are dug in Iraq and across the border to smuggle arms and personnel and for hiding. In mid-2018, the Iraqi military intelligence arrested Kamil al-’Issawi, a new Daesh commander in Falluja. His testimony, published in the Iraqi press, provides information on the organization’s operations in Iraq. According to him, the new *Wali* (IS governor) of Falluja sent orders to Syria calling combatants to return to Iraq. In Falluja they were concentrated in al Karma, north of the city and were instructed to establish *Madafat* in the rural area out of the city, to organize combat units (*Mafariz*) and attack army bases and members of the security forces. They managed to accomplish all of that, using hidden arms.[25] Eventually, all members of his unit were captured. In addition, units of *Inghimasiyun* (cadres who blend into the local population and engage in terror and intimidation) are also increasingly used, indicating a closer connection to the locals. A more difficult task is the connection of all pockets of Daesh in Iraq: Anbar, Center, Hamrin, North of Baghdad. Still unable to accomplish such connection, the organization operates as small enclaves under the command of the leadership in Syria.

A major challenge is the resumption of terrorist attacks in Baghdad or any other major city in Iraq. Such attacks have a much greater resonance than the small-scale warfare and terror in the Sunni backlands, away from the attention of most Iraqis. Baghdad is now encircled by a security belt and obstacles. Yet Daesh, already present in nearby Fallujah and the north of Baghdad, will keep trying to resume presence in Baghdad. It already attacked in the center of Mosul. A solitary car bomb in Baghdad is always a possibility, yet a full-scale resumption of frequent attacks in Baghdad will take more time.

Personnel

It is estimated that the total number of remaining fighters in Daesh is around 25,000, of which 15,000 are in Syria (3,000 active combatants and 12,000 non-active) [26] and 10,000 in Iraq (2,000 active and 8,000 non-active). In addition, it is estimated that 3,000-3,500 unknown fighters returned to Europe.[28] Hoffman quotes a UN report from August 2018 claiming that Daesh still has 30,000 fighters in Iraq and Syria.[27] According to the International Coalition, the number of POWs of Daesh in Iraq and Syria is around 7,000.[29]

Concentrating on commanders, the analysis will follow a previous article on the IS commanders to show the changes.[30] Whereas the previously mentioned article analyzed hundreds of (mostly dead) IS commanders, the current one will examine commanders in 2018, mostly still alive or in Iraqi captivity. I will follow the same methodology and categories used by the author and compare the data. The following table lists the top leadership of Daesh, the so called *al-Lajna al-Mufawada* (Cabinet) under al-Baghdadi.[31]

Table 1: al-Lajna al-Mufawada (IS Cabinet)[32]

Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi: Caliph, Iraqi
Mithaq Talib al-Janabi (alias: “Abu Omar”): Head of the cabinet and supervisor (<i>Mushrif</i>) of security in Iraq and Syria. Iraqi
Anwar Hamad al-Janabi (alias: “Haji 'Aref”): Deputy head of cabinet. Iraqi
Ahmad 'Abdalla Suweid al-Shammari (alias: “Abu Salih al-Shammari”): Commander of army (<i>Mas'ul Diwan al-Jund</i>), Iraqi
Nashid Fahd al-'Issawi (alias: “Abu Suheib al-'Iraqi”): Head of the security and intelligence (<i>Mas'ul al-Amn wal-Istikhbarat</i>). Iraqi[33]
Rafi Isma'il al-'Asafi (alias: “Abu Sattam”): Head of administration and finance in Iraq and Syria. Iraqi
Mu'taz 'Ali al-'Ithawi (alias: “Abu Yassir al-'Ithawi”): Commander of operations in Iraq. Iraqi
Ibrahim Muhammad al-'Issawi (alias: “Abu Ziyad”): In charge of operations of finance in Iraq. Iraqi
Mustafa Mansur al-Rawi (alias “Abu Talha”): Commander of operations in the Hajeen area. Iraqi
Khidr Ahmad Rashid (alias “Abu Ahmad al-Fanni”): Supervisor of operations in the Iraqi provinces of Nainawa (Mosul) and Salah al-Din. Iraqi
Sukru Tuncer: In charge of operations abroad, French of Turkish origins
Abu 'Ammar al-Sa'udi: Operations abroad, Saudi

Table 2: Nationality of Prominent Commanders [34]

Nationality	#
Iraqi	21
Syrian	3
Saudi	1
European	1

Table 3: Nationality of Commanders

Nationality	#
Iraqi	60
Syrian	4
Kurd	1
Egyptian	1
Saudi	1
European	1
Chechen	1
Uzbek	1
Unknown (most probably Iraqis)	17
Total	88

The previous article also discovered a disproportionate number of Iraqis among the commanders (345 out of 631 among commanders, and 92 out of 129 among prominent commanders). But in 2018 the command of the organization is clearly more Iraqi. The Syrians and the Saudis were almost completely wiped out. The cabinet includes two commanders in charge of operations abroad, showing that Daesh did not lose its interest in global terror (and assigns this to the foreigners), but in general the foreign fighters also faded from the ranks. It is estimated that only one out of 50 fighters (not only commanders) currently is a “*Muhajir*” (foreigner).

Table 4: Pre-2003 Occupations of Iraqi IS Commanders

Occupation	#
Member of Saddam Hussein's security services	4
Religious scholar	1
Unemployed	1
Engineer	1
Physician	1
Fallah	1
Unknown	51

Members of the security services of the Ba'th regime still rank first. During the years 2014-2017 Daesh lost 42 out of its 43 founders, including all the senior officers. The last casualties among the officers were the head of the cabinet Ayad al-'Ubeidi and his deputy Ayad al-Jumaili. They were substituted with much less experienced and charismatic commanders.[35] Two members of the current cabinet were officers under Saddam: Ahmad 'Abdalla al-Shamari, the “chief of staff” and Mu'taz al-'Ithawi, commander of operations in Iraq who is said to specialize in open space warfare. Although no birth dates are available, looking at the pictures of the new commanders, including prominent ones, reveals their young age. Indeed, Iraqi security forces disclose that an increasing number are new recruits and unknown to them. Having members with no significant pre-2003 career indicates that post-2017 Daesh is undergoing a generational change. For these new commanders, the more relevant question is not what they did before 2003, when they were probably too young. Rather, questions of interest include how they joined Jihadi activity after 2003, and when they joined Daesh.

Table 5: Tribal Origin of Iraqi IS Commanders

Tribe	#
Al-Janabiyeen (South of Baghdad and near Tikrit)	5
Jabur (Mosul area)	5
Albu 'Issa (Falluja area)	4
Albu Mar'i (of the Duleim confederation, Rammadi area)	2
Mushahada (north of Baghdad)	2
Zawba' (Falluja area)	2
Albu 'Itha (Rammadi area)	2
Karabla (Al-Qa'im near the border with Syria)	2
Muhamada (Al-Qa'im near the border with Syria)	2
Different tribes (one from each tribe)	20
Unknown	27

Compared to the previous article, this list does not reflect the tribal diversity of Sunni Iraq. The Jabur, possibly Iraq's biggest tribe, lost its prominence: none of the members of the cabinet is a Jaburi. Smaller tribes, notably the Janabiyeen and Albu 'Issa, became more prominent. Significantly, the head of the cabinet and his deputy are from the same tribe, the Janabiyeen[36] and two holders of sensitive positions in the *Lajna* are from the Albu 'Issa. The reasons for the post 2017 prominence of these particular tribes are unknown. In regional terms, the tribes of western Iraq are more represented than other regions, possibly because of the proximity to the Syrian border.

In his article, Zeidel discovered a discrepancy between regional origins of commanders and locations of service: more commanders were serving away from their places of origin. This was particularly noted with foreign fighters and hindered Daesh's ability to effectively govern regions under their control. The available data is not conclusive on this point, but there are indications that the organization—now acting clandestinely and more sensitive to merging in the local environment—is trying to use locals on account of outsiders. Thus, for example, Kamil al-'Issawi, from Fallujah, who was a local commander there before 2018, was instructed to return to Fallujah by the new Wali and restore the organization. His brother, also a Daeshi, remained in Iraq and he contacted him on his return.[37] The list of IS casualties in the January 2019 air raid of the Iraqi air force on the meeting of the military command of the so called "*Wilayat al-Furat*" in the Syrian town Susa allows us to glance at the regional and tribal origins of the commanders: 12 commanders were killed, eight of them Iraqis and of them five were from al-Qa'im, the nearby Iraqi border town. Four of the five were from the two major tribes of al-Qa'im: the Karabla and the Muhammada.[38] This suggests that Daesh is now nominating more locals to operational positions than ever before.

Organization

The survival and persistence of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as Caliph is a key element behind the transformation of the organization. At present, Baghdadi is more of a spiritual leader than a Caliph but he represents the ideological core of Daesh and hiding him is a continuous challenge. Al-Baghdadi dedicated a large part of his August 2018 audio recording to organization and warfare, indicating that he is also closely involved in these aspects of activity.[39] His persistence shows an internal cohesion in the ranks of the leadership, prompting Daesh's rivals to undermine it by spreading false information on cracks between al-Baghdadi and some of the leaders.[40] His survival softened the shock of the defeat in Syria and Iraq.

Daesh's 2018 organization gives the impression of slimming. As it is no longer a "state", it is no longer in charge of the various aspects of administration and governance. In 2018 the organization cancelled 14 "ministries" (*Diwan*), including, inter alia, education, agriculture, "spoils of war" (*Ghana'im*), health, services and the moral police (*Hisba*).[41] These "ministries" were, to a large extent, what gave Daesh its unique color. In fact, the *Lajna al-Mufawada* is now playing a more central role. Instead of the "ministries" the organization adopted

a more pyramidal structure, which is highly centralized around the Caliph and the cabinet. The Caliph has a *wali* who serves as his deputy. The *wali* is a member of both of the supreme councils of the organization: *Majlis al-Shura* (The Shura Council) in charge of the ideology and the *Lajna al-Mufawada* (the executive council or cabinet). The *wali* has three deputies:

1. A deputy in charge of security, industry (production of car bombs and artillery) and the special mail and coded communication.
2. A deputy in charge of religious affairs, the pledge of allegiance (*Bay'aa*), jurisprudence and tribes.
3. A deputy in charge of education, services, finance, health and taxes.

Thus, instead of a cabinet of over 14 “ministries”, all these functions are concentrated at the hands of three deputies, under one *Wali*. In addition, Daesh has several “authorities” (*Hay'at*) or bureaus (*Makatib*) in charge of immigration to the “Islamic State”, prisoners of war and martyrs, research, public relations, tribes and connections with distant *Wilayas* (provinces), such as *Wilayat Khurasan* in Afghanistan.[42] It is important to note that Daesh still refers to its organizational structure as a “state”. It may have slimmed the state apparatus, befitting a terror/guerrilla organization, acting clandestinely, but this apparatus still contains all previous functions of the so-called “Islamic State”.

Another important aspect in organization is the *Wilayat* (provinces). In 2016 an IS propaganda film claimed to have 19 *Wilayas* in Iraq and Syria (and 35 *Wilayas* worldwide).[43] Currently, the number of provinces in Iraq and Syria is 18.[44] Not a significant change. Yet, unlike 2014-2017, in most of the provinces, the structure suggests a network of guerrilla fighters and not a local government.[45]

This article is about whatever remained of Daesh in Iraq and Syria. Yet, the fact that the organization still contains some functions of global organization means that it did not lose its global aspirations. Trying to maintain contact with the estimated 3,000-3,500 foreign fighters who returned to Europe is one expression of the survival of the global vision. On the other hand, by 2018 the number of *Wilayas* beyond the core areas of Iraq and Syria was seriously reduced from 16 in 2016 to five: Khurasan (Afghanistan), West Africa, Saudi Arabia (called *al-Haramain*), Yemen and Sinai.[46] From this it would seem that global activity is a secondary priority to Daesh.

Conclusion

To evaluate whether post-2017 Daesh is “a Phoenix” it is important to understand that the organization received a heavy blow in Iraq and Syria. The territorial losses of an organization with a global vision were painful and possibly beyond repair. The losses of able cadres greatly diminished its military and media capabilities. This blow had an impact on the capabilities and the appeal of Daesh in the region and beyond. Daesh certainly did not wish (or expect) to be in this situation. Most of its messages now are meant to preserve whatever is left and prevent a total collapse by promising the cadres to regroup and return, relying on examples from their short history. One should not take this propaganda at face value.

Nevertheless, the organization shows some vitality and considerable steadfastness facing very harsh circumstances, under which other terror organizations would have dissipated. In addition to being a diehard fanatic organization, paradoxically, defeat brought the organization back to its basic essence: a small, marginal Sunni-Iraqi terror/guerrilla force, capable of waging small wars, intimidating populations and carrying out terror attacks in peripheral areas, exploiting the geopolitical and governmental vacuum there. In fact, Daesh became a more practical, matter-of-fact organization. Its organizational changes are impressive. Apparently, this is the heritage of men who served in Saddam Hussein’s highly organized security services. The defeat also exposed the fact that Daesh essentially is an Iraqi organization, considering Syria to be only a corridor to “*Ard al-Tamkin*”, Iraq.

As long as the situation in Syria remains as it is and the lethargy of the Iraqi state in providing security to the peripheral Sunni areas continues, Daesh will enjoy more years of survival and might become a more threatening

menace, especially to Iraq. However, Daesh is neither invincible nor imperishable. All sides fighting Daesh are required to improve combat preparation and fighting capabilities in order to keep inflicting further losses upon the organization. There is also a need for better coordination between the various international and local forces, so that a major offensive by the Coalition in Syria would not result in hundreds of Dawa'ish fleeing to unprepared Iraq and posing a grave threat to local security. Iraqi counter terrorism forces have been the best forces to fight Daesh on the ground in Iraq. However, when Daesh withdrew to Syria, this hampered their ability to act. Manning the border with these units and engaging them in operations of “hot pursuit” in Syria will clearly improve the mediocre capabilities of the Iraqi Shiite militias who man the border today. Daesh exploited the war in Syria since its inception. At present, when the Syrian regime (and its allies) seems to have the upper hand, Daesh is cornered in a remote part of the country and is no longer in control of territories in the west and south of the country. As long as the war in the west of Syria is not over, Daesh will continue to use Syrian territories for its endeavors.

In late April 2019, Daesh released a rare video of al-Baghdadi, the second in all. Al-Baghdadi is seen seated in a manner reminiscent of Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi, Daesh's founder. The video delivered two main messages: that al-Baghdadi is still alive and well, and that the organization is following the path of Zarqawi.[47] Occasionally, the Iraqi military intelligence captures high ranking Dawa'ish, including some who may know on al-Baghdadi's whereabouts.[48] If he hides close to the Iraqi border, he is vulnerable to airstrikes while being moved or to incursions if stationary. If the loss of military commanders such as Abu Omar al-Checheni was irreparable, than the loss of the man who holds Daesh together would be much heavier.

This article contributes to our understanding of how Daesh is adapting to its post-defeat situation.[49] In terms of leadership and personnel, it is now more Sunni Iraqi than international. Attention is given to posting commanders in their home regions. In terms of operations Daesh is a smaller terror and guerilla organization, disposing of the actual governance. In terms of ideology, it is more local and practical and less apocalyptic and global. In terms of organization, it is more pyramidal, although still maintaining pretensions of a “state” and global activity and distribution. The trend certainly is to localization, focusing on Iraq and reverting to clandestine activities. Will the organization pursue this trend to its “logical end” and declare itself a local Sunni Iraqi organization with local claims? If so—and under the leadership of al-Baghdadi this is questionable—it will remain active for some time. However, as such, it would lose the international attention that is so central to Daesh. If not so, its ephemeral existence would finally vanish. We wonder if Daesh is able to accomplish such a basic change of identity.

About the Authors: Ronen Zeidel is an Iraq and ISIS researcher in the Moshe Dayan Center, Tel Aviv University. He teaches in the University of Haifa and in the program of counter terrorism of the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya. Hisham al-Hashimi is a senior researcher in the Al Nahrayn Center for Security and Strategic Studies, Baghdad.

Notes

[1] “Iraqi PM Abadi Declares ‘End of War Against ISIL,” *Al-Jazeera* <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/12/iraqi-general-war-isil-171209120757374.html> accessed April 2019.

[2] Max Abrahms, *Rules for Rebels*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. p.12-14.

[3] “Amaliya Istikhbariya 'Iraqiya Turkiya Tutih biQiyadi Da'eshi Rafi” *Al-Arabiya*, <https://www.alarabiya.net/ar/arab-and-world/iraq/2018/02/15/ع-ديلم-ع-ديتار ابختس-ا-ديلم-ع> accessed April 2019.

[4] Margaret Coker, “Five Top ISIS Officials Captured in US-Iraqi Sting”, *NY Times* (May 9, 2018). <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/09/world/middleeast/iraq-isis-islamic-state-arrest.html>, accessed April 2019. Azzaman (June 13, 2018).

[5] “Qiyadi fi Da'esh Yakshaf Tafaseel lil-Mara al-Ula'an Sahat al-Ii'tisam fi al-Anbar”, *New News Iraq* (November 7, 2018). <https://newnewsiq.com/view.php?cat=2732> accessed April, 2019.

- [27] Hisham al-Hashimi, “Tanthim Daesh ‘Aam 2018: al-’Iraq Inmudijan” sent to me by Email by author. Another estimate is of 8,000 fighters in Syria, mainly Iraqis. Wa’il Ni’ma, “Quwat Iraqiya Tusaytir ‘ala Makhafir Dakhil al-Aradi al-Suriya”, *Almada* (November 5, 2018). <https://almadapaper.net/Details/214350/اير وسو س ل ا ي ض ا ر ا ل ا ل خ ا د ر ف ا خ م ي ل ع ر ط ي س ت - ؤ ي ق ا ر ع ت ا و ق> accessed December 3, 2018.
- [28] Hoffman, “The “Islamic State” without a State” (2018).
- [29] Hamed Ahmad, “al-Tahaluf al-Duwali: Ma Yuqarib Sab’at Alaf Da’eshi Mu’taqilun fi al-’Iraq wa Suriya”, *Almada* (March 27, 2019). <https://almadapaper.net/Details/217544/اير وسو س ل ا ي ف ن و ل ق ت ع م ي ش ع ا د ف ا ل ا - 7 ب ر ا ق ي - ا م ي ل و د ل ا ف ل ا ح ت ل>
- [30] Ronen Zeidel, “The Dawaish: A Collective Profile of IS Commanders”.
- [31] Part of the information in the list was taken from an interview one of the authors did with the director of the Anbar branch of Iraqi military intelligence in February 2019.
- [32] Based on information in the database of Hisham al-Hashimi
- [33] Captured by Coalition forces in east Syria, late March 2019. *Orient-Net* (March 31, 2019). <https://www.orient-news.net/ar/news/show/164836>
- [34] This table will include members of the current cabinet as well as prominent military commanders who are not in the cabinet or were arrested.
- [35] Al-Hashimi, “Tanthim Daesh”
- [36] The supervisor of the *Wilayas* of Dijla, Salah al-din and al-Jazeera and the *Wali* of Salah al-Din in Iraq are also Janabiyeen. Part of the tribe lives in these areas.
- [37] Qiyadi fi Da’esh Yakshaf Tafaseel lil-Mara al-Ula ‘an Sahat al-I’tisam fi al-Anbar”, *New News Iraq* (November 7, 2018). <https://newnewsiq.com/view.php?cat=2732> accessed April, 2019.
- [38] “al-Mas’ul al-’Askari wa Wali al-Furat Abrax Qatla Gharat Susa al-Suriya”, *Almada* (January 8, 2019). <http://kms.almadapaper.net/content/uploads/Issue/190108092339905~090120194346.pdf> accessed April 2019.
- [39] Rukmini Callimachi, “ISIS Leader Resurfaces in Recording”, *The New York Times* (August 22, 2018). <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/22/world/middleeast/isis-leader-baghdadi-recording.html> accessed November 14, 2018.
- [40] For example, Iraqi sources claimed that al-Baghdadi issued a “death list” of top commanders, blaming them of “treason”, *Az-zaman* (October 10, 2018).
- [41] Hisham al-Hashimi, “*Tanthim Da’esh fi al-’Iraq Inmudhijan*” (October 18, 2018). <https://www.europarabct.com/ش ع ا د م ي ظ ن ت / ل ا ح ل ق ب - ا ح ذ و ج ن ا ق ا ر ع ل ا - 2018 م ا ع> accessed February 2019.
- [42] Based on information from the interrogation of two prominent Dawa’ish arrested by the Iraqis: Saddam al-Jamal and Isma’il al-Ithawi.
- [43] Jack Moore, “ISIS Releases New Video Outlining ‘Structure of the Caliphate’”, *Newsweek*, (July 7, 2016). <https://www.newsweek.com/isis-releases-new-video-outlining-structure-caliphate-478502> accessed April 2019.
- [44] Hisham al-Hashimi, “Tanthim Da’esh”
- [45] See tables of the structure of the *Wilayas* of North Baghdad (*Shimal Baghdad*) and Salah al-Din in possession of authors.
- [46] Hisham al-Hashimi, “Tanthim Da’esh”
- [47] Raja Abdulrahim and Nazih Osseiran, “ISIS Video Purports to Show Leader Baghdadi in First Such Footage in Years,” *The Wall Street Journal* (April 29, 2019). <https://www.wsj.com/articles/islamic-state-video-purports-to-show-baghdadi-its-leader-11556561245> accessed May 2019.
- [48] This was the case of Isma’il al-Ithawi, arrested in February 2018 in Turkey. His last position was the coordinator between Iraq and Syria and in this position, he certainly was involved in hiding al-Baghdadi. This captive was later used by the Iraqi intelligence to lure other high ranking Dawa’ish, captured in April 2018.
- [49] For more analysis on post-defeat Daesh, please see *Perspectives on Terrorism*, vol. XIII, no. 1 (February, 2019), online at: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/perspectives-on-terrorism/archives/2019#volume-xiii-issue-1> (particularly Truls Hallberg Tønnessen’s introduction to the special issue, “The Islamic State After the Caliphate”); and Joshua Geltzer, “Why Gabhdadi Risked a Video Appearance,” *The Atlantic* (May 1, 2019), online at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/05/baghdadi-video-announces-rebirth-isis/588421/>

Knowing What to Do: Academic and Practitioner Understanding of How to Counter Violent Radicalization

by Daniel Koehler and Verena Fiebig

Abstract

In recent years, the number of counter-radicalization and deradicalization programs has steadily increased, and they belong now to the standard counterterrorism and conflict resolution repertoire of many countries. How is the personnel of these programs trained to perform its duties and what does this tell about the relationship between academic and practitioner understandings of countering radicalization and deradicalization? This article aims at answering these questions by comparing the state of the art in evidence-based radicalization and deradicalization research with a detailed analysis of primary data concerning twelve training courses for personnel in this field. It finds that training courses are significantly disconnected from research. On the other hand, training in this field indicates that the academic literature is not well-grounded in the practical realities of delivering interventions. Both findings reveal the need for a more mutually beneficial relationship that can help improve practitioner training and making (de)radicalization research more practitioner-oriented.

Keywords: Countering Violent Extremism; Personnel Training; Academic & Practitioner Understanding; Conflict Resolution; Deradicalization

Introduction

“Profiling” terrorists has “failed resoundingly”.[1] Scholars studying violent radicalization processes agree that these processes are highly complex and individual, and connected to a range of drivers, influences, and pathways. [2] In the growing field of countering violent extremism (CVE), counter-radicalization and deradicalization initiatives and programs have recently managed to be included in the list of counterterrorism methods and ranked fourth among the top ten future revolutions by Time Magazine in 2008.[3] Some examples include: United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 2178 (2014) which urges all member states to establish effective rehabilitation measures for returned fighters from Syria and Iraq [4]; the revised “European Union Counter-Terrorism Strategy” 2014 which strongly emphasized on “disengagement and exit strategies” [5]; the “Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism” presented by the UNSC to the UN General Assembly with more than seventy recommendations including a call to introduce “disengagement, rehabilitation and counseling programs for persons engaged in violent extremism” [6]; the European Commission’s call for the implementation of “de-radicalization” programs under the overall goal to prevent and fight radicalization as an “absolute priority” [7]; and UNSC Resolution 2396 (2017), which continued to call for specific measures to counter terrorism, including CVE activities, such as counter-narrative campaigns and rehabilitation programs.[8]

It is fair to say that programs and strategies that could roughly be described as CVE-specific (i.e., counter-radicalization or deradicalization) or CVE-related (i.e., early prevention), even though vastly different in nature, have gained global significance in the fight against terrorism, recruitment into violent extremism and, by extension, as a key aspect of conflict resolution and peace-making. However, early preventative work is highly complex: “screening and identifying individuals at risk of radicalisation requires training and cannot be carried out as a simple task by teachers or locals without substantially increasing the incidence of false positives.”[9] This holds even more for deradicalization programs. The policy initiatives mentioned above rely necessarily on practitioners capable of recognizing radicalization processes leading to involvement in violent extremism and terrorism (i.e., “violent radicalization”) or the actual degree of radicalization, choosing the adequate intervention strategy and carrying it out effectively with the appropriate tools. However, if the original phenomenon—violent radicalization—is essentially a contested and elusive concept, how can program personnel be trained effectively to counter and reverse it? How deeply is the training rooted in evidence-based research? A comparison between the empirically-informed academic literature on radicalization

and deradicalization processes and detailed primary data on 12 training courses (e.g., course material and curricula) reveals a lack of connection between the two. Training courses are significantly disconnected from evidence-based academic literature and focused on contents that seem more relevant to practice although their effectiveness has never been evaluated scientifically.

On the other hand, current dedicated research does not focus on the contents of training courses. This indicates that the broader academic literature on this topic is not well-grounded in the practical realities of delivering interventions. Research with empirical support in this domain is usually based on interviews and case studies of individuals leaving extremist milieus, rather than on mechanisms and effects of intervention programs. Knowing more about the methods that are deemed necessary by intervention practitioners or training providers can offer policymakers and academics insights on the day-to-day operations and practical realities of this job. These insights can help identify directions for future research that are more relevant for practitioners and aimed at providing political support for counter-radicalization and deradicalization initiatives. Reducing the distance between academic and practitioner understanding of CVE can be mutually beneficial. It can improve and secure sustainable long-term conflict resolution strategies.

The article is structured as follows: first, a review of evidence-based literature in radicalization and deradicalization research will identify the recommended evidence-based components of CVE and deradicalization training courses. Second, after setting forth the methods and sources for data selection and analysis, the sample set of training courses will be presented. Third, both perspectives will be compared and the overlap and discrepancies will be discussed with recommendations to close the gap between the two.

The Academic Perspective: Literature Review and State of the Art

Terms and Definitions

CVE is “an approach intended to preclude individuals from engaging in, or materially supporting, ideologically motivated violence” [10] and comprises “non-coercive attempts to reduce involvement in terrorism.”[11] “CVE” is now widely used in international and national counterterrorism strategies and policies, although it was criticized as being a “catch-all category that lacks precision and focus.”[12] One possible classification used for CVE activities is the “public health model” developed by Caplan [13], which is rooted in clinical psychiatry. “Primary prevention” in this model aims at preventing deviant behavior from occurring in a “non-infected” system. This includes activities aimed, for example, at raising awareness, resilience, or community coherence. It addresses societal issues and is directed to individuals before they get in contact with violent extremist groups and ideologies. “Secondary prevention” aims at averting the consolidation of risk factors (e.g., societal alienation, development of specific grievances, loss of personal significance) or radicalization processes in the early stages. “Tertiary prevention” aims at preventing recidivism to violent extremism or other risk factors in the future, implying that an initial desistance or disengagement has been achieved. Naturally, very different methods and programs fall under these three categories as working with long-term members of extremist groups to induce defection is a completely different task from instructing children about the risks posed by extremist groups.

Although there is no agreement on the inclusion of deradicalization or disengagement within the CVE framework, academics and practitioners have generally included within tertiary prevention activities aimed at achieving defection and avoiding recidivism of (highly) radicalized individuals.[14] Caution regarding this notion was raised, for example, by Koehler [15], who argued that preventing recidivism is just one necessary (and later) part of possible interventions, which should primarily reduce individual physical and psychological commitment to an extremist group and ideology.

Therefore, it would be accurate to see CVE as an umbrella category under which prevention-oriented initiatives (i.e., before a person radicalizes to the point of using violence) and intervention-oriented initiatives (i.e., deradicalization and disengagement of a person who is already radicalized to the point of using violence) are subsumed. Even though the interconnection between radicalization and violence has largely been disputed in the literature, the reference point of violent behavior is nevertheless important for (government funded) P/CVE programs. The first category of initiatives is commonly referred to as “preventing violent extremism”

(PVE) programs and the latter as intervention, counter-radicalization, deradicalization, disengagement, rehabilitation, or reintegration programs. This article focuses on the second category, namely, training courses for personnel tasked with intervening on an existing and ongoing violent radicalization process (“counter-radicalization”) and/or guiding the deradicalization and disengagement process of a radicalized person.

Looking at the term “deradicalization,” the most important competing concept is “disengagement,” and both are usually used in combination. Definitions by leading academics show that the main difference between deradicalization and disengagement is the focus on ideology, or more precisely, the psychological side of exiting a violent extremist milieu. Horgan and Braddock [16] define deradicalization as:

the social and psychological process whereby an individual’s commitment to, and involvement in, violent radicalization is reduced to the extent that they are no longer at risk of involvement and engagement in violent activity. De-radicalization may also refer to any initiative that tries to achieve a reduction of risk of re-offending through addressing the specific and relevant disengagement issues

and disengagement as:

the process whereby an individual experiences a change in role or function that is usually associated with a reduction of violent participation. It may not necessarily involve leaving the movement, but is most frequently associated with significant temporary or permanent role change. Additionally, while disengagement may stem from role change, that role change may be influenced by psychological factors such as disillusionment, burnout or the failure to reach the expectations that influenced initial involvement. This can lead to a member seeking out a different role within the movement

Braddock [17] points out that deradicalization is a “psychological process through which an individual abandons his extremist ideology and is theoretically rendered a decreased threat for re-engaging in terrorism.”

According to this view, the reduction of ideological commitment (deradicalization) as well as the change of role and consequent decrease in engagement in illegal behaviors (disengagement) are intertwined. However, Horgan [18] notes that even if the goal is reducing the psychological commitment to a violent extremist group, deradicalization does not have to be part of the process and might not even be a likely outcome. Complicating this further, there are two main approaches concerning ideology and its role in entering and leaving extremist milieus: a “narrow” and a “broad” school.[19] Whereas the former wants to achieve the rejection of ideologically-based violence, the latter wishes to dismantle also various other ideological aspects. Furthermore, while it has been argued that disengagement would be more feasible and realistic [20], some scholars have pointed out that in order to reduce recidivism of extremist offenders, it is necessary to address “beliefs and attitudes that drive violent behavior” (Braddock 2014, 60). Not addressing these underlying beliefs and attitudes, as well as the individual’s psychological factors of attraction, might increase the chance of a failed exit process and the risk of re-radicalization.[21]

“Deradicalization” has been used widely to describe both the process of exiting an extremist environment and the wider practical activity conducted through programs or mentors. Prevention- and intervention-oriented tools are used to achieve effects on all levels: preventing further radicalization, decreasing physical and psychological commitment to the radical milieu and thought patterns or ideology, preventing a return to violence and extremism, increasing resilience to extremist ideologies or groups, and assisting in building a new self-sustained life and identity. Given that radicalization is a context-related phenomenon “par excellence” [22], countering it is context-related too, which means that “deradicalisation should not be considered a psychological return to some pre-radicalised state” [23] but as a development of a new identity in itself.

Existing Literature on CVE/Deradicalization Training

The academic literature on CVE and deradicalization has not treated the issue of personnel training in detail so far. Only one previous study briefly discusses the variety of different professions employed in CVE and deradicalization, as well as some of the key problems faced in training the staff for this highly complex task.[24]

Nevertheless, recommendations for policymakers and practitioners, such as “good practice guides,” mention

the need to train CVE and deradicalization personnel in order to achieve the desired effects. In 2013, the “Rome Memorandum on Good Practices for Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Violent Extremist Offenders” stated that the quality of any prison-based rehabilitation program for violent extremists is, among other factors, dependent on the level of training received by the personnel.[25] Furthermore, the European Union Radicalization Awareness Network (RAN) has also focused on the question of training practitioners, which is seen as “invaluable in any effort to prevent and counter radicalisation.”[26] A dedicated RAN conference on this issue resulted in the 2017 “RAN Handbook on CVE/PVE training programmes,” based on “trainers’ experience of what works and what doesn’t.”[27] It was noted that most of these training programs within the European Union are not evaluated.[28] This RAN handbook covers practical steps in delivering training programs, such as how to select trainers, how to make the program more engaging, or how to embed the training in national strategies. Informal internal and formal external evaluation as part of the quality assurance of these training programs are recommended.[29] The handbook, however, does not provide any recommendations for potential contents or a theoretical basis for designing a course. Instead, it recommends a “good needs assessment” [30] while setting up a new training program, implying that the training should serve to deliver what the target audience requests. The notion that the training contents should be primarily based on the practitioner’s perspective is strengthened further by stating that the trainer should be an “experienced practitioner” (RAN 2017, 7). The handbook states that “multi-agency cooperation (...) is needed to deal with the multi-causal and multifaceted phenomenon of radicalisation.”[31]

Training practitioners has also been considered integral to the quality of both rehabilitation programs for ordinary offenders [32] and deradicalization programs at large.[33] This is where the question of personnel’s training is connected to the more significant and much more contested issue of evaluating the quality and outcomes of CVE and deradicalization programs. It is beyond the scope of this article to review that particular debate, which has been done elsewhere.[34] Here, it suffices to note that the discourse on evaluation, quality standards, conceptual clarity or even a widely shared understanding of goals and contents of CVE and deradicalization activities has only marginally progressed and the overwhelming majority of programs in this field have not been scientifically evaluated.[35] Consequently, this poses a severe problem for basing personnel training contents solely on the practitioners’ perspectives (i.e., a mostly non-evaluated albeit often experience-based opinion) as suggested by the RAN handbook. This clearly shows the necessity of an evidence-based foundation for CVE and deradicalization program personnel training.

Furthermore, the lack of evaluation of practical CVE and deradicalization activities also creates additional problems since “the proposed mechanisms through which these programmes are supposed to work are often vague or rest on untested assumptions despite the fact that “getting it wrong” can have dramatic iatrogenic effects and possibly contribute to further radicalisation.”[36] As more programs with an increasing number of staff members are financed and brought into contact with potentially high-risk subjects, this aspect might even constitute a new security risk on its own (i.e., poorly designed programs with inadequately trained personnel handling potentially dangerous recipients). This is especially true if these programs work without the necessary conceptual basis and quality standards. One particularly worrying aspect is that the demand for specialized personnel has likely outpaced the available pool of experienced practitioners, meaning that the training of CVE and deradicalization personnel has become a key priority and challenge to meet the increasing popularity of CVE and deradicalization programs in counterterrorism, conflict resolution, and peace-making.

Reviewing the State of the Art in Radicalization and Deradicalization Research

Terrorism research in general and studies looking at violent radicalization processes in particular have been criticized for the dearth of empirical evidence through primary data.[37] This situation appears to have changed drastically in the last decade. Schuurman [38] found that “the use of primary data has increased considerably and is continuing to do so.” Echoing this notion, Gøtzsche-Astrup [39] states that “the field has matured to allow for a focus on evaluating theories on their empirical merits.” However, this does not mean that all or even most of the research on violent radicalization processes is evidence-based or derived from solid primary data. Since most practical activities of CVE and deradicalization programs have never been evaluated for effectiveness, it is essential for the field to look for empirical evidence in the existing research literature to provide a solid foundation for those activities. Therefore, we selected meta-studies summarizing the state of

the art in the field based on empirical evidence or those publications based on accumulated primary data for our literature review.

Gøtzsche-Astrup's [40] meta-analysis focusing on internal and external validity of theoretical approaches has identified eight psychological mechanisms of radicalization with strong empirical evidence:

- Radicalization is based on normal psychological mechanisms rather than psychopathology
- Motivational processes rather than instrumental calculations of risk and reward
- Negative life experiences that cause the individual to search for meaning in life and answers to other fundamental questions
- Experience of fundamental uncertainty or loss of meaning or significance
- The shift in social identity toward a single social group rather than many
- Small group dynamics drive the process to behavioral extremes
- Heightened dispositional anxiety, aggression, and impulsivity
- "Sacred values" involved in later stages of radicalization

Gøtzsche-Astrup [41] recommended specific practices for micro-social intervention programs (i.e., CVE and deradicalization), in particular: motivation-focused approaches, mentoring methods to help the subject cope with negative life experiences and protecting against fundamental uncertainty, skill-building to handle fundamental life tasks (e.g., education, employment) to prevent a loss of personal significance, and approaches tailored to individual needs and personalities.

Additional recommendations for practitioner training can be made regarding the small group dynamics for radicalization processes. Detailed knowledge of the subcultural and ideological frameworks used in these extremist milieus and small group contexts is essential. Not only is it necessary to recognize visual signs (e.g., codes and symbols, clothing brands, specific language, activities) of adherence to extremist milieus and ideologies in order to assess the risk and radicalization level of the individual, it is also necessary to understand his/her specific relationship with the group and the collective dynamics involved.[42] Together with the specific ideology of the milieu or extremist group behind a person's radicalization, subcultural products and activities (e.g., rallies, concerts) form a dynamic "radical contrast society," which Koehler [43] defined as "the mechanisms involved in the interactions between a Radical Social Movement and its surrounding environment," which needs to be studied and understood by CVE and deradicalization personnel to hand-tailor, plan, and execute a sustainable exit from that social and ideological environment. A radical contrast society includes the physical recruitment infrastructure on the one hand (e.g., activities like concerts and rallies, clothing, music, codes and symbols) and the ideologically defined goals, methods, and enemies of the radical group on the other. Its relevance is based on the assumption that individual and collective identities can become "fused" in extremism and terrorism and are therefore interdependent.[44] Individual deradicalization counseling cannot be isolated from the group dynamics behind radicalization. Hence, it appears to be essential for CVE and deradicalization program personnel to be able to include in the counseling the social identity perspective of their users and their specific relationship with the group or milieu in question.

While these practical recommendations might be suited for CVE and deradicalization interventions (i.e., targeting a radicalization process while it is ongoing), they do not automatically hold for deradicalization interventions. Gøtzsche-Astrup [45] acknowledges this, saying that "although the two processes may be related, there is no necessary connection between the mechanisms leading to and from radicalisation." Although some studies have found that certain motives involved in the entry process are connected to the decision to leave an extremist environment [46], exiting is not just "reversing the radicalization".[47] The potential recipients for deradicalization interventions are remarkably diverse, and no well-defined profiles exist.[48] Consequently, leaving such milieus is also likely to be a unique mixture of individual factors. Unfortunately, no studies have evaluated the empirical validity of the deradicalization mechanisms on the lines of what Gøtzsche-Astrup [49]

has done for radicalization mechanisms. This shows that studies on radicalization are far more grounded in the empirical evidence than deradicalization studies and that exit processes are still “not well understood”.[50]

Nevertheless, some reviews of empirical studies on deradicalization do exist. Dalgaard-Nielsen [51], for example, was able to identify sixteen academic articles and books published between 1990 and 2012, based on a total of 216 interviews with former members of various extremist or terrorist groups. Daalgard-Nielsen [52] identified three key themes in these studies: “ideological doubt, doubt related to group and leadership issues, and doubt related to personal and practical issues.” Her specific practical recommendations for external intervention providers are that they:

should stay close to the potential exiter’s own doubt, make the influence attempt as subtle as possible, use narratives and self-affirmatory strategies to reduce resistance to persuasion, and consider the possibility to promote attitudinal change via behavioral change as an alternative to seek to influence beliefs directly.[53]

More specifically, this should be done through “humanization of the enemy, de-idealizing violence, leveraging internal strain in the extremist groups, leveraging bad leadership and/or personal and practical issues such as guilt feelings, longing for a normal life, and burnout,” as well as through increased contact with the world outside.[54] These approaches have a correspondence in factors motivating individuals to exit terrorism, and this has been established by empirical research. Altier, Thoroughgood, and Horgan [55] for example identified unmet expectations, disillusionment with strategy or actions, disillusionment with personnel, difficulty with clandestine lifestyle, inability to cope with violence, loss of faith in the ideology, burnout, competing loyalties, employment/educational demands or opportunities, family demands/desires, positive interactions with moderates, financial incentives, and amnesty as the most commonly identified motivational factors in deradicalization research. In a later analysis of eighty-seven autobiographies of former terrorists [56], this list was narrowed down to “disillusionment with the group’s strategy or actions, disagreements with group leaders or members, dissatisfaction with one’s day-to-day tasks, and burnout” as those factors were cited more often by the former extremists. Again, these factors point to practical methods such as communication tools to induce self-awareness and reflection on the disillusionment, psychological counseling to cope with burnouts or other mental health issues and mentoring to provide alternative lifestyles and skills.

Direct confrontational communicative strategies in deradicalization are questionable and carry a high risk of backfiring.[57] Hence, the ability to adapt the counseling communication to the users’ preferences should be a crucial part in the training of CVE and deradicalization program personnel, in order to identify the most effective ways of creating cognitive openings without appearing coercive.

Lessons Learned from Research on Deradicalization Program Activities

In addition to the academic literature focusing on individual entry and exit processes, some empirical evidence exists regarding practical activities of programs intended to counter violent radicalization and facilitate deradicalization. However, comparative studies are rare, also because of the notorious lack of transparency and data accessibility of most of such programs.[58] In one of the first comparative assessments of different approaches to deradicalization, Rabasa et al. [59] found that the programs perceived to be effective by their stakeholders were active on the pragmatic, ideological, and affective levels. While the pragmatic level refers to all physical reintegration methods (e.g., vocational training, trauma therapy, and drug therapy), the ideological level refers to the critical assessment of underlying worldviews or psychological commitment to extremist environments. Finally, the affective level aims to establish a new pro-social emotionally supportive environment around the individual. The notion that holistic approaches to CVE and deradicalization are more effective than single focus interventions has found some support in the literature [60] and is also reflected in the diversity of methods used in CVE and deradicalization work.[61] However, questions such as which methods are more useful in comparison to others, and why, when, and how they are used has not been assessed so far; there are only mostly descriptive accounts of “what is being done” and “what is considered successful by practitioners”. [62] A first systematization of the methods typically used in CVE and deradicalization was done by Koehler. [63] According to his review of programs worldwide, the available methods usually include: 1) ideological/theological deconstruction of extremist worldviews, 2) integration in social work, 3) psychological/psychiatric

counseling or treatment, 4) educational tools (e.g., vocational training or fostering critical thinking skills and background knowledge), and 5) creative arts and sports. The expected effect of each of the tools under these five categories and their purposes remain speculative in most cases.

A necessary precondition for the application of different methods and tools in CVE and deradicalization activities is that the selection of the appropriate method is based on an assessment of the specific needs and risks related to each subject in order to achieve a user-method-match.[64] This essentially mirrors the widely shared notion of the contextual and individual nature of violent radicalization and deradicalization processes, namely, that there is “no one size fits all” approach. Hence, an intake approach identifying individual needs and driving factors or risks for the success of the exit process seems inevitable for every new recipient.[65]

This directly points to the absolute relevance of risk-assessment tools for CVE and deradicalization personnel. By definition, the recipients of CVE and deradicalization activities include, among others, highly radicalized individuals with a previous history of violent crimes and terrorism. These individuals are often seen as high-risk persons for a country’s national security and hence draw significant concern from law enforcement authorities, intelligence, the general public, and policymakers. Risk-assessment is a contested topic within the academia, and the lack of empirical support and evidence resulting in questionable predictive validity is usually and correctly pointed out.[66] A recent literature review of the risk factors associated with terrorism concluded that “there is insufficient evidence (...) that any of these variables are empirically supported risk factors” and that “some widely accepted “risk” factors have limited empirical support for their association with terrorism”.[67] Nevertheless, structured professional judgment tools, such as the Violent Extremism Risk Assessment (VERA2-R) or the Extremism Risk Guidance (ERG 22+) have been introduced and used widely in counterterrorism and are making their way into CVE and deradicalization activities as well.[68] Independent of the accuracy and scientific support behind such tools, Sarma [69] suggested that

One should not “value” risk assessment solely on its ability to correctly predict those who will and will not become involved in terrorism later. Rather, one should think more broadly about the opportunity to systematize the collection and processing of information.

Hence, the value of the application of risk-assessment tools for CVE and deradicalization programs might be the structured and comparable collection of case manager assessments of factors relevant to the successful rehabilitation during the intake process and monitoring of overall progress. These tools might also help develop better programs in light of scrutiny and fears of stakeholders regarding these high-risk users.

Another aspect identified in this regard is the ability of personnel to handle high-threat scenarios. Individuals (and their affective environment) who quit violent extremist or terrorist groups might become a target of punishment out of revenge or to protect the group’s interests. In theory, this danger to personal safety might also stretch to the personnel of CVE and deradicalization activities. While very little research has been conducted to shed light on the process of social pressure (including punitive violence) toward defectors from terrorism and violent extremism [70], existing studies on the topic indicate the need for CVE and deradicalization personnel to be trained in assessing the specific threat associated with handling specific cases and how to manage those threats (e.g., designing safety protocols and an individual security framework).

This complex and individual nature of deradicalization and the subsequent plurality of methods used is also echoed in recent research portraying sustainable rehabilitation of former extremists as a process spanning multiple aspects of a person’s identity and life. Barrelle [71] based her “pro-integration” model on five distinct change processes: social relations, coping, identity, ideology, and action orientation. Based on the individual preferences, goals and pre-exit background, every subject will, according to Barrelle, achieve different results in each field, creating a more or less unique integration recipe and framework.

Psychological and mental health counselling are also described as a standard part of CVE and deradicalization work.[72] Even though the role of mental health disorders and psychopathologies in violent radicalization processes is very much disputed, for example along the lines of group-based extremists [73] vs. lone actors [74], some studies have suggested specific dominant personality traits among violent extremists and terrorists.[75] It has also been found that membership in terrorist or violent extremist groups can also increase the likelihood of

developing mental health issues.[76] Hence, basic knowledge of recognizing and handling basic mental health problems (e.g., by referral to specialists) seems essential for CVE and deradicalization program personnel.

Finally, based on existing research on some practical aspects of CVE and deradicalization activities, detailed knowledge of the criminal justice system, judiciary processes, criminal procedure or probation system is recommended, in order to give adequate advice and counsel, as well as to be clear about personnel's roles and responsibilities.[77] The role of CVE and deradicalization staff must be differentiated from that of legal counsel. Nevertheless, awareness of the basic legal procedures is essential in CVE and deradicalization activities to ensure responsible collaboration with the criminal justice system wherever necessary.

Synthesis of the Literature Review

Based on the review presented above, it is possible to identify a list of key skills and tasks for practitioners of CVE and deradicalization activities which directly relate to the focus of this article. It is noteworthy that evidence-base and empirical foundations in radicalization and deradicalization research are overwhelmingly considered as comprising interviews with active and former violent extremists and terrorists to assess their trajectories in and out of radicalism. This is not a complete list, in any case.

Practitioners should be trained in:

- Basic legal knowledge (e.g., criminal justice system, criminal procedures, probation system);
- Knowledge regarding the ideological content and subcultural products of the forms of extremism to be targeted;
- Motivational factors in radicalization and deradicalization processes identified in research;
- Psychological processes of radicalization and deradicalization at the individual and collective levels;
- Collective/group psychology and dynamics, fused identities;
- Identifying and handling forms of mental health issues, such as trauma or personality disorders;
- Case management tools such as intake procedures, risk-need-assessment, and threat analysis;
- Communication strategies, argumentation techniques, de-escalation methods, rhetoric;
- Counselling methods, for example, systemic counselling addressing the multi-causality of entry and exit processes;
- Statutory and non-statutory social, educational, and psychological services;
- Knowledge of the potential impact of creative arts and sports;
- Assessment and delivery of pragmatic support (e.g., vocational education, addiction treatment);
- Methods helping increase the subject's sense of recognition, significance, and individual identity;
- Family and pro-social network support (affective environment stabilization).

The Practitioner's Perspective: CVE and Deradicalization Training Courses

Methods, Sources, and Data Sample

This part of the article is based on a collection of primary data from 12 training courses for CVE and deradicalization practitioners of various professions (e.g., law enforcement, prison staff, social workers, teachers, psychologists). The courses were identified through an open source search using relevant keywords (e.g., "training," "CVE," "deradicalization," and "countering extremism"), snowball sampling [78], and a widely disseminated call for recommendations from experienced practitioners and academics in the CVE and

deradicalization landscape (total number of persons contacted: n=44) about known training courses. For the purpose of the snowball sampling, experienced practitioners and academics were asked to refer to existing training courses and to provide other contacts, which then led to additional recommended courses and contacts. The sampling was conducted internationally. The criteria for identifying potentially relevant academics and practitioners focused on expertise in the practical aspects of CVE and deradicalization, as demonstrated by a track record of peer-reviewed journal articles or books on this topic published by an academic press, or by the individual's practical involvement in these activities for more than five years.

Only a few contacted practitioners and academics (n=13) knew any courses at all, indicating that either only very few training courses for practitioners exist in this field or those courses are largely unknown to the academic and practitioner community. It was also unknown whether their contents and concepts reflected the current state of the art in radicalization and terrorism research or if they were more or less based on widely held assumptions about what “everyone needs to know.”

Naturally, the training course designs reflect original goals and aims of each institution behind them, ranging, for example, from “raising fundamental awareness” to “train fully capable case managers.” The main requirement for the inclusion in the sample was that the target audience of each training course was expected to perform either CVE or deradicalization duties after the completion of the training, which can be described as 1) identifying cases of existing and ongoing violent radicalization, 2) assessing the situation according to responsibilities and potential risks, and 3) choosing the appropriate course of action (e.g., report, intervene, connect to a third party). This, in our view, formed the basis for comparability, even though the courses naturally differ greatly in scope, length and content. Using these criteria, 12 out of 17 identified training courses were selected for the analysis sample and five courses were excluded because they did not meet the selection criteria (e.g. focused on primary prevention or general awareness). These courses were not exclusively directed at a certain profession in terms of their audience. They were disconnected from particular types of intervention programs. Various professional audiences working on different types of programs (e.g., governmental prison-based, civil society-based exit programs handling self-referrals) as well as those practitioners who were tasked with handling potential radicalization cases within a larger statutory system (e.g., education, mental health, and probation) could attend these training courses.

The underlying training concepts are typically seen as specific skillsets and competitive advantages of certain organizations, some of which see such training programs as their main product and source of financial income. Hence, their detailed course contents are usually not available openly. To address this issue, the anonymity of the institutions carrying out the training was assured and no specific details of the coursework (e.g. names of training providers, list of modules, identification of specific theoretical approach or provider copy righted counseling models) are reported here in order to protect the programs' competitive advantages (e.g., in applying for governmental funding or in competing with other training providers) and to avoid conflicts of interest (e.g. to appear recommending or advertising for certain training courses).

Through that approach, it was possible for the authors to obtain relevant data on the courses such as the specific curricula, training material, evaluation questionnaires (if conducted), and specific module contents or underlying rationale (if existing). The sample included only one training course from each institution, although some were offering different courses for different audiences and with different foci. Even though the sample can, therefore, not be seen as representative of the CVE and deradicalization training landscape in general, we are confident that we were able to assess a sample of the most widely used and known courses in the field since both open search as well as practitioner and academic facilitation did not produce any other courses. Institutions offering more than one training course were asked to share information on their “flagship” or key programs.

For all identified and selected courses, information was collected on the type of program (i.e., governmental, non-governmental, multilateral network [i.e. an international network of governmental and/or non-governmental actors], public-private-partnership [i.e. cooperation between governmental and non-governmental actors on a nation state level]), the duration of the course, if any external certification exists, if the program is evaluated (either through internal self-evaluation, by external evaluators, or not at all), if the program targets one specific

extremist ideology or multiple ones, about the delivery method (i.e., online or physical presence or both) and finally, the specific course content, as these factors were deemed essential to assess the characteristics of the training course sample as best as possible. The course material was then transferred into abstract categories (e.g., “specific extremist ideology,” “institution-specific counseling model”) in order to protect potentially sensitive material or concepts. A training module on the Salafi-Jihadist ideology, for example, was categorized as “specific extremist ideology.”

The Data Basis

The 12 training courses in the sample (for an overview, see Table 1) consist of four governmental, three multilateral-network-based, two non-profit/non-governmental, two academic, and one public-private-partnership-based course. Nine of the 12 programs were based on in-class attendance, two were fully online courses, and one used a combination of in-class and online resources.

The duration of the courses ranged from 45 minutes for the entire course (online and self-paced) to 24 days (for those requiring in-class attendance). The average duration (this excluded the two online courses because the duration depended on the trainees themselves) was 8.2 days. Only two of the 12 courses were externally certified for quality control by an education specialist institution or service (e.g., a governmental education ministry or a national board of education providers). Nine out of 12 courses relied on internal self-evaluation. Two courses did not use any formal evaluation method and only one was evaluated by an external and independent organization. Although the majority of courses used some form of evaluation, the sample indicates a lack of high-quality external evaluations in the field of CVE and deradicalization, which mirrors the current situation in the practical field in general.[79] Five courses focused on Salafi-Jihadism as the target form of violent extremism, six included multiple forms of violent extremism with a comparative perspective, and one focused on the extreme right. No course provider outlined how the course contents were tailored to suit different attendees. The process of selecting the training contents remained unclear. It appears likely that contents selection was mainly driven by the providers’ discretion.

Table 1: Overview of the Sample Training Courses

No.	Institution	Duration	Externally Certified	Evaluated (Self, External, None)	Target/Main Focus	Delivery
1	Multilateral Network	4 Days	No	Self	Multiple Extremist Milieus	Physical
2	Multilateral Network	10 Days	No	Self	Multiple Extremist Milieus	Physical
3	Multilateral Network	5 Days	No	Self	Multiple Extremist Milieus	Online and Physical
4	Governmental	24 Days	No	Self	Multiple Extremist Milieus	Physical
5	Governmental	4 Days	No	None	Extreme Right	Physical
6	Governmental	Self-Paced, 45 Minutes	No	Self	Multiple Extremist Milieus	Online
7	Governmental	20 Days	No	Self	Salafi-Jihadism	Physical
8	Academic	Self-Paced, 4 Hours	No	Self	Multiple Extremist Milieus	Online
9	Academic	5 Days	Yes	Self	Salafi-Jihadism	Physical
10	Public Private Partnership	3 Days	Yes	None	Salafi-Jihadism	Physical
11	Non-Profit/NGO	9 Days	No	External	Salafi-Jihadism	Physical
12	Non-Profit/NGO	4 Days	No	Self	Salafi-Jihadism	Physical

The translation of the course material into abstract components resulted in the identification of thirty-three categories that can be interpreted as a collection of critical skills and knowledge for CVE and deradicalization personnel in the perspective of either the training providers or the practitioners themselves, who might have requested this specific content. Table 2 presents the thirty-three categories and their distribution across the sample courses. Five content categories appeared in at least half of the sample: the psychology of radicalization and recruitment into violent extremism (e.g., motivational factors, entry processes); the psychology of CVE and deradicalization (e.g., motivational factors, exit processes); subcultures and lifestyles (e.g., visual and behavioral indicators, codes and symbols, clothing, music, specific activities); specific counselling methods; and specific extremist ideology (e.g., Salafi-Jihadism, or the extreme right). Focusing on one specific form of violent extremism, teaching about its subcultural environments and identifying its essential elements, explaining entry and exit processes, and then including specific counselling methods, appears to be a straightforward and efficient way to train practitioners in the minimum amount of time.

Except for one training course which entirely specialized on program development, all included a module on radicalization and/or recruitment into violent extremism. However, only eight courses included a module on exit processes, CVE, or deradicalization. In one case, it included a component on specific early prevention processes. Therefore, three CVE and deradicalization training courses were completely missing any specific content on CVE and deradicalization.

As six courses did not focus on a specific extremist ideology but rather included various types, it is also fair to say that a multi-phenomenological approach to CVE and deradicalization training might be quite common. Of the six courses focusing on a single extremist ideology, five targeted Salafi-Jihadism. This might indicate that this ideology represents the most significant security threat or that this is the context in which there is the greatest need to educate program personnel.

Seven courses included specific counseling methods and focused mainly on systemic counseling, which is often deemed essential by intervention practitioners. Other methods included “change talk” and “change psychology,” which are communication methods that form a part of motivational interviewing by trying to capitalize on and strengthening the recipient’s motivation for change.

Only four courses included an institution-specific, sometimes copyrighted, CVE and deradicalization model, which was advertised as a key competitive advantage over other concepts.

Another, albeit rarely used, component in the selected training courses consisted of case exercises or dummy cases to help practice approaches and methods. Only four training courses included this tool, which seems to be a logical way to enhance the educational value and effects of the training.

Table 2. Overview of Training Courses' Contents

Training Course No:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Psychology of Radicalization/Recruitment Processes (Push and Pull Factors)	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Prevention Basics	X		X								X	X
CVE/Deradicalization Processes/Psychology	X		X	X	X	X			X	X	X	
Program Specific Model	X			X	X	X						
Good Practices	X											
Case Studies	X			X		X						
Role of Family	X			X								
Legal Basics	X			X	X	X	X					
Safety and Security	X			X								
Program Development		X							X			
Governance				X								
Risk Assessment				X								
Subcultures/Lifestyles (Visual and Behavioral Indicators)			X	X	X	X	X			X		
Social Media			X	X					X			
Case Management/Decision Making				X	X		X					X
Open Source Intelligence				X								
Specific Counseling Methods (e.g., Systemic Counseling, Motivational Interviewing, Change Talk)			X	X	X		X			X	X	X
Monitoring				X			X		X			
Racism					X							
Coping with Resistance					X							
Pluralizing Worldviews				X	X							
Mental Health						X						
Role of the Community/Local Partners				X			X	X	X		X	
Specific Extremist Ideology			X	X			X		X	X	X	X
Service Delivery									X			
Basics Islam				X			X			X	X	X
Case Exercise				X						X	X	X
Gender Specific Issues				X							X	
Argumentation/Rhetoric				X							X	
Foreign Terrorist Fighters				X								X
Groups vs. Lone Actors				X								X
Evaluation Techniques				X			X					
Children and Minors				X								

Comparing the Academic and Practical Perspectives

While comparing the categories used in CVE and deradicalization training programs with the list of recommended contents derived from the academic literature on the topic, it becomes clear that many components with a stiff backing in the academic literature have not been considered in the training courses. Especially, content about collective and group dynamics, creative arts and sports, pragmatic support structures and methods to increase the user's sense of significance are absent from the sample. Other components, which appeared to be significant in the literature were identified only once in the sample, for example, mental health, risk assessment, argumentation, and rhetoric skills. Even the role of the family of recipients only appeared twice in the sample. Nine out of the 14 training content components derived from the academic literature did not appear or only rarely (once or twice) appeared in the sample, indicating that counter-radicalization and deradicalization training courses are significantly disconnected from the knowledge base in research. One reason for this might be that the courses are more attuned to economic constraints and content requested by

the audiences. As pointed out before, such content comes from a mostly unverified field and thereby harbors the risk of including ineffective or even counter-productive practices. On the other hand, a large portion of the training components used in the field did not appear to a significant degree in the academic evidence-based literature, indicating that the wider academic literature is not well-grounded in the practical realities of delivering interventions.

Discussion and Conclusions

This paper tackled the issue of delivering adequate CVE and deradicalization program personnel training, and investigated the relationship between the academic literature on the topic and the contents of personnel training courses. When revisiting one of the core assumptions of this article—that identifying individuals at risk of radicalization and intervening appropriately is no simple task and requires significant expertise—the average training course duration of 8.2 days and the fact that many courses are limited to rather general knowledge make it hard to conclude that this kind of specialized knowledge (i.e., beyond rudimentary awareness) can be effectively gained within such trainings. Even the most extensive course (spanning 24 days) seems insufficient to acquire the skills and knowledge to effectively “deradicalize” a hard-core extremist. This directly points to a significant structural problem in the CVE and deradicalization field and underlines the need for more extensive and better structured training.

While comparing the 33 identified categories used in 12 training courses with the list of recommended contents derived from the evidence-based research literature, it becomes clear that many components recommended in the academic literature are not included in the training courses. Hence, it appears that existing courses are significantly disconnected from the academic state of the art but also that research in this area does not address the practical realities and needs of the intervention providers. This points to a shortcoming in this research field: empirical studies have mostly focused on personal narratives of active or former extremists and terrorists and have derived their findings and recommendations from this material. Recommended practices for intervening on violent radicalization do not, however, automatically follow from these accounts, since the focus lies on individual experiences and not the user-program relationship. The interaction between the intervention programs, their staff, and the final recipients represents an analytical level that is significantly different from what the majority of research in this field has considered thus far. Even if certain practices can be recommended based on individual accounts of former terrorists, this does not imply that the recommendations can be generalized. The background of the program (e.g., governmental), the personality and training of the mentor, even the way a specific approach is communicated toward the final users, might fundamentally alter the actual effects of the approach. If, for example, finding a new job would be advisable for a subject, the simple fact that this suggestion comes from a governmental intervention program might determine psychological reactance from that subject, who is used to an environment that is hostile to the government. In sum, the program-tool-recipient nexus with its logic and interactions must become the focus of CVE and deradicalization research to understand how exit processes from terrorism and violent extremism can be facilitated more effectively.

These findings, however, are subject to some limitations. First, the small data sample of 12 CVE and deradicalization training courses is only partly representative of the training landscape and does not allow for general conclusions. More detailed research on personnel’s training in this field is needed. Even though the method used in this study to search for courses did not yield more than 17 courses, it is likely that there are, in fact, more courses. Furthermore, the present assessment is based on the information provided by the training institutions themselves. Feedback from the participants regarding the value of the training programs and the long-term applicability and practicability in CVE and deradicalization activities might prove very insightful to complement the findings from this article. A third limitation lies in the connection between the training courses and the academic literature. It is difficult to determine whether it is more beneficial for course providers to base the course contents on the state of the art in the academic literature or on the demands of the training participants, for example, simply out of economic reasons. As shown by the 33 identified components, which are largely absent from the relevant research literature, there is a gray zone constituted by what practitioners (or training providers) believe to be necessary for their work, and what the empirical research has identified as relevant. Nevertheless, as pointed out throughout this article, it is our firm stand that CVE and deradicalization activities (in fact, all CVE work) should be evidence-based to avoid counter-productive effects and to “do-no-

harm.” Since most of the practical activities in this field have not been scientifically evaluated for their effects so far, we see no alternative than basing program personnel training on the components that have a strong empirical base.

This does not mean that there should be no room for the practical realities and demands of the intervention practitioners. On the contrary, this article has identified a range of components widely used in the training courses, providing an insight into what is considered essential practical knowledge in the field. Based on these insights, it is possible to formulate key recommendations for future research to become more relevant for practitioners.

An essential strategy to professionalize existing programs and make their practical experiences transferrable consists in encouraging a more in-depth exploration and assessment of specific methods and activities within CVE and deradicalization programs according to their type, target groups, and effects. Recent studies by Williams et al. [80] or Webber et al. [81] provide first still rare examples of how specific methods used in CVE and deradicalization activities can be experimentally tested and assessed. It would be worthwhile, for example, starting with the thirty-three identified training components from the existing sample and assess their roles and effects for CVE and deradicalization, in order to move the research closer to the practical field. Furthermore, the actual distribution of these training components in the field should be explored. It might be the case that those methods and components taught through the training courses do not have much application in the practical work, which would add another layer of investigation to the research question of what is being done by CVE and deradicalization activities and why.

This article’s results directly contribute to filling the knowledge gap between academic and practitioner understandings of CVE and deradicalization and the day-to-day operations involved in it. By learning more about how program personnel are trained it is possible for academics to get a sense of the practical methods that are deemed essential. This identifies activities and methods that need empirical validation to make research more relevant for practitioners. Intervention providers on the other hand, learned about the academic state of the art in relation to their own practical field and whether their practices are based on the empirical evidence used in research literature. It is finally strongly recommended to make the research outputs in this domain more accessible for practitioners and to provide more evaluative and comparative research methods to test the actual value of the strategies introduced in the training courses and potentially used in the field.

The main practical implication of this article’s findings is to ground program staff training in evidence-based content as far as possible without compromising on the practical relevance for the course audiences. The findings imply that practical recommendations derived from individual pathways out of violent extremism and terrorism do not necessarily hold much relevance for intervention providers as their activities appear to form a heretofore unexplored realm of mutual interactions between the program and the recipient. Finally, in order to effectively address the practical issues arising from the findings presented here, the creation of university level B.A. or M.A. degree-based courses focused on practical CVE and deradicalization seems highly advisable. This would allow for a sufficient time span to acquire the necessary knowledge, as well as include an adequate quality assurance mechanism (e.g., course content designed, conducted and supervised by senior academics and/or practitioners, written and oral examinations, research assignments and final theses). It would furthermore allow for the opportunity to gain field experiences—for example, through internships or fieldwork with P/CVE programs. In any case, the current situation in the CVE and deradicalization field regarding professionalization and quality assurance is inadequate and worrying, given the specific challenges and risks of the clientele.

About the Authors: Daniel Koehler holds a Ph.D. in Political Science and is the Founding Director of the German Institute on Radicalization and De-Radicalization Studies (GIRDS) and Editor in Chief of the first peer reviewed open access journal on deradicalization (<http://www.journal-derad.com>). In June 2015 Daniel was named a Fellow of George Washington University’s Program on Extremism at the Center for Cyber and Homeland Security. In 2016 he was appointed to be the first court expert on deradicalization in the United States of America at the District Court in Minneapolis. In July 2017 Daniel became a member of the Editorial Board of the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism in The Hague. Verena Fiebig holds an MA in Empirical Social Sciences (Stuttgart

University, 2015). She is an independent researcher and her current main interests are far-right extremism and the evaluation of deradicalization programs.

Notes

- [1] Horgan, J. G. 2008. From Profiles to Pathways and Roots to Routes: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalization into Terrorism. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 618 (1): 80-94.
- [2] Jensen, M. A., A. A. Seate, and P. A. James. 2018. Radicalization to Violence: A Pathway Approach to Studying Extremism. *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2018): 1-24. McCauley, C. and S. Moskaleiko. 2008. Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20 (3): 415-433. Reinares, F. R., A. Tore Bjørgo, D. D. Porta, R. Coolsaet, F. Khosrokhavar, G. De Vries. 2008. *Radicalisation Processes Leading to Acts of Terrorism*. http://www.rikcoolsaet.be/files/art_ip_wz/Expert%20Group%20Report%20Violent%20Radicalisation%20FINAL.pdf (accessed March 24, 2019)
- [3] Ripley, A. 2008. Future Revolutions. 4. Reverse Radicalism. *Time Magazine*. 13 March. http://content.time.com/time/specials/2007/article/0,28804,1720049_1720050_1722062,00.html (accessed March 24, 2019).
- [4] UNSC. 2014. *Resolution 2178* (S/RES/2178 (2014)). United Nations Security Council.
- [5] EU. 2014. *Revised EU Strategy for Combating Radicalisation and Recruitment to Terrorism*. (5643/5/14). Brussels. <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/doc/srv?l=EN&f=ST%209956%202014%20INIT> (accessed March 24, 2019). p. 11
- [6] UNSG. 2016. *United Nations Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism*. New York: United Nations Secretary General. https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/sites/www.un.org.counterterrorism.ctitf/files/plan_action.pdf. (accessed March 24, 2019). p. 4
- [7] EC. 2016. Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council and the the Council delivering on the European Agenda on Security to fight against terrorism and pave the way towards an effective and genuine Security Union. (COM(2016) 230 final). European Commission (https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-security/legislative-documents/docs/20160420/communication_eas_progress_since_april_2015_en.pdf). (accessed March 24, 2019). p. 6
- [8] UNSC. 2017. *Resolution 2396*. <https://www.un.org/sc/ctc/news/document/s-res-2396-2017-threats-international-peace-security-caused-terrorist-acts-foreign-terrorist-fighters/> (accessed 14 April 2019)
- [9] Göttsche-Astrup, O. 2018. The time for causal designs: Review and evaluation of empirical support for mechanisms of political radicalisation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 39 (2018): 90-99. p. 97
- [10] Williams, M. J. 2017. Prosocial behavior following immortality priming: experimental tests of factors with implications for CVE interventions. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 9 (3): 153-190. p. 153
- [11] Harris-Hogan, S., K. Barrelle, and A. Zammit. 2015. What is countering violent extremism? Exploring CVE policy and practice in Australia. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 8 (1): 6-24. p. 6
- [12] Heydemann, S. 2014. Countering violent extremism as a field of practice. United States Institute of Peace *Insights* 1 (Spring 2014): 1, 9-11. p. 1
- [13] Caplan, G. 1964. *Principles of Preventive Psychiatry*. New York: Basic Books.
- [14] E.g., Harris-Hogan, S., K. Barrelle, and A. Zammit. 2015. What is countering violent extremism? Exploring CVE policy and practice in Australia. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 8 (1): 6-24. Horgan, J. G. and M. B. Altier. 2012. The Future of Terrorist De-Radicalization Programs. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (2012): 83-90.
- [15] Koehler, D. 2016. *Understanding Deradicalization. Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism*. Oxon/New York: Routledge.
- [16] Horgan, J. G. and K. Braddock. 2010. Rehabilitating the Terrorists? Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of De-radicalization Programs. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22 (2): 267-291. p. 253
- [17] Braddock, K. 2014. The talking cure? Communication and psychological impact in prison de-radicalisation programmes. In *Prisons, Terrorism and Extremism: Critical Issues in Management, Radicalisation and Reform*, ed. Andrew Silke, 60-74. London: Routledge. p. 60
- [18] Horgan, J. G. 2009. Individual disengagement: a psychological analysis. In *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement*, eds. T. Bjørgo and J. Horgan, 17-29. London/New York: Routledge. p. 19

- [19] Clubb, G. 2015. De-radicalization, Disengagement and the Attitudes-Behavior Debate. In *Terrorism and Political Violence*, eds. Caroline Kennedy-Pipe; Gordon Clubb and Simon Mabon, 258-266. London: Sage.
- [20] E.g. Noricks, D. M. E. 2009. Disengagement and Deradicalization: Processes and Programs. In *Social Science for Counterterrorism. Putting the Pieces Together*. eds. P. K. Davis and K. Cragin, 299-300. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation.
- [21] Koehler, D. 2016. *Understanding Deradicalization. Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism*. Oxon/New York: Routledge. Rabasa, A., S. L. Pettyjohn, J. J. Ghez, and C. Boucek. 2010. Deradicalizing Islamist Extremists. Santa Monica http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG1053.pdf (accessed March 24, 2019)
- [22] Reinares, F. R., A. Tore Bjørgo, D. D. Porta, R. Coolsaet, F. Khosrokhavar,... G. De Vries. 2008. *Radicalisation Processes Leading to Acts of Terrorism*. http://www.rikcoolsaet.be/files/art_ip_wz/Expert%20Group%20Report%20Violent%20Radicalisation%20FINAL.pdf (accessed March 24, 2019). p. 7
- [23] Braddock, K. 2014. The talking cure? Communication and psychological impact in prison de-radicalisation programmes. In *Prisons, Terrorism and Extremism: Critical Issues in Management, Radicalisation and Reform*, ed. Andrew Silke, 60-74. London: Routledge. p. 62
- [24] Koehler, D. 2016. *Understanding Deradicalization. Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism*. Oxon/New York: Routledge. pp. 179-182
- [25] GCTF. 2013. *Rome Memorandum on Good Practices for Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Violent Extremist Offenders*. <https://www.thegctf.org/documents/10162/159878/Rome+Memorandum-English.pdf> (accessed March 24, 2019)
- [26] RAN. 2017. *RAN Handbook on CVE/PVE training programmes. Guidance for trainers and policy-makers*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/ran-papers/docs/ran_handbook_on_cve_pve_training_programmes_12-2017_en.pdf (accessed March 24, 2019). p. 1
- [27] Ibid. p. 2
- [28] Ibid. p. 2
- [29] Ibid. p. 7
- [30] Ibid. p. 5
- [31] Ibid. p. 3
- [32] Latessa, E. J. 2013. *Evaluating Correctional Programs*. http://www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No88/No88_11VE_Latessa_Evaluating.pdf (accessed March 24, 2019). Smith, P., P. Gendreau, and K. Swartz. 2009. Validating the Principles of Effective Intervention: A Systematic Review of the Contributions of Meta-Analysis in the Field of Corrections. *Victims and Offenders* 4 (2): 148-169.
- [33] Koehler, D. 2017. How and why we should take deradicalization seriously. *Nature Human Behaviour* 1: 0095. Koehler, D. 2017. Structural quality standards for work to intervene with and counter violent extremism. <http://www.kpebw.de/wp-content/uploads/Handbuch-KPEBW-engl.pdf> (accessed March 24, 2019)
- [34] E.g., Baruch, B.; T. Ling, R. Warnes, and J. Hofman. 2018. Evaluation in an emerging field: Developing a measurement framework for the field of counter-violent-extremism. *Evaluation* 24 (4): 475-495. Cherney, A. 2018. Evaluating interventions to disengage extremist offenders: a study of the proactive integrated support model (PRISM). *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* (2018): 1-20. Horgan, J. G. and K. Braddock. 2010. Rehabilitating the Terrorists? Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of De-radicalization Programs. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22 (2): 267-291. Koehler, D. 2017. How and why we should take deradicalization seriously. *Nature Human Behaviour* 1: 0095. Williams, M. J. and S. M. Kleinman. 2013. A utilization-focused guide for conducting terrorism risk reduction program evaluations. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 6 (2): 102-146.
- [35] Feddes, A. R. and M. Gallucci. 2015. A Literature Review on Methodology used in Evaluating Effects of Preventive and De-radicalisation Interventions. *JD Journal for Deradicalization* Winter 16 (5): 1-27. Koehler, D. 2017. How and why we should take deradicalization seriously. *Nature Human Behaviour* 1: 0095.
- [36] Gøtzsche-Astrup, O. 2018. The time for causal designs: Review and evaluation of empirical support for mechanisms of political radicalisation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 39 (2018): 90-99. p. 90
- [37] E.g., Silke, A. 2001. The devil you know: Continuing problems with research on terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 13 (4): 1-14. Silke, A. 2008. Holy Warriors: Exploring the Psychological Processes of Jihadi Radicalization. *European Journal of Criminology* 5 (1): 99-123.
- [38] Schuurman, B. 2018. Research on Terrorism, 2007–2016: A Review of Data, Methods, and Authorship. *Terrorism and Political*

Violence (2018): 1-16. p. 1

[39] Gøtzsche-Astrup, O. 2018. The time for causal designs: Review and evaluation of empirical support for mechanisms of political radicalisation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 39 (2018): 90-99. p. 91

[40] Ibid. p. 94

[41] Ibid. p. 97

[42] Miller-Idriss, C. 2018. *The Extreme Gone Mainstream: Commercialization and Far Right Youth Culture in Germany*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pisoiu, D. 2015. Subcultural Theory Applied to Jihadi and Right-Wing Radicalization in Germany. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27 (1): 9-28.

[43] Koehler, D. 2015. Contrast Societies. Radical Social Movements and their relationships with their target societies. A theoretical model. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7 (1): 18-34. p. 19

[44] Swann Jr, W. B., J. Jetten, Á. Gómez, H. Whitehouse, and B. Bastian. 2012. When group membership gets personal: A theory of identity fusion. *Psychological Review* 119 (3): 441-456.

[45] Gøtzsche-Astrup, O. 2018. The time for causal designs: Review and evaluation of empirical support for mechanisms of political radicalisation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 39 (2018): 90-99. p. 96

[46] Horgan, J. G and M. Taylor. 2011. Disengagement, de-radicalization, and the arc of terrorism: Future directions for research. In *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge: European and American Experiences*, ed. Rik Coolsaet, 173-186. London: Ashgate.

[47] Horgan, J. G. 2007. Understanding Terrorist Motivation: A Socio-Psychological Perspective. In *Mapping Terrorism Research: State of the Art, Gaps, and Future Discussion*, ed. Magnus Ranstorp, 106-126. New York: Routledge.

[48] Horgan, J. G and M. Taylor. 2011. Disengagement, de-radicalization, and the arc of terrorism: Future directions for research. In *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge: European and American Experiences*, ed. Rik Coolsaet, 173-186. London: Ashgate.

[49] Gøtzsche-Astrup, O. 2018. The time for causal designs: Review and evaluation of empirical support for mechanisms of political radicalisation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 39 (2018): 90-99.

[50] Barrelle, K. 2015. Pro-integration: disengagement from and life after extremism. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7 (2): 129-142. p. 129

[51] Dalgaard-Nielsen, A. 2013. Promoting Exit from Violent Extremism: Themes and Approaches. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36 (2): 99-115. p. 101

[52] Ibid. p. 100

[53] Ibid. p. 99

[54] Ibid. p. 106

[55] Altier, M. B.; C. N. Thoroughgood, and J. G. Horgan. 2014. Turning away from terrorism: Lessons from psychology, sociology, and criminology. *Journal of Peace Research* 51 (5): 647-661. pp. 648-650

[56] Altier, M. B; E. L. Boyle, N. D. Shortland, and J. G. Horgan. 2017. Why They Leave: An Analysis of Terrorist Disengagement Events from Eighty-seven Autobiographical Accounts. *Security Studies* 26 (2): 305-332. p 305

[57] Braddock, K. 2014. The talking cure? Communication and psychological impact in prison de-radicalisation programmes. In *Prisons, Terrorism and Extremism: Critical Issues in Management, Radicalisation and Reform*, ed. Andrew Silke, 60-74. London: Routledge.

[58] Feddes, A. R. and M. Gallucci. 2015. A Literature Review on Methodology used in Evaluating Effects of Preventive and De-radicalisation Interventions. *JD Journal for Deradicalization* Winter 16 (5): 1-27. Horgan, J. G. and K. Braddock. 2010. Rehabilitating the Terrorists? Challenges in Assessing the Effectiveness of De-radicalization Programs. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22 (2): 267-291.

[59] Rabasa, A., S. L. Pettyjohn, J. J. Ghez, and C. Boucek. 2010. *Deradicalizing Islamist Extremists*. Santa Monica http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG1053.pdf (accessed March 24, 2019)

[60] E.g., Barrelle, K. 2015. Pro-integration: disengagement from and life after extremism. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7 (2): 129-142. Dalgaard-Nielsen, A. 2013. Promoting Exit from Violent Extremism: Themes and Approaches. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36 (2): 99-115. Hwang, C. J. 2018. *Why Terrorists Quit. The Disengagement of Indonesian Jihadists*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Koehler, D. 2016. *Understanding Deradicalization. Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering*

Violent Extremism. Oxon/New York: Routledge. Marsden, S. V. 2017. *Reintegrating Extremists. Deradicalisation and Desistance*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

[61] Koehler, D. 2016. *Understanding Deradicalization. Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism*. Oxon/New York: Routledge.

[62] For a literature review on CVE program evaluations see, for example, Feddes, A. R. and M. Gallucci. 2015. A Literature Review on Methodology used in Evaluating Effects of Preventive and De-radicalisation Interventions. *JD Journal for Deradicalization* Winter 16 (5): 1-27.

[63] Koehler, D. 2016. *Understanding Deradicalization. Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism*. Oxon/New York: Routledge.

[64] Which is also directly supported by findings from: Dalgaard-Nielsen, A. 2013. Promoting Exit from Violent Extremism: Themes and Approaches. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36 (2): 99-115. Götzsche-Astrup, O. 2018. The time for causal designs: Review and evaluation of empirical support for mechanisms of political radicalisation. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 39 (2018): 90-99. Mullins, S. J. 2010. Rehabilitation of Islamist terrorists: Lessons from criminology. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict* 3 (3): 162-193.

[65] As also recommended in the Rome Memorandum, GCTF. 2013. *Rome Memorandum on Good Practices for Rehabilitation and Reintegration of Violent Extremist Offenders*. <https://www.thegctf.org/documents/10162/159878/Rome+Memorandum-English.pdf> (accessed March 24, 2019)

[66] E.g. Sarma, M. K. 2017. Risk assessment and the prevention of radicalization from nonviolence into terrorism. *American Psychologist* 72 (3): 278-288.

[67] Desmarais, S. L.; J. Simons-Rudolph, C. S. Brugh, E. Schilling, and C. Hoggan. 2017. The state of scientific knowledge regarding factors associated with terrorism. *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management* 4 (4): 180-209. p. 180.

[68] Knudsen, R. A. 2018. Measuring radicalisation: risk assessment conceptualisations and practice in England and Wales. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* (2018): 1-18. Pressman, E. D., N. Duits, T. Rinne, and J. S. Flockton. 2016. *VERA-2R Violent Extremism Risk Assessment-Version 2 Revised*. https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/node/11702_en (accessed March 24, 2019)

[69] Sarma, M. K. 2017. Risk assessment and the prevention of radicalization from nonviolence into terrorism. *American Psychologist* 72 (3): 278-288. p. 283

[70] Koehler, D. 2015b. Radical Groups' Social Pressure Towards Defectors: The Case of Right-Wing Extremist Groups. *Perspectives on Terrorism* IX (6): 36-50.

[71] Barrelle, K. 2015. Pro-integration: disengagement from and life after extremism. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 7 (2): 129-142.

[72] Koehler, D. 2016. *Understanding Deradicalization. Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism*. Oxon/New York: Routledge.

[73] E.g. Ruby, C. L. 2002. Are Terrorists Mentally Deranged? *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 2 (1): 15-26.

[74] Corner, E. and P. Gill. 2018. The nascent empirical literature on psychopathology and terrorism. *World Psychiatry* 17 (2): 147-148.

[75] Misiak, B., J. Samochowiec, K. Bhui, M. Schouler-Ocak, H. Demunter, L. Kuey, A. Raballo, P. Gorwood, D. Frydecka, and G. Dom. 2019. A systematic review on the relationship between mental health, radicalization and mass violence. *European Psychiatry* 56 (2019): 51-59.

[76] Weatherston, D. and J. Moran. 2003. Terrorism and mental illness: Is there a relationship? *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology* 47 (6): 698-713.

[77] Berkell, K. 2017. Risk Reduction in Terrorism Cases: Sentencing and the Post-Conviction Environment. *JD Journal for Deradicalization* 13 (Winter 17/18): 276-341.

[78] A nonprobability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances. See Noy, C. 2008. Sampling knowledge: The hermeneutics of snowball sampling in qualitative research. *International Journal of social Research Methodology* 11 (4): 327-344.

[79] Koehler, D. 2017. How and why we should take deradicalization seriously. *Nature Human Behaviour* 1: 0095.

[80] Williams, M. J. 2017. Prosocial behavior following immortality priming: experimental tests of factors with implications for CVE interventions. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 9 (3): 153-190.; Williams, M. J., J. J. Bélanger, J. G. Horgan, and W. P. Evans. 2018. Experimental Effects of a Call-Center Disclaimer Regarding Confidentiality on Callers' Willingness to Make

Disclosures Related to Terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2018): 1-15.

[81] Webber, D., M. Chernikova, A. W. Kruglanski, M. J. Gelfand, M. Hettiarachchi, R. Gunaratna, J. Belanger. 2018. Deradicalizing Detained Terrorists. *Political Psychology* 39 (3): 539-556.

Blurred Lines: The New ‘Domestic’ Terrorism

by Gregory D. Miller

Abstract

The apparent growth of lone wolf violence, combined with the increased use of social media to recruit new members, contributes to a blurring of the line between domestic and international terrorism. Where a relatively simple distinction used to suffice for scholars, we are seeing more frequent attacks, traditionally classified as domestic terrorism, but that receive inspiration from a foreign ideology or global movement. This article examines some of these trends related to social media and solo perpetrators, and suggests the use of the term “transnational terrorism”, to account for the growing incidence of terrorist attacks that do not fit properly into either existing category.

Keywords: domestic terrorism, transnational terrorism, lone wolf, self-radicalization

Introduction

Research on political violence often distinguishes between two categories of terrorism: domestic and international. For example, the International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events (ITERATE) dataset focuses exclusively on international attacks between 1968 and 2015,[1] while the Terrorism in Western Europe: Events Data (TWEED) focuses on domestic attacks in just one region, between 1950 and 2004.[2] Scholars use these, and similar databases, to study relationships between terrorism and a variety of other factors, sometimes to explain the causes of terrorism and other times to examine its consequences. Because domestic and international terrorism often involve different types of actors, different motivations and goals, and even different tactics, it is important to capture the characteristics that are unique to each category of terrorism.

The problem is that while the nature of terrorism remains enduring, several elements are working together to alter its character, including how terrorist groups recruit individuals and then use them to carry out attacks. Because of this change, the line between domestic and international terrorism is becoming blurrier, and it is insufficient to think of terrorism only in terms of this dichotomy. There is a danger for both academics and law enforcement in not recognizing changes in the separation between domestic and international terrorism or the existence of a separate, third category. If scholars fail to capture the real divisions between categories, research that relies on those typologies will lead to flawed results. For law enforcement, several government agencies distinguish between domestic and international terrorism, yet these distinctions may no longer be valid. Also, because courts often treat violent acts differently according to the perpetrator’s citizenship, as well as their pathway to radicalization, we need to understand how these categories are evolving.

The purpose of this article is to generate discussion on the challenges associated with the changing character of terrorism. In particular, with the growth of social media and the internet, as well as what some refer to as lone wolf terrorism, the line between domestic and international terrorism is growing thinner. If the distinction is still relevant, and evidence suggests it is, scholars need to rethink how they define a domestic attack, and develop other labels for attacks that are neither clearly domestic nor international. This article suggests “transnational terrorism” as a label to occupy that blurry middle ground. In an era of terrorism where ideologies appear more global, where groups can recruit and individuals can radicalize online, and where an organization is less important for carrying out an attack, our understanding of terrorism must grow to account for these changing characteristics.

The remainder of this article is organized into five sections. The first discusses some of the existing scholarship that makes use of the distinction between domestic and international terrorism, highlighting some of the problems with that simple approach. The next two sections focus on trends that suggest the character of terrorism is changing. One of these trends is the increase of attacks by individual perpetrators; the other is the growth of social media use by terrorist groups. The next section examines three illustrations of these trends that also

highlight the problems that arise from using a simple distinction between domestic and international terrorism. The final section provides some conclusions and implications, for scholars and for policymakers.

Domestic versus International Terrorism

Typologies often help explain variations in a phenomenon, though not all typologies are equally useful. Joseph Young and Michael Findley make a case for distinguishing between domestic and international terrorism, by suggesting these events are the result of two different processes.[3] While domestic terrorism should be a function of variables within the state where an attack occurs, international terrorism can be the result of factors in both the target state and the originating state. If the two categories of terrorism arise for different reasons, that is important for scholarship in its own right. In addition, if the causes of domestic and international terrorism are different, then the best policies to counter each category should also vary. Even that understanding is an oversimplification of terrorism, because conditions outside the state where an attack took place increasingly inspire many of the acts typically labelled as domestic terrorism. The burden is on scholars to have a complete and accurate understanding of what constitutes domestic versus international terrorism. Otherwise, mislabeling attacks could lead to poor theories, and to even worse policy recommendations.

A common method to distinguish domestic from international terrorism relies on three variables: the nationality of the perpetrator; the nationality of the victim; and the location of the attack. When all three of these variables are the same, scholars typically label that a domestic attack. All other cases, they classify as international. For example, the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995, which Timothy McVeigh intended to start a war against the U.S. government, occurred in the U.S., perpetrated by U.S. citizens, and directed against other U.S. citizens. That is the prototypical domestic terrorist attack.

If the attacker is not a citizen of the country in which an attack took place, but the location and victim nationality are the same (for example, the 9/11 attacks), common sense suggests that is an act of international terrorism. If the distinction between domestic and international terrorism is so important, do those differences arise simply by changing the perpetrator's nationality, without any consideration for their motivation? What about attacks where all three variables are different, such as when a member of Germany's Bader Meinhoff Gang joined with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in December 1975, to attack an OPEC meeting in Vienna, Austria?[4] That too is international terrorism, but why does variation across all three variables not lead to its own label?

All of these questions indicate the possibility of several different categories of terrorism, beyond the simple dichotomy of domestic versus international, and should be part of a larger discussion. This article focuses primarily on instances when all three variables are the same, suggesting domestic terrorism, but the motivation for the attack is based on a goal or motivation that is global rather than national. These types of attacks, which scholars typically label domestic terrorism, are foreign-inspired and so, they represent something distinct from domestic terrorism. One example is the 7 July 2005 London attacks. Three of the four perpetrators were British-born, while the fourth was born in Jamaica, but was a British citizen since the age of five. Given the nationality of the attackers, most databases would identify it as a domestic event—British citizens attacking other British citizens, in London. Yet the motivation for the attack has more in common with 9/11 than it does with domestic incidents, like Oklahoma City.

Distinguishing between domestic and international terrorism in practice is less straightforward than it might appear. The ITERATE and TWEED datasets differ on their definition of domestic terrorism. TWEED defines it in terms of the perpetrator's nationality, as long as the act occurred in Western Europe,[5] making victim nationality less relevant than in ITERATE and in other databases. As a result, some of the incidents listed in TWEED as domestic terrorism, appear in ITERATE as international terrorism, many of which might be more accurately included in a separate, third category, referred to here as transnational terrorism.

Because of these challenges in defining the categories and the fact that many databases only focus on one category, one of the biggest weaknesses of statistical scholarship on terrorism is when scholars use only one category in testing their theories, without controlling for the possible effects of the other category. Jacob Ravndal

uses TWEED to develop a typology of right-wing terrorism in Western Europe.[6] Using TWEED restricts his findings to only domestic actors, but since right-wing causes are typically national, this is unlikely to be a significant problem for his results. A more significant issue for scholars using TWEED is that some events in the database are not truly domestic terrorism if they are foreign-inspired.

Other statistical studies attempt to link terrorism to political factors, but rely exclusively on either domestic or international terrorism, without controlling for the effects of both. Tony Addison and Syed Murshed tie international terrorism to internal conflict.[7] Brian Lai suggests that a state's inability to control its own territory leads to terrorism overseas, but relies exclusively on international events.[8] Similarly, Quan Li links international terrorism to domestic economic and political systems.[9] One might excuse such problems when there were no reliable datasets on domestic terrorism, as was the case before 1996.[10] Scholars now have that data. We just need a better understanding of the different categories of terrorism that exist, and to account for the possibility of additional categories.

The Global Terrorism Database (GTD) catalogs all incidents from 1970 to 2017, but does not clearly distinguish domestic from international attacks.[12] To illustrate, of the 77,312 attacks in GTD between 1970 and 2010, 65,591 involved at least one victim who was a citizen of the country where the attack took place. Ideally, we would also know the nationality of the perpetrator (or at least the home country of the attacking group) as well as the purpose of the attack (minimally whether it has local or global intent). But no such information exists in the current version of GTD.

Walter Enders, Todd Sandler, and Khusrav Gaibulloev propose a method to separate GTD data into domestic and international events. They then take this a step farther and use the distinction to draw relationships between the two categories.[13] They find that there are three to four times more domestic than international events in GTD, and that domestic terrorism can spill over into international terrorism. The problem is that an increasing number of those domestic events are the result of a global ideology, a trend that is ignored using the simple domestic versus international distinction.

There are other examples of scholars trying to distinguish between the two categories. Gary Lafree, Sue-Ming Yang, and Martha Crenshaw focus on 53 groups between 1970 and 2004 deemed dangerous for the U.S., but find that the vast majority of attacks were outside U.S. territory, and overwhelmingly against domestic rather than U.S. targets.[11]

Sandler, Daniel Arce, and Enders suggest domestic terrorism should be free of foreign involvement or sponsorship, but then their work does not address the role of foreign motivations.[14] Only in those cases of a location, perpetrator nationality, and victim nationality being the same, and the act being carried out for national purposes, is it purely domestic terrorism. Even when location, perpetrator nationality, and victim nationality are the same, if a foreign cause or global movement inspires the attack, then that is something other than domestic terrorism. In fact, I contend that the motivation for an attack is more critical than the citizenship of the perpetrator, for identifying an attack as domestic, international, or something else.

According to GTD, between 1970 and 2010, a U.S. victim was attacked on U.S. soil 1,961 times.[15] Of these, 664 were carried out by either unknown perpetrators or those whose motivations are unclear. For the remaining 1,297, GTD does not provide the citizenship of the perpetrators, but by my estimates, the attacks with foreign motivations include, very conservatively: 80 out of 461 attacks by revolutionary groups, 20 out of 279 attacks by national-separatist groups, 7 out of 106 attacks by reactionary groups, and 17 out of 84 attacks by religious groups.[16] In summary, about 123 of the 1,297 attacks are something other than purely domestic terrorism, given their link to a foreign cause or a global movement. That means at least 6.27% of attacks in the U.S., that would be coded as domestic terrorism, either have more in common with international terrorism or are a separate type of terrorism altogether. If that number holds across countries, then of the 65,591 attacks in GTD from 1970 to 2010, at least 4,114 incidents, traditionally considered domestic terrorism, are not really domestic if we account for global motivations.

One other issue is that scholars often use the terms transnational and international synonymously, even within

the same work,[17] but there is a difference between the terms. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye refer to “transnational interactions” as those not involving state actors or agents of the state (e.g., NGOs and multinational corporations).[18] It makes sense, then, that we would refer to global ideologies crossing borders and radicalizing otherwise domestic actors as transnational. Only in cases where the perpetrator, victim, and location are of the same country, and where the motivation of the attack is national, would we have purely domestic terrorism.

The above issues relate to the larger problem that there is no agreed-upon definition of terrorism.[19] Many scholars stopped trying to create a common definition. The U.S. government does not have just one definition of terrorism, with the Departments of State and Defense, and the Federal Bureau of Investigations all adopting different definitions, essentially to help them fulfill their missions and responsibilities.[20] If different agencies in the U.S. government cannot use a common definition, it should not be surprising that states have different definitions and that there is no United Nations definition.[21] Acceptance of a transnational label that is separate from domestic and international terrorism does not solve the definitional problem, but if our categories of terrorism are more accurate depictions of the events and the processes that lead to those events, that at least reduces some of the challenges of not having a consensus definition.

The next two sections examine some of the ways that the character of terrorism is changing, blurring the distinction between domestic and international terrorism, and requiring a third category of terrorism. One is the perceived growth of lone wolf attacks. The other is the increased use of social media and the Internet by terrorist groups.

Lone Wolf Terrorism Isn't

Several scholars write about lone wolf terrorism, some even claiming that it represents the newest wave of modern terrorism.[22] Michael Becker suggests that lone wolf attacks are increasing and that there are identifiable patterns to their choice of targets.[23] Ramon Spaaij contends that lone wolf terrorism is more common in the U.S. than in any other country, and that a lone wolf often creates their own ideology.[24] Edwin Bakker and Beatrice de Graaf discuss the difficulty of preventing lone wolf attacks.[25] Clark McCauley, Sophia Moskalenko, and Benjamin Van Son argue that lone wolf attackers have certain traits in common with assassins and school attackers.[26] Spaaij and Mark Hamm also identify several issues plaguing current research on lone wolf terrorism, such as definitions and methodology.[27]

Other scholars oppose use of the term as a distinct category of terrorism. Bart Schuurman et al. criticize the use of the “lone wolf” label for several reasons.[28] Several authors point out the connection between a supposed lone wolf and larger networks.[29] Even Spaaij confirms that lone actors often draw on communities of belief and ideologies from extremist movements. If the perpetrator is part of a community of beliefs, then they cannot truly be a lone wolf. Moreover, if those communities of belief are foreign or based on a global ideology, then seemingly domestic attacks may have more in common with international terrorism.

The problem is not with the term itself, but in its overuse, especially in its application to events that either are not terrorism or are not the work of a solo actor. Although many solo-perpetrated attacks might appear to be domestic terrorism, much of what scholars and journalists classify as lone wolf terrorism does not qualify as terrorism, and probably is not an actor operating entirely on their own.

Many instances of lone wolf violence should not qualify as terrorism because they do not have the political motivation necessary to fit the definition. Terrorism is a result of an extreme belief in a philosophy or ideology that leads to violence, and should require at least one follower to subscribe to that same belief. One person acting on their own merely has an opinion or a delusion, so attacks carried out by that person are more accurately labeled as vigilantism or pathological violence. Joel Capellan contends that there is a difference between the lone wolf terrorist and someone who is mentally unstable.[30] But the distinction is more complicated than that, because a lone actor may be sane and violent for what seem to be political reasons to the perpetrator, but if he or she has no contact with others to voice opinions and share views, then that act is still pathological rather than political.

Three types of violent acts are often incorrectly labeled as lone wolf terrorism.[31] One involves a perpetrator

of violence who does not have a political motivation, and is better described as either a vigilante or mentally disturbed. Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman make the distinction between political violence and other forms of violence, including pathological and vigilante.[32] The September 2014 beheading of a woman in Moore, Oklahoma by Alton Nolen fits here. So too does the Alphabet Bomber, Muharem Kurbegovic, whom Jeffrey Simon considers a lone wolf terrorist “ahead of his time,” even though the book refers to Kurbegovic as “emotionally disturbed”.[33]

The second is violence orchestrated by someone who has a political cause in the broadest sense, but one that nobody else adheres to or follows; they operate entirely on their own. Ted Kaczynski, the Unabomber, falls into this category. Both of these types of violence are misapplications of the terrorism label. Both cases may be terroristic acts in that they cause fear and involve violence, but if the perpetrators are not motivated by a political goal, or are acting entirely without any supporters or followers, then it is not terrorism.

The third type is when a person carries out a politically-motivated attack on their own, but subscribes to an ideology or belief that is held by others, and (importantly) communicates with those others in-person or online. This person may be engaged in terrorism (if their activities fit the rest of the definition of terrorism) but they are not a lone wolf. Then the question becomes, if they are engaged in terrorism, is it domestic, international, or something else?

Lars Erik Berntzen and Sveinung Sandberg argue that lone wolf terrorists often act as part of larger social movements.[34] When true, is it valid to consider them lone wolves, or to lump them together with those who act entirely on their own? President Barack Obama used the term lone wolf to describe the married couple who carried out the 2 December 2015 San Bernardino attack, that killed 14 and injured 22.[35] If we are to consider an act carried out by two people as a lone wolf attack, then that label loses any value it might have had. More relevant for the argument in this article, concerns how we should classify this act. Was it domestic terrorism, since the husband was an American citizen born in Chicago, even though the perpetrators’ ideology grew out of the global, Islamic extremist movement?[36] The global nature of a perpetrator’s ideology often suggests a form of transnational, rather than domestic, terrorism.

Another problematic case for the lone wolf label is the 28 November 2014 attack on a federal courthouse in Austin, Texas, by Larry Steve McQuilliams. McQuilliams was a self-proclaimed “High Priest” of the Phineas Priesthood. If he were a member of the organization, had contact with other members, and carried out the attack because of those shared beliefs, then this should not qualify as a lone wolf act. On the other hand, if he simply claimed to belong to the organization, but had no real contact with its members, then he would be a lone wolf, but then it would not be terrorism. Because the Phineas Priesthood is a domestic group in the U.S., then if it is terrorism this attack would be considered domestic terrorism. The standard methodology classifies both above examples as domestic terrorism, yet McQuilliams’ domestic motivation should distinguish his attack from the San Bernardino attack, carried out for global reasons. Now we simply need to identify what this new type of “domestic” terrorism should be called.

One possibility is to use the term “homegrown terrorism.” The Heritage Foundation defines homegrown terrorism as having one or more actors who are “American citizens, legal residents, or visitors radicalized predominantly in the United States.”[37] The “homegrown” label is imperfect, because while it implies someone radicalized at home, it often refers to attacks carried out elsewhere.[38] For instance, sources often attach the “homegrown” label to someone radicalized in the U.S. who went to fight for al-Qa’ida, even if there is no evidence they attempted to carry out an attack on American soil. It is not clear to me that “homegrown” is a separate category of terrorism as much as it is a separate pathway to radicalization, radicalizing in one’s home country rather than in a foreign terrorist training camp. An example of this is Muhanad Mahmoud Al Farekh, a U.S. citizen who joined al-Qa’ida, helped in a January 2009 attack against a U.S. Army base in Afghanistan, and was convicted in 2017.[39] Considering this attack took place in a location different from the nationality of both the perpetrator and the victims, we would already label this international terrorism. So using the term “homegrown” to apply also to foreign-inspired, domestic acts only adds to the confusion.

A similar label is “self-radicalized” terrorism, which Rodger Bates uses.[40] He contends that this type of vio-

lence is most common among right-wing and jihadist terrorists, though we see examples of self-radicalization in Marxist-Leninist and national-separatist groups as well. In other words, self-radicalization is not exclusive to domestic action, to Islamic extremism, or to actors operating on their own, and is one element contributing to the changing character of terrorism, discussed more below. This is also an imperfect term both because it describes a pathway, and because it implies no contact to a larger organization or movement, which is either unlikely or if true would make the act something other than terrorism.

This article contends that to engage in terrorism requires at least some sharing of ideology, thoughts, and intentions with others, even if the actors only interact digitally. Although a true lone wolf cannot be a terrorist by this definition, many of the solo-perpetrator attacks are still terrorism because many of these “lone wolves” are not truly acting on their own. Ultimately, the label we use is less important than the fact that we identify the need for a category that distinguishes these types of attacks from domestic and international acts. I suggest the transnational label because of its common connection to the terms domestic and international, but other labels can be just as effective at making the point and improving research results.

This gets us to the role of social media and cyber activities, as it pertains to the ability of groups to recruit members globally, and then how that affects our understanding of domestic and international terrorism.

Social Media and Global Recruitment

Several scholars draw links between the growing technological interconnectedness of the world and political violence.[41] Regardless of whether or not technological changes lead to more terrorism, some terrorists are heavy adopters of social media and the internet because it provides them with significant advantages.[42] The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria's (ISIS) Twitter use is well documented,[43] but even before ISIS, al-Qa'ida used the internet to recruit, provide training videos, and communicate with members of the organization all over the world.[44] Other Islamic extremist groups use various tools to spread their ideology, like al-Qa'ida of the Arabian Peninsula's *Inspire* Magazine.[45] And an earlier example of terrorist use of technology is the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam's (LTTE) cyber unit, which used the internet back in the 1990s to raise funds, provide information about their cause, and disrupt government systems.[46]

This article makes two arguments about the increasing role of social media and then ties it back into the larger issue of defining domestic and international terrorism. First, because of the nature of the internet and social media, many solo attackers are mislabeled as lone wolves. Many of them are linked to an organization or ideological movement; their connections are simply digital rather than physical. Even if they carry out a solo attack, they are not alone in their beliefs. Second, because of the ability of groups to communicate and operate digitally, combined with the global nature of some ideologies, an increasing number of domestic events are motivated by global rather than national causes. This is not new, nor is it only about Islamic extremism. Global movements motivated some Cold War attacks carried out by Social Revolutionary groups, though many of these groups focused on domestic issues, like the Weather Underground's fight against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam as well as social injustice.

This does not mean all self-radicalized terrorists are international actors. The same medium that allows Islamic extremists to spread their ideology, is also used by single-issue and racist groups to recruit within their own countries. The Stormfront forum online is a haven for those sharing beliefs in white supremacist ideology. [47] Before the U.S. government shut it down, the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) website offered numerous examples of ways someone could carry out an ELF attack.[48] The point is not that the internet creates more international terrorism. The internet and social media enhance the ability of all terrorist groups to spread their message and potentially recruit on a global level. What the internet does is further blur the lines between domestic and international terrorism because more attacks can take place, carried out by perpetrators that never leave their home country, yet become radicalized online by a cause foreign to their home country. This is why it is increasingly important to understand the difference between truly domestic terrorism and terrorism that appears to be domestic based on just three variables, but is more accurately described as transnational because it is inspired by a foreign ideology or movement.

Cases of “Domestic” Terrorism

To illustrate some of the challenges presented above, involving the relevance of the lone wolf label and the role of technology, as well as a blurring of the distinction between domestic and international terrorism, this section examines three brief cases. While the first case involves racist terrorism, the other two involve religious terrorism. All three might be labeled lone-wolf terrorism, based on current methods for identifying the categories of terrorism, but the first two cases are about individuals who self-radicalized, while the third involves radicalization through physical contact with a terrorist organization, and therefore the U.S. government and courts treated it differently. Although all three cases fit the most common measures of domestic terrorism, only the first one qualifies as a purely domestic incident, since it is the only case with a national motivation. The second and third cases both involve a global ideology, and therefore are more accurately considered transnational terrorism.

Self-Radicalization with Domestic Goals

Dylann Roof was 21 years old when, on 17 June 2015, he killed nine people at the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina. He carried out the attack for racist reasons, and appears to have radicalized almost entirely online. This is an example of pure domestic terrorism, but is not a lone wolf attack because his digital interaction with others holding similar racist beliefs suggests that he was not alone.

Roof’s manifesto referred to the Council of Conservative Citizens website, which often cites black-on-white crime, to suggest that whites are under attack. In one passage, he wrote, “We [South Carolina] have no skin-heads, no real KKK, no one doing anything but talking on the internet. Well someone has to have the bravery to take it to the real world, and I guess that has to be me.” And, “this [the shooting of Trayvon Martin] prompted me to type in the words ‘black on White crime’ into Google, and I have never been the same since that day.”[49] The Southern Poverty Law Center also suggests that Roof was a reader and commenter on the white nationalist news website, *The Daily Stormer*. [50]

Roof confessed that he committed the shootings to ignite a race war.[51] There is little proof that he physically met others with the same beliefs, but evidence suggests that Roof self-radicalized because of the information he found online. Thus, while he carried out the attack alone, he should not be considered a lone wolf since it was merely one act in a larger movement. However, it does fit other key elements required for an attack to be terrorism—politically motivated violence, intended to generate fear in a wider audience. The fact that a solo actor carried out an attack may be important in comparative terms to attacks carried out by a group of people. Likewise, violence by a self-radicalized actor may be different from violence by those radicalized in person. More research should be conducted on these points, but neither of these variables is sufficient to label an act as lone wolf terrorism. Instead, this is a case of self-radicalized, domestic terrorism.

Self-Initiated Radicalization with Global Goals

On 15 April 2013, two pressure cooker bombs detonated near the finish line of the Boston Marathon, killing three people and injuring more than 200. Police killed the older of the two brothers responsible for the attack, Tamerlan Tsarnaev, during a shoot-out four days later. That same day, police arrested the younger brother, Dzhokhar. Despite being a U.S. citizen, several U.S. senators advocated for Tsarnaev to be tried as an enemy combatant.[52] For any members of the U.S. government to advocate such measures suggests a difference between this case and Roof’s. Even though Roof’s actions resulted in the death of more people, the global nature of Tsarnaev’s motivation differentiates it from Roof’s domestic-inspired attack.[53]

Tsarnaev’s case is similar to Roof’s in many ways. While Tsarnaev likely was influenced by his older brother’s radicalization, both brothers self-radicalized through interaction with radical Islamist documents.[54] According to the investigation, Tsarnaev’s laptop contained writings by radical clerics, copies of *Inspire* magazine, and audio clips and videos by the radical Yemeni cleric, Anwar al-Awlaki.[55]

Where the two cases are dissimilar is in the purpose of the attacks. Roof intended for his attack to start a race war in the U.S., while the goal of the Boston Marathon bombing was (at least in the brothers’ minds) to defend

Islam,[56] specifically retaliating for U.S. involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan. The important distinction for improving our understanding of terrorism's causes and intended effects is not based on skin color or religion, but rather the domestic vs. global inspiration of the attacker's motivations. The focus here is on the importance of this distinction for terrorism scholarship, but these differences are also important for law enforcement and for the courts.

Although U.S. laws define domestic terrorism and international terrorism separately, and although actors engaged in political violence can receive a terrorism enhancement as part of their sentence, there is no U.S. law for engaging in an act of domestic terrorism.[57] There are laws against providing material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization. But for law enforcement and prosecutors, if an individual is radicalized by a foreign movement, that has different implications for investigation and prosecution than for a person motivated by a domestic issue.[58] In other words, the perpetrators of acts that fit the definition of domestic terrorism are not tried as terrorists. This may explain some of the reluctance of U.S. law enforcement to apply the terrorism label in cases of domestic attacks.[59]

Foreign Radicalization with Global Goals

Then there is the U.S. citizen, Jose Padilla, who radicalized while out of the country and attempted to carry out an attack in the U.S. Authorities arrested Padilla in 2002 for plotting to detonate a dirty bomb in the U.S.[60] Born in New York, he traveled to Afghanistan and Pakistan in 2001-2002. He also traveled to Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq prior to returning to the U.S.[61]

Unlike the Tsarnaev and Roof cases, authorities arrested Padilla prior to an attack, so there were no casualties because of his actions. Yet the U.S. government held Padilla as an enemy combatant for more than three years before transferring him to a civilian jail and trying him in court.[62] Is this difference, even compared to the Tsarnaev case, solely because of his meetings and training with members of al-Qa'ida? Was it because of the nature of the attack? A dirty bomb is potentially more deadly than Roof's attack on the church, but also might not injure as many people as the pressure cooker bombs used by the Tsarnaev brothers. Therefore, something about the perpetrator's motivation and/or path to radicalization led the government to treat it differently, even though a successful attack would have met all the standard criteria for labelling it domestic terrorism.

The important aspect of the above cases is that scholars would traditionally code all three of them as domestic terrorism (or planned domestic terrorism in the Padilla case). Yet there are critical differences between the intent of Roof's attack and the intent of Tsarnaev and Padilla (beyond simply the Islamic extremist elements). All three were U.S. citizens, yet only the first two self-radicalized, and because of the global nature of the motivation in the Tsarnaev and Padilla cases, only the Roof case is truly domestic terrorism.

The second and third cases, though having much in common with other Islamic extremist attacks, also do not quite fit common conceptions of international terrorism. They were carried out (planned in the Padilla case) by U.S. citizens, against U.S. citizens, on U.S. soil. The Tsarnaev case was self-radicalization but hardly lone wolf, not only because it involved brothers, but also because of the global ideology that inspired their attack. Likewise, although Padilla was operating alone at the time of his arrest, his previous contact with al-Qa'ida members challenges the validity of both the lone wolf and the domestic terrorism labels.

The best way to address these types of local attempts with global inspiration is to treat them separately from both domestic and international terrorism. The simplest option is to have a third category, made up of cases that are otherwise domestic terrorism but are inspired by a foreign cause or global movement.

Implications and Conclusions

Domestic terrorism is not just an attack where the perpetrator and victim nationality align with the location of the attack. The first step towards properly classifying an event is to identify the purpose of the attack. If it is based on national issues—racial divides, ethno-nationalism, a specific government policy or law—then it is appropriate to consider that act domestic in nature. If an attack is carried out in the name of a global belief or movement, then even if the attacker and victim nationality and location are the same, the domestic terrorism

label simply does not fit.

There is no reason to believe that future attacks will fall into simple categories of domestic and international, given the changing character of terrorist recruiting, particularly the global reach of terrorist movements and ideologies. Scholars must account for this in future research, if we hope to develop a better understanding of the various types of terrorism that exist. Specifically, scholars need a new label that captures these incidents and addresses the blurring of the line between domestic and international terrorism.

Some might view this as a purely academic argument, but there are real world implications to these labels being incomplete or flawed. Law enforcement officers and the court system behave differently towards someone who interacts with a foreign terrorist organization, compared to someone who has no foreign contacts. Since this has implications for due process and the legitimacy of a nation's rule of law, scholars need to develop a better understanding of the differences between these categories, as well as the value and challenges of incorporating additional labels.

There will still be gray areas, and additional challenges, such as identifying when a domestic ideology transforms into a global one. Several left-wing groups operating in Europe in the 1970s and 1980s were inspired by Marxist ideas, and perhaps even sponsored by the Soviet Union. But many of their activities were in response to national social and political issues. How should we categorize independence movements in one country, supported by a diaspora living elsewhere, such as Canadian Tamil supporting the LTTE in Sri Lanka? There are no simple solutions to these issues, but the purpose of this article is to highlight these challenges, and to suggest that a first step is to move beyond the simple dichotomy of domestic and international terrorism, because the line between the two categories is blurring.

About the Author: Gregory D. Miller is Associate Professor of Leadership Studies at the Air Command and Staff College (ACSC), Maxwell AFB, AL. Before joining ACSC he was Chair of the Strategy Department and taught a Terrorism Elective at the Joint Advanced Warfighting School, in Norfolk, VA. He received his Ph.D. in Political Science from The Ohio State University and is one of the Associate Editors of *Perspectives on Terrorism*.

The views expressed in this article are the author's alone and do not reflect the position or policy of the Air University, the Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

Notes

[1] Mickolus, Edward F.; Sandler, Todd; Murdock, Jean M.; Flemming, Peter A., 2013, "International Terrorism: Attributes of Terrorist Events (ITERATE), 1968-2015", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/TH4ADJ>, Harvard Dataverse, V2, UNF:6:qOKbszOm-Kr4ZeL4qMlkKdw== [fileUNF].

[2] Jan Oskar Engene, "Five Decades of Terrorism in Europe: The TWEED Dataset," *Journal of Peace Research* 44:1 (2007), 109-121, <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0022343307071497>.

[3] Although they use the term transnational rather than international, their argument about the distinctions with domestic terrorism are still valid. Joseph Young and Michael Findley, "Promise and Pitfalls of Terrorism Research," *International Studies Review* 13:3 (September 2011), 411-431, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2011.01015.x>.

[4] "Terrorism – Libya Public Diplomacy (07/17/1986) (2)," Judy Mandel Files, Box 91721, Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Digital Library Collections, <https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/digitallibrary/smo/nsc-communicationsandinformation/mandel/91721/terrorism-libyapublicdiplomacy7-17-1986-2.pdf>. Other sources suggest German participation was through the Revolutionary Cells, a rival to Baader Meinhof. Martin Jander, "German Left Terrorism and Israel: Ethno-Nationalist, Religious-Fundamentalist, or Social-Revolutionary?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38:6 (June 2015), 456-477, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1006451>.

[5] Engene, "Five Decades of Terrorism in Europe".

[6] Jacob Ravndal, "Thugs or Terrorists? A Typology of Right-Wing Terrorism and Violence in Western Europe," *Journal for Deradicalization* 3 (Summer 2015), 1-38.

- [7] Tony Addison and Syed Murshed, "Transnational Terrorism as a Spillover of Domestic Disputes in Other Countries," *Defence and Peace Economics* 16:2 (2002), 69-82, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10242690500070078>.
- [8] Brian Lai, "Draining the Swamp: An Empirical Examination of the Production of International Terrorism, 1968-1998," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 24:4 (September 2007), 297-310, <https://doi.org/10.1080%2F07388940701643649>.
- [9] Quan Li, "Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49:2 (April 2005), 278-297, <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0022002704272830>; Quan Li and Drew Schaub, "Economic Globalization and Transnational Terrorism: A Pooled Time-Series Analysis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48:2 (April 2004), 230-258, <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0022002703262869>.
- [10] It was only after the 1995 Oklahoma City Bombing that governments and scholars began to pay more attention to domestic terrorism. Data collection on such events was spurred by the Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, and its Terrorism Knowledge Base, most of which was later incorporated into databases at the University of Maryland's National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START).
- [11] Gary LaFree, Sue-Ming Yang, and Martha Crenshaw, "Trajectories of Terrorism: Attack Patterns of Foreign Groups that have Targeted the United States, 1970-2004," *Criminology and Public Policy* 8:3 (2009), 445-473, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2009.00570.x>.
- [12] GTD is one product from the University of Maryland's START Center. While GTD provides data on the location of the attack and the nationality of up to three victims, it does not provide the perpetrator's nationality, making it difficult to classify each attack as domestic or international. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START). (2018). Global Terrorism Database [Data file]. Retrieved from <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd>.
- [13] They offer a five-step solution for separating the GTD from ITERATE data, but even then it is unclear, without data on the nationality or motivation of the attacker, how many of those events listed as domestic incidents are truly about an issue local to the country in which the attack occurred. In other words, even if we accept their method for separating out the international events, what events remain may still fall into two separate categories: purely domestic and foreign-inspired, or what this article refers to as transnational. Walter Enders, Todd Sandler, and Khusrav Gaibulloev, "Domestic versus Transnational Terrorism: Data, Decomposition, and dynamics," *Journal of Peace Research* 48:3 (2011), 319-337, <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0022343311398926>.
- [14] Todd Sandler, Daniel Arce, and Walter Enders, "Transnational Terrorism," CREATE Research Archive, Published Articles & Papers, Paper 139 (2008), 8, <http://create.usc.edu/research/publications/2729>.
- [15] GTD.
- [16] I classify all 367 single-issue attacks as domestic in nature. This data uses a motivation variable added to GTD, which identifies perpetrator goals according to five main types (national-separatist, revolutionary, reactionary, religious, and single-issue) and several sub-types within each category. Gregory D. Miller, "Exploring the Fourth Wave: Is the New Terrorism about Religion?" unpublished article.
- [17] See for example: Walter Enders and Todd Sandler, "Transnational Terrorism in the Post-Cold War Era," *International Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (March 1999), 145-167; Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism," *International Security* 27, no. 3 (Winter 2002-03), 30-58; James Piazza, "Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?" *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (September 2008), 469-488, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00511.x>.
- [18] Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, "Transnational Relations and World Politics: An Introduction," *International Organization* 25:3 (Summer 1971), 329-349, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300026187>.
- [19] Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman counted 109 different definitions of terrorism. Alex Schmid, Albert Jongman, et al., *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1988).
- [20] The Department of State's definition comes from 22 U.S. Code § 2656f(d)(2) "Annual Country Reports on Terrorism": "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents". The Department of Defense defines terrorism as, "the unlawful use of violence or threat of violence to instill fear and coerce governments or societies. Terrorism is often motivated by religious, political, or other ideological beliefs and committed in the pursuit of goals that are usually political." Joint Publication 3-07.2 Antiterrorism (14 March 2014). The Department of Justice derives its definition from 18 U.S. Code § 2331, which distinguishes between domestic and international terrorism primarily based on the location of the attack ("primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States").

- [21] Various proposals for definitions have been made in the UN, but all failed to receive support because of the various interests of the member states. One of the biggest debates is over whether a definition should include or exclude acts committed by nationalist movements, like the Palestinians. In addition, some members want a definition that allows states to be defined as engaging in terrorism, while other members oppose any such definitions. The Security Council did propose a definition in Res. 1566 “On Threats to International Peace and Security Caused by Terrorist Acts” (8 October 2004), but that resolution lacks legal authority and is non-binding on member states. Alex Schmid, “The Revised Academic Consensus Definition of Terrorism,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 6:2 (May 2012): 158-159.
- [22] Jerrold Post, “Terrorism and Right-Wing Extremism: The Changing Face of Terrorism and Political Violence in the 21st Century: The Virtual Community of Hatred,” *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy* 65:2 (April 2015): 242-271; Jeffrey Simon, *Lone Wolf Terrorism: Understanding the Growing Threat* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2013). This idea of the new wave is based on David Rapoport’s theory regarding the waves of modern terrorism. We are currently in a Religious Wave, but depending on when that wave began (most scholars point to the 1979 Iranian Revolution or the end of the Cold War), it may be close to breaking, to be replaced by a new, Fifth Wave. David Rapoport “The Fourth Wave: September 11 in the History of Terrorism,” *Current History* 100:650 (December 2001).
- [23] Michael Becker, “Explaining Lone Wolf Target Selection in the United States,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37:11 (November 2014), 959-978, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2014.952261>.
- [24] Ramon Spaaij, “The Enigma of Lone Wolf Terrorism: An Assessment,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33:9 (2010), 854-870, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2010.501426>.
- [25] Edwin Bakker and Beatrice de Graaf, “Preventing Lone Wolf Terrorism: Some CT Approaches Addressed,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 5:5-6 (December 2011), 43-50, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26298538>.
- [26] Clark McCauley, Sophia Moskalenko, and Benjamin Van Son, “Characteristics of Lone-Wolf Violent Offenders: A Comparison of Assassins and School Attackers,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 7:1 (February 2013), 4-24, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26296906>.
- [27] Ramon Spaaij and Mark Hamm, “Key Issues and Research Agendas in Lone Wolf Terrorism,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 38:3 (2015), 167-178, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2014.986979>.
- [28] Bart Schurrman, Lasse Lindekilde, Stefan Malthaner, Francis O’Connor, Paul Gill, and Noemie Bouhana, “End of the Lone Wolf: The Typology that should not Have Been,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (December 2017), <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1419554>.
- [29] Daveed Gartenstein-Ross, “Lone Wolves No More: The Decline of a Myth,” *Foreign Affairs* (27 March 2017), <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-kingdom/2017-03-27/lone-wolves-no-more>; Sam Mullins, “Lone-Actor vs. Remote-Controlled Jihadi Terrorism: Rethinking the Threat to the West,” *War on the Rocks*, 20 April 2017, <https://warontherocks.com/2017/04/lone-actor-vs-remote-controlled-jihadi-terrorism-rethinking-the-threat-to-the-west/>.
- [30] Joel Capellan, “Lone Wolf Terrorist or Deranged Shooter? A Study of Ideological Active Shooter Events in the United States, 1970-2014,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38:6 (2015), 395-413, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1008341>.
- [31] Raffaello Pantucci offers an alternate typology, using four types of lone wolf terrorists in “A Typology of Lone Wolves: Preliminary Analysis of Lone Islamist Terrorists,” ICSR Paper, March 2011. See Raffaello Pantucci, “What Have We Learned about Lone Wolves from Anders Behring Breivik?” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 5:5-6 (December 2011), 27-42, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26298537> for one application of that typology applied to a non-Islamic actor.
- [32] Schmid and Jongman, *Political Terrorism*.
- [33] Jeffrey Simon, *The Alphabet Bomber: A Lone Wolf Terrorist Ahead of His Time* (Lincoln, NE: Potomac Books, 2019).
- [34] Lars Erik Berntzen and Sveinung Sandberg, “The Collective Nature of Lone Wolf Terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the Anti-Islamic Social Movement,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26:5 (2014), 759-779, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2013.767245>.
- [35] President Obama drew a parallel between San Bernardino and the threat of lone-wolf actors in his weekly video address after the attack. Michael Memoli, “Obama: San Bernardino attack shows the threat of ‘lone-wolf actors,’” *Los Angeles Times*, 13 March 2016, <http://www.latimes.com/nation/politics/la-na-obama-terror-address-20151205-story.html>.
- [36] Jennifer Medina, Richard Perez-Pena, Michael Schmidt, and Laurie Goodstein, “San Bernardino Suspects Left Trail of Clues, but No Clear Motive,” *The New York Times*, 3 December 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/04/us/san-bernardino-shooting.html?_r=0. Curiously, one page on the FBI website lists the San Bernardino attack as an example of international terrorism, because the perpetrators were “inspired by or associated with designated foreign terrorist organizations or nations,” <https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism>. Yet elsewhere, the FBI’s definition of domestic terrorism refers simply to acts within the United States or Puerto Rico, “without foreign direction”. U.S. Department of Justice, “Terrorism 2002-2005”, vi-v, https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/stats-services-publications-terrorism-2002-2005-terror02_05.pdf.

- [37] Jessica Zuckerman et al., “60 Terrorist Plots since 9/11,” Special Report #137 on Terrorism, Heritage Foundation, 22 July 2013; Peter Olsson, *The Making of a Homegrown Terrorist: Brainwashing Rebels in Search of a Cause* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2014), chapter 9.
- [38] Jerome Bjelopera, “American Jihadist Terrorism: Combating a Complex Threat,” Congressional Research Service (23 January 2013).
- [39] U.S. Department of Justice, “American Citizen Sentenced to 45 Years for Conspiring to Murder U.S. Nationals and Providing Material Support to Al-Qaeda,” Press Release Number 18-300, 13 March 2018, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/american-citizen-sentenced-45-years-conspiring-murder-us-nationals-and-providing-material>; Counter Extremism Project, “Fact Sheet: Prosecuted Homegrown Radicals with Ties to Anwar al-Awlaki,” 20 January 2016, https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/factsheet_anwaral-awlaki_012016.pdf.
- [40] Rodger Bates, “Dancing with Wolves: Today’s Lone Wolf Terrorists,” *The Journal of Public and Professional Sociology* 4:1 (2012), 1-14.
- [41] Harry Cleaver, “The Zapatista Effect: The Internet and the Rise of an Alternative Political Fabric,” *Journal of International Affairs* 51:2 (Spring 1998), 20-39; Kelly Dampousse and Brent Smith, “The Internet: A Terrorism Medium for the 21st Century,” in Harvey Kushner, ed., *The Future of Terrorism: Violence in the New Millennium* (London: Sage Publications, 1998), 208-224; Anne Stenersen, “Bomb-Making for Beginners: Inside al Al-Qaeda E-Learning Course,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 7:1 (February 2013), 25-37, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26296907>.
- [42] Yariv Tsfati and Gabriel Weimann, “www.terrorism.com: Terror on the Internet,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 25:5 (2002), 317-332, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100290101214>; Maura Conway, “Terrorism and the Internet: New Media – New Threat?” *Parliamentary Affairs* 59:2 (2006), 283-298, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsl009>.
- [43] James Farwell, “The Media Strategy of ISIS,” *Survival* 56:6 (2014), 49-55; J.M. Berger and Jonathan Morgan, “The ISIS Twitter Census: Defining and Describing the Population of ISIS Supporters on Twitter,” Brookings Analysis paper No 20, March 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/isis_twitter_census_berger_morgan.pdf; Jytte Klausen, “Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 38:1 (2015), 1-22, <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2014.974948>; Elizabeth Bodine-Baron, Todd Helmus, Madeline Magnuson, and Zev Winkelman, *Examining ISIS Support and Opposition Networks on Twitter* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2016).
- [44] Timothy Thomas, “Al Qaeda and the Internet: The Danger of ‘Cyberplanning,’” *Parameters* 23:1 (2013), 112-123, <https://apps.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a485810.pdf>.
- [45] Anthony Lemieux, Jarret Brachman, Jason Levitt, and Jay Wood, “Inspire Magazine: A Critical Analysis of its Significant and Potential Impact through the Lens of the Information, Motivation, and Behavioral Skills Model,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26:2 (2014), 354-371, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2013.828604>; Klausen, “Tweeting the Jihad.”
- [46] Peter Chalk, “Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam’s (LTTE) International Organization and Operations: A Preliminary Analysis,” *Commentary* (Canadian Security Intelligence Service) 77 (1999); Dorothy Denning, *Information Warfare and Security* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1999), 69; Daniel Cohen, “Cyber Terrorism: Case Studies,” 165-174 in Babak Akhgar, Andrew Staniforth, and Francesca Bosco, eds., *Cyber Crime and Cyber Terrorism Investigator’s Handbook* (Waltham, MA: Syngress, 2014).
- [47] Lorraine Bowman-Grieve, “Exploring ‘Stormfront’: A Virtual Community of the Radical Right,” *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32:11 (November 2009), 989-1007.
- [48] Stefan Leader and Peter Probst, “The Earth Liberation Front and Environmental Terrorism,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15:4 (2003), 37-58, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550390449872>; Paul Joosse, “Leaderless Resistance and Ideological Inclusion: The Case of the Earth Liberation Front,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* 19:3 (2007), 351-368, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546550701424042>.
- [49] The full text of the manifesto is available in several places, including Brendan O’Connor, “Here is What Appears to Be Dylann Roof’s Racist Manifesto,” *Gawker*, 20 June 2015, <http://gawker.com/unfortunately-it-s-clear-they-already-were-this-is-ju-1712775427>. Although there was initially some uncertainty, law enforcement confirmed that Roof authored the manifesto. Lenny Bernstein, Sari Horwitz, and Peter Holley, “Dylann Roof’s Racist Manifesto: ‘I have no choice,’” *The Washington Post*, 20 June 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/authorities-investigate-whether-racist-manifesto-was-written-by-sc-gunman/2015/06/20/f0bd3052-1762-11e5-9ddc-e3353542100c_story.html.
- [50] Keegan Hankes, “Dylann Roof May have Been a Regular Commenter at Neo-Nazi Website the Daily Stormer,” Southern Poverty Law Center, 21 June 2015, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2015/06/22/dylann-roof-may-have-been-regular-commenter-neo-nazi-website-daily-stormer>.
- [51] Polly Mosendz, “Dylann Roof Confesses: Says he Wanted to Start ‘Race War,’” *Newsweek*, 19 June 2015, <http://www.newsweek.com/dylann-roof-confesses-church-shooting-says-he-wanted-start-race-war-344797>.
- [52] Richard Serrano, “Senators say Tsarnaev Should be Declared ‘Enemy Combatant,’” *Los Angeles Times*, 20 April 2013, <https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-xpm-2013-apr-20-la-na-nn-miranda-boston-bombing-suspect-20130420-story.html>.

[53] There are, of course, those who see the difference as Roof being white, and therefore not a terrorist. Anthea Butler, "Shooters of Color are Called 'Terrorists' and 'Thugs.' Why are White Shooters Called 'Mentally Ill?'" *The Washington Post*, 18 June 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/06/18/call-the-charleston-church-shooting-what-it-is-terrorism/>. This issue is also influenced by the fact that attacks by Muslims receive more media coverage than other attacks. Erin Kearns, Allison Betus, and Anthony Lemieux, "Why Do Some Terrorist Attacks Receive More Media Attention than Others?" *Justice Quarterly* (2019), 1-24, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2018.1524507>.

[54] Denise Lavoie and Tom Hays, "Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, Boston Bombing Suspect, Was Influenced by Internet: Indictment" *Huffington Post*, 28 June 2013, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/06/28/dzohkhar-tsarnaev-internet-indictment_n_3515432.htm.

[55] Ann O'Neill, "The 13th Juror: The Radicalization of Dzhokhar Tsarnaev," *CNN.com*, 30 March 2015, <http://www.cnn.com/2015/03/27/us/tsarnaev-13th-juror-jahar-radicalization/>; Counter Extremism Project, "Fact Sheet: Prosecuted Homegrown Radicals with Ties to Anwar al-Awlaki," 20 January 2016, https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/factsheet_anwar-awlaki_012016.pdf.

[56] Scott Wilson, Greg Miller, and Sari Horwitz, "Boston Bombing Suspect Cites U.S. Wars as Motivation, Officials Say," *The Washington Post*, 23 April 2013, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/boston-bombing-suspect-cites-us-wars-as-motivation-officials-say/2013/04/23/324b9cea-ac29-11e2-b6fd-ba6f5f26d70e_story.html.

[57] 18 U.S. Code § 2331. For a discussion of the legal issues, see Mary McCord, "It's Time for Congress to Make Domestic Terrorism a Federal Crime," *Lawfare*, 5 December 2018, <https://www.lawfareblog.com/its-time-congress-make-domestic-terrorism-federal-crime>. An example of the terrorism enhancement applied to domestic terrorism is the prosecution of the members of the Earth Liberation Front. See, Jeff Barnard, "Earth Liberation Front Arsonist Sentenced to 13 Years," *The Seattle Times*, 24 May 2007, <https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/earth-liberation-front-arsonist-sentenced-to-13-years/>.

[58] Violence against abortion providers in the 1980s and 90s presented similar challenges to the government, because while many attacks were carried out by groups that could easily be classified as domestic terrorist groups, their actions did not fall under any domestic terrorism laws. Michele Wilson and John Lynxwiler examine this phenomenon, but conclude the FBI did not treat these acts as terrorism because of a focus on international terrorism or for political reasons, rather than the fact that no laws allowed prosecution for domestic terrorism. Michele Wilson and John Lynxwiler, "Abortion Clinic Violence as Terrorism," *Terrorism* 11:4 (January 1988), 263-273, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576108808435717>.

[59] In January 2018, the U.S. Department of Justice and Department of Homeland Security released a report finding that 402 out of the 549 (73%) individuals convicted of international terrorism between 9/11 and the end of 2016 were foreign-born. The White House used that report to claim the immigration system is broken, but those numbers are more likely a function of more successfully applying terrorism laws to those who are not U.S. citizens, especially if they are captured outside of U.S. territory. Executive Order 13780: *Protecting the Nation From Foreign Terrorist Entry Into the United States* Initial Section 11 Report, January 2018, <https://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did=807132>.

[60] James Risen and Philip Shenon, "U.S. Says it Halted Qaeda Plot to Use Radioactive Bomb," *The New York Times*, 10 June 2002, <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/06/10/national/10CND-TERROR.html>.

[61] Olsson, *The Making of a Homegrown Terrorist*.

[62] *Ex parte Quirin*. See, for example, Jennifer Elsea, "Detention of American Citizens as Enemy Combatants," CRS Report RL31724, 15 March 2004.

Research Note

The Utility of Disabled Fighters in the Islamic State^[1]

by Chelsea Daymon

Abstract

Traditionally, terrorism and individuals with disabilities are portrayed in roles of victimization with disabled individuals being either the target or decoy in attacks. The self-proclaimed Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) has altered this concept by using individuals with disabilities for recruitment, propaganda, and mobilization purposes. This Research Note explores ISIS's use of disabled fighters through an analysis of online content, consisting of videos collected off the encrypted messaging platform Telegram, along with open-source Internet sites, bearing in mind the concepts of Entertainment-Education and the use of persuasive messaging. I argue that ISIS is using its own method of Entertainment-Education, employing persuasive narrative aimed at disabled individuals, while also using them as propaganda tools. Additionally, highlighting disabled fighters in their media products, offers disabled individuals a collective identity consisting of usefulness and agency in the group, either as recruitment spokesmen, shaming able-bodied individuals into action, or as attackers.

Keywords: Islamic State, terrorist recruitment, propaganda, disabled individuals

Introduction

Historically, individuals with disabilities have been observed in roles of victimization.^[2] However, the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) has changed this notion, using individuals with disabilities for propaganda, recruitment purposes, and as attackers.^[3] Since the battle of Mosul, an increased use of disabled fighters, as foot soldiers, and SVBIED (Suicide Vehicle Borne Improvised Explosive Device) attackers has been observed.^[4]

From a disability studies standpoint, we could extrapolate that disabled individuals in ISIS maintain an appearance of usefulness within the group, fulfilling a number of roles and purposes. As Gruenewald, Karlamangla, Greendale, Singer and Seeman note, "social relations and activity may be important sources of feelings of usefulness,"^[5] in this case, potentially increasing thoughts of empowerment in individuals with disabilities, who may feel marginalized or unsure of their role in the militant group.

Alternatively, from a terror group's perspective, individuals with disabilities provide operatives presumed to be less detectable. In 2008, two women with Down's syndrome were used in remote-controlled suicide attacks on Baghdad markets, attributed to al-Qaeda,^[6] while Comalli, on Boko Haram argues that individuals with disabilities "were often used in suicide missions because they were less likely to attract attention," thus using disabled individuals provides the benefit of surprise.^[7]

This Research Note seeks to explore ISIS's use of disabled fighters through an analysis of online content, consisting of videos and audience engagement, collected off the encrypted messaging platform, Telegram. Videos and images from open-source Internet sites were also collected. Furthermore, concepts of Entertainment-Education and the use of persuasive messaging are assessed, since the group uses these approaches to frame disabled individuals in their media. I argue that ISIS is using their own form of Entertainment-Education, utilizing persuasive narratives to provide disabled individuals in the group with usefulness and agency, while also using them as propaganda tools to recruit and mobilize able-bodied individuals into action.

Telegram

Telegram is a cross-platform, cloud-based[8], instant messaging service, enabling users to send chats, self-destructing messages, documents, videos, photos, gifs, stickers, audio files, and other content all embedded in the application (app). Internal file sharing features allow up to 1.5 GB per file, offering one of the largest file sharing sizes on social media and messaging platforms.[9] Telegram has channels, operating one-way (unidirectional), with central administrators (admins) controlling the dissemination of content. Channel members can only view this material, cannot interact with it, and are not privy to who the other channel members are. Alternatively, Telegram groups are multi-directional, enabling members to interact with other members, share material, comment on posts, and view other members in the group. Telegram also offers the “Secret Chat” option, where users can interact with one another on a one-to-one basis. This option allows users to create a timer where once read; a secret chat will automatically self-destruct on both the sender and recipient’s end. Furthermore, Telegram does not store secret chats, offering a secure messaging option.[10] Because of these features and the security Telegram offers, it has become ISIS’s communication platform of choice.[11]

Methods

Online content featuring disabled fighters was collected off the encrypted messaging platform, Telegram, as well as open-source Internet sites. This content consists of videos, images, and supporter posts from pro-ISIS Telegram groups. These posts appeared shortly after the release of the videos analyzed in this study, offering examples of audience engagement, along with how certain elements in videos were received.

Six videos featuring disabled fighters were considered. While they most certainly do not represent all ISIS content featuring disabled individuals, with the findings of this research note not being generalizable to the overall population, they do provide an understanding of the utility of disabled fighters in the group. This assumption is made on the basis that each video was analyzed looking at how disabled individuals were portrayed (in what roles), along with the narrative content (when available) used.

The videos span from 2015 – 2018, including “From Who Excused to Those Not Excused,” (2015), “Inside the *Khilafah* (Caliphate) 6,” (2017), “Inside the *Khilafah* 7,” (2018), a video released from the Yemeni *Wilayat* (province or governorate), Bayda, (2018), “The Assault of the *Muwahideen* (the monotheists),” (2018), and “The Assault of the *Muwahideen* 3,” (2018). Even though “From Who Excused to Those Not Excused,” (2015), is the earliest example in the collection, it was included because it shows a shift in how disabled individuals are represented from then (in more municipal roles) and now (more combative roles).

All content was analyzed bearing in mind the concepts of Entertainment-Education and how persuasive messaging is used, looking for thematic patterns and roles attributed to disabled individuals in the group.

Disabled Fighters

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines a disability as something that impairs, limits activity, or constrains an individual’s participation.[12] The U.S. federal government defines an individual with a disability as, someone who has a physical or mental impairment that confines one, if not more of their life behaviors, is known to have such an impairment, and has a record of it.[13] Bearing in mind these classifications, this article will use the WHO’s definition of a disability, considering a disability as something that impairs, constrains, and restricts an individual’s participation in activity. Thus, ISIS fighters with visual or perceivable impairments, such as the loss of limbs, the use of wheelchairs, crutches, along with other impairments, such as deafness, will be considered.

Conventionally, when a soldier or fighter becomes disabled, his career on the battlefield tends to be over. Meh-rullah Safi’s case is a good example. His career as an Afghan soldier ended when a rocket-propelled grenade exploded near him, severing his leg.[14] To make a living, he found work selling mobile phone cards on the streets, expressing that he served his country without regrets, however “when I see my wounds have no value for my government, then I do regret it.”[15]

Social identity theory suggests that individuals distinguish themselves based on their group memberships and that these memberships offer pride, belonging, and self-esteem.[16] Additionally, notions of self become categorized within the group, fostering in-group unity at the expense of an out-group.[17] Conflicts are prime examples where concepts of in-groups and out-groups are prevalent. Group membership or someone's "organizational identity may be more pervasive and important than ascribed identities based on gender, age, ethnicity, race, or nationality,"[18] likely fostering a desire to define individualistic roles within groups, along with usefulness to them. As Safi's case displays, serving his country (his in-group) against an out-group was a source of pride. After his injury, he saw himself as useless to the organization (his government), which he identified with, creating feelings of regret and resentment towards his in-group.

The psychological process of group cohesion usually bonds individuals to a group and the members within it. However, since social identity is based on positive intergroup experiences, when there is a loss of cohesion, conflict, or feelings of ostracization, an individual's initial in-group can become an out-group.[19] Safi's circumstances demonstrate this. When considering groups with nefarious intentions, group cohesion and in-group identity is of great importance. Thus, an organization will benefit in the long-run by utilizing all of its members in ways that solidify group cohesion and feelings of usefulness.

History has shown that with a lack of able-bodied combatants, groups sometimes resort to unconventional fighters. Six weeks into the battle of Mosul, Iraqi forces estimated that close to 1,000 ISIS fighters were killed,[20] however with continued fighting and more concern regarding the civilian death count, the actual number of ISIS losses is unknown. Nonetheless, an increased use of unconventional fighters by ISIS was witnessed during the battle of Mosul onwards, including the use of older adults and children.[21]

During the American Civil War, the Union army experienced a lack of men for the front lines. Due to scarcity in manpower, in 1863 the "Invalid Corps" was established with over 24 regiments made mostly of men disabled by injuries or sickness.[22] The Corps was sectioned into two battalions grounded on member's physical abilities.[23] The First Battalion consisting of men with disabilities that were less severe, with responsibilities, such as combat and garrison duty, while the Second Battalion, contained men with disabilities of a higher severity, offering opportunities to clerk, nurse, and cook for the army.[24] As Reznick argues, the story of the Invalid Corps represents "the broader experience of disability during and after the Civil War, addressing such questions as how the nation responded to the human wreckage of the conflict and how members of the Corps themselves fought not only to restore the Union but also to retain their dignity as Americans and as human beings." [25]

This outlook aligns with the core values of critical disability studies, which aim to alter established views on individuals with disabilities as victims "who should adjust to the world around them." [26] While, the cultural model of disability looks at the experience of individuals from a societal context, understanding how the experience is perceived culturally, along with the positives, negatives, discriminatory, physical, or psychological pain associated with having a disability.[27] Murphy, an anthropologist by trade and someone who suffered from "a paralytic illness," [28] argues that "disability is defined by society and given meaning by culture," making it a "social malady." [29] Capitalizing off ostracizing feelings, by providing positive reinforcements of usefulness within a society, while fostering group cohesion of all its members, creates a persuasive tool, whereby disabled individuals are given utility and functions within a group. Mobilizing individuals into different roles is also achieved by encouraging disabled individuals to take part in various actions, while shaming those that are able-bodied for not.

When studying persuasive narratives, O'Keefe notes that function-matched narratives have a higher likelihood of persuasion, as opposed to unmatched narratives, because these messages are relatable to their audience and "speak to what people want." [30-32] By highlighting fighters with disabilities, using relatable characters, and showing their usefulness to the group and its goals, ISIS is using a persuasive narrative playbook, similar to narrative persuasion techniques found in entertainment education.

Entertainment-Education and Social Cognitive Theory

Entertainment-Education (E-E) is a tool used to establish social change[33] often in health communication campaigns, or campaigns aimed at changing people's behavior. E-E is assumed to "stand on its own" when considering its narrative quality, with successful campaigns attracting audiences because of the captivating stories they tell, as opposed to their educational or persuasive nature.[34] These stories can be in the form of fiction or nonfiction,[35] using a subtle balance of educational information woven into entertainment,[36] the aim being to influence the behavior of individuals through relatable accounts. The advantages of E-E narratives are that they target individuals on a personal level, as well as at the group level, intertwining individualistic notions with social identity.

Social cognitive theory (SCT)[37] is usually used to explain the impact of entertainment-education on the behavior, beliefs, and attitudes of individuals.[38] SCT holds that changes in behavior are enacted via an individual's sense of personal control or self-efficacy.[39] If an individual perceives that they can take actions to resolve an issue, seeing that the behavior is in their reach, they are more likely to try, and in the process develop a greater sense of commitment to their choice.[40-41] By persuasively using E-E to empower individuals toward a desired outcome, there is a higher likelihood viewers will sense that they have the self-efficacy to act, obtaining desired results.

Additionally, through the use of entrancing stories, E-E utilized persuasive messages without making the persuasion obvious. As Green, Brock, and Kaufman suggest, a major element of a media production is its ability to transport an individual away from everyday life and into the story being told.[42] ISIS media employs the persuasive concepts found in E-E, to positively reinforce roles for disabled individuals in the group, while also using them as propaganda tools, imparting messages to supporters and opponents alike.

ISIS Online Content

Six videos featuring disabled fighters were analyzed, looking at how the disabled individuals were portrayed, and the narrative content used. Many of the videos feature disabled individuals in roles of active battle, whether on the battlefield, or about to commit an SVBIED attack. Others feature disabled members of ISIS as municipal workers, recruiters, or executioners. The earliest video in the collection, "From Who Excused to Those Not Excused," highlights disabled individual in more municipal roles, while later videos emphasize disabled individuals in more militaristic roles, displaying a shift in how they are portrayed in propaganda.

From Who Excused to Those Not Excused

In March of 2015, two deaf fighters were featured in a video titled "From Who Excused to Those Not Excused" where they direct their message to "the deaf and mute" of the "Islamic world." The fighters mention that they are brothers who work as traffic police in the self-proclaimed Islamic State, with the video showing them going about this job. One of the brothers, Abu 'Abdur-Rahman, declares "to the Muslims in Europe, both Arab and non-Arab, the way is open before you for you to come to the land of the *Khilafah* (Caliphate), and the Islamic State is expanding." [43] March of 2015 was a time when recruitment, the encouragement of migration (*hijrah*), and state building were still goals of the Islamic State[44] with Abu 'Abdur-Rahman's statement reflecting this.

Further in the video, the brothers are featured in military roles where they are shown launching missiles at Peshmerga barracks. Thus, the video not only attempts to recruit individuals who are deaf and mute to the Islamic State, but also shows the various roles available to disabled individuals who might consider migration.

Inside the Khilafah 6

"Inside the *Khilafah 6*," released in December of 2017,[45] and one of eight videos in a series (as of December 2018), features Abu Salih al-Amriki, an amputee, American fighter (according to his *kunya* or nom de guerre). Instead of being portrayed as a victim, al-Amriki is the star in the four minute and 16 second video, where he calls on individuals with disabilities to "rise with one leg or no legs. Rise from your sitting and strike the *kufar* (unbelievers/infidels)." [46] He goes on to challenge "brothers" with or without limbs "to a race towards

the gates of *jannah* (paradise),” while he threatens Trump and calls on supporters in America to do attacks at home.[47] This video utilizes al-Amriki in a role of mobilization to action. By highlighting a disabled fighter in a position of strength, the video seeks to encourage other individuals to commit attacks where they are. This not only displays a persuasive message of mobilization, but also reflects a shift in ISIS’s military strategy from encouraging immigration to the Islamic State, to urging supporters to take actions ‘at home.’

Inside the Khilafah 7

In the next installment of the series, five disabled individuals appear in “Inside the *Khilafah 7*,” released in February of 2018.[48] The beginning of the video frames the overall context of the narrative when the narrator states that “the sons of the *Khilafah* rose as one body despite their wounds in response to the call of *jihad*.”[49] Around the beginning of the 20 minute and 20 second video a fighter is pushed in a wheelchair, while his companion calls on others to “support” the religion and move “onwards towards *jannah* (paradise),” while battle-field images of amputee fighters on crutches are featured throughout the film, in addition to what appears to be a women fighting on the battlefield.[50] At 50 minutes and 50 seconds into the video, Abu ‘Abdillah al-Shami, a wheelchair-confined fighter is featured with the video’s narrator stating that al-Shami was “a man among the men of resolve. He was not held back by obstacles, nor by the tears of a loved one, nor the hopeful plea of an affectionate and merciful companion,”[51] the “obstacles” presumably being his disability. Further in the segment, it is al-Shami’s personal statement that offers insight on disabled fighters in the Islamic States:

“I advise you to fear Allah, and I advise you to be steadfast, my brothers. By Allah, by Allah, the best path and the quickest path to Jannah (paradise) is to carry out an istishhadi (martyrdom) operation. I advise you to carry out istishhadi operations. I advise you to march forth behind Amirul-Muminin (Commander of the Faithful). Go after the atheist and apostate PKK. Deal with them and with all the religions of Kufr (unbelievers/infidels), my brothers. By Allah, we are not suffering hardships. By Allah, we are enjoying blessings that no one knows of except Allah. It’s true that I’m disabled, but I’ve been given a lot of suggestions in terms of areas I could work in. By Allah, I’m not doing this out of weakness, or because of any anguish or suffering. By Allah, it is only due to my desire to meet Allah (emphasis added).”[52]

Al-Shami’s words point to him having been directed towards roles within the group, appropriate to his disabled status. In this case, his role was to carry out a SVBIED attack.

The Assault of the Muwahideen and The Assault of the Muwahideen 3

The first installment of “The Assault of the *Muwahideen*,” was released in October 2018, while “The Assault of the *Muwahideen 3*,” was released in December 2018. Both videos come from the Barakah province and show disabled individuals actively fighting on the frontlines. The first video features six disabled fighters with the more memorable scenes being a one-legged man who looks to be in his 20s, getting into an armored vehicle destined for the frontlines, while in a different scene, a one-armed fighter operates an automatic weapon during an attack. In “The Assault of the *Muwahideen 3*,” a man with a prosthetic leg is shown fighting on the battlefield among his brothers in arms. The two videos are actively highlighting disabled fighters, while portraying their utility in roles of combat, where able-bodied members of ISIS fight side-by-side with disabled fighters.

ISIS is also using individuals with disabilities as executioners. A handful of images and videos, for example images released in 2016 by the *al-Hayat* media wing out of the Libyan *Wilayat* of Sirte, purportedly shows a wheelchair-bound fighter executing an alleged spy by crucifixion,[53] while a video released in May of 2018, from the Yemeni *Wilayat*, Bayda, also displays a wheelchair-bound fighter executing a prisoner by gunshot.[54] These images and videos display individuals with disabilities in roles of power where notions of victimhood are reversed.

Furthermore, they offer visual narratives that incorporate empowering, persuasive messaging aimed at a specific audience through a modification of E-E. By displaying fighters with disabilities in roles that are not only useful, but in some cases powerful, these videos employ influential messaging, incorporating social identity and group cohesion. Moreover, these media products imply that disabled fighters present aspects of utility to

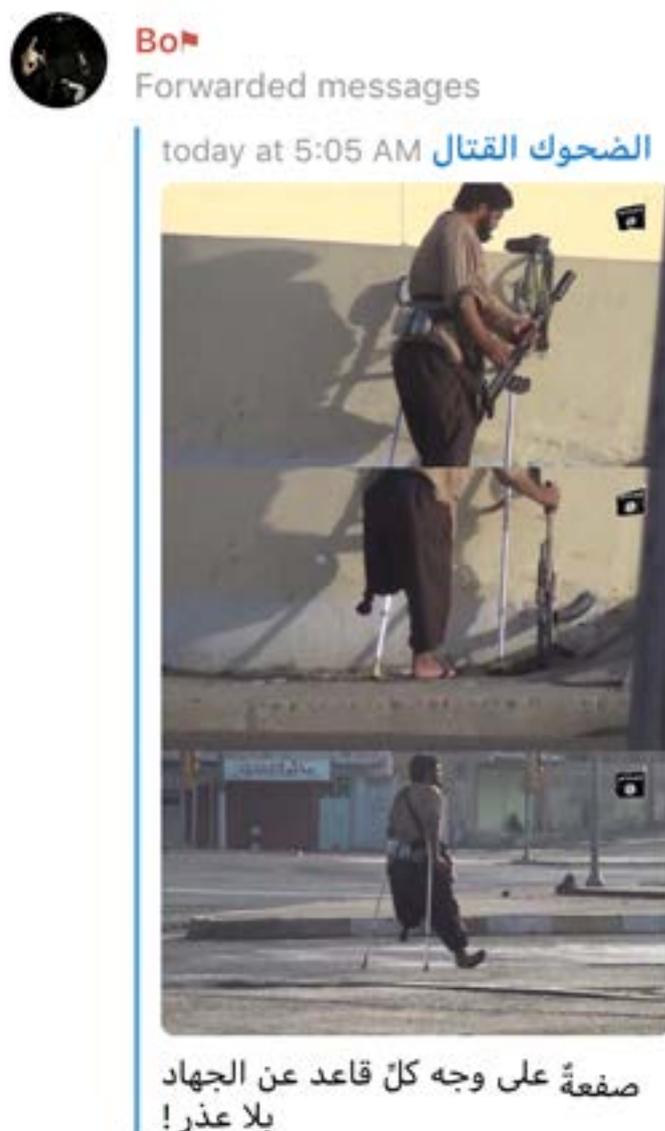
ISIS, whether as martyrs, spokesmen, or in other roles, in turn providing disabled individuals with feelings of usefulness and a collective purpose.

Audience Engagement

After the release of “Inside the *Khilafah 7*,” audience engagement in Telegram groups was observed by the author. Supporters shared screenshots and montages of disabled fighters featured in videos and official ISIS propaganda releases. These images were accompanied by sentiments reflecting praise, pride, along with shaming able-bodied individuals who were not answering the call to *jihad*.

A post on February 14, 2018 in the *Dabiq* group, shows three images of an amputee fighter on crutches with the remark, “A slap in the face of anyone who left *jihad* without (a valid) excuse,” (see Figure 1) while another post on March 18, 2018, in the *Ansar-ul-Haqq* group features an image of Abu ‘Abdillah al-Shami and praises “Inside the *Khilafah 7*” (see Figure 2).

Figure 1: Example post in the *Dabiq* group, February 14, 2018



“A slap in the face of anyone who left *jihad* without (a valid) excuse.”

Figure 2: Example post in the *Ansar-ul-Haqq* group March 18, 2018

“Release: Inside 7 (is) the most stupendous, words cannot describe it, it shows the (wonders of) giving, sacrifice, redemption, and great (rare) heroic acts rarely found elsewhere except within the Islamic State that makes (real) men...”

These posts suggest encouragement of mobilization into action, along with mobilization of ideas and shared beliefs. Concepts of heroic deeds, what makes “real men,” as well as shaming those who are able-bodied for not taking up arms, is implied. The persuasive messages within “Inside the *Khilafah* 7” have not been lost on the audience, who not only advance the narratives within the video, but also enforce similar messages in real time among like-minded individuals. Supporters encourage the mobilization of able-bodied individuals through tactics of shame, while disabled fighters are revered for their courageous efforts towards the cause.

Implications and Future Trends in Terrorism

ISIS’s use of disabled fighters implies that disabled individuals present aspects of utility to the group, in turn delivering feelings of usefulness and identity to disabled members. While there could be a number of reasons why this is taking place (loss of able-bodied fighters or an “all hands on deck” scenario), it is clear that ISIS is increasingly capitalizing on the use of disabled individuals in their media, something not seen in such a capacity with other terror organizations. Groups like the Taliban and Boko Haram are known to use disabled individuals as suicide attackers, however in Taliban propaganda, the perpetrators are not featured in the group’s media products[55] and in many cases their identities remain unknown.[56] This suggests that for ISIS, the utility of disabled individuals goes beyond cannon fodder and into the realms of propaganda tools.

In Aggarwal’s analysis of “The Caravan/Procession of Lights 2,” another video featuring a disabled fighter, he argues that disabled individuals exemplify ISIS’s “value of steadfastness despite affliction.”[57] This could also be said about the ways in which disabled fighters are presented in “From Who Excused to Those Not Excused,” “Inside the *Khilafah* 6,” “Inside the *Khilafah* 7,” “The Assault of the *Muwahideen*,” “The Assault of the *Muwahideen* 3,” along with videos showing disabled executioners. These videos not only provide examples of roles within the group that disabled individual might seek to explore, but send powerful messages to opponents, as well as supporters.

Narratives aimed at supporters suggest that disabled fighters are exemplified for their heroic actions despite their afflictions, while they are also used as a shaming mechanism to recruit able-bodied individuals into action. The overall message sent to opponents is that ISIS, regardless of its loss of territory and manpower, remains

a viable threat, since all members, including those that might be deemed unconventional fighters, are willing to answer the call. Furthermore, there is no indication that ISIS utilizes disabled individuals in high-ranking, decision-making processes,[58] implying that their main utility falls within the realms of propaganda, recruitment, and as battlefield replacements for able-bodied combatants.

When considering future trends in terrorism, ISIS's use of disabled individuals marks a new trend in terrorism, where the typical profile of a fighter, has changed. Horgan, Bloom, Daymon, Kaczkowski, and Tiflati demonstrate that ISIS is also using older adults as suicide bombers, in SVBIED attacks, and for recruitment purposes, particularly with the onslaught of the battle of Mosul.[59] ISIS is also known for its unprecedented mobilization of children in martyrdom operations.[60] Thus, the group is utilizing individuals in roles not normally associated with common conceptions of fighters. This in part may be due to a high loss of fighters on the battlefield and the Coalition's attempts to eradicate ISIS, producing an "all hands on deck" effect.

Research shows that terror groups learn from one another, applying organizational learning to further their agendas, gain news skills, recruit, and become better equipped in their terror tactics.[61] This suggests that future groups may apply similar strategies, utilizing disabled individuals and other unconventional fighters in the group, in their media products, and as attackers. Exploiting all members of an organization; the young, old, and disabled, offers increased manpower, especially when a group has suffered losses.

From a security standpoint, ISIS's use of disabled and unconventional fighters poses a threat not customarily associated with terrorism, thus providing thoughtworthy implication to current security measures. Take for example the expedited Transportation Security Administration's (TSA) screening measures at airports for passengers that are 75 years or older. They allow seniors to leave their shoes on, along with a light jacket during the screening process.[62] For individuals with disabilities, the TSA permits them to also leave their shoes on during screening procedures, while further accommodations are made on a case-to-case basis.[63] Additionally, as Comalli displays, the threat that individuals with disabilities present is often overlooked, consequently providing an advantage in attack planning, which includes the element of surprise.[64]

ISIS's use of unconventional fighters, including disabled individuals, should be considered when reviewing security procedures since they present new complications to measures already in place. Finally, the group's increased use of children, older adults, and disabled fighters into roles of mobilization, signals an age where conventional fighters are not the only ones carrying out operations, thus opening the door to further study on this phenomenon.

From a counter-messaging perspective, ISIS's use of disabled individuals offers a challenging undertaking, since they are drawing on a marginalized community in the Middle East where having a disability is taboo.[65] By offering disabled individuals with useful roles, giving them agency, purpose, and a sense of belonging, ISIS is challenging conventional norms, even if the groups' main purpose is utilizing disabled individuals as propaganda tools or suicide attackers. A means of countering these media products is to highlight the use of disabled fighters as a sign of desperation. If a group resorts to using its most vulnerable members, it sends a signal that it has lost many of its able-bodied fighters, consequently showing weakness. From a recruitment standpoint, no one wants to join a losing battle.

While this study is limited in its scope of analyzed content, it highlights ISIS's use of disabled fighters and the many roles they play. Examining a larger collection of media content, across a greater span of time, would allow for more generalizable results, however with violent extremist content being flagged and taken down fairly quickly, many resources that were once available to researchers online no longer exist, making the task difficult.

About the Author: *Chelsea Daymon is pursuing a Ph.D. in Justice, Law & Criminology in the School of Public Affairs at American University and is the Executive producer of The Loopcast, a podcast on national/international security, information security, and cultural affairs.*

Notes

- [1] This research was partly conducted and funded from the Minerva Research initiative Documenting the Virtual Caliphate Minerva #N00014-16-1-3174 and the office of naval research. All opinions are exclusively those of the author and do not represent the Department of Defense or the Navy. I would also like thank J.M. Berger, Dr. Mia Bloom, Dr. Yannick Veilleux-Lepage, Dr. William McCants, Dr. Weeda Mehran, and Dr. Craig Whiteside for advising and/or discussing issues on this topic with me, Dr. Tillman Russell for assistance on the first draft, and Dr. Hicham Tiflati for translation support.
- [2] Terrorism and disability has been associated with the killing of wheelchair-bound Leon Klinghoffer, in the 1985 cruise ship hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* by Palestinian terrorists, (see, Jennifer Latson (2015) “A Murder That Shook the World, at Sea and on Stage,” *Time*, accessed May 4, 2018, <http://time.com/4055773/achille-lauro/>) the targeted killing of wheelchair-confined Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, founder and spiritual leader of Hamas, by an Israeli airstrike in 2004, (see, James Bennet (2004) “Leader of Hamas Killed by Missile in Israeli Strike,” *The New York Times*, accessed May 4, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/22/world/leader-of-hamas-killed-by-missile-in-israeli-strike.html>) and in 2008, the use of two women with Down’s syndrome in remote-controlled suicide attacks on Baghdad markets (see, Michael Howard (2008) “Bombs Strapped to Down’s Syndrome Women Kill Scores in Baghdad Markets,” *The Guardian*, accessed on May 4, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/feb/02/iraq.international1>), the later example rendering the perpetrators into victims by taking away their agency through the use of remotely detonated devices and Down’s syndrome presenting intellectual incapacities in those with the disability (see, Jamie O. Edgin, “Cognition in Down Syndrome: A Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience Perspective,” *WIREs Cogn Sci*, Vol. 4, (2013), pp. 307-317 and “Understanding Intellectual Disability and Health,” University of Hertfordshire, accessed December 19, 2018, <http://www.intellectualdisability.info/intellectual-disability>).
- [3] See, “ISIS uses disabled terrorists to fight on front lines” (2017), *The Baghdad Post* (accessed June 13, 2018), <http://www.thebaghdadpost.com/EN/story/16641/ISIS-uses-disabled-terrorists-to-fight-on-front-lines>, Bridget Johnson (2018), “What’s Behind ISIS’ Recent Video Use of Jihadists with Disabilities,” *Homeland Security Today US* (accessed on May 5, 2018). <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/whats-behind-isis-recent-video-use-jihadists-disabilities/> and Alexander Korenkov, “Terrorists with Disabilities,” *The Counter Terrorist: Journal for Law Enforcement, Intelligence & Special Operations Professionals*, Vol. 11, Issue 3, (2018). Pp. 26-33.
- [4] Hugo Kaaman, “Islamic State SVBIED development & innovation in the battle of Mosul (October 2016-June 2017),” *Jane’s Terrorism and Insurgency Center*, https://www.janes.com/images/assets/799/73799/JTIC_Case_Study_-_Islamic_State_SVBIED_Development.pdf
- [5] Tara L. Gruenewald, Arun S. Karlamangla, Gail A. Greendale, Burton H. Singer, and Teresa E. Seeman, “Feelings of Usefulness to others, Disability, and Mortality in Older Adults: The MacArthur Study of Successful Aging,” *The Journal of Gerontology*, Vol. 62, Issue 1, (2007), p. 29.
- [6] Michael Howard (2008) “Bombs Strapped to Down’s Syndrome Women Kill Scores in Baghdad Markets,” *The Guardian* (accessed on May 4, 2018) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/feb/02/iraq.international1>
- [7] Virginia Comolli, *Boko Haram: Nigeria’s Islamist Insurgency* (London, U.K.: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 2015), p. 77.
- [8] Cross-platform refers to Telegram operating on multiple computers, phones, and tablets with different operating or software packages, while users can access Telegram on demand through Telegram’s Internet cloud servers. Thus, wherever there is an Internet connection, users can access the platform.
- [9] See Telegram, “Sending Files on Steroids – And More,” (accessed May 29, 2019) <https://telegram.org/blog/files-on-steroids>
- [10] Rhiannon Williams (2014) “What is Telegram: The New WhatsApp?,” *The Telegraph*, (accessed April 4, 2018) <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/news/10658647/What-is-Telegram-the-new-WhatsApp.html>.
- [11] Laith Alkhouri and Alex Kassirer, *Tech for Jihad: Dissecting Jihadists’ Digital Toolbox* (New York: Flashpoint, 2016), <https://www.flashpoint-intel.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/TechForJihad.pdf>; and Mia Bloom, Hicham Tiflati, and John Horgan, “Telegram: Navigating ISIS’ Preferred Platform,” *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2017), 1-13.
- [12] See, “Disabilities,” *World Health Organization*, (accessed May 14, 2018). <http://www.who.int/topics/disabilities/en/>
- [13] See, “Frequently Asked Questions,” *United States Department of labor*, (accessed on May 14, 2018). <https://www.dol.gov/odep/faqs/general.htm#3>
- [14] James Mackenzie and Mirwais Harooni (2017). “Disabled in war, Afghan soldiers seek a living on the streets,” *Reuters*, (accessed May 10, 2018) <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-military-disabled/disabled-in-war-afghan-soldiers-seek-a-living-on-the-streets-idUSKCN1BG0IR>
- [15] Ibid.

- [16] Henri Tajfel, John C. Turner, (1979) *An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict*. In Stephen Worchel, William G. Austion (Eds.), *Social psychology of intergroup relations* (Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1979), pp 33, 1979.
- [17] Ibid
- [18] Michael A. Hogg, Deborah J. Terry, "Social identity and Self-Categorization Processes in Organizational Context," *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 25, Issue 1, 2000. P. 121.
- [19] Ibid
- [20] See, Patrick Markey and Ulf Laessing (2016). "Their spirit is broken': Iraqi forces say 1,000 ISIS fighters killed in Mosul, *Business Insider UK*, (accessed April 10, 2018) <http://uk.businessinsider.com/r-iraqi-forces-say-1000-islamic-state-fighters-killed-in-mosul-2016-11>
- [21] John Horgan, Mia Bloom, Chelsea Daymon, Wojciech Kaczkowski, Hicham Tiflati, "A New Age of Terror? Older Fighters in the Caliphate," *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 10, Issue 5, 2017, pp. 13- 19.
- [22] Jeffrey S. Reznick, "The Civil War Letters of Colonel Charles F. Johnson, Invalid Corps (review)," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol. 80, Issue 3, 2006, pp. 593-594.
- [23] See, Kayla M. Pittman, "From "Invalid Corps" to full active duty: America's disabled soldiers return to war," *Smithsonian*, (accessed May 14, 2018). <http://americanhistory.si.edu/blog/invalid-corps-full-active-duty-americas-disabled-soldiers-return-war>
- [24] Ibid
- [25] Reznick, "The Civil War Letters of Colonel Charles F. Johnson, Invalid Corps (review)," p. 593.
- [26] Geoffrey Reaume, "Understanding critical disability studies," *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, Vol. 186, Issue 16, 2014, p. 1248.
- [27] Geoffrey Reaume, "Understanding critical disability studies," *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, Vol. 186, Issue 16, 2014, p. 1249.
- [28] Robert F. Murphy, *The Body Silent* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 1987), p. 3.
- [29] Ibid, p. 4.
- [30] Daniel J. O'Keefe, *Persuasion: Theory and Research, Third Edition* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2016), p. 49.
- [31] If an individual has high self-monitoring characteristic, meaning they control or regulate their self-presentation, modifying their behavior "to fit situational considerations," higher value will be attributed to qualities presenting self-image, with image-oriented appeals being more agreeable. Daniel J. O'Keefe, *Persuasion: Theory and Research, Third Edition*, p. 39.
- [32] People with high self-monitoring traits will also find normative appeals, representing what their peers think, highly amenable. Daniel J. O'Keefe, *Persuasion: Theory and Research, Third Edition*.
- [33] Claire E. Pitt, "Entertainment-education and social change: History, research, and practice," *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 56, Issue 1, 2006. Pp. 230-234.
- [34] Michael D. Slater, "Entertainment-Education and Elaboration Likelihood: Understanding the Processing of Narrative Persuasion," *Communication Theory*, Vol. 12, Issue 2, 2002, p. 175.
- [35] Suruchi Sood, Amy Henderson Riley, Kristine Cecile Alarcon, "Entertainment-Education and Health and Risk Messaging," *Oxford Encyclopedia of Communication*, (accessed June 13, 2018). <http://communication.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228613-e-245>
- [36] Arvind Singhal, Everett M. Rogers (2004). "The Status of Entertainment-Education Worldwide," in Arvind Singhal, Michael J. Cody, Everett M. Rodgers, Miguel Sabido (Eds.), *Entertainment-Education and Social Change: History, Research, and Practice*. (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates). Pp. 3-20.
- [37] Albert Bandura, *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986).
- [38] Michael D. Slater, "Entertainment-Education and Elaboration Likelihood: Understanding the Processing of Narrative Persuasion," *Communication Theory*, Vol. 12, Issue 2, 2002. Pp. 173-191.
- [39] Aleksandra Luszczynska, Ralf Schwarzer (2005), "Social Cognitive Theory," in Mark Conner, Paul Norman (Eds.), *Prediction Health Behaviour*. (Berkshire, England: Open University Press). Pp. 127-170.
- [40] Ibid

- [41] If they sense that they are not capable of performing an action, they are less likely to attempt to do so, thus perceptions of self are a key influencer in an individual's agency.
- [42] Melanie C. Green, Timothy C. Brock, Geoff F. Kaufman, "Understanding Media Enjoyment: The Role of Transportation Into Narrative Worlds," *Communication Theory*, Vol. 14, Issue 4, 2004. Pp. 311-327.
- [43] See, "From Who Excused to Those Not Excused," Vimeo, (accessed July 2, 2018). <https://vimeo.com/121697215>
- [44] See, Spencer Bakich (2015). "Legitimacy, Strategy, and the Islamic State," *The Strategy Bridge*, (accessed August 20, 2018) <https://thestrategybridge.org/the-bridge/2015/12/8/legitimacy-strategy-and-the-islamic-state>, and Shiv Malik (2015), "The ISIS papers: leaked documents show how ISIS is building its state," *The Guardian*, (accessed August 20, 2018) <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/07/leaked-isis-document-reveals-plan-building-state-syria>
- [45] Jihadology, "Inside the Caliphate," (accessed May 2, 2018). <https://jihadology.net/?s=Inside+the+Caliphate>
- [46] *Inside the Khilafah* 6, December, 2017.
- [47] Ibid
- [48] Jihadology, "Inside the Caliphate," (accessed May 2, 2018). <https://jihadology.net/?s=Inside+the+Caliphate>
- [49] *Inside the Khilafah* 7, February, 2018.
- [50] Ibid
- [51] Ibid
- [52] Ibid
- [53] See, Jack Moore (2016). "ISIS Releases Images of Wheelchair-bound Executioner 'Crucifying Spy' In Libya's Sirte," *Newsweek*, (accessed May 3, 2018) <http://www.newsweek.com/isis-releases-images-wheelchair-bound-executioner-crucifying-spy-libyas-sirte-422477>
- [54] Video released May 2018, Yemeni *Wilayat*, Bayda.
- [55] See: Soraya Sarhaddi Nelson (2007). "Disabled Often Carry Out Afghan Suicide Missions," *NPR*, (accessed May 30, 2019) <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=15276485>, Sonya Fatah (2007). "Why the Disabled do Taliban's Deadly Work," *The Globe and Mail*, (accessed May 30, 2019) <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/why-the-disabled-do-talibans-deadly-work/article18138707/> and Virginia Comolli, *Boko Haram: Nigeria's Islamist Insurgency* (London, U.K.: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 2015), p. 77.
- [56] See, Soraya Sarhaddi Nelson (2007). "Disabled Often Carry Out Afghan Suicide Missions."
- [57] Neil Krishan Aggarwal, *Media Persuasion in the Islamic State* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), p. 187.
- [58] To the best of the researchers' knowledge and after consulting with scholars, J.M. Berger, Dr. William McCants, and Dr. Craig Whiteside, there are no known high-ranking ISIS members who came into their positions with visible disabilities, as opposed to gaining ones while in their positions due to fighting, airstrikes, or attacks.
- [59] John Horgan, Mia Bloom, Chelsea Daymon, Wojciech Kaczkowski, and Hicham Tiflati, "A New Age of Terror? Older Fighters in the Caliphate," *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 10, Issue 5, 2017, pp. 13-19.
- [60] Mia Bloom, John Horgan, and Charlie Winter, "Depictions of Children and Youth in the Islamic State's Martyrdom Propaganda, 2015-2016," *CTC Sentinel*, Vol. 9, Issue 2, 2016, pp. 29-32.
- [61] James J Forest (Ed.), *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World* (Oxford, U.K.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006).
- [62] See, "Screening for Passengers 75 and Older," *Transportation Security Administration*, (accessed July 2, 2018). <https://www.tsa.gov/travel/special-procedures/screening-passengers-75-and-older>
- [63] See, "Disabilities and Medical Conditions," *Transportation Security Administration*, (accessed July 2, 2018). <https://www.tsa.gov/travel/special-procedures>
- [64] Virginia Comolli, *Boko Haram: Nigeria's Islamist Insurgency* (London, U.K.: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd., 2015), p. 77.
- [65] See, Jack Shenker (2009). "The Middle East's Invisibles," *The Guardian*, (accessed May 31, 2019) <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/dec/05/middle-east-disability-poverty> and Zena Yahhan (2018). "Meet the Woman Challenging Arab Notions of Disability," *Al Jazeera*, (accessed May 31, 2019) <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/meet-woman-challenging-arab-notions-disability-180125140800672.html>

Resources

Bibliography: Islamic State (IS, ISIS, ISIL, Daesh) [Part 5]

Compiled and selected by Judith Tinnes

[Bibliographic Series of Perspectives on Terrorism – BSPT-JT-2019-4]

Abstract

This bibliography contains journal articles, book chapters, books, edited volumes, theses, grey literature, bibliographies and other resources on the Islamic State (IS / ISIS / ISIL / Daesh) and its predecessor organizations. To keep up with the rapidly changing political events, the most recent publications have been prioritized during the selection process. The literature has been retrieved by manually browsing through more than 200 core and periphery sources in the field of Terrorism Studies. Additionally, full-text and reference retrieval systems have been employed to broaden the search.

Keywords: bibliography, resources, literature, Islamic State; IS; ISIS; ISIL; Daesh; Al-Qaeda in Iraq; AQI

NB: All websites were last visited on 18.05.2019. This subject bibliography is conceptualised as a multi-part series (for earlier bibliographies, see: [Part 1](#), [Part 2](#), [Part 3](#), and [Part 4](#)). To avoid duplication, this compilation only includes literature not contained in the previous parts. However, meta-resources, such as bibliographies, were also included in the sequels. – See also Note for the Reader at the end of this literature list.

Bibliographies and other Resources

Afghanistan Analysts Network (AAN) (2014, November-): *Thematic Dossier XV: Daesh in Afghanistan*. URL: <http://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/publication/aan-thematic-dossier/thematic-dossier-xv-daesh-in-afghanistan>

Al-Khalidi, Ashraf; Renahan, Thomas (Eds.) (2015, May-): *Daesh Daily: An Update On ISIS Activities*. URL: <http://www.daeshdaily.com>

Al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad (2010-): [Homepage]. URL: <http://www.aymennjawad.org>

Al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad; in collaboration with Aaron Y. Zelin (2019, April-): *The Islamic State Archives*. URL: <https://islamicstatearchives.com>

Bibliotheek NLDA (2015, December): *Islamitische Staat (IS)*. [Libguide]. URL: <https://bibliotheeknlदा.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/libguide-islamitische-staat.pdf>

Combating Terrorism Center (CTC) (n.d.-): *Islamic State & Predecessor Groups*. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/terrorist-groups/islamic-state-predecessor-groups>

Crane, David (Project Leader) et al. (2011-): *The Syrian Accountability Project (SAP)*. URL: <http://syrianaccountabilityproject.org>

DeirezZor 24 (n.d.-): URL: <https://en.deirezzor24.net>

Hegghammer, Thomas (2013, January-): @Hegghammer. URL: <https://twitter.com/Hegghammer>

Hegghammer, Thomas (2015, May-): *The Bored Jihadi: Researching Arts and Social Practices in Militant Islamist Groups*. URL: <https://boredjihadi.net>

Higgins, Eliot et al. (2014, July-): *Bellingcat*. URL: <https://www.bellingcat.com>

- Hindsight is 20/20: Painting the Fuller Picture of the Global Jihad (2015, July-): URL: <https://hindsightis2020.wordpress.com>
- Institute for the Study of War (ISW) (2013, January 3-): *ISW Blog: ISIS*. URL: <http://iswresearch.blogspot.de/search/label/ISIS>
- IntelCenter (n.d.-): *Islamic State Wilayats: Interactive World Map*. URL: <https://www.intelcenter.com/maps/is-wilayats-map.html>
- IntelCenter (2017-): *Islamic State (IS) Weaponized Drone Attacks in Iraq & Syria: Animated Map*. URL: <https://www.intelcenter.com/maps/islamic-state-weaponized-drone-map.html>
- Iraq Body Count (2003, January-): URL: <https://www.iraqbodycount.org>
- Khatib, Hadi et al. (2015-): *Syrian Archive: Curating Visual Documentation for Justice and Human Rights*. URL: <https://syrianarchive.org>
- Lund, Aron (Ed.) (2012-): *Syria in Crisis*. URL: <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis>
- Mosul Eye (2014, June-): URL: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Mosul-Eye/552514844870022?fref=nf>
- NATO Multimedia Library (2012, October): *The Iraq War, 2003-2011: Books*. (Thematic Bibliography No. 8/12). URL: http://www.natolibguides.info/ld.php?content_id=10701676
- NATO Multimedia Library (2016, February): *From Al Qaida to ISIS: The Evolution of Terrorism*. (Thematic Bibliography No. 1/16). URL: http://www.natolibguides.info/ld.php?content_id=19411574
- Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI); University of Oslo (2016-): *Jihadi Document Repository*. URL: <https://www.hf.uio.no/ikos/english/research/jihadi-document-repository>
- Orton, Kyle W. (2014, March-): *Kyle Orton's Blog*. URL: <https://kyleorton1991.wordpress.com>
- Paraszczuk, Joanna (2013, August-): *From Chechnya to Syria: Tracking Russian-Speaking Foreign Fighters in Syria*. URL: <http://www.chechensinsyria.com>
- Patrikarakos, David et al. (2014, October-): *Under The Black Flag*. URL: <https://www.rferl.org/z/17257>
- Prucha, Nico (2007-): *Online Jihad: Monitoring Jihadist Online Communities*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net>
- Raqqa is Being Slaughtered Silently (RBSS) (2014, April-): URL: <https://www.raqqa-sl.com>
- Smith, Rhiannon (Managing Director) et al. (2016-): *Eye On ISIS in Libya*. URL: <https://eyeonisisinlibya.com>
- Sound and Picture (2015-): URL: <http://sound-and-picture.com/en/>
- Syrian Civil War (n.d.-): [Internet Forum]. URL: <https://www.reddit.com/r/syriancivilwar>
- Syrian Network for Human Rights (SNHR) (2011, June-): URL: <http://sn4hr.org>
- Syrian Observatory for Human Rights (SOHR) (2006, May-): URL: <http://www.syriahr.com/en>
- Tinnes, Judith (2015, August): Bibliography: Islamic State (Part 1). *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 9(4), 165-212. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2015/volume-4/16-bibliography-islamic-state-part-1-compiled-and-selected-by-judith-tinnes.pdf>
- Tinnes, Judith (2016, February-): Counting Lives Lost – Statistics of Camera-Recorded Extrajudicial Executions by the “Islamic State”. [Monitoring Project]. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10(1). URL: <http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/483> Twitter: <https://twitter.com/CountingLivesPT>
- Tinnes, Judith (2016, June): Bibliography: Islamic State (Part 2). *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10(3), 59-98. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2016/issue->

[3/309-bibliography-islamic-state-part-2-by-juditch-tinnes.pdf](#)

Tinnes, Judith (2017, June): Bibliography: Islamic State (Part 3). *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 11(3), 96-149. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2017/issue-3/0920173-bibliography-islamic-state-part-3-compiled-and-selected-by-judith-tinnes.pdf>

Tinnes, Judith (2018, April): Bibliography: Islamic State (Part 4). *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(2), 140-175. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2018/2018-02/11-bibliography-islamic-state-is-isis-isil-daesh-part-4-by-judith-tinnes.pdf>

van Linge, Thomas (2013, January-): @ThomasVLinge. URL: <https://twitter.com/ThomasVLinge>

Van Ostaeyen, Pieter (2011, August-): @p_vanostaeyen. URL: https://twitter.com/p_vanostaeyen

Van Ostaeyen, Pieter (2012, October-): *pietervanostaeyen: Musings on Arabism, Islamicism, History and Current Affairs*. URL: <https://pietervanostaeyen.wordpress.com>

Van Vlierden, Guy (n.d.-): *The Count of Emmejihad: A Compilation of Figures about Foreign Fighters in Syria & Iraq from all over the World*. URL: <https://thecountofemmejihad.wordpress.com>

Van Vlierden, Guy (2013, May-): *emmejihad: ExcuseMeMyEnglish – A Research Blog about Jihad in and out of Belgium*. URL: <https://emmejihad.wordpress.com>

Wing, Joel (2008, June-): *Musings on Iraq: Iraq News, Politics, Economics, Society*. URL: <http://musingsoniraq.blogspot.com>

Winter, Charlie (2013, July-): @charliewinter. URL: <https://twitter.com/charliewinter>

Woods, Chris et al. (n.d.-): *Airwars*. URL: <https://airwars.org>

Zelin, Aaron Y. (2008, July-): @azelin. URL: <https://twitter.com/azelin>

Zelin, Aaron Y. (2010, June-): *Jihadology*. URL: <https://jihadology.net>

Zelin, Aaron Y. (2014, June): Bibliography on the History and Evolution of the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham. *Jihadology*. URL: <https://jihadology.net/2014/06/14/bibliography-on-the-history-and-evolution-of-the-islamic-state-of-iraq-and-al-sham>

Books and Edited Volumes

Abboud, Samer N. (2018): *Syria*. (2nd ed.). (Hot Spots in Global Politics). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Abu Rumman, Mohammad; Abu Hanieh, Hassan (2017): *Infatuated with Martyrdom: Female Jihadism from Al-Qaeda to the “Islamic State”*. (Banan Malkawi, Trans.). [e-Book]. Amman: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Jordan & Iraq. URL: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/amman/13996.pdf>

Aggarwal, Neil Krishan (2019): *Media Persuasion in the Islamic State*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Ahmed, Mohammed M. A. (2018): *How Shiites Won the Battle against Islamic State: Kurds and Sunnis in Iraq*. (Peter Lang Regional Studies). New York: Peter Lang. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3726/b14217>

al-Istrabadi, Feisal; Ganguly, Sumit (Eds.) (2018): *The Future of ISIS: Regional and International Implications*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Azinović, Vlado; Jusić, Muhamed (2016): *The New Lure of the Syrian War – The Foreign Fighters’ Bosnian Contingent*. [e-Book]. Sarajevo: Atlantic Initiative. URL: <https://www.rcc.int/p-cve/download/docs/The%20New%20Lure%20of%20the%20Syrian%20War%20%20The%20Foreign%20Fighters%20Bosnian%20Contingent.pdf/b5594b3a54e94a5f8596053b0d35db5c.pdf>

- Bunker, Robert J.; Bunker, Pamela Ligouri (2018, August): *Radical Islamist English-Language Online Magazines: Research Guide, Strategic Insights, and Policy Response*. [e-Book]. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) / U.S. Army War College Press. URL: <http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1381>
- Carter Center, The (2018, April): *Guidebook of Research and Practice to Preventing Violent Extremism*. [e-Book]. Atlanta: Author. URL: https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/countering-isis/guidebook-of-research-and-practice-to-preventing-violent-extremism.pdf
- Celso, Anthony (2018): *The Islamic State: A Comparative History of Jihadist Warfare*. Lanham: Lexington Books.
- Centre on Radicalisation & Terrorism (CRT), Henry Jackson Society (HJS) (Ed.) (2018, October): *Radical Islam Anthology*. (Report). London: Henry Jackson Society. URL: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/publications/radical-islam-anthology>
- Fahmy, Shahira S. (Ed.) (2018): *Media, Terrorism and Society: Perspectives and Trends in the Digital Age*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Fisher, Ali (2018, October): *Netwar in Cyberia: Decoding the Media Mujahidin*. [e-Book]. (CPD Perspectives, Paper 5, 2018). Los Angeles: Figueroa Press. URL: https://www.uscpublicdiplomacy.org/sites/uscpublicdiplomacy.org/files/Netwar%20in%20Cyberia%20Web%20Ready_with%20disclosure%20page%2011.08.18.pdf
- Franco, Joseph (Ed.) (2018, June): *Countering Extremism: ISIS and its Afterlives*. (RSIS Event Report). URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/cens/countering-extremism-isis-and-its-afterlives>
- Fridman, Ofer; Kabernik, Vitaly; Pearce, James C. (Eds.) (2019): *Hybrid Conflicts and Information Warfare: New Labels, Old Politics*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Ganguly, Sumit; al-Istrabadi, Feisal (2018): *The Future of ISIS: Regional and International Implications*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Gerges, Fawaz A. (2017): *ISIS: A History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Giustozzi, Antonio (2018): *The Islamic State in Khorasan: Afghanistan, Pakistan and the New Central Asian Jihad*. London: Hurst.
- Goldberg, Ori (2018): *Faith and Politics in Iran, Israel, and the Islamic State: Theologies of the Real*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316336120>
- Gresh, Geoffrey F.; Keskin, Tugrul (2018): *US Foreign Policy in the Middle East: From American Missionaries to the Islamic State*. (Routledge Studies in US Foreign Policy). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Harris, William (2018): *Quicksilver War: Syria, Iraq and the Spiral of Conflict*. London: Hurst.
- Heiduk, Felix (Ed.) (2018, June): *Das kommende Kalifat? "Islamischer Staat" in Asien: Erscheinungsformen, Reaktionen und Sicherheitsrisiken*. (SWP-Studie 9). Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/publikation/das-kommende-kalifat>
- Helfont, Samuel (2018): *Compulsion in Religion: Saddam Hussein, Islam, and the Roots of Insurgencies in Iraq*. New York: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780190843311.001.0001>
- Hofmeister, Wilhelm; Sarmah, Megha (Eds.) (2015): *From the Desert to World Cities: The New Terrorism*. (KAS Panorama, 01/2015). Singapore: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS). URL: <https://www.kas.de/web/guest/einzeltitel/-/content/from-the-desert-to-world-cities-the-new-terrorism>
- Holbrook, Donald (Ed.) (2017): *Al-Qaeda 2.0: A Critical Reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Isakhan, Benjamin; Mako, Shamiran; Dawood, Fadi (Eds.) (2017): *State and Society in Iraq: Citizenship under Occupation, Dictatorship and Democratization*. London: I.B. Tauris.

- January, Brendan (2018): *ISIS: The Global Face of Terrorism*. Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books.
- Kassim, Abdulbasit; Nwankpa, Michael (Eds.) (2018): *The Boko Haram Reader: From Nigerian Preachers to the Islamic State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kenney, Michael (2018): *The Islamic State in Britain: Radicalization and Resilience in an Activist Network*. (Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences, Vol. 47). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108557108>
- Laqueur, Walter; Wall, Christopher (2018): *The Future of Terrorism: ISIS, Al-Qaeda, and the Alt-Right*. New York: Thomas Dunne Books.
- McDonald, Kevin (2018): *Radicalization*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Mendelsohn, Barak (2019): *Jihadism Constrained: The Limits of Transnational Jihadism and what it Means for Counterterrorism*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Mikhail, Dunya (2018): *The Beekeeper: Rescuing the Stolen Women of Iraq*. (Dunya Mikhail; Max Weiss, Trans.). New York: New Directions.
- Monk, Daniel Bertrand (Ed.) (2018): *“Who’s Afraid of ISIS?” Towards a Doxology of War*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Montgomery, Alayna (Ed.) (2015): *Foreign Fighters in the Middle East: Threat Issues, Terrorism Concerns, and Control Efforts*. (Terrorism, Hot Spots and Conflict-Related Issues). Hauppauge: Nova Science.
- Mullins, Sam (2019): *Jihadist Infiltration of Migrant Flows to Europe: Perpetrators, Modus Operandi and Policy Implications*. Cham: Palgrave Pivot / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-13338-2>
- Peters, Rudolph (2016): *Jihad: A History in Documents*. (2016 expanded ed.). (Princeton Series on the Middle East). Princeton: Markus Wiener.
- Plebani, Andrea (Ed.) (2017): *After Mosul: Re-Inventing Iraq*. Milan: Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI) / Ledizioni. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14672/67056330>
- Rayburn, Joel D.; Sobchak, Frank K. (Eds.) (2019, January): *The U.S. Army in the Iraq War: Vol. 1. Invasion – Insurgency – Civil War, 2003-2006*. [e-Book]. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute (SSI). URL: <https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1373>
- Rayburn, Joel D.; Sobchak, Frank K. (Eds.) (2019, January): *The U.S. Army in the Iraq War: Vol. 2. Surge and Withdrawal, 2007-2011*. [e-Book]. Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute (SSI). URL: <https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1376>
- Renard, Thomas (Ed.) (2019, April): *Returnees in the Maghreb: Comparing Policies on Returning Foreign Terrorist Fighters in Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia*. (The Egmont Papers, No. 107). Brussels: Egmont – The Royal Institute for International Relations. URL: <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/returnees-in-the-maghreb>
- Romaniuk, Scott Nicholas et al. (Eds.) (2017): *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Counterterrorism Policy*. (Palgrave Handbooks). London: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55769-8>
- Silinsky, Mark (2016): *Jihad and the West: Black Flag over Babylon*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Tax, Meredith (2016): *A Road Unforeseen: Women Fight the Islamic State*. New York: Bellevue Literary Press.
- Turku, Helga (2018): *The Destruction of Cultural Property as a Weapon of War: ISIS in Syria and Iraq*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57282-6>
- Vermaat, Emerson (2018): *Terreuraanslagen in Europa Door Radicale Moslims*. Soesterberg: Aspekt Publishing.
- Wilkinson, Matthew L. N. (2019): *The Genealogy of Terror: How to Distinguish between Islam, Islamism and*

Islamist Extremism. (Law and Religion). Abingdon: Routledge.

Zenn, Jacob (Ed.) (2018, May): *Boko Haram beyond the Headlines: Analyses of Africa's Enduring Insurgency*. (Report). West Point: Combating Terrorism Center (CTC). URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/boko-haram-beyond-headlines-analyses-africas-enduring-insurgency>

Theses

Abrahams, John A. (2017, March): *Ideological Radicalization: A Conceptual Framework for Understanding why Youth in Major U.S. Metropolitan Areas are More Likely to Become Radicalized*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/52941>

Akbar, Zara (2017, April): *Why Join ISIS? The Causes of Terrorism from the Muslim Youth Perspective*. (Master's Thesis, University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, United Kingdom). URL: <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/id/eprint/32612>

Al Manasir, Hisham; Vuçaj, Blead (2017, December): *To what Extent does ISIS Mark a New Stage in the Development of Salafi-Jihadism?* (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/56839>

Alraee, Ghada H. S. (2018): *The Coverage of the Multi-Sided War on IS in Syria by AJA and RT*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10092/16367>

Amadar, Edwin Enriquez; Tuttle, Robert W. (2018, June): *The Emergence of ISIS in the Philippines*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/59634>

Bahia, Jasmeet (2018, August): *The Online Battleground: The Use of Online Platforms by Extremist Groups and Hacktivists to Form Networks and Collective Identities*. (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, Kelowna, Canada). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14288/1.0369285>

Benigni, Matthew Curran (2017, May): *Detection and Analysis of Online Extremist Communities*. (Doctoral Thesis, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, United States). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1184/R1/6715841.v1>

Berrier, Connor H. (2017, December): *Southeast Asia: ISIS's Next Front*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/56865>

Bin Madhian, Majed M. (2017, June): *Saudi Arabia's Counterterrorism Methods: A Case Study on Homeland Security*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/55569>

Burke, Tyrone B. (2018, March): *Islamic State Recruiting in the West: How Dabiq Frames Recruitment Messages to Appeal to Westerners*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/58277>

Burroni, Marcelle R. (2018, September): *The Homegrown Jihadi Terrorist: The Threat of ISIS-Inspired Radicalization in the United States*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/60369>

Capece, Alexander G. (2018, September): *A Terrorist Story in Three Acts: Dabiq, Rumiya, and the Hero's Journey*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/60372>

Copello, Evan J. (2018, April): *Hard Copy versus #Hashtag: Examining the Channels of Terrorist Propaganda*. (Master's Thesis, University of North Florida, Jacksonville, United States). URL: <https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/etd/802>

Dragon, Justin D. (2015, June): *Western Foreign Fighters in Syria: An Empirical Analysis of Recruitment and*

- Mobilization Mechanisms*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/45842>
- Dumont, Dion (2016, August): *Dutch and Belgian Foreign Fighter Pathways: A First Empirical Analysis of Dutch and Belgian Foreign Fighters Using a Theoretical Framework Developed to Map Pathways and their (Un)intended Consequences in Syria and Iraq*. (Master's Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/53670>
- Eady, Gregory Daniel (2018): *Essays in the Study of Large-Scale Survey Data*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1807/82958>
- Etches, Phillip William (2018, October): *Roadmaps to Nowhere? The Uncertain Influence of Jihadi Strategic Thinkers Upon Insurgencies in Iraq*. (Bachelor's Thesis [Honours], Australian National University, Canberra, Australia). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/154672>
- Gimbal, Ashley L. (2018, March): *The Framing of Terrorism: How American and International Television News Script a Global Drama*. (Doctoral Thesis, Arizona State University, Tempe, United States). URL: <https://repository.asu.edu/items/49412>
- Gurbanbayov, Emin (2018, June): *Development of Strategic Communication Policy for Countering ISIS Recruitment in the United States: Lessons for the Republic of Azerbaijan*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/59673>
- Guthrie, Amanda R. (2018, August): *#IslamicState: An Analysis of Tweets in Support of ISIS after the November 2015 Attacks in Paris*. (Master's Thesis, Auburn University, Auburn, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10415/6406>
- Harris, Alphonso (2018, June): *Why do Americans Go Abroad to Fight in Foreign Conflicts?* (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/59679>
- Herfi, Tanya L. (2018, September): *From Winning to Losing: ISIS's Behavioral Consistency and Inconsistency since Zarqawi*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/60411>
- Hodges, Robert Andrew (2017, June): *Ideological Foundations of Jihadist Organizations: Hizbullah, al-Qaeda, and IS*. (Master's Thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10919/86655>
- Holm, Raven R. (2017, March): *Natural Language Processing of Online Propaganda as a Means of Passively Monitoring an Adversarial Ideology*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/52993>
- Hoogkamer, Loes (2016, Spring): *Fatal Aesthetics: A Study on the Theatrical Representation of the Public Execution in the Islamic State's Palmyra Execution Video*. (Master's Thesis, Lund University, Lund, Sweden). URL: <http://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/record/8877346>
- Ippolito, Steven Christopher (2017, July): *Convergence – A Homeland Security and Educational Problem: A Mixed Methodological Study*. (Doctoral Thesis, Northcentral University, Prescott Valley, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/10624690.html>
- Kader, S ama (2015, Fall): *A New Era of Terror: An Investigation of Non-International Armed Conflict and the Islamic State's Transnational Crusade for World Domination*. (Master's Thesis, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-272513>
- Kasatkin, Jacqueline-Marie W. W. (2017, June): *Veiled "Bombshells": Women's Participation in Islamist Extremist Organizations*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/55633>

- Kirovska, Gloria (2017): *Prosecuting ISIS under International Criminal Law*. (Bachelor's Thesis, Tilburg University, Tilburg, the Netherlands). URL: <http://arno.uvt.nl/show.cgi?fid=144945>
- Madrazo, Andrea Nicole (2018, Spring): *Recruiting Followers for the Caliphate: A Narrative Analysis of Four Jihadist Magazines*. (Master's Thesis, University of Central Florida, Orlando, United States). URL: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd/5786>
- McFadden, Crystal L. (2017, June): *Strategic Communications: The State Department versus the Islamic State*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/55653>
- Meinema, Beitske (2018): *One Big #Lie: From the Arab Spring to the Islamic State*. (Master's Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/57726>
- Mendes, Jason M. (2017, March): *Evaluating Insurgency External Support through the French–Algerian War, Vietnam War, and Islamic State*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/53019>
- Micuda, Kelley Marie (2017): *Combat Branding and the Islamic State: A Missing Link to Generating a Terrorist Recruit Profile*. (Doctoral Thesis, Fielding Graduate University, Santa Barbara, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/10258582.html>
- Minor, Morgan M. (2018, September): *(Un)convinced to Kill*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/60436>
- Mitts, Tamar (2017): *Terrorism, Islamophobia, and Radicalization*. (Doctoral Thesis, Columbia University, New York, United States). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7916/D8Z03FHZ>
- Moeykens, Justin M. (2018, June): *An Assessment of Likelihood: Potential Cooperation between Mexican Drug Cartels and Al Qaeda or ISIS*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/59557>
- Nelson, Jacob M. (2017): *Foreign Fighter Recruitment Messaging and the “Islamic State”*. (Master's Thesis, Utah State University, Logan, United States). URL: <https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/etd/5695>
- Pillot, Beau L. (2017, December): *The Insurgency Business: The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, 2010–2016*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/56783>
- Reeves, Zachary Austin (2018, May): *Radicalizing the Marginalized: Central Asian Migrants in Russia*. (Master's Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2152/65740>
- Rodriguez, Ismael R. (2010, December): *To the Greatest Lengths: Al Qaeda, Proximity, and Recruitment Risk*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/4948>
- Rose, Sydney Stewart (2018): *The Future of the Past: Third-Party Heritage Preservation Interventions and 3D Printing*. (Master's Thesis, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1807/91491>
- Scott, Edward Francis, III (2016, December): *Recycled Bricks: Exploring Opportunities to Reintegrate Returning American Foreign Fighters Using Existing Models*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/51613>
- Sinno, Sarah (2016, May): *The Effect of Territorial Control on the Structure and Performance of Al Qaeda and ISIS*. (Master's Thesis, Webster University, St. Louis, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/10142483.html>
- Smaney, David Michael (2017, May): *A Radical Idea: Applying Psychological Strategy to Combat Foreign Fighters Defending the Islamic State*. (Master's Thesis, Missouri State University, Springfield, United States). URL: <https://bearworks.missouristate.edu/theses/3102>

Stenger, Helen (2017, July): *Gendered Jihad – Recruitment Strategy of the Islamic State*. (Master's Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/52151>

Tani, John J., Jr. (2017, December): *Black Flags of their Fathers: The Islamic State's Returning Foreign Fighter Youths and the Implications for U.S. Domestic Security*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/56820>

Thomas, Evan (2016, Spring): *The Impact of Opinion Leadership and External Events on Forum Participants Following ISIS Online*. (Master's Thesis, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, Canada). URL: <http://summit.sfu.ca/item/16448>

Urena Figueroa, Alberto Miguel (2018, June): *Terrorists and Cyberspace: The Digital Battleground*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/59608>

van Aalst, Max (2016, June): *Ultra-Conservatism and Manipulation: Understanding Islamic State's Propaganda Machine*. (Master's Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/53658>

Vanderzee, Anthony B. (2018, June): *Predicting the Spread of Terrorist Organizations Using Graphs*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/59610>

Varvoutis, Athansios R. (2018, June): *Greece and the Migrant Crisis: The Threat of Foreign Terrorist Fighters*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/59611>

Walter, Luc (2017, January): *Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State: A Study of Cooperation and Competition between Terrorist Organizations*. (Master's Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/60952>

Wilcox, Peter R. (2017, December): *Forecasting the Future of the Islamic State: An Agent-Based Rational Choice Model and Social Network Analysis Approach*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/56846>

Wing, Melissa (2018): *An Exploration of Dabiq's Strategies and Arguments to Persuade its Readers of Joining and Supporting the Islamic State*. (Master's Thesis, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Canada). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20381/ruor-22439>

Yost, Bryce E. (2017, June): *Admitting Syrian Refugees: Is the Threat of Islamic State Infiltration Justified?* (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/55562>

Journal Articles and Book Chapters

Aarseth, Mathilde Becker (2018, Spring): Resistance in the Caliphate's Classrooms: Mosul Civilians vs IS. *Middle East Policy*, 25(1), 46-63. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12324>

Abbas, Wael (2018, Spring): Maps in the Analysis of Insurgencies: The Case of ISIS. *CTX*, 8(1), 15-28. URL: <https://globalecco.org/documents/10180/0/CTX+Vol.+8+No.+1/d7b72375-5e01-454e-95d5-679010c18366>

Abdelkader, Deina (2019): The Geopolitics of the Wahhabi Movement: From the "Neglected Duty" to Daesh. In: Nassef Manabilang Adiong; Raffaele Mauriello; Deina Abdelkader (Eds.): *Islam in International Relations: Politics and Paradigms*. (Worlding Beyond the West). Abingdon: Routledge, 184-199.

Abdul Nasir, Amalina (2019, February): Women in Terrorism: Evolution from Jemaah Islamiyah to Islamic State in Indonesia and Malaysia. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 11(2). URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/CTTA-February-2019.pdf>

Ajala, Imene (2019): Tunisian Terrorist Fighters: A Grassroots Perspective. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 11(2), 178-190. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2018.1473461>

- Al-Ali, Nadjé (2018, February): Sexual Violence in Iraq: Challenges for Transnational Feminist Politics. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 25(1), 10-27. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506816633723>
- Alexander, Audrey; Clifford, Bennett (2019, April): Doxing and Defacements: Examining the Islamic State's Hacking Capabilities. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(4), 22-28. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042019.pdf>
- Almohammad, Asaad (2018, Summer): From Total Islam to the Islamic State: Radicalization Leading to Violence Dynamics as a Subject of Reciprocal Affordance Opportunities. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 15, 1-42. URL: <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/148>
- Almohammad, Asaad; Winter, Charlie (2019, February): From Directorate of Intelligence to Directorate of Everything: The Islamic State's Emergent Amni-Media Nexus. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(1), 41-53. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-1/almohammed-and-winter.pdf>
- Al-Rawi, Ahmed (2018): Video Games, Terrorism, and ISIS's Jihad 3.0. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30(4), 740-760. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2016.1207633>
- Al-Rawi, Ahmed; Groshek, Jacob (2018): Jihadist Propaganda on Social Media: An Examination of ISIS Related Content on Twitter. *International Journal of Cyber Warfare and Terrorism*, 8(4), 1-15. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4018/IJCWT.2018100101>
- Al-Saud, Abdullah K. (2019): The ISIL Jihadists of Saudi Arabia. In: Satvinder S. Juss (Ed.): *Beyond Human Rights and the War on Terror*. (Routledge Research in Human Rights Law). Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 4.
- Alsworth, Rob; Tidmarsh, Andrew (2018): Lessons for Military Planning in 21st Century Warfare: Shaping the Military Defeat of Daesh in the Middle Euphrates River Valley. *The RUSI Journal*, 163(5), 50-61. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2018.1552455>
- Amonson, Kyle (2018, March): Baqiya Wa Tatamadad (Lasting and Expanding): A Neoclassical Realist Analysis of the Daesh Quasi-State. *Small Wars Journal*, 3/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/baqiya-wa-tatamadad-lasting-and-expanding-neoclassical-realist-analysis-daesh-quasi-state>
- Amonson, Kyle (2019, January): Iraq's Power Vacuum: A Counterfactual Analysis of Saddam Hussein's Authoritarian Rule. *Small Wars Journal*, 1/2019. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/iraqs-power-vacuum-counterfactual-analysis-saddam-husseins-authoritarian-rule>
- Anonymous (2018, June): Jamaah Ansharud Daulah and the Terrorist Threat in Indonesia. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(6), 3-6. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/CTTA-June-2018.pdf>
- Anonymous (2018, June): The Terrorist Threat in Indonesia: From Jemaah Islamiyah to "Islamic State". *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(6), 1-2. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/CTTA-June-2018.pdf>
- Anzalone, Christopher (2018, March): Black Banners in Somalia: The State of al-Shabaab's Territorial Insurgency and the Specter of the Islamic State. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(3), 12-20. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/03/CTC-Sentinel-Vol11Iss3.pdf>
- Arianti, V. (2018, April): Analysing Use of Sharp Weapons in Terrorist Attacks in Indonesia. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(4), 12-16. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CTTA-April-2018.pdf>
- Arianti, V. (2018, November): Participation of Children in Terrorist Attacks in Indonesia: A Possible Future Trend. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(11), 4-8. URL: <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/CTTA-November-2018.pdf>

- Ashour, Omar (2019): Sinai's Insurgency: Implications of Enhanced Guerilla Warfare. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(6), 541-558. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1394653>
- Atran, Scott et al. (2018, April): The Islamic State's Lingering Legacy among Young Men from the Mosul Area. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(4), 15-22. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042018-2.pdf>
- Auchter, Jessica (2018): Imag(in)ing the Severed Head: ISIS Beheadings and the Absent Spectacle. *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1), 66-84. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2017.1366801>
- Avdan, Nazli; Webb, Clayton (2018): The Big, the Bad, and the Dangerous: Public Perceptions and Terrorism. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward terrorism and genocide*, 11(1), 3-25. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17467586.2017.1414276>
- Azami, Dawood (2019): Countering the Islamic State in Asia. In: Shanthie Mariet D'Souza (Ed.): *Countering Insurgencies and Violent Extremism in South and South East Asia*. (Cass Military Studies). Abingdon: Routledge, 17-38.
- Baaken, Till Justus (2018): Of Knights and Lions: A Comparison of Recruitment Propaganda Narratives of World War One Britain and the "Islamic State". *Journal for Intelligence, Propaganda and Security Studies*, 12(1), 104-125.
- Bacon, Tricia (2018): Is the Enemy of my Enemy my Friend? How Terrorist Groups Select Partners. *Security Studies*, 27(3), 345-378. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2017.1416813>
- Bacon, Tricia; Arsenault, Elizabeth Grimm (2019): Al Qaeda and the Islamic State's Break: Strategic Strife or Lackluster Leadership? *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(3), 229-263. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1373895> URL: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3085275
- Baczko, Adam; Dorransoro, Gilles; Quesnay, Arthur (2018): The Caliphate. In: *Civil War in Syria: Mobilization and Competing Social Orders*. (Problems of International Politics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 199-222. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108355322.012>
- Bail, Christopher A.; Merhout, Friedolin; Ding, Peng (2018, June): Using Internet Search Data to Examine the Relationship between anti-Muslim and pro-ISIS Sentiment in U.S. Counties. *Science Advances*, 4(6), Article eao5948. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aao5948>
- Baker, Paul; Vessey, Rachele (2018): A Corpus-Driven Comparison of English and French Islamist Extremist Texts. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 23(3), 255-278. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.17108.bak>
- Bakos, Nada (2018): Beyond Kinetic Operations: A Road Map to Success in Syria and Iraq. *Orbis*, 62(3), 473-486. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.05.009>
- Banlaoi, Rommel C. (2018, September): The Lamitan Bombing and Terrorist Threat in the Philippines. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(9), 1-5. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/CT-TA-September-2018.pdf>
- Barna, Cristian (2018, November): The Role of the Family in Preventing the Transformation of Western Youngsters into Jihadi Fighters. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 157-177. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.13>
- Barnea, Avner (2018): Challenging the "Lone Wolf" Phenomenon in an Era of Information Overload. *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, 31(2), 217-234. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08850607.2018.1417349>
- Bassil, Noah Raffoul (2019): A Critique of Western Representations of ISIS: Deconstructing Contemporary Orientalism. *Global Change, Peace & Security*, 31(1), 81-94. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14781158.2018.1481828>

- Bastug, Mehmet F.; Guler, Ahmet (2018): The Influence of Leadership on the Strategies and Tactics of Islamic State and its Predecessors. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 13(1), 38-59. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2018.1432879>
- Bean, Hamilton; Edgar, Amanda Nell (2017, December): A Genosonic Analysis of ISIL and US Counter-Extremism Video Messages. *Media, War & Conflict*, 10(3), 327-344. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635217694124>
- Beccaro, Andrea (2018): ISIS in Mosul and Sirte: Differences and Similarities. *Mediterranean Politics*, 23(3), 410-417. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13629395.2017.1330649>
- Beccaro, Andrea (2018): Modern Irregular Warfare: The ISIS Case Study. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29(2), 207-228. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1433469>
- Beehner, Lionel (2018): Fragile States and the Territory Conundrum to Countering Violent Nonstate Actors. *Democracy and Security*, 14(2), 101-127. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2017.1408009>
- Beese, Yorck (2019): The Structure and Visual Rhetoric of the Martyrdom Video: An Enquiry into the Martyrdom Video Genre. *BEHEMOTH – A Journal on Civilisation*, 12(1), 69-88. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.6094/behemoth.2019.12.1.1007>
- Benkel, Yael et al. (2018, February): Digital Influencing for CVE: Counter-Messaging and Digital Mobilization. *Georgetown Security Studies Review*. [Special Issue; A Special Report Prepared by the National Security Critical Issue Task Force (NSCITF)]. URL: <http://georgetownsecuritystudiesreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/NSCITF-Report-on-Digital-Influencing-for-CVE.pdf>
- Ben-Israel, Galit M. (2018, November): Telling a Story via Tumblr Analytics: Europe's Young Muslim Female Attraction to ISIS. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 55-78. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.6>
- Bergema, Reinier; van San, Marion (2019): Waves of the Black Banner: An Exploratory Study on the Dutch Jihadist Foreign Fighter Contingent in Syria and Iraq. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(7), 636-661. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1404004>
- Berkowitz, Dan (2017): Solidarity through the Visual: Healing Images in the Brussels Terrorism Attacks. *Mass Communication and Society*, 20(6), 740-762. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2017.1306748>
- Berti, Benedetta (2018): Stability in Syria: What Would it Take to Make it Happen? *Orbis*, 62(3), 422-437. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.05.008>
- Bérubé, Maxime; Dupont, Benoit (2019): Mujahideen Mobilization: Examining the Evolution of the Global Jihadist Movement's Communicative Action Repertoire. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 5-24. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513689>
- Betare, Nidal (2018, October): Governance and Resilience: Countering IS and Stabilizing Eastern Syria. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(20), 3-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/TM-Oct.-19-Issue-1.pdf>
- Betare, Nidal; Barabandi, Bassam (2018, December): Islamic State's Continued Presence and Footprint in Syria. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(23), 5-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/TM-Dec.-3-2018-Issue.pdf>
- Betare, Nidal; Flynn-Do, Koji (2018, September): How Assad's Strategies Facilitated the Suweida Massacre. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(18), 8-10. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/TM-Sep.-21-2018-Issue-1.pdf>
- Binder, Markus K.; Quigley, Jillian M.; Tinsley, Herbert F. (2018, March): Islamic State Chemical Weapons: A Case Contained by its Context? *CTC Sentinel*, 11(3), 27-31. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/03/CTC-Sentinel-Vol11Iss3.pdf>
- Bin Khaled Al-Saud, Abdullah (2018): The Spiritual Teacher and His Truants: The Influence and Relevance of

- Abu Mohammad al-Maqqdisi. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41(9), 736-754. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1338057>
- Black, Jack (2019): The Subjective and Objective Violence of Terrorism: Analysing “British Values” in Newspaper Coverage of the 2017 London Bridge Attack. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 12(2), 228-249. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1498191>
- Bloom, Mia; Daymon, Chelsea (2018): Assessing the Future Threat: ISIS’s Virtual Caliphate. *Orbis*, 62(3), 372-388. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.05.007>
- Bogdan, Ilma (2018, March): Language of Jihadism. *Journal of Terrorism & Cyber Insurance*, 2(5), 10-17. URL: http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/7cfaab_17ba451f993042a99df4574153ab3b91.pdf
- Bouchard, Jean-Pierre (2018, June): Profile of the Perpetrator of the Nice Terror Attack that Took Place on 14th July 2016: A Terrorist whose Modus Operandi May Have Been Imitated in other European Attacks. *Annales Médico-psychologiques, revue psychiatrique*, 176(6), 607-612. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amp.2018.04.002>
- Brandon, James (2018, April): The Threat from British Jihadists after the Caliphate’s Fall. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(7), 3-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Terrorism-Monitor-April-6-2018.pdf>
- Brandon, James (2019, February): Cathedral Attack in Southern Philippines Shows Resilience of Pro-Islamic State Groups. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(3), 3-4. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/TM-Feb.-8-2019-Issue-.pdf>
- Brandon, James (2019, April): Ireland Faces Conundrum of Jihadist Returnees. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(8), 5-7. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/TM-Apr.-23-2019-Issue-.pdf>
- Braun, Kerstin (2018, July): “Home, Sweet Home”: Managing Returning Foreign Terrorist Fighters in Germany, The United Kingdom and Australia. *International Community Law Review*, 20(3-4), 311-346. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/18719732-12341378>
- Bröckling, Micha et al. (2018-2019, Winter): “Kill Them Wherever You Find Them” – Radicalizing Narratives of the “So-Called” Islamic State Via the Online Magazine Rumiya. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 17, 240-294. URL: <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/180>
- Brzuszkiewicz, Sara (2018, October): Radicalisation in Europe after the Fall of Islamic State: Trends and Risks. *European View*, 17(2), 145-154. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1781685818805677>
- Bunzel, Cole (2017): The Kingdom and the Caliphate: Saudi Arabia and the Islamic State. In: Frederic M. Wehrey (Ed.): *Beyond Sunni and Shia: The Roots of Sectarianism in a Changing Middle East*. London: Hurst, 239-264.
- Bunzel, Cole (2018, October): The Islamic State’s Mufti on Trial: The Saga of the “Silsila ‘Ilmiyya”. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(9), 14-17. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/10/CTC-SENTINEL-102018.pdf>
- Bunzel, Cole (2019, February): Ideological Infighting in the Islamic State. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(1), 13-22. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-1/bunzel.pdf>
- Burgers, Tobias; Romaniuk, Scott N. (2018, May): Islamic State after Syria: A Dangerous New Stronghold in the Sinai. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(10), 5-7. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Terrorism-Monitor-May-18-2018.pdf>
- Byman, Daniel (2018): How States Exploit Jihadist Foreign Fighters. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41(12), 931-945. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1361281>
- Callimachi, Rukmini (2018, April 4): The ISIS Files. *New York Times*. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/04/04/world/middleeast/isis-documents-mosul-iraq.html>

- Callimachi, Rukmini (Interviewee); Price, Bryan; Franklin, Mikki (Interviewers): A View From the CT Fox-hole: Rukmini Callimachi, New York Times Foreign Correspondent. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(5), 12-15. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/05/CTC-Sentinel_Vol11Iss5.pdf
- Caló, Ben; Hartley, Eliza (2019, April): ISIL Recruiters as Social Media Influencers: Mechanisms of Legitimation by Young Australian Muslim Men. *Contemporary Voices*, 1(2), 2-25. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.1497>
- Campelo, Nicolas et al. (2018, November): Joining the Islamic State from France between 2014 and 2016: An Observational Follow-up Study. *Palgrave Communications*, 4, Article 137. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-018-0191-8>
- Cantey, Seth (2018): Beyond the Pale? Exploring Prospects for Negotiations with Al Qaeda and the Islamic State. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41(10), 757-775. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1348096>
- Carlino, Ludovico (2018, April): Detained Senior Commander Reveals Islamic State Plans to Revive Yemen Campaign. *Militant Leadership Monitor*, 9(3). URL: <https://jamestown.org/brief/detained-senior-commander-reveals-islamic-state-plans-to-revive-yemen-campaign>
- Ceron, Andrea; Curini, Luigi; Iacus, Stefano M. (2019, January-March): ISIS at its Apogee: The Arabic Discourse on Twitter and What we Can Learn from that about ISIS Support and Foreign Fighters. *SAGE Open* [SMaPP Global Special Issue]. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244018789229>
- Chan, Nicholas (2018): The Malaysian “Islamic” State versus the Islamic State (IS): Evolving Definitions of “Terror” in an “Islamising” Nation-State. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(3), 415-437. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1447217>
- Charountaki, Marianna (2018): From Resistance to Military Institutionalisation: The Case of the Peshmerga versus the Islamic State. *Third World Quarterly*, 39(8), 1583-1603. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1449633>
- Cheong, Damien D.; Seng, Neo Loo (2019, April): Can Kashmir Turn into Another Marawi? An Assessment. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 11(4), 11-19. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/CTTA-April-2019.pdf>
- Clarke, Colin P. (2017, Summer-Fall): After the Fall of the Caliphate: The Islamic State and the Deviant Diaspora. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 37(2), 49-56. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1353/sais.2017.0026>
- Clarke, Colin P.; Moghadam, Assaf (2018): Mapping Today’s Jihadi Landscape and Threat. *Orbis*, 62(3), 347-371. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.05.006>
- Clarke, Colin P.; Williams, Phil (2018): Daesh in Iraq and Syria: Terrorist Criminal Enterprise. In: Kimberley L. Thachuk; Rollie Lal (Eds.): *Terrorist Criminal Enterprises: Financing Terrorism through Organized Crime*. (Praeger Security International). Santa Barbara: Praeger, 27-46.
- Clifford, Bennett (2018, May): “Trucks, Knives, Bombs, Whatever”: Exploring Pro-Islamic State Instructional Material on Telegram. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(5), 23-29. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/05/CTC-Sentinel_Vol11Iss5.pdf
- Clifford, Bennett (2019, April): Exploring Pro-Islamic State Instructional Material on Telegram. In: Georgia Harrigan (Ed.): *On the Horizon: Security Challenges at the Nexus of State and Non-State Actors and Emerging/Disruptive Technologies*. (SMA Periodic Publication). Boston: NSI, 15-20. URL: <https://nsiteam.com/on-the-horizon-security-challenges-at-the-nexus-of-state-and-non-state-actors-and-emerging-disruptive-technologies>
- Collombier, Virginie (2017): Sirté’s Tribes under the Islamic State: From Civil War to Global Jihadism. In: Virginie Collombier; Olivier Roy (Eds.): *Tribes and Global Jihadism*. London: Hurst, 153-180.
- Conway, Maura; Macdonald, Stuart (Guest Editors) (2019): Islamic States Online Activity and Responses.

- [Special Issue]. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2). URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/uter20/42/1-2>
- Conway, Maura; Macdonald, Stuart (2019): Introduction to the Special Issue: Islamic State's Online Activity and Responses, 2014–2017. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 1-4. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513684>
- Conway, Maura et al. (2019): Disrupting Daesh: Measuring Takedown of Online Terrorist Material and its Impacts. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 141-160. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513984>
- Corten, Olivier (2018): The Military Operations against the “Islamic State” (ISIL or Da'esh)—2014. In: Tom Ruys; Olivier Corten; Alexandra Hofer (Eds.): *The Use of Force in International Law: A Case-Based Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 873-898. DOI [Book]: <https://doi.org/10.1093/law/9780198784357.001.0001>
- Cottee, Simon (2019, March): The Calypso Caliphate: How Trinidad Became a Recruiting Ground for ISIS. *International Affairs*, 95(2), 297-317. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiz026>
- Cragin, R. Kim; Stipanovich, Susan (2019): Metastases: Exploring the Impact of Foreign Fighters in Conflicts Abroad. *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 42(3-4), 395-424. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402390.2017.1402766>
- Cragin, R. Kim; Weil, Ari (2018, Spring): “Virtual Planners” in the Arsenal of Islamic State External Operations. *Orbis*, 62(2), 294-312. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.02.007> URL: <https://rkimcragin.files.wordpress.com/2018/04/virtual-planners.pdf>
- Cristiani, Dario (2018, December): The Islamic State in Libya: Operational Revival, Geographic Dispersal, and Changing Paradigms. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(23), 8-10. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/TM-Dec.-3-2018-Issue.pdf>
- Dantschke, Claudia et al. (2018): Zurück aus dem „Kalifat“: Anforderungen an den Umgang mit Rückkehrern und Rückkehrerinnen, die sich einer jihadistisch-terroristischen Organisation angeschlossen haben, und ihren Kindern unter dem Aspekt des Kindeswohles und der Kindeswohlgefährdung. *JEX*, 6, 2-43. URL: <http://journals.sfu.ca/jed/index.php/jex/article/view/01>
- de Leede, Seran (2018, November): Western Women Supporting IS/Daesh in Syria and Iraq – An Exploration of their Motivations. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 43-54. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.9>
- deRaismes Combes, M. L. (2018): “Who's Not Afraid of ISIS?” *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1), 50-65. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2017.1407596>
- Devereux, Andrew (2018, November): Jihadism in Jordan. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(22), 5-6. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/TM-Nov.-27-2018-Issue.pdf>
- Dhanaraj, Jennifer (2018, May): Evolution of the Islamic State after its Territorial Defeat. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(5), 1-7. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CTTA-May-2018.pdf>
- Dick, Alexandra (2019): The Sounds of the Shuhadā : Chants and Chanting in IS Martyrdom Videos. *BEHEMOTH – A Journal on Civilisation*, 12(1), 89-104. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.6094/behemoth.2019.12.1.1014>
- Doeser, Fredrik (2018): Historical Experiences, Strategic Culture, and Strategic Behavior: Poland in the Anti-ISIS Coalition. *Defence Studies*, 18(4), 454-473. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14702436.2018.1502038>
- Doeser, Fredrik; Eidenfalk, Joakim (2019): Using Strategic Culture to Understand Participation in Expeditionary Operations: Australia, Poland, and the Coalition against the Islamic State. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 40(1), 4-29. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2018.1469709>
- Doyle, Damian; Dunning, Tristan (2018): Recognizing Fragmented Authority: Towards a Post-Westphalian Security Order in Iraq. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29(3), 537-559. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.20>

[18.1455324](#)

Dubin, Rhys (2018, April 3): ISIS 2.0 Is Really Just the Original ISIS. *Foreign Policy*. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/04/03/isis-2-0-is-really-just-the-original-isis>

Eastin, Joshua; Gade, Emily Kalah (2018): Beheading the Hydra: Counterinsurgent Violence and Insurgent Attacks in Iraq. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30(3), 384-407. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2016.1167688>

El Damanhoury, Kareem et al. (2018): Examining the Military–Media Nexus in ISIS’s Provincial Photography Campaign. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward terrorism and genocide*, 11(2), 89-108. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17467586.2018.1432869>

Eleftheriadou, Marina; Roussos, Sotiris (2019): The Islamic State’s Notion of “Mobile” Sovereignty/Territoriality in a Post-Secular Perspective. In: Nassef Manabilang Adiong; Raffaele Mauriello; Deina Abdelkader (Eds.): *Islam in International Relations: Politics and Paradigms*. (Worlding Beyond the West). Abingdon: Routledge, 200-217.

El-Masri, Samar (2018): Prosecuting ISIS for the Sexual Slavery of the Yazidi Women and Girls. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 22(8), 1047-1066. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2018.1495195>

Enomoto, Carl E.; Douglas, Kiana (2019): Do Internet Searches for Islamist Propaganda Precede or Follow Islamist Terrorist Attacks? *Economics and Sociology*, 12(1), 233-247. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14254/2071-789X.2019/12-1/13>

Entenmann, Eva (2019, March): After the Caliphate: New Developments in Responses to Foreign Terrorist Fighters. In: Isaac Kfir; Georgia Grice (Eds.): *Counterterrorism Yearbook 2019*. [e-Book]. Barton: Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI), Counter-Terrorism Policy Centre (CTPC), 89-94. URL: <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/counterterrorism-yearbook-2019>

Fernandez, Miriam; Alani, Harith (2018, August): Contextual Semantics for Radicalisation Detection on Twitter. In: Ahmed Sabbir Arif et al. (Eds.): *Proceedings of the Workshop on Semantic Web for Social Good (SW4SG 2018), Monterey, California, USA, October 9, 2018*. (CEUR Workshop Proceedings, Vol. 2182). Aachen: CEUR-WS / Editors, Paper 4. URL: http://ceur-ws.org/Vol-2182/paper_4.pdf

Fishel, Kimbra L. (2018, May): Countering the Evolving Islamic State: How Psychology Informs a Realist Strategy. *Small Wars Journal*, 5/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/countering-evolving-islamic-state-how-psychology-informs-realist-strategy>

Fitton-Brown, Edmund (Interviewee); Cruickshank, Paul (Interviewer) (2019, April): A View from the CT Foxhole: Edmund Fitton-Brown, Coordinator, ISIL (Daesh)/Al-Qaida/Taliban Monitoring Team, United Nations. [Interview]. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(4), 7-15. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042019.pdf>

Flade, Florian (2018, August): The June 2018 Cologne Ricin Plot: A New Threshold in Jihadi Bio Terror. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(7), 1-4. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/01/CTC-SENTINEL-082018-final.pdf>

Flood, Derek Henry (2018, September): From Caliphate to Caves: The Islamic State’s Asymmetric War in Northern Iraq. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(8), 30-34. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/09/CTC-SENTINEL-092018.pdf>

Foradori, Paolo; Giusti, Serena; Lamonica, Alessandro Giovanni (2018): Reshaping Cultural Heritage Protection Policies at a Time of Securitisation: France, Italy, and the United Kingdom. *The International Spectator*, 50(3), 86-101. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2018.1467161> URL: <https://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/foradori-giusti-lamonica.pdf>

Forlenza, Esther (2018): Woman in Islamic Terrorism: History, Roles, Data and Analysis. *Sicurezza, Terrorismo*

- e Società, 8, 61-100. URL: <http://www.sicurezzaeterrorismosocieta.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Esther-Forlenza-Woman-in-Islamic-terrorism-history-roles-data-and-analysis.pdf>
- Foster, Dakota; Milton, Daniel (2018, June-July): Children at War: Foreign Child Recruits of the Islamic State. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(6), 11-17. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/06/CTC-SENTINEL-062018_1.pdf
- Fraihi, Hind (2018): The Future of Feminism by ISIS Is in the Lap of Women. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 23-31. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.7>
- Friedman, Brandon (2018): Iran's Hezbollah Model in Iraq and Syria: Fait Accompli? *Orbis*, 62(3), 438-453. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.05.005>
- Friis, Simone Molin (2018, June): "Behead, Burn, Crucify, Crush": Theorizing the Islamic State's Public Displays of Violence. *European Journal of International Relations*, 24(2), 243-267. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066117714416>
- Gaffney, Francis (2019): Islamic State. In: Andrew Silke (Ed.): *Routledge Handbook of Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. (Routledge Handbooks). Abingdon: Routledge, 315-324.
- Gelvin, James L. (2018): The Rise and Decline of ISIS. In: *The New Middle East: What Everyone Needs to Know*®. New York: Oxford University Press, 83-111.
- Glavin, Nicholas A. (2018, May): Remaining and Expanding: Why Local Violent Extremist Organizations Reflag to ISIS. *Small Wars Journal*, 5/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/remaining-and-expanding-why-local-violent-extremist-organizations-reflag-isis>
- Gourlay, William (2018): Kurdayetî: Pan-Kurdish Solidarity and Cross-Border Links in Times of War and Trauma. *Middle East Critique*, 27(1), 25-42. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2017.1411110>
- Greene, Samuel R. (2018): Iraq. In: *Pathological Counterinsurgency: How Flawed Thinking about Elections Leads to Counterinsurgency Failure*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 115-134.
- Grizzard, Matthew et al. (2017): Graphic Violence as Moral Motivator: The Effects of Graphically Violent Content in News. *Mass Communication and Society*, 20(6), 763-783. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2017.1339804>
- Gul, Imtiaz (2018, November): Women's Role in Recruitment for ISIS/Islamist Networks in Pakistan. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 79-92. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.15>
- Gunter, Frank (2018): Immunizing Iraq against al-Qaeda 3.0. *Orbis*, 62(3), 389-408. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.05.004>
- Gurulé, Jimmy; Danek, Sabina (2018): The Failure to Prosecute ISIS's Foreign Financiers under the Material Support Statute. In: Colin King; Clive Walker; Jimmy Gurulé (Eds.): *The Palgrave Handbook of Criminal and Terrorism Financing Law*. (Palgrave Handbooks). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature, 995-1027. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-64498-1_41
- Hamid, Nafees (2018, April): The British Hacker who Became the Islamic State's Chief Terror Cybercoach: A Profile of Junaid Hussain. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(4), 30-37. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042018-2.pdf>
- Hamming, Tore (2019, January): The Hardline Stream of Global Jihad: Revisiting the Ideological Origin of the Islamic State. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(1), 1-7. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/01/CTC-SENTINEL-012019.pdf>
- Hankiss, Agnes (2018, Summer): The Legend of the Lone Wolf. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 11(2), 54-72. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.11.2.1668>

- Hashim, Ahmed S. (2019, February): The Islamic State's Way of War in Iraq and Syria: From its Origins to the Post Caliphate Era. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(1), 23-32. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-1/hashim.pdf>
- Hassan, Hassan (2017): The Sectarianism of the Islamic State: Ideological Roots and Political Context. In: Fred-eric M. Wehrey (Ed.): *Beyond Sunni and Shia: The Roots of Sectarianism in a Changing Middle East*. London: Hurst, 39-60.
- Hassan, Hassan (2018, October): Two Houses Divided: How Conflict in Syria Shaped the Future of Jihadism. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(9), 1-8. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/10/CTC-SENTINEL-102018.pdf>
- Hassan, Hassan (2018, November 13): The True Origins of ISIS: A Secret Biography Suggests that Abu Ali al-Anbari Defined the Group's Radical Approach more than any other Person. *The Atlantic*. URL: <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2018/11/isis-origins-anbari-zarqawi/577030>
- Hassan, Hassan (2019, February): A Hollow Victory over the Islamic State in Syria? The High Risk of Jihadi Revival in Deir ez-Zor's Euphrates River Valley. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(2), 1-6. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/02/CTC-SENTINEL-022019.pdf>
- Hawley, Emily (2017, Fall): ISIS Crimes against the Shia: The Islamic State's Genocide against Shia Muslims. *Genocide Studies International*, 11(2), 160-181. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3138/gsi.11.2.02>
- Heath-Kelly, Charlotte (2018): Forgetting ISIS: Enmity, Drive and Repetition in Security Discourse. *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1), 85-99. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2017.1407595>
- Heck, Axel (2017): Images, Visions and Narrative Identity Formation of ISIS. *Global Discourse*, 7(2-3), 244-259. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23269995.2017.1342490>
- Hein, Michael W. (2018, March-April): Western Anbar after the Awakening: A Tale of Three Cities. *Military Review*, 3-4/2018. URL: <https://www.armyupress.army.mil/Portals/7/military-review/Archives/English/Hein-Western-Anbar.pdf>
- Helfont, Samuel (2018): An Arab Option for Iraq. *Orbis*, 62(3), 409-421. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.05.003>
- Helfont, Samuel; Helfont, Tally (Guest Eds.) (2018): Stabilizing the Fertile Crescent after the Fall of the Caliphate. [Special Issue]. *Orbis*, 62(3). URL: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/journal/orbis/vol/62/issue/3>
- Helfont, Tally (2018): A More Forward Role for the Gulf States? Combatting Terrorism at Home and Abroad. *Orbis*, 62(3), 454-472. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.05.002>
- Heller, Christian H. (2018, August): The Sinai Insurgency: The Next ISIS Crisis? *Small Wars Journal*, 8/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/sinai-insurgency-next-isis-crisis>
- Hellmuth, Dorle (2018): Of Terrorism Types and Countermeasures: In Need of a New Framework. *Comparative Strategy*, 37(3), 155-174. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01495933.2018.1486081>
- Heng, Yee-Kuang (2018): The Continuing Resonance of the War as Risk Management Perspective for Understanding Military Interventions. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 39(4), 544-558. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2018.1494670>
- Heydarian, Richard Javad (2019): The Philippines' Counter-Terror Conundrum: Marawi and Duterte's Battle against the Islamic State. In: Shanthie Mariet D'Souza (Ed.): *Countering Insurgencies and Violent Extremism in South and South East Asia*. (Cass Military Studies). Abingdon: Routledge, 39-58.
- Hidalgo, Miles (2018, February): Beyond the Conflict Zone: U.S. HSI Cooperation with Europol. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(2), 25-27. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/02/CTC-Sentinel_Vol11Iss2-2.pdf

Hodges, Robert C. (2018, May): The Evolving Threat to U.S. National Security Produced by Islamic Terrorist Organizations in North Africa. *Small Wars Journal*, 5/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/evolving-threat-us-national-security-produced-islamic-terrorist-organizations-north-africa>

Holterhus, Till Patrik (2018): Targeting the Islamic State's Religious Personnel Under International Humanitarian Law. In: Terry D. Gill et al. (Eds.): *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law*. (Vol. 20, 2017). The Hague: T.M.C. Asser Press / Springer, 199-228. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6265-264-4_6

Huey, Laura; Inch, Rachel; Peladeau, Hillary (2019): "@ me if you need shoutout": Exploring Women's Roles in Islamic State Twitter Networks. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(5), 445-463. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1393897>

Human Security Collective (HSC) (2018, November): Community-Based Preventive and Remedial Measures to Prevent Violent Extremism: A Human Security Approach to Help Transform Conflicts, Improve Social Cohesion and Improve Local Security. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 198-219. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.10>

Hüttermann, Jörg (2018): Neighbourhood Effects on Jihadist Radicalisation in Germany? Some Case-Based Remarks. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 12, Article a649. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4119/UNIBI/ijcv.649>

Hwang, Julie Chernov; Schulze, Kirsten E. (2018): Why they Join: Pathways into Indonesian Jihadist Organizations. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30(6), 911-932. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1481309>

Ibrahim, Yasmin (2019): Visuality and the "Jihadi-Bride": The Re-Fashioning of Desire in the Digital Age. *Social Identities*, 25(2), 186-206. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630.2017.1381836>

Jaboori, Rafid (2018, January): Conditions in Mosul Ripen for Return of Islamic State. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(1), 8-10. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/TM-Jan.-11-2019-Issue.pdf>

Jaboori, Rafid (2018, July): Is Islamic State Making Plans for a Comeback in Iraq? *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(15), 6-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Terrorism-Monitor-July-28-2018.pdf>

Jaboori, Rafid (2019, March): Alleged Coup Attempt Exposes Hazimite Faction within Islamic State Divisions. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(5), 7-9. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/TM-Mar.-12-2019-Issue-1.pdf>

Jadon, Amira; Jahanbani, Nakissa; Willis, Charmaine (2018, April): Challenging the ISK Brand in Afghanistan-Pakistan: Rivalries and Divided Loyalties. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(4), 23-29. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042018-2.pdf>

Jamal, Bahija (2018, November): Moroccan Counter-Terrorism Policy: Case of Moroccan Female Migrants to ISIS. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 145-156. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.12>

Jasko, Katarzyna et al. (2018, March): ISIS: Its History, Ideology, and Psychology. In: Mark Woodward; Ronald Lukens-Bull (Eds.): *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives*. [Living Reference Work]. Cham: Springer. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-73653-2_30-1

Jawaid, Arsla (2017): From Foreign Fighters to Returnees: The Challenges of Rehabilitation and Reintegration Policies. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 12(2), 102-107. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2017.1323660>

Jokinen, Christian (2018, August): Foiled Ricin Plot Raises Specter of "More Sophisticated" IS-Inspired Attacks. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(16), 6-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/TM-Aug.-10-2018-Issue-.pdf>

Jones, Sidney (2018): Radicalisation in the Philippines: The Cotabato Cell of the "East Asia Wilayah". *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30(6), 933-943. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1481190>

- Juergensmeyer, Mark (2018, March): How Cosmic War Ends: The Case of ISIS. *Numen*, 65(2-3), 125-140. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685276-12341491>
- Kaczkowski, Wojciech (2019, April): Qualitative Content Analysis of Images of Children in Islamic State's Dabiq and Rumiya Magazines. *Contemporary Voices*, 1(2), 26-38. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.1470>
- Kadercan, Burak (2019, March): Territorial Logic of the Islamic State: An Interdisciplinary Approach. *Territory, Politics, Governance*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2019.1589563>
- Kaltenthaler, Karl; Silverman, Daniel; Dagher, Munqith (2018): Identity, Ideology, and Information: The Sources of Iraqi Public Support for the Islamic State. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41(10), 801-824. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1433447>
- Karmon, Eli (2018): The Day After: Where will ISIS Regroup? In: Alessandro Niglia; Uri Ben Yaakov; Gadi Ezra (Eds.): *Countering Terrorism and Urban Warfare*. (NATO Science for Peace and Security Series – E: Human and Societal Dynamics, Vol. 140). Amsterdam: IOS Press, 65-70. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3233/978-1-61499-884-6-65>
- Kavaloski, Laini (2018): Security Games: The Coded Logics of the Playable War on ISIS. *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1), 100-117. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2017.1409561>
- Keatinge, Tom; Keen, Florence (2019): Social Media and (Counter) Terrorist Finance: A Fund-Raising and Disruption Tool. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 178-205. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513698>
- Kendall, Elisabeth (2019, February): The Failing Islamic State within the Failed State of Yemen. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(1), 78-87. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-1/kendall.pdf>
- Kizilhan, Jan Ilhan (2018, October): PTSD of Rape after IS (“Islamic State”) Captivity. *Archives of Women's Mental Health*, 21(5), 517-524. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00737-018-0824-3>
- Khan, Mukhtar A. (2018, April): Islamic State a Deadly Force in Kabul. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(7), 6-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Terrorism-Monitor-April-6-2018.pdf>
- Klein, Adam (2018, June): Negative Spaces: Terrorist Attempts to Erase Cultural History and the Critical Media Coverage. *Media, War & Conflict*, 11(2), 265-281. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635217706726>
- Knights, Michael (2018, December): The Islamic State Inside Iraq: Losing Power or Preserving Strength? *CTC Sentinel*, 11(11), 1-10. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/12/CTC-SENTINEL-122018.pdf>
- Koch, Ariel (2015, September): Israeli Black Flags: Salafist Jihadi Representations in Israel and the Rise of the Islamic State Organization. *Military and Strategic Affairs*, 7(2), 125-148. URL: https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/systemfiles/MASA7-2Eng%20Final_Koch.pdf
- Koch, Ariel (2018, June): Jihadi Beheading Videos and their Non-Jihadi Echoes. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(3), 24-34. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2018/issue-3/02---jihadi-beheading-videos-and-their-non-jihadi-echoes-by-ariel-koch.pdf>
- Koehler, Daniel; Ehrt, Tobias (2018): Parents' Associations, Support Group Interventions and Countering Violent Extremism: An Important Step Forward in Combating Violent Radicalization. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 178-197. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.8>
- Kostyuchenko, Yuriy; Yuschenko, Maxim; Artemenko, Igor (2018, April-June): On Experience of Social Networks Exploration for Comparative Analysis of Narratives of Foreign Members of Armed Groups: IS and L/ DPR in Syria and Ukraine in 2015-2016. *International Journal of Cyber Warfare and Terrorism*, 8(2), 17-31. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4018/IJCWT.2018040102>

- Kvakhadze, Aleksandre (2018, February): Ending Islamic State: Dealing with Women and Children Returnees in the North Caucasus. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(4), 5-7. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/TM_February-26-2018.pdf
- Lakomy, Miron (2019): Let's Play a Video Game: Jihadi Propaganda in the World of Electronic Entertainment. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(4), 383-406. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1385903>
- Lal, Rollie (2018): Daesh and Al-Qaida in Europe. In: Kimberley L. Thachuk; Rollie Lal (Eds.): *Terrorist Criminal Enterprises: Financing Terrorism through Organized Crime*. (Praeger Security International). Santa Barbara: Praeger, 47-62.
- Lancelot, Jonathan (2018, May): Claiming Responsibility in Cyberspace: ISIL and a Strategic Redefinition of Terrorism. *Small Wars Journal*, 5/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/claiming-responsibility-cyberspace-isil-and-strategic-redefinition-terrorism>
- Lee, Benjamin J. (2019): Informal Countermessaging: The Potential and Perils of Informal Online Countermessaging. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 161-177. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513697>
- Lehane, Orla et al. (2018): Brides, Black Widows and Baby-Makers; or not: An Analysis of the Portrayal of Women in English-Language Jihadi Magazine Image Content. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(3), 505-520. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1471054>
- Lemon, Edward (2018, Summer): Pathways to Violent Extremism: Evidence from Tajik Recruits to Islamic State. *Harriman Magazine*, Summer 2018, 4-9. URL: http://www.columbia.edu/cu/creative/epub/harriman/2018/summer/Pathways_to_Violent_Extremism.pdf
- Levine, Daniel J. (2018): Threat Inflation as Political Melodrama: ISIS and the Politics of Late Modern Fear. *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1), 136-154. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2018.1442542>
- Levy, Ido (2019, January): Toward Understanding the Actions of the Islamic State and other Jihadist Groups as Military Doctrine. *Small Wars Journal*, 1/2019. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/toward-understanding-actions-islamic-state-and-other-jihadist-groups-military-doctrine>
- Lia, Brynjar (2017): The Jihādī Movement and Rebel Governance: A Reassertion of a Patriarchal Order? *Die Welt des Islams*, 57(3-4), 458-479. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700607-05734p09>
- Lindemann, Thomas (2018, December): Agency (Mis)recognition in International Violence: The Case of French Jihadism. *Review of International Studies*, 44(5), 922-943. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210518000360>
- Lorenzo-Dus, Nuria; Kinzel, Anina; Walker, Luke (2018): Representing the West and “Non-Believers” in the Online Jihadist Magazines Dabiq and Inspire. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(3), 521-536. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1471081>
- Lorenzo-Dus, Nuria; Macdonald, Stuart (2018, January): Othering the West in the Online Jihadist Propaganda Magazines Inspire and Dabiq. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, 6(1), 79-106. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlac.00004.lor>
- Lounnas, Djallil (2019, Spring): The Tunisian Jihad: Between al-Qaeda and ISIS. *Middle East Policy*, 26(1), 97-116. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/mepo.12403>
- Lowry, Melanie (2019, March): Rehabilitating the Children of ISIS: A Comparative Case Study of Armed Groups and Child Soldier Reintegration. *Small Wars Journal*, 3/2019. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/rehabilitating-children-isis-comparative-case-study-armed-groups-and-child-soldier>
- Macdonald, Stuart; Lorenzo-Dus, Nuria (2018): Introduction: Online Jihadist Magazines. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(3), 501-504. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1471036>
- Macdonald, Stuart et al. (2018): Online Jihadist Magazines and the “Religious Terrorism” Thesis. *Critical Stud-*

ies on Terrorism, 11(3), 537-550. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1471098>

Macnair, Logan; Frank, Richard (2018): Changes and Stabilities in the Language of Islamic State Magazines: A Sentiment Analysis. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward terrorism and genocide*, 11(2), 109-120. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17467586.2018.1470660>

Macnair, Logan; Frank, Richard (2018): The Mediums and the Messages: Exploring the Language of Islamic State Media through Sentiment Analysis. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(3), 438-457. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1447226>

Maher, Shiraz; Bissoondath, Alexandra (2019): Al-Qadā' wa-l-Qadr: Motivational Representations of Divine Decree and Predestination in Salafi-Jihadi Literature. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 46(1), 14-28. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2017.1361317>

Mannina, Ryan N. (2018, December): How the 2011 US Troop Withdrawal from Iraq Led to the Rise of ISIS. *Small Wars Journal*, 12/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/how-2011-us-troop-withdrawal-iraq-led-rise-isis>

Mansour, Muhammad (2018, November): Egypt Declares its Success in Dismantling Islamist Militancy. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(21), 5-6. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/TM-Nov.-2-2018-Is-sue-1-2.pdf>

Martini, Alice (2018): Making Women Terrorists into “Jihadi Brides”: An Analysis of Media Narratives on Women Joining ISIS. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(3), 458-477. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1448204>

Masmoudi, Ikram (2018, March): Gender Violence and the Spirit of the Feminine: Two Accounts of the Yazidi Tragedy. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, 12(1), 7-21. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1386/ij-cis.12.1.7_1

Matveeva, Anna; Giustozzi, Antonio (2018): The Central Asian Militants: Cannon Fodder of Global Jihadism or Revolutionary Vanguard? *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29(2), 189-206. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1433472>

Maurer, Thomas (2017): Islamic State of Iraq and Syria's Terrorism: A Universal Instrument of Asymmetric Warfare and the New Battlefield in Europe. *Defence Against Terrorism Review*, 9, 61-76. URL: <http://www.coe-dat.nato.int/publication/datr/volume9-2017/04-IslamicStateofIraqandSyriaTerrorism.pdf>

Maurer, Thomas (2018): ISIS's Warfare Functions: A Systematized Review of a Proto-State's Conventional Conduct of Combat Operations. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29(2), 229-244. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1435238>

McCabe, Thomas R. (2018, May): Retreat and Rebuild? ISIS as a Virtual Caliphate. *Small Wars Journal*, 5/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/retreat-and-rebuild-isis-virtual-caliphate>

McCleery, Martin; Edwards, Aaron (2019): A Micro-Sociological Analysis of Homegrown Violent Extremist Attacks in the UK in 2017. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward terrorism and genocide*, 12(1), 4-19. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17467586.2018.1563905>

McElreath, David H. et al. (2018): The Communicating and Marketing of Radicalism: A Case Study of ISIS and Cyber Recruitment. *International Journal of Cyber Warfare and Terrorism*, 8(3), 26-45. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4018/IJCWT.2018070103>

Mehl, Damon (2018, November): Converging Factors Signal Increasing Terror Threat to Tajikistan. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(10), 25-30. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/11/CTC-SENTINEL-112018.pdf>

Mello, Brian (2018, June): The Islamic State: Violence and Ideology in a Post-Colonial Revolutionary Regime. *International Political Sociology*, 12(2), 139-155. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/oly003>

- Merrin, William (2019): *Viral War: Islamic State's Digital Terror*. Abingdon: Routledge, 218-244.
- Michlig, Georgia J. et al. (2019, April): Providing Healthcare under ISIS: A Qualitative Analysis of Healthcare Worker Experiences in Mosul, Iraq between June 2014 and June 2017. *Global Public Health*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2019.1609061>
- Milton, Daniel; Dodwell, Brian (2018, May): Jihadi Brides? Examining a Female Guesthouse Registry from the Islamic State's Caliphate. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(5), 16-22. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/05/CTC-Sentinel_Vol11Iss5.pdf
- Mironova, Vera (2019, February): Who Are the ISIS People? *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(1), 33-40. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-1/mironova.pdf>
- Monk, Daniel Bertrand (Guest Ed.) (2018): "Who's Afraid of ISIS?" Towards a Doxology of War. [Special Issue]. *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1). URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rcss20/6/1>
- Monk, Daniel Bertrand (2018): "Who's Afraid of ISIS?" Security Doxa and the Doxa of Insecurity. [Introduction]. *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1), 1-7. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2018.1448168>
- Monk, Daniel Bertrand (2018): Towards a Doxology of War. *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1), 8-14. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2018.1451141>
- Mooney, Michael J. (2018, May): By their own Hand: The Seven Steps to the Destruction of the Islamic State Caliphate. *Small Wars Journal*, 5/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/their-own-hand-seven-steps-destruction-islamic-state-caliphate>
- Mooney, Michael J. (2019, January): Ending Endless Wars and the Islamic State. *Small Wars Journal*, 1/2019. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/ending-endless-wars-and-islamic-state>
- Moradi, Fazil; Anderson, Kjell (2016, Fall): The Islamic State's Êzîdî Genocide in Iraq: The Sinjâr Operations. *Genocide Studies International*, 10(2), 121-138. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3138/gsi.10.2.02>
- Moret, Ross; Burgin, Simone (2018): Intercultural Struggle and the Targeting of Noncombatants: The Case of the Islamic State. *Religions*, 9(8), Article 230. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9080230>
- Morrissey, Patricia H. M. (2019, February): Measuring Strategic Progress against ISIS. *Small Wars Journal*, 2/2019. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/measuring-strategic-progress-against-isis>
- Mostofa, Shafi Md; Ware, Helen (2018): Development of Daesh's Ideology. *Peace and Security Review*, 8(18), 12-22. URL: <http://bipss.org.bd/pdf/Review%207-1-19.pdf>
- Mott, Gareth (2019): A Storm on the Horizon? "Twister" and the Implications of the Blockchain and Peer-to-Peer Social Networks for Online Violent Extremism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 206-227. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513986>
- Mulherin, Peter E.; Isakhan, Benjamin (2019): The Abbott Government and the Islamic State: A Securitised and Elitist Foreign Policy Discourse. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 54(1), 82-98. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10361146.2018.1496224>
- Munoz, Michael (2018, November): Selling the Long War: Islamic State Propaganda after the Caliphate. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(10), 31-36. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/11/CTC-SENTINEL-112018.pdf>
- Nacev, Aleksandar; Bogatinov, Dimitar (2018): Understanding Terrorist Motivation with an Emphasis on ISIS Recruitment Methods. In: Zlatogor Minchev; Mitko Bogdanoski (Eds.): *Countering Terrorist Activities in Cyberspace*. (NATO Science for Peace and Security Series – E: Human and Societal Dynamics, Vol. 139). Amsterdam: IOS Press, 81-94. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3233/978-1-61499-847-1-81>

- Nanninga, Pieter (2018, March): "Among the Believers Are Men": How the Islamic State Uses Early-Islamic Traditions to Shape its Martyr Biographies. *Numen*, 65(2-3), 165-184. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685276-12341493>
- Nesser, Petter (2019, March): Military Interventions, Jihadi Networks, and Terrorist Entrepreneurs: How the Islamic State Terror Wave Rose So High in Europe. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(3), 15-21. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/03/CTC-SENTINEL-032019.pdf>
- Nicolaus, Peter; Yuce, Serkan (2017): Sex-Slavery: One Aspect of the Yezidi Genocide. *Iran and the Caucasus*, 21(2), 196-229. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/1573384X-20170205>
- Nilsson, Marco (2018, April): Muslim Mothers in Ground Combat against the Islamic State: Women's Identities and Social Change in Iraqi Kurdistan. *Armed Forces & Society*, 44(2), 261-279. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X17699568>
- Nuraniyah, Nava (2018): Not Just Brainwashed: Understanding the Radicalization of Indonesian Female Supporters of the Islamic State. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30(6), 890-910. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1481269>
- Ogunlana, Sunday O. (2019): Halting Boko Haram / Islamic State's West Africa Province Propaganda in Cyberspace with Cybersecurity Technologies. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 12(1), Article 4. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.12.1.1707>
- O'Halloran, Kay L. et al. (2019): Interpreting Text and Image Relations in Violent Extremist Discourse: A Mixed Methods Approach for Big Data Analytics. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31(3), 454-474. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2016.1233871>
- Ördén, Hedvig (2018): Instilling Judgement: Counter-Narratives of Humour, Fact and Logic. *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1), 15-32. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2017.1377593>
- Osman, Mohamed Nawab Mohamed; Arosoaie, Aida (2018, May): Jihad in the Bastion of "Moderation": Understanding the Threat of ISIS in Malaysia. *Asian Security*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14799855.2018.1470508>
- Ozeren, Suleyman et al. (2018, November): An Analysis of ISIS Propaganda and Recruitment Activities Targeting the Turkish-Speaking Population. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 105-121. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.14>
- Parekh, Deven et al. (2018, June): Studying Jihadists on Social Media: A Critique of Data Collection Methodologies. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(3), 3-21. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2018/issue-3/01---studying-jihadists-on-social-media-a-critique-of-data-collection-methodologies.pdf>
- Pearson, Elizabeth (2018): Online as the New Frontline: Affect, Gender, and ISIS-Take-Down on Social Media. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41(11), 850-874. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1352280>
- Perešin, Anita (2018, November): Why Women from the West are Joining ISIS. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 32-42. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.19>
- Perkins, Brian (2018, September): Clashes between Islamic State and AQAP Emblematic of Broader Competition. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(18), 4-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/TM-Sep.-21-2018-Issue-2.pdf>
- Perkins, Brian M. (2019, April): Continued Fighting between Islamic State and AQAP Complicates Security in al-Bayda. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(7), 5-6. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/TM-Apr.-6-2019-Issue-1.pdf>
- Perliger, Arie; Sweeney, Matthew M. (2019): United States—Taliban, al-Qaeda, and ISIS: The Failure to Defeat

Jihadist Terror. In: Elli Lieberman (Ed.): *Deterring Terrorism: A Model for Strategic Deterrence*. (Contemporary Terrorism Studies). Abingdon: Routledge, 248-268.

Phillips, Christopher (2016): Descent into Chaos: Stalemate and the Rise of ISIS. In: *The Battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the New Middle East*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 189-212.

Phillips, Christopher (2017): Syria after IS. *Orient*, 58(4), 16-23. URL: http://www.academia.edu/34751433/Syria_after_IS

Pinto, Nuno Tiago (2018, November): The Portugal Connection in the Strasbourg-Marseille Islamic State Terrorist Network. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(10), 17-24. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/11/CTC-SENTINEL-112018.pdf>

Pinto Arena, Maria do Céu (2018): The Portuguese Foreign Fighters Phenomenon: A Preliminary Assessment. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 13(1), 93-114. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2018.1432881>

Polk, William R. (2018): The Islamic State. In: *Crusade and Jihad: The Thousand-Year War between the Muslim World and the Global North*. (The Henry L. Stimson Lectures). New Haven: Yale University Press, 491-506.

Rabkin, Nathaniel (2018, June): The Sunni Religious Leadership in Iraq. *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, 23, 45-65. URL: <https://s3.amazonaws.com/media.hudson.org/files/publications/CurrentTrends23.pdf>

Rahmani, Waliullah (2018, August): The Taliban Takes on Islamic State: Insurgents Vie for Control of Northern Afghanistan. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(16), 3-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/TM-Aug.-10-2018-Issue-1-1.pdf>

Rahmani, Waliullah (2018, October): How Islamic State-Khurasan is Driving Afghanistan toward Sectarian Conflict. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(19), 3-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/TM-Oct.-12-2018-Issue.pdf>

Ramachandran, Sudha (2019, May): Sri Lankan Suicide Bombings: Islamic State's Deadly Input. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(9), 5-7. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/TM-May-7-2019-Issue-.pdf>

Rankin, Melinda (2017, November): Investigating Crimes against Humanity in Syria and Iraq: The Commission for International Justice and Accountability. *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 9(4), 395-421. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/1875984X-00904004>

Rassler, Don (2019, April): Back to the Future: The Islamic State, Drones, and Future Threats. In: Georgia Harigan (Ed.): *On the Horizon: Security Challenges at the Nexus of State and Non-State Actors and Emerging/Disruptive Technologies*. (SMA Periodic Publication). Boston: NSI, 9-14. URL: <https://nsiteam.com/on-the-horizon-security-challenges-at-the-nexus-of-state-and-non-state-actors-and-emerging-disruptive-technologies>

Read, Sam (2019, January): American Jihadists: Three Case Studies of American Citizens who Chose Extremism over America. *Small Wars Journal*, 1/2019. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/american-jihadists-three-case-studies-american-citizens-who-chose-extremism-over-america>

Riaz, Ali; Parvez, Saimum (2018): Bangladeshi Militants: What Do We Know? *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30(6), 944-961. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1481312>

Richards, Imogen (2019): A Dialectical Approach to Online Propaganda: Australia's United Patriots Front, Right-Wing Politics, and Islamic State. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 43-69. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513691>

Rinehart, Christine Sixta (2016): Iraq and Syria: The Genesis of ISIS. In: *Drones and Targeted Killing in the Middle East and Africa: An Appraisal of American Counterterrorism Policies*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 95-114.

Robinson, Mark D.; Dauber, Cori E. (2019): Grading the Quality of ISIS Videos: A Metric for Assessing the

- Technical Sophistication of Digital Video Propaganda. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 70-87. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513693>
- Rogers, Amanda E. (2018): Evil™ – Islamic State, Conflict-Capitalism, and the Geopolitical Uncanny. *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1), 118-135. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2017.1407597>
- Rohde, Achim (2017): Iraq after IS: Reconstruction or Deepening Fragmentation? *Orient*, 58(4), 7-15. URL: http://www.academia.edu/34770665/Iraq_after_IS_reconstruction_or_deepening_fragmentation_Orient_58_4_2017_7-15
- Ronen, Yehudit (2017): Libya: Teetering between War and Diplomacy: The Islamic State's Role in Libya's Disintegration. *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 28(1), 110-127. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592296.2017.1275518>
- Roul, Animesh (2019, February): Islamic State-Inspired Extremist Threat Looms Large in India. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(3), 5-6. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/TM-Feb.-8-2019-Issue-.pdf>
- Ryacudu, Ryamizard (2018, November): Terrorism in Southeast Asia: The Need for Joint Counter-Terrorism Frameworks. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(11), 1-3. URL: <http://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/CTTA-November-2018.pdf>
- Saikal, Amin (2018): How Islamic Has the “Islamic State” Been? *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 38(2), 143-152. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2018.1475620>
- Saramifar, Younes (2019): Pursuing the Allure of Combat: An Ethnography of Violence amongst Iraqi Shi'i Combatants Fighting ISIS. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 12(2), 210-227. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2018.1498216>
- Sarnecki, Jerzy (2018, November): A Criminological Perspective on Recruitment of Men and Women to Daesh. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 122-144. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.18>
- Seib, Anna (2018, Summer): Wilayat al-Qawkaz – The Islamic State in the North Caucasus: Frames, Strategies and Credibility of Radical Islamist Propaganda Videos. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 15, 151-196. URL: <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/152>
- Schifrin, Nick (2018): Campaign Analysis: The “Surge” in Iraq, 2007-2008. *Orbis*, 62(4), 617-631. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.08.013>
- Schulze, Kirsten E. (2018, June-July): The Surabaya Bombings and the Evolution of the Jihadi Threat in Indonesia. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(6), 1-6. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/06/CTC-SENTINEL-062018_1.pdf
- Scott, Russ; Shanahan, Rodger (2018): Man Haron Monis and the Sydney Lindt Caf'e Siege – Not a Terrorist Attack. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 25(6), 839-901. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13218719.2018.1479941>
- Shapiro, Lauren R.; Maras, Marie-Helen (2019): Women's Radicalization to Religious Terrorism: An Examination of ISIS Cases in the United States. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 88-119. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513694>
- Shorer, Marina (2018, November): Mobilization of Women to Terrorism: Tools and Methods of ISIS. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 93-104. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.16>
- Shultz, Richard (2018, May): “The Irreducible Minimum”: An Evaluation of Counterterrorism Operations in Iraq. *PRISM*, 7(3), 102-117. URL: https://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism7_3/180518_Shultz_PQP.pdf
- Siebert, Johannes; Keeney, Greg (2017): Identifying, Structuring, and Comparing the Objectives of Al Qaeda and ISIL. In: Ali E. Abbas; Milind Tambe; Detlof von Winterfeldt (Eds.): *Improving Homeland Security Decisions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 376-395. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316676714.016>

- Siegel, Alexandra A.; Tucker, Joshua A. (2018, January): The Islamic State's Information Warfare: Measuring the Success of ISIS's Online Strategy. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 17(2), 258-280. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/jlp.17005.sie> URL: http://alexandra-siegel.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/JLP_ISIS_Jan2017.pdf
- Simcox, Robin (2018, June-July): The 2016 French Female Attack Cell: A Case Study. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(6), 21-25. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/06/CTC-SENTINEL-062018_1.pdf
- Simons, Greg (2018): Brand ISIS: Interactions of the Tangible and Intangible Environments. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 17(4), 322-353. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377857.2018.1501928>
- Singh, Bilveer (2018, May): Terrorist Networks in Southeast Asia and Implications for Regional Security. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(5), 8-10. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CT-TA-May-2018.pdf>
- Siyech, Mohammed Sinan (2018, May): Why Has the Islamic State Failed to Grow in Kashmir? *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 10(5), 11-15. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CT-TA-May-2018.pdf>
- Sjoberg, Laura (2018, May): Jihadi Brides and Female Volunteers: Reading the Islamic State's War to See Gender and Agency in Conflict Dynamics. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 35(3), 296-311. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894217695050>
- Smith, Claire et al. (2018, May): The Manipulation of Social, Cultural and Religious Values in Socially Mediated Terrorism. *Religions*, 9(5), Article 168. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9050168>
- Soudijn, Melvin R. J. (2019, April): The Hand that Feeds the Salafist: An Exploration of the Financial Independence of 131 Dutch Jihadi Travellers. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(2), 39-53. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-2/soudijn.pdf>
- Spach, William (2018, June): The Fascist Caliphate: How the Islamic State Mirrored Fascist Political Tactics through Appealing to a Relatively Deprived Middle Class. *Small Wars Journal*, 6/2018. URL: <http://smallwars-journal.com/jrnl/art/fascist-caliphate-how-islamic-state-mirrored-fascist-political-tactics-through-appealing>
- Spagna, Nicolò (2018): Understanding the Command and Control (C2) through the Social Network Analysis: The Case Studies of Paris-Brussels Terrorist Attacks. *Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società*, 7, 7-58. URL: <http://www.sicurezzaerrorismosocieta.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Understanding-the-Command-and-Control-C2-through-the-Social-Network-Analysis-the-case-studies-of-Paris-Brussels-terrorist-attacks.pdf>
- Spahiu, Ebi (2018, May): Returning IS Fighters in the Balkans: Beyond the Immediate Security Threat. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(10), 7-10. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Terrorism-Monitor-May-18-2018.pdf>
- Speckhard, Anne; Shajkovci, Ardian (2018, May): Confronting an ISIS Emir: ICSVE's Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter-Narratives Project Videos. *CTX*, 8(1), 5-14. URL: <https://globalecco.org/documents/10180/0/CTX-+Vol.+8+No.+1/d7b72375-5e01-454e-95d5-679010c18366>
- Speckhard, Anne; Shajkovci, Ardian; Ahmed, Mohamed (2018): Intervening in and Preventing Somali-American Radicalization with Counter Narratives: Testing the Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter Narrative Videos in American Somali Focus Group Settings. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 11(4), 32-71. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.11.4.1695>
- Speckhard, Anne et al. (2018): Engaging English Speaking Facebook Users in an Anti-ISIS Awareness Campaign. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 11(3), 52-78. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.11.3.1679>
- Speckhard, Anne et al. (2018, June): Mounting a Facebook Brand Awareness and Safety Ad Campaign to Break the ISIS Brand in Iraq. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(3), 50-66. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2018/issue-3/04---mounting-a-facebook-brand->

[awareness-and-safety-ad-campaign-to-break-the-isis-brand-in-ira.pdf](#)

Spencer, Alexander (2017): Images, Visions and Narrative Identity Formation of ISIS: A Reply. *Global Discourse*, 7(2-3), 260-263. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23269995.2017.1347853>

Spier, Troy E. (2018, September): Extremist Propaganda and Qur'anic Scripture: A "Radical" Corpus-Based Study of the Dabiq. *Discourse & Society*, 29(5), 553-567. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926518770265>

Stenersen, Anne (2018, November): Jihadism after the "Caliphate": Towards a New Typology. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13530194.2018.1552118>

Stenersen, Anne; Zahid, Farhan (2018): Jahiliyya, Jihad and the Islamic State: Abul'alaMawdudi's Impact on Modern Jihadism. *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*, 39(1), 37-60. URL: <http://www.nihcr.edu.pk/Latest-English-Journal/39-1%202018/3.%20Jahiliyya%20Jihad,%20Annee%20&%20Farhan.pdf>

Sterman, David (2018, June-July): The Islamic State's Veterans: Contrasting the Cohorts with Jihadi Experience in Libya and Afghanistan. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(6), 18-20. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/06/CTC-SENTINEL-062018_1.pdf

Stevens, Michael (2018): Blood between us: Psychological Occupation and Resistance in Mosul. *The RUSI Journal*, 163(1), 4-10. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2018.1449929>

Stojarová, Věra; Stojar, Richard (2018, August): Balkan Regional Development: Moderate or Radical Islam for the Balkans. *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19448953.2018.1506284>

Tammikko, Teemu (2018): The Threat of Returning Foreign Fighters: Finnish State Responses to the Volunteers in the Spanish and Syria-Iraq Civil Wars. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 30(5), 844-861. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1445892>

Tankel, Stephen (Chair) (2018, March): What Is the Future of the Jihadist Movement? *Texas National Security Review*. (Policy Roundtable). URL: <https://tnsr.org/roundtable/policy-roundtable-future-jihadist-movement>

Tankel, Stephen (2019): Universal Soldiers or Parochial Actors: Understanding Jihadists as Products of their Environments. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31(2), 299-322. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2016.1219725>

Tarzi, Nazli (2018, March): Iraqi Women Die Too: Exploring Iraq's Invisible Female Casualties. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, 12(1), 23-34. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.12.1.23_1

Tellez, Juan; Roberts, Jordan (2019): The Rise of the Islamic State and Changing Patterns of Cooperation in the Middle East. *International Interactions*, 45(3), 560-575. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2019.1604520>

Tichý, Lukáš; Eichler, Jan (2018): Terrorist Attacks on the Energy Sector: The Case of Al Qaeda and the Islamic State. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41(6), 450-473. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1323469>

Tierney, Dominic (2018): A Weary Hercules: The United States and the Fertile Crescent in a Post-Caliphate Era. *Orbis*, 62(3), 487-501. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.05.001>

Tønnessen, Truls Hallberg (2018): The Group that Wanted to Be a State: The "Rebel Governance" of the Islamic State. In: Hendrik Kraetzschmar; Paola Rivetti (Eds.): *Islamists and the Politics of the Arab Uprisings: Governance, Pluralisation and Contention*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, Chapter 4.

Tønnessen, Truls Hallberg (Guest Ed.) (2019, February): Jihadism after the Caliphate. [Special Issue]. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(1). URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/perspectives-on-terrorism/archives/2019#volume-xiii-issue-1>

Travis, Hannibal (2016, Fall): Why Was Benghazi "Saved," but Sinjar Allowed to Be Lost? New Failures of Geno-

- cide Prevention, 2007–2015. *Genocide Studies International*, 10(2), 139-182. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3138/gsi.10.2.03>
- Tripp, Charles (2018, June): Theatres of Blood: Performative Violence in Iraq. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, 12(2), 167-181. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.12.2.167_1
- Truitte, Kevin (2018, October): The Derna Mujahideen Shura Council: A Revolutionary Islamist Coalition in Libya. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(5), 4-17. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2018/issue-5/truitte-2.pdf>
- Tschantret, Joshua (2018, June): Cleansing the Caliphate: Insurgent Violence against Sexual Minorities. *International Studies Quarterly*, 62(2), 260-273. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqx074>
- Tuman, Joseph S. (2018): Opposing DAESH in a Post-Syria/Iraq Conflict Environment: Stabilization and Creative Proactive Messaging. *Defence Against Terrorism Review*, 10, 37-64. URL: http://www.coedat.nato.int/publication/datr/volumes/Datr_Vol.10.pdf
- Ünsal, Zeynep Ece (2018): Terrorism, Radicalism and IS in the Case of Muslim Population in SEEC. In: Zlatogor Minchev; Mitko Bogdanoski (Eds.): *Countering Terrorist Activities in Cyberspace*. (NATO Science for Peace and Security Series – E: Human and Societal Dynamics, Vol. 139). Amsterdam: IOS Press, 63-80. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3233/978-1-61499-847-1-63>
- Van Rythoven, Eric (2018): Fear in the Crowd or Fear of the Crowd? The Dystopian Politics of Fear in International Relations. *Critical Studies on Security*, 6(1), 33-49. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21624887.2017.1377527>
- Vergani, Matteo; Bliuc, Ana-Maria (2018, October): The Language of New Terrorism: Differences in Psychological Dimensions of Communication in Dabiq and Inspire. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 37(5), 523-540. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X17751011>
- Viano, Emilio C. (Ed.) (2018, November): Special Issue on Female Migration to ISIS. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2). URL: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-annals-of-criminology/issue/495A0A2F340D9696FA610AC7A13578DE>
- Viano, Emilio C. (2018, November): Introduction to the Special Issue on Female Migration to ISIS. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 1-10. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.17>
- Viano, Emilio C. (2018, November): Female Migration to ISIS: Conclusions and Recommendations. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 220-226. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.20>
- von Sikorski, Christian et al. (2017): “Muslims are not Terrorists”: Islamic State Coverage, Journalistic Differentiation between Terrorism and Islam, Fear Reactions, and Attitudes toward Muslims. *Mass Communication and Society*, 20(6), 825-848. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2017.1342131>
- Waldek, Lise (2018): Endemic Violence in Afghanistan: A Socio-Cultural Perspective. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 13(2), 216-230. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2018.1473630>
- Walter, Nathan; Billard, Thomas J.; Murphy, Sheila T. (2017): On the Boundaries of Framing Terrorism: Guilt, Victimization, and the 2016 Orlando Shooting. *Mass Communication and Society*, 20(6), 849-868. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2017.1334071> URL: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5612f752e4b02bdcb-2d4e803/t/59efac564c0dbfc62d33a9b3/1508879450325/Walter%2C+Billard%2C+%26+Murphy%2C+2017.pdf>
- Warner, Jason; Hulme, Charlotte (2018, August): The Islamic State in Africa: Estimating Fighter Numbers in Cells across the Continent. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(7), 21-28. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/01/CTC-SENTINEL-082018-final.pdf>
- Watkin, Amy-Louise; Looney, Seán (2019): “The Lions of Tomorrow”: A News Value Analysis of Child Images in Jihadi Magazines. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 120-140. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/105761>

[0X.2018.1513696](#)

Watts, Clint (2018): The Rise and Fall of the Virtual Caliphate. In: *Messing with the Enemy: Surviving in a Social Media World of Hackers, Terrorists, Russians, and Fake News*. New York: Harper Collins, 21-48.

Wege, Carl Anthony (2018): The Changing Islamic State Intelligence Apparatus. *International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence*, 31(2), 271-288. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08850607.2018.1418552>

Wehrey, Frederic (2018): The Islamic State's African Home. In: *The Burning Shores: Inside the Battle for the New Libya*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 229-250.

Weimann, Gunnar J. (2019): Competition and Innovation in a Hostile Environment: How Jabhat Al-Nusra and Islamic State Moved to Twitter in 2013–2014. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(1-2), 25-42. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1513692>

Weiss, Caleb (2019, April): Reigniting the Rivalry: The Islamic State in Somalia vs. al-Shabaab. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(4), 29-35. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/04/CTC-SENTINEL-042019.pdf>

Welch, Tyler (2018): Theology, Heroism, Justice, and Fear: An Analysis of ISIS Propaganda Magazines Dabiq and Rumiya. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward terrorism and genocide*, 11(3), 186-198. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17467586.2018.1517943>

Wignell, Peter et al. (2018, October): Image and Text Relations in ISIS Materials and the New Relations Established through Recontextualisation in Online Media. *Discourse & Communication*, 12(5), 535-559. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481318766938>

Williams, Brian Glyn; Souza, Robert Troy (2018, May): The Islamic State Threat to the 2018 FIFA World Cup. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(5), 1-11. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/05/CTC-Sentinel_Vol11Iss5.pdf

Wilson, Lachlan; Pack, Jason (2019, March): The Islamic State's Revitalization in Libya and its Post-2016 War of Attrition. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(3), 22-31. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/03/CTC-SENTINEL-032019.pdf>

Winkler, Carol K.; el-Damanhoury, Kareem; Lemieux, Anthony F. (2018, May): Validating Extremism: Strategic Use of Authority Appeals in al-Naba' Infographics. *Journal of Argumentation in Context*, 7(1), 33-71. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1075/jaic.17014.win>

Winkler, Carol K.; Pieslak, Jonathan (2018): Multimodal Visual/Sound Redundancy in ISIS Videos: A Close Analysis of Martyrdom and Training Segments. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 13(3), 345-360. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2018.1503701>

Winkler, Carol K. et al. (2019): The Medium Is Terrorism: Transformation of the About to Die Trope in Dabiq. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31(2), 224-243. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2016.1211526>

Winter, Charlie (2019, February): Making Sense of Jihadi Stratcom: The Case of the Islamic State. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(1), 54-62. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-1/winter.pdf>

Wu, Tianchi (2018): Landpower, Time, and Terrorism: A Strategy of Lightness in the Counter-ISIS Campaign. *Orbis*, 62(2), 278-293. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2018.02.004>

Wylie, Ryan; Childers, Aaron; Sylvia, Brett (2018, February): Expeditionary Advising: Enabling Iraqi Operations from the Gates of Baghdad through Eastern Mosul. *Small Wars Journal*, 2/2018. URL: <https://smallwars-journal.com/jrnl/art/expeditionary-advising-enabling-iraqi-operations-gates-baghdad-through-eastern-mosul>

Yasin, Nur Azlin Mohd; binte Azman, Nur Aziemah (2019, January): Islamic State's Online Social Movement Lifecycle: From Emergence to Repression in Southeast Asia. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 11(1), 80-

85. URL: https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/CTTA_Annual_2019-1.pdf

Yayla, Ahmet S. (2015): Deadly Interactions. *World Policy Journal*, 32(4), 83-91. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0740277515623751> URL: https://www.academia.edu/19919031/Deadly_Interactions

Yayla, Ahmet S. (2017): The So-Called Islamic State and the (Slow but Steady) Radicalisation of Turkey. *Orient*, 58(3), 39-51. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318066367_The_so-called_Islamic_State_and_the_slow_but_steady_Radicalisation_of_Turkey

Yon, Rachel; Milton, Daniel (2019, May): Simply Small Men? Examining Differences between Females and Males Radicalized in the United States. *Women & Criminal Justice*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08974454.2018.1543067>

Younis, Nussaibah (2017): The Rise of ISIS: Iraq and Persian Gulf Security. In: Kristian Coates-Ulrichsen (Ed.): *The Changing Security Dynamics of the Persian Gulf*. New York: Oxford University Press, 113-126.

Zafar, Aniq (2018): Female Immigration to ISIS: Unlocking Motives to Turn the Tide. *International Annals of Criminology*, 56(1-2), 11-22. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/cri.2018.11>

Zahid, Farhan (2018, June): Islamic State Emboldened in Afghanistan. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(12), 3-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Terrorism-Monitor-June-14-2018.pdf>

Zahid, Farhan (2018, September): Growing Network of IS-K in Pakistan's Baluchistan-Province. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(18), 6-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/TM-Sep.-21-2018-Issue-2.pdf>

Zekulin, Michael G. (2018): More than the Medium: How the Communication Literature Helps Explain ISIS's Success in Recruiting Westerners. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 13(1), 17-37. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2017.1412490>

Zelin, Aaron Y. (2019, February): Not Gonna Be Able to Do it: al-Qaeda in Tunisia's Inability to Take Advantage of the Islamic State's Setbacks. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(1), 63-77. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-1/zelin.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2019, February): The Islamic State's Provinces on the Peripheries: Juxtaposing the Pledges from Boko Haram in Nigeria and Abu Sayyaf and Maute Group in the Philippines. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(1), 88-105. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-1/zenn---revised.pdf>

Zywietz, Bernd (2019): Ästhetisierung zwischen schockhafter Provokation und ethisch-moralischer Notwendigkeit – Zur Analyse der visuellen Botschaften des “Islamischen Staats” als Propaganda und als Gegenstand der Berichterstattung. In: Clemens Schwender et al. (Eds.): *zeigen | andeuten | verstecken: Bilder zwischen Verantwortung und Provokation*. Köln: Herbert von Halem, 198-215.

Grey Literature

Abdel Jelil, Mohamed et al. (2018, March): *Unemployment and Violent Extremism: Evidence from Daesh Foreign Recruits*. (World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 8381). URL: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/29561>

Aftandilian, Gregory (2018, September): *A Security Role for the United States in a Post-ISIS Syria? Challenges and Opportunities for U.S. Policy*. (SSI Working Paper). URL: <http://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?-pubID=1397>

Ahmed, Mubaraz; Comerford, Milo; El-Badawy, Emman (2016, April): *Milestones to Militancy: What the Lives of 100 Jihadis Tell us about a Global Movement*. (Tony Blair Institute for Global Change Report). URL: <https://institute.global/insight/co-existence/milestones-militancy-jihadis>

- Alexander, Audrey (2018, October): *Tech and Terrorism: Examining the Medium and the Message*. [Audio File]. (SMA Speaker Session). URL: <https://nsiteam.com/tech-and-terrorism-examining-the-medium-and-the-message-and-trucks-knives-bombs-whatever-exploring-pro-islamic-state-instructional-material-on-telegram>
- Alfifi, Majid et al. (2018): *Measuring the Impact of ISIS Social Media Strategy*. URL: <http://faculty.cs.tamu.edu/caverlee/pubs/alfifi2018mis2.pdf>
- Almohammad, Asaad (2018, February): *ISIS Child Soldiers in Syria: The Structural and Predatory Recruitment, Enlistment, Pre-Training Indoctrination, Training, and Deployment*. (ICCT Research Paper). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19165/2018.1.02>
- Al-Saud, Abdullah bin Khaled (2019, February): *Saudi Foreign Fighters: Analysis of Leaked Islamic State Entry Documents*. (ICSR / King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies Report). URL: <https://icsr.info/2019/02/05/saudi-foreign-fighters-analysis-of-leaked-islamic-state-entry-documents>
- Al-Tamimi, Aymenn Jawad (2018, June): *The Internal Structure of the Islamic State's Hisba Apparatus*. (MECRA Paper). URL: https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/26bb53_e54a344107284c8ba1201ccfb4b36f21.pdf
- Amarasingam, Amarnath; Dawson, Lorne L. (2018, May): "I Left to Be Closer to Allah": *Learning about Foreign Fighters from Family and Friends*. (ISD Report). URL: https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Families_Report.pdf
- Amnesty International (2018, April): *The Condemned: Women and Children Isolated, Trapped and Exploited in Iraq*. (Report MDE 14/8196/2018). URL: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde14/8196/2018/en>
- Amnesty International (2018, December): *Dead Land: Islamic State's Deliberate Destruction of Iraq's Farmland*. (Report MDE 14/9510/2018). URL: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/mde14/9510/2018/en>
- Andre, Virginie (2017, July): *Addressing the New Landscape of Terrorism: Towards Formulating Actionable Response*. (Conference Report). URL: <https://www.voxpol.eu/download/report/NEW-LANDSCAPE-OF-TERRORISM-BKK-REPORT.pdf>
- Anonymous [A staff member of the European Counter-Terrorism Centre (ECTC) at Europol] (2019, May): *Caliphate Soldiers and Lone Actors: What to Make of IS Claims for Attacks in the West 2016-2018*. (ICCT Research Paper). <https://doi.org/10.19165/2019.2.05>
- Bakker, Edwin; Sciarone, Jessica; de Roy van Zuijdewijn, Jeanine (2019, January): *Terugkeerders uit Jihadistische Strijdegebieden: Een vergelijking tussen Nederland, België, Denemarken, Duitsland, Frankrijk, het VK en de VS*. (ISGA Report). URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-output/governance-and-global-affairs/policies-on-returning-foreign-fighters>
- Barnes, Joe; Barron, Robert (2018, January): *Trump Policy in the Middle East: ISIS*. (Rice University's Baker Institute for Public Policy, Issue Brief). URL: <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/research/trump-policy-middle-east-isis>
- Bauer, Katherine (2018, September): *Survey of Terrorist Groups and their Means of Financing*. (Testimony submitted to the House Financial Services Subcommittee on Terrorism and Illicit Finance, September 7, 2018). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/survey-of-terrorist-groups-and-their-means-of-financing>
- Bauer, Katherine et al. (2018, July): *Toward a New U.S. Policy in Syria: Ground Zero for Countering Iran and Detering an Islamic State Revival*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Analysis). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/toward-a-new-u.s.-policy-in-syria-ground-zero-for-countering-iran-and-deter>
- BBC News (2018, March): *Islamic State and the Crisis in Iraq and Syria in Maps*. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27838034>

- Bendaoudi, Abdelillah (2018, May): *After the “Almost 100 Percent” Defeat of ISIS, what about its Ideology?* (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2018/05/100-percent-defeat-isis-ideology-180508042421376.html>
- Bergen, Peter; Sterman, David (2018, September): *Jihadist Terrorism 17 Years after 9/11: A Threat Assessment*. (New America International Security Program Paper). URL: <https://www.newamerica.org/international-security/reports/jihadist-terrorism-17-years-after-911>
- Bindner, Laurence; Gluck, Raphael (2018, December): *Trends in Islamic State’s Online Propaganda: Shorter Longevity, Wider Dissemination of Content*. (ICCT Perspective). URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/trends-in-islamic-states-online-propaganda-shorter-longevity-wider-dissemination-of-content>
- Bindner, Laurence et al. (2016, May): *ISIS Financing in 2015*. (CAT Report). URL: <http://cat-int.org/index.php/2016/06/01/isis-financing-in-2015-report-and-summary>
- Borschevskaya, Anna (2017, October): *The Future of Chechens in ISIS*. (HSI Report). URL: <https://www.hate-speech.org/new-report-the-future-of-chechens-in-isis>
- Boukhars, Anouar (2018, July): *The Paradox of Modern Jihadi Insurgencies: The Case of the Sahel and Maghreb*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2018/07/paradox-modern-jihadi-insurgencies-case-sahel-maghreb-180715094436599.html>
- Bragg, Belinda; Pagano, Sabrina (2016, November): *Promoting Greater Stability in Post-ISIL Iraq: Volume 1: Analysis of the Drivers of Legitimacy, Security, and Social Accord for Key Iraqi Stakeholders*. (NSI Report). URL: <http://nsiteam.com/promoting-greater-stability-in-post-isil-iraq-volume-1>
- Bragg, Belinda; Pagano, Sabrina (2016, November): *Promoting Greater Stability in Post-ISIL Iraq: Volume 2: Why do Groups Form and why does it Matter for Stability in Iraq? When the Social Becomes Political*. (NSI Report). URL: <http://nsiteam.com/promoting-greater-stability-in-post-isil-iraq-volume-2>
- Brisard, Jean-Charles; Martinez, Damien (2014, October): *Islamic State: The Economy-Based Terrorist Funding*. (Thomson Reuters ACCELUS). URL: <http://cat-int.org/index.php/2014/10/31/islamic-state-the-economy-based-terrorist-funding>
- Bull, Bartle; Ollivant, Douglas (2018, April): *Iraq after ISIS: What to Do now*. (New America International Security Program Report). URL: <https://www.newamerica.org/international-security/reports/iraq-after-isis-what-do-now/introduction>
- Bunker, Robert J. (2017, July): *Laptop Bombs and Civil Aviation: Terrorism Potentials and Carry On Travel Bans*. (TRENDS Working Paper 03/2017). URL: <http://trendsinstitution.org/laptop-bombs-and-civil-aviation-terrorism-potentials-and-carry-on-travel-bans-2>
- Bunker, Robert J. (2019, February): *Contemporary Chemical Weapons Use in Syria and Iraq by the Assad Regime and the Islamic State*. (SSI Monograph). URL: <https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=1400>
- Bunzel, Cole (2018, December 6): *Understating Zarqawi*. *Jihadica*. URL: <http://www.jihadica.com/understating-zarqawi>
- Bunzel, Cole (2019, January 4): *Death of a Mufti: The Execution of the Islamic State’s Abu Ya’qub al-Maqdisi*. *Jihadica*. URL: <http://www.jihadica.com/death-of-a-mufti>
- Bunzel, Cole (2019, March 11): *Divine Test or Divine Punishment? Explaining Islamic State Losses*. *Jihadica*. URL: <http://www.jihadica.com/divine-test-or-divine-punishment>
- Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) (2016, December): *Terrorism in North Africa and the Sahel: The Expansion of a Regional Threat? Highlights from the Workshop*. (World Watch: Expert Notes series publication No. 2016-12-05). URL: <https://www.canada.ca/en/security-intelligence-service/corporate/publications/terrorism-in-north-africa-and-the-sahel-the-expansion-of-a-regional-threat.html>

- Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS); Interaxions (2017, May): *What Comes after Daesh: Highlights from the Workshop*. (World Watch: Expert Notes series publication No. 2017-05-01). URL: <https://www.canada.ca/en/security-intelligence-service/corporate/publications/what-comes-after-daesh.html>
- Canna, Sarah (Ed.) (2018, March): *Building Partner Capacity: Iraq*. (SMA Reach-back Report). URL: <http://nsiteam.com/building-partner-capacity-iraq>
- Canna, Sarah (Ed.) (2018, March): *Population's Positive View of ISIL*. (SMA Reach-back Report). URL: <https://nsiteam.com/populations-positive-view-of-isil>
- Carter Center Syria Project, The (2019, March): *A Review of ISIS in Syria 2016 – 2019: Regional Differences and an Enduring Legacy*. (Report). URL: https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/syria-conflict/isis-review-2016-2019.pdf
- Choucair, Chafic (2017): *The “Ulema” of the Jihadi Movement – Discourse, Role and Future*. (Al-Sharq Forum Paper Series). URL: <https://www.sharqforum.org/2018/12/07/the-ulema-of-the-jihadi-movement-discourse-role-and-future>
- Clausen, Maria-Louise (2019, March): *Breaking the Cycle: Iraq Following the Military Defeat of Islamic State*. (DIIS Report 2019: 02). URL: <https://www.diis.dk/en/research/will-the-defeat-of-is-lead-to-a-new-iraq>
- Clifford, Bennett (2017, November): *Radicalization and the Uzbek Diaspora in the Wake of the NYC Attacks*. (GW Program on Extremism Occasional Paper). URL: <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2191/f/CliffordRadicalizationandUzbekDiaspora.pdf>
- Clifford, Bennett (2018, October): *Trucks, Knives, Bombs, Whatever: Exploring Pro-Islamic State Instructional Material on Telegram*. [Audio File]. (SMA Speaker Session). URL: <https://nsiteam.com/tech-and-terrorism-examining-the-medium-and-the-message-and-trucks-knives-bombs-whatever-exploring-pro-islamic-state-instructional-material-on-telegram>
- Cohen, Katie; Kaati, Lisa (2018, November): *Digital Jihad: Propaganda from the Islamic State*. (Report FOI-R-4645--SE). URL: <https://www.foi.se/rapportsammanfattning?reportNo=FOI-R--4645--SE>
- Comeau, Kelsey Ann (2016, March): *Imagined Communities and the Radicalization of Second Generation Muslim Women in the United Kingdom*. (Research Paper, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Canada). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10393/34814>
- Comerford, Milo; Heery, Jean; Garner, Rachael (2018, October): *Beyond ISIS & Al-Qaeda: The Long Tail of Global Islamist Violence*. (ICSR Report). URL: <https://icsr.info/2018/10/29/beyond-isis-al-qaeda-the-long-tail-of-global-islamist-violence>
- Community Security Trust (CST) (2019, April): *Mehdi Nemmouche and the Brussels Jewish Museum Attack: A Case Study in Jihadist Antisemitic Terrorism*. (Research Briefing). URL: <https://cst.org.uk/news/blog/2019/04/11/cst-research-briefing-on-mehdi-nemmouche-and-the-brussels-jewish-museum-attack>
- Conway, Maura et al. (2017): *Disrupting Daesh: Measuring Takedown of Online Terrorist Material and its Impacts*. (VOX-Pol Report). URL: https://www.voxpol.eu/download/vox-pol_publication/DCUJ5528-Disrupting-DAESH-1706-WEB-v2.pdf
- Cook, Joana; Vale, Gina (2018, July): *From Daesh to “Diaspora”: Tracing the Women and Minors of Islamic State*. (ICSR Report). URL: <https://icsr.info/2018/07/23/from-daesh-to-diaspora-tracing-the-women-and-minors-of-islamic-state>
- Cordesman, Anthony H. (2018, August): *Terrorism: U.S. Strategy and the Trends in its “Wars” on Terrorism*. (CSIS Report). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/terrorism-us-strategy-and-trends-its-wars-terrorism>
- Cordesman, Anthony H. (2018, October): *The Uncertain Trends in the “Wars” on Terrorism: Challenges of State Terrorism, Insurgency and other Key Problems*. (CSIS Report). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/uncer->

tain-trends-wars-terrorism

Cordesman, Anthony H. (2019, January): *The Trends in Islamic Extremism: Factors Impacting the Future Threat*. (CSIS Report). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/trends-islamic-extremism-factors-affecting-future-threat>

Counter Extremism Project (CEP) (2017): *Terror Targets in the West: Where and Why*. (Report). URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/terror-targets/overview>

Counter Extremism Project (CEP) (2017, February): *ISIS Online: U.S. Rights and Responsibilities*. (Report). URL: https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/ISIS%20Online_020517.pdf

Counter Extremism Project (CEP) (2017, May): *ISIS's Persecution of Religions*. (Report). URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/content/isiss-persecution-religions>

Counter Extremism Project (CEP) (2017, June): *The Muslim Brotherhood's Ties to ISIS and al-Qaeda*. (Report). URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/content/muslim-brotherhood%E2%80%99s-ties-isis-and-al-qaeda>

Counter Extremism Project (CEP) (2017, July): *ISIS's Persecution of Women*. (Report). URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/content/isiss-persecution-women>

Counter Extremism Project (CEP) (2018): *Propagandists, Recruiters, and Spokespersons*. (Report). URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/propagandists-recruiters-and-spokespersons>

Counter Extremism Project (CEP) (2018, January): *ISIS*. (Report). URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/isis>

Counter Extremism Project (CEP) (2018, April): *Extremists & Online Propaganda*. (Report). URL: https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/Extremists%20and%20Online%20Propaganda_040918.pdf

Counter Extremism Project (CEP) (2018, July): *The eGLYPH Web Crawler: ISIS Content on Youtube*. (Study). URL: https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/eGLYPH_web_crawler_white_paper_July_2018.pdf

Cox, Kate et al. (2018, November): *Social Media in Africa: A Double-Edged Sword for Security and Development*. (UNDP / RAND Research Report; RAND External Publications, EP-67730). URL: <http://www.africa.undp.org/content/rba/en/home/library/reports/social-media-in-africa-.html>

Dawson, Lorne L. (2018, June): *The Demise of the Islamic State and the Fate of its Western Foreign Fighters: Six Things to Consider*. (ICCT Policy Brief). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19165/2018.2.04>

DeGennaro, Patricia (Ed.) (2018, March): *How to Position USG against a Long Term ISIL Threat*. (SMA Reach-back Report). URL: <http://nsiteam.com/how-to-position-usg-against-a-long-term-isil-threat>

Dent, Elizabeth (2019, March): *The Unsustainability of ISIS Detentions in Syria*. (MEI Policy Paper 2019-5). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/unsustainability-isis-detentions-syria>

Dentice, Giuseppe (2018, February): *The Geopolitics of Violent Extremism: The Case of Sinai*. (PapersIEMed/EuroMeSCo series, No. 36). URL: <https://www.iemed.org/publicacions/historic-de-publicacions/paper-siemed-euromesco/36.-the-geopolitics-of-violent-extremism-the-case-of-sinai>

Dentice, Giuseppe (2018, April): *The Battle for Sinai: The Inside Story of Egypt's Political Violence*. (Al Jazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2018/04/battle-sinai-story-egypts-political-violence-180401105807265.html>

Dolbee, Samuel (2018, August): *After ISIS: Development and Demography in the Jazira*. (Crown Center for Middle East Studies, Middle East Brief 121). URL: <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/meb121.html>

el-Said, Hamed; Barrett, Richard (2017, July): *Enhancing the Understanding of the Foreign Terrorist Fighters*

- Phenomenon in Syria*. (UNOCT Study). URL: http://www.un.org/en/counterterrorism/assets/img/Report_Financial_20170727.pdf
- Englund, Scott; Stohl, Michael (2015, December): *The World vs. Daesh: Constructing a Contemporary Terrorist Threat*. (TRENDS Working Paper 02/2016). URL: <http://trendsinstitution.org/the-world-vs-daesh-constructing-a-contemporary-terrorist-threat>
- Europol (2016, November): *Changes in Modus Operandi of Islamic State (IS) Revisited*. (Report). URL: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/publications-documents/changes-in-modus-operandi-of-islamic-state-revisited>
- Fisher, Ali; Prucha, Nico (2017, November 10): Online Jihad: Data Science. *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://online-jihad.net/2017/11/10/online-jihad-data-science>
- Fisher, Ali; Prucha, Nico (2017, November 23): How Decliners Get Data so Wrong. *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2017/11/23/how-decliners-get-data-so-wrong>
- Fisher, Ali; Prucha, Nico (2018, January 26): How 6th Graders Would See through Decliner Logic and Coalition Information Operations. *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2018/01/26/how-6th-graders-would-see-through-decliner-logic-and-coalition-information-operations>
- Fisher, Ali; Prucha, Nico (2018, March 15): How Well Established Is the Jihadist Movement on Telegram? *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2018/03/15/how-well-established-is-the-jihadist-movement-on-telegram>
- Fisher, Ali; Prucha, Nico (2018, June 1): ISIS: Sunset on the “Decline Narrative”. *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2018/06/01/isis-sunset-on-the-decline-narrative>
- Fisher, Ali; Prucha, Nico (2018, December 13): After the Hype, what about the Data? Part 1: The Telegram “Cull”. *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2018/12/13/after-the-hype-what-about-the-data-part-1>
- Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI) (2017-2018): *After the Caliphate: Reassessing the Jihadi Threat and Stabilizing the Fertile Crescent*. [Special Project]. URL: <https://www.fpri.org/research/middleeast/after-the-caliphate-project>
- Gade, Tine (2019, February): *Islam Keeping Violent Jihadism at Bay in Times of Daesh: State Religious Institutions in Lebanon, Morocco and Saudi Arabia since 2013*. (NUPI / Middle East Directions Programme / EUI Research Project Report). URL: <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/61424>
- General Intelligence and Security Service of the Netherlands (AIVD) (2018, November): *Syria’s Legacy: Global Jihadism Remains a Threat to Europe*. (Report). URL: <https://english.aivd.nl/publications/publications/2018/11/09/the-legacy-of-syria-global-jihadism-remains-a-threat-to-europe>
- Georges, Amaryllis (2015, July): *ISIS Rhetoric for the Creation of the Ummah*. (TRENDS Working Paper 6/2015). URL: <http://trendsinstitution.org/isis-rhetoric-for-the-creation-of-the-ummah>
- Global Initiative For Civil Stabilisation, The (GICS) (2019, April): *Survival and Expansion: The Islamic State’s West African Province*. (Report). URL: <https://conflictstudies.gics.live/2019/04/23/gics-report-survival-and-expansion-the-islamic-states-west-african-province>
- Grinnell, Daniel et al. (2018, April): *Who Disseminates Rumiyah? Examining the Relative Influence of Sympathiser and Non-Sympathiser Twitter Users*. (Europol, ECTC Advisory Group Conference Paper). URL: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/publications-documents/who-disseminates-rumiyah-examining-relative-influence-of-sympathiser-and-non-sympathiser-twitter-users>
- Gunter, Frank R. (2018, November): *Rebuilding Iraq’s Public Works Infrastructure Following the Defeat of ISIS*. (FPRI Report). URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2018/11/rebuilding-iraqs-public-works-infrastructure-following-the-defeat-of-isis>

- Haid, Haid (2018, August): *Reintegrating ISIS Supporters in Syria: Efforts, Priorities and Challenges*. (ICSR Report). URL: <https://icsr.info/2018/08/20/reintegrating-isis-supporters-in-syria-efforts-priorities-and-challenges>
- Haid, Haid (2018, September): *Understanding the Drivers of Radicalization among Syrians*. (ICSR Feature). URL: <https://icsr.info/2018/09/24/understanding-the-drivers-of-radicalisation-among-syrians>
- Hassan, Hassan (2018, September): *Out of the Desert: ISIS's Strategy for a Long War*. (MEI Policy Paper 2018-8). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/out-desert-isis-strategy-long-war>
- Hassan, Hassan (2018, October): *Out of the Desert: ISIS's Strategy for a Long War*. [Audio File]. (SMA Speaker Session). URL: <https://nsiteam.com/out-of-the-desert-isis-strategy-for-a-long-war>
- Hecker, Marc; Tenenbaum, Élie (2017, January): *France vs. Jihadism: The Republic in a New Age of Terror*. (Notes de l'Ifri). URL: <https://www.ifri.org/en/publications/notes-de-lifri/notes-de-lifri/france-vs-jihadism-republic-new-age-terror>
- Helfont, Samuel (2019, March): *Requiem for Mosul*. (FPRI E-Notes). URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2019/03/requiem-for-mosul>
- Hiraal Institute; Global Strategy Network, The (2018, July): *The Islamic State in East Africa*. (Report). URL: <https://hiraalinstitute.org/the-islamic-state-in-east-africa>
- Holland-McCowan, John (2018, October): *The Kurds after the "Caliphate": How the Decline of ISIS has Impacted the Kurds of Iraq and Syria*. (ICSR Report). URL: <https://icsr.info/2018/10/10/the-kurds-after-the-caliphate-how-the-decline-of-isis-has-impacted-the-kurds-of-iraq-and-syria>
- Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2018, May): *"No Safe Place": Insurgent Attacks on Civilians in Afghanistan*. (Report). URL: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/05/08/no-safe-place/insurgent-attacks-civilians-afghanistan>
- Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2018, September): *"Life Without a Father Is Meaningless": Arbitrary Arrests and Enforced Disappearances in Iraq 2014-2017*. (Report). URL: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/09/27/life-without-father-meaningless/arbitrary-arrests-and-enforced-disappearances-iraq>
- Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2019, March): *"Everyone Must Confess": Abuses against Children Suspected of ISIS Affiliation in Iraq*. (Report). URL: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2019/03/06/everyone-must-confess/abuses-against-children-suspected-isis-affiliation-iraq>
- Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2019, March): *"We Found their Bodies Later that Day": Atrocities by Armed Islamists and Security Forces in Burkina Faso's Sahel Region*. (Report). URL: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2019/03/22/we-found-their-bodies-later-day/atrocities-armed-islamists-and-security-forces>
- Ingram, Haroro J. (2018, March): *Islamic State's English-Language Magazines, 2014-2017: Trends & Implications for CT-CVE Strategic Communications: A Quick Reference Guide to Islamic State News (Issues 1-3), Islamic State Report (Issues 1-4), Dabiq (Issues 1-15) and Rumiyyah (Issues 1-13)*. (ICCT Research Paper). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19165/2018.1.03>
- Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) (2018, July): *Indonesia and the Tech Giants vs ISIS Supporters: Combating Violent Extremism Online*. (IPAC Report No. 48). URL: <http://www.understandingconflict.org/en/conflict/read/72/Indonesia-and-the-Tech-Giants-vs-ISIS-Supporters-Combating-Violent-Extremism-Online>
- Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) (2018, July): *Managing Indonesia's Pro-ISIS Deportees*. (IPAC Report No. 47). URL: <http://www.understandingconflict.org/en/conflict/read/78/Managing-Indonesias-Pro-ISIS-Deportees>
- Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) (2018, August): *Recent and Planned Releases of Indonesian Extremists: An Update*. (IPAC Report No. 49). URL: <http://www.understandingconflict.org/en/conflict/read/73/Recent-and-Planned-Releases-of-Indonesian-Extremists-An-Update>

Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) (2018, October): *The Surabaya Bombings and the Future of ISIS in Indonesia*. (IPAC Report No. 51). URL: http://file.understandingconflict.org/file/2018/10/IPAC_Report_51.pdf

Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) (2019, January): *Protecting the Sulu-Sulawesi Seas from Abu Sayyaf Attacks*. (IPAC Report No. 53). URL: <http://www.understandingconflict.org/en/conflict/read/77/Protecting-The-Sulu-Sulawesi-Seas-from-Abu-Sayyaf-Attacks>

Institute for Policy Analysis of Conflict (IPAC) (2019, March): *The Jolo Bombing and the Legacy of ISIS in the Philippines*. (IPAC Report No. 54). URL: http://file.understandingconflict.org/file/2019/03/Report_54.pdf

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, April): *Preventing Boko Haram Abductions of Schoolchildren in Nigeria*. (Crisis Group Africa Briefing N°137). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/b137-preventing-boko-haram-abductions-schoolchildren-nigeria>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, December): *Avoiding a Free-for-all in Syria's North East*. (Middle East Briefing N°66). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/syria/b066-avoiding-free-all-syrias-north-east>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2019, May): *Facing the Challenge of the Islamic State in West Africa Province*. (Africa Report N°273). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/273-facing-challenge-islamic-state-west-africa-province>

International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), Jihadi Websites Monitoring Group (JWMG) Desk (2018, December): *The Islamic State in West Africa Accuses Shekau, the Leader of Boko Haram, of Deviating from Islam*. (JWMG Insights). URL: http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2306/The_Islamic_State_in_West_Africa

Jadoon, Amira (2018, December): *Allied and Lethal: Islamic State Khorasan's Network and Organizational Capacity in Afghanistan and Pakistan*. (CTC Report). URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/allied-lethal-islamic-state-khorasans-network-organizational-capacity-afghanistan-pakistan>

Jafri, Ali (2018, March): *Iraq: Coalition or Bilateral Approach?* (SMA Reach-back Report). URL: <http://nsiteam.com/iraq-coalition-or-bilateral-approach>

Jones, Seth G.; Toucas, Boris; Markusen, Maxwell B. (2018, December): *From the IRA to the Islamic State: The Evolving Terrorism Threat in Europe*. (CSIS Transnational Threats Program Report). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/ira-islamic-state-evolving-terrorism-threat-europe>

Jones, Seth G. et al. (2018, November): *The Evolution of the Salafi-Jihadist Threat: Current and Future Challenges from the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, and other Groups*. (CSIS Transnational Threats Project Report). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/evolution-salafi-jihadist-threat>

Kaaman, Hugo (2018, April 1): *Islamic State SVBIED Development & Innovation in the Battle of Mosul (Oct. 2016 – June 2017)*. [Case study for Jane's Terrorism & Insurgency Center]. *Hugo Kaaman: Open Source Research on SVBIEDs*. URL: <https://hugokaaman.com/2018/04/01/islamic-state-svbied-development-innovation-in-the-battle-of-mosul-oct-2016-june-2017-case-study-for-janes-terrorism-insurgency-center>

Kaaman, Hugo (2019, April): *Car Bombs as Weapons of War: ISIS's Development of SVBIEDs, 2014-19*. (MEI Policy Paper 2019-7). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/car-bombs-weapons-war-isiss-development-svbieds-2014-19>

Kaati, Lisa et al. (2017, May): *Computer Support to Analyze IS Propaganda*. (Europol, ECTC Advisory Group on Online Terrorist Propaganda Conference Paper). URL: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/publications-documents/computer-support-to-analyze-propaganda>

Kendall, Elisabeth (2018, July): *Contemporary Jihadi Militancy in Yemen: How Is the Threat Evolving?* (MEI Policy Paper 2018-7). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/how-jihadi-militancy-yemen-evolving>

Kfir, Isaac (2018, June): *A Primer on the Ideological and Theological Drivers of AQ and Daesh: Al-Qaedaism*. (ASPI Special Report). URL: <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/primer-ideological-and-theological-drivers-aq-and-daesh-al-qaedaism>

Lahoud, Nelly (2018, June): *Empowerment or Subjugation: An Analysis of ISIL's Gendered Messaging*. (UN Women Academic Paper). URL: <http://arabstates.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2018/6/empowerment-or-subjugation>

Lavrov, Anton (2018, June): *The Russian Air Campaign in Syria: A Preliminary Analysis*. (CNA Report). URL: https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/COP-2018-U-017903-Final.pdf

Lemon, Edward; Mironova, Vera; Tobey, William (2018, December): *Jihadists from Ex-Soviet Central Asia: Where Are they? Why did they Radicalize? What Next?* (Research Paper; Russia Matters / U.S.-Russia Initiative to Prevent Nuclear Terrorism). URL: <https://www.russiamatters.org/analysis/jihadists-ex-soviet-central-asia-where-are-they-why-did-they-radicalize-what-next>

Liv, Nadine (2019, March): *United Cyber Caliphate*. (ICT Articles / RED-Alert Project). URL: http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2361/United_Cyber_Caliphate

López-Sánchez, Daniel; Corchado, Juan M. (2018, April): *Applying Local Image Feature Descriptors to Aid the Detection of Radicalization Processes in Twitter*. (Europol, ECTC Advisory Group on Online Terrorist Propaganda Conference Paper). URL: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/publications-documents/applying-local-image-feature-descriptors-to-aid-detection-of-radicalization-processes-in-twitter>

Lounnas, Djallil (2018, April): *The Transmutation of Jihadi Organizations in the Sahel and the Regional Security Architecture*. (MENARA Future Notes, No. 10). URL: <https://www.iai.it/en/pubblicazioni/transmutation-jihadi-organizations-sahel-and-regional-security-architecture>

Lounnas, Djallil (2018, October): *Jihadist Groups in North Africa and the Sahel: Between Disintegration, Reconfiguration and Resilience*. (MENARA Working Papers, No. 16). URL: <http://www.menaraproject.eu/portfolio-items/jihadist-groups-in-north-africa-and-the-sahel-between-disintegration-reconfiguration-and-resilience>

Macnair, Logan (2018, October): *Linguistic and Narrative Trends among Islamic State Videos and Magazines*. (TSAS Working Paper Series, WP #18-08). URL: <https://www.tsas.ca/working-papers/linguistic-and-narrative-trends-among-islamic-state-videos-and-magazines>

Maher, Shiraz (2018, October): *The Primacy of Praxis: Clerical Authority in the Syrian Conflict*. (MEI Policy Paper 2018-10). URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/primacy-praxis-clerical-authority-syrian-conflict>

Mahlouly, Dounia; Winter, Charlie (2018): *A Tale of Two Caliphates: Comparing the Islamic State's Internal and External Messaging Priorities*. (VOX-Pol Report). URL: <https://www.voxpol.eu/download/vox-pol-publication/A-Tale-of-Two-Caliphates-Mahlouly-and-Winter.pdf>

Malik, Nikita; with Research Assistance from Thomas Moloney and Sophie Drake (2019, February): *Radicalising our Children: An Analysis of Family Court Cases of British Children at Risk of Radicalisation, 2013-2018*. (CRT Report). URL: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/publications/radicalising-our-children-an-analysis-of-family-court-cases-of-british-children-at-risk-of-radicalisation-2013-2018>

Markusen, Maxwell B. (2018, November): *The Islamic State and the Persistent Threat of Extremism in Iraq*. (CSIS Brief). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/islamic-state-and-persistent-threat-extremism-iraq>

Marone, Francesco; Vidino, Lorenzo (2019, March): *Destination Jihad: Italy's Foreign Fighters*. (Report; ICCT / GW Program on Extremism / ISPI). URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/destination-jihad-italys-foreign-fighters>

Masbah, Mohammed (2018, May): *The Limits of Morocco's Attempt to Comprehensively Counter Violent Extremism*. (Brandeis Middle East Brief, No. 118). URL: <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/meb118>

[html](#)

May (2019, February): "Not Only Jihadi Brides": Western Women in the Islamic State Organization (ISIS). (ICT Articles). URL: http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2341/Not_Only_Jihadi_Brides

Mehra, Tanya; Paulussen, Christophe (2019, March): *The Repatriation of Foreign Fighters and their Families: Options, Obligations, Morality and Long-Term Thinking*. (ICCT Perspectives). URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/the-repatriation-of-foreign-fighters-and-their-families-options-obligations-morality-and-long-term-thinking>

Milton, Daniel (2018, July): *Down, but Not Out: An Updated Examination of the Islamic State's Visual Propaganda*. (CTC Report). URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/down-but-not-out-an-updated-examination-of-the-islamic-states-visual-propaganda>

Milton, Daniel (2018, August): *Pulling Back the Curtain: An Inside Look at the Islamic State's Media Organization*. (CTC Report). URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/pulling-back-the-curtain-an-inside-look-at-the-islamic-states-media-organization>

Mirza, Rabiya (2018): *Canadian Women in ISIS: Deradicalization and Reintegration for Returnees*. (Research Paper, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Canada). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10393/38238>

Morton, Jesse; Silber, Mitchell D. (2018): *When Terrorists Come Home: The Need for Rehabilitating and Reintegrating America's Convicted Jihadists*. (CEP Report). URL: https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/CEP%20Report_When%20Terrorists%20Come%20Home_120618.pdf

Mouton, Christopher A.; Grissom, Adam R. (2018): *Preparing for "Post-ISIL" Access Challenges: Robust Basing to Support Operations against Nonstate Adversaries*. (RAND Research Reports, RR-2493-OSD). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7249/RR2493>

Normark, Magnus; Ranstorp, Magnus; Ahlin, Filip (2017, February): *Financial Activities Linked to Persons from Sweden and Denmark who Joined Terrorist Groups in Syria and Iraq during the Period 2013 - 2016*. (CATS Report commissioned by Finansinspektionen). URL: <https://www.fi.se/contentassets/a681b5c7b9a140658acb-86f3057c6c86/terrorismfinansiering-fi-cats-2017-engny2.pdf>

Nsaibia, Heni (2018, March): Targeting of the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS). (ACLED Analysis). URL: <https://www.acledata.com/2018/03/21/targeting-of-the-islamic-state-in-the-greater-sahara-isgs>

Parello-Plesner, Jonas (2018, August): *Post-ISIS Challenges for Stabilization: Iraq, Syria and the U.S. Approach*. (Hudson Institute Report). URL: <https://www.hudson.org/research/14527-post-isis-challenges-for-stabilization-iraq-syria-and-the-u-s-approach>

Paulussen, Christophe; Pitcher, Kate (2018, January): *Prosecuting (Potential) Foreign Fighters: Legislative and Practical Challenges*. (ICCT Research Paper). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19165/2018.1.01>

Praxl-Tabuchi, Franziska (2019, April): *Gendered Pathways to Radicalization and Desistance from Violent Extremism: Lessons from Early-Intervention Programs in the United Kingdom*. (Academic Paper; Global Center on Cooperative Security / UN Women). URL: <https://www.globalcenter.org/publications/gendered-pathways-to-radicalization-and-desistance-from-violent-extremism>

Prucha, Nico (2017, July 16-2017, October 10): "Islamic State" Briefing. (Online Jihad Mini-Series). *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2017/07/16/islamic-state-briefing>

Prucha, Nico (2017, October 15): The March 2016 Brussels Attacks – 10 Reasons by the "Islamic State" & the Context of the Sunni Extremist Universe. *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2017/10/15/the-march-2016-brussels-attacks-10-reasons-by-the-islamic-state-the-context-of-the-sunni-extremist-universe>

Prucha, Nico (2017, November 16): Notes on the "Salil al-sawarim" Series: The Theological Framework – From Amsterdam to the "Islamic State". *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2017/11/16/notes-on-the-salil-al-sawarim-series-the-theological-framework-from-amsterdam-to-the-islamic-state>

- Prucha, Nico (2018, January 1): IS Ecosystem: Salil al-sawarim (2012). *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2018/01/01/is-ecosystem-salil-al-sawarim-part-1-2012>
- Prucha, Nico (2018, January 14): Salil al-sawarim, Parts 2 (2012) and 3 (2013) – Making the Islamic State. *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2018/01/14/salil-al-sawarim-parts-2-2012-and-3-2013-making-the-islamic-state>
- Prucha, Nico (2018, May 1): The Echo of the “Deep State” – Salil al-sawarim (4). *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2018/05/01/the-echo-of-the-deep-state-salil-al-sawarim-4>
- Prucha, Nico (2018, May 1): The Clashes of the Swords – Nashid as Pop-Culture & Translation of the nashid Salil al-sawarim. *Online Jihad*. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2018/05/01/the-clashes-of-the-swords-nashid-as-pop-culture-translation-of-the-nashid-salil-al-sawarim>
- Rassler, Don (2018, July): *The Islamic State and Drones: Supply, Scale, and Future Threats*. (CTC Report). URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/islamic-state-drones-supply-scale-future-threats>
- Redden, Killian (2018, April): “In the Shade of the Khilafa”: *The Rise of Jihadism in Mosul*. (SciencesPo Kuwait Program Course Paper). URL: <https://www.sciencespo.fr/kuwait-program/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Killian-Redden-The-Rise-of-Jihadism.pdf>
- Renard, Thomas; Coolsaet, Rik (2018, July): *Children in the Levant: Insights from Belgium on the Dilemmas of Repatriation and the Challenges of Reintegration*. (EGMONT Security Policy Brief, No. 98). URL: <http://www.egmontinstitute.be/children-in-the-levant-insights-from-belgium-on-the-dilemmas-of-repatriation-and-the-challenges-of-reintegration>
- Rudolf, Inna (2018): *Holy Mobilisation: The Religious Legitimation behind Iraq’s Counter-ISIS Campaign*. (ICSR / TRENDS Report). URL: <https://icsr.info/2018/12/05/holy-mobilisation-the-religious-legitimation-behind-iraqs-counter-isis-campaign>
- Shay, Shaul (2019, March): *Egypt’s War against Terror – Comprehensive Operation Sinai 2018*. (ICT Articles). URL: <http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2360/Egypt%E2%80%99s%20war%20against%20terror>
- Silber, Mitchell; Morton, Jesse (2018, June): *From Revolution Muslim to Islamic State: An Inside Look at the American Roots of ISIS’ Virtual Caliphate*. (New America International Security Program Report). URL: <https://www.newamerica.org/international-security/reports/revolution-muslim-islamic-state>
- Speckhard, Anne (2015, May): *Female Terrorists in ISIS, Al Qaeda and 21st Century Terrorism*. (TRENDS Working Paper 03/2015). URL: <http://trendsintitution.org/female-terrorists-in-isis-al-qaeda-and-21rst-century-terrorism>
- Speckhard, Anne; Shajkovci, Ardian (2018, May): *ISIS – When Serving Terrorism is an “All in the Family” Affair – How to Recover the Lost Children and Spouses of ISIS*. (Paper presented at the 2018 OSCE-wide Counter-Terrorism Conference “The Reverse Flow of Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTFs): Challenges for the OSCE Area and Beyond”, Rome, Italy, May 11, 2018). URL: <http://www.icsve.org/isis-when-serving-terrorism-is-an-all-in-the-family-affair-how-to-recover-the-lost-children-and-spouses-of-isis>
- Speckhard, Anne; Shajkovci, Ardian (2018, May): *The Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter Narrative Project*. (Paper presented at the HORN Institute Conference “The Changing Dynamics of Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa: Towards Effective Prevention and Counter-Terrorism Strategies”, Nairobi, Kenya, April 24-26, 2018). URL: <http://www.icsve.org/the-breaking-the-isis-brand-counter-narrative-project>
- Speckhard, Anne; Shajkovci, Ardian; Bodo, Lorand (2018, March): *Fighting ISIS on Facebook—Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter-Narratives Project*. (ICSVE Research Report). URL: <http://www.icsve.org/fighting-isis-on-facebook-breaking-the-isis-brand-counter-narratives-project>
- Speckhard, Anne; Shajkovci, Ardian; Izadi, Neima (2018, October): *Fighting ISIS in the Digital Space in Jordan*.

(ICSVE Research Report). URL: <http://www.icsve.org/fighting-isis-in-the-digital-space-in-jordan>

Speckhard, Anne; Shajkovci, Ardian; Izadi, Neima (2018, November): *Breaking the ISIS Brand in Iraq Using Counter Narrative Campaigns on Facebook*. (ICSVE Research Report). URL: <http://www.icsve.org/breaking-the-isis-brand-in-iraq-using-counter-narrative-campaigns-on-facebook>

Speckhard, Anne et al. (2018, February): *Bringing Down the Digital Caliphate: A Breaking the ISIS Brand Counter-Narratives Intervention with Albanian Speaking Facebook Accounts*. (ICSVE Research Report). URL: <http://www.icsve.org/bringing-down-the-digital-caliphate-a-breaking-the-isis-brand-counter-narratives-intervention-with-albanian-speaking-facebook-accounts>

Speckhard, Anne et al. (2018, December): *Engaging English Speaking Facebook Users in an Anti-ISIS Awareness Campaign*. (ICSVE Research Report). URL: <http://www.icsve.org/engaging-english-speaking-facebook-users-in-an-anti-isis-awareness-campaign>

Spyer, Jonathan; Tabler, Andrew J. (2018, March): *Reporting Syria and Iraq*. [Video]. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Forum). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/reporting-syria-and-iraq>

Steinberg, Guido (2018, September): *Das Ende des IS? Die Fragmentierung der jihadistischen Bewegung*. (SWP-Studie 20). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/publikation/das-ende-des-is>

Stohl, Michael (2015, January): *On the Horns of the US Counterterrorism Dilemma: Confronting ISIL and the Consequences of the War on Terror*. (TRENDS Working Paper 02/2015). URL: <http://trendsinstitution.org/on-the-horns-of-the-us-counterterrorism-dilemma-2>

Sumpter, Cameron (2018, July): *Returning Indonesian Extremists: Unclear Intentions and Unprepared Responses*. (ICCT Policy Brief). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19165/2018.2.05>

Tucker, Noah (2018, July): *What Happens When Your Town Becomes an ISIS Recruiting Ground? Lessons from Central Asia about Vulnerability, Resistance, and the Danger of Ignoring Perceived Injustice*. (CAP Paper 209). URL: <http://centralasiaprogram.org/archives/12497>

Toucas, Boris (2018, August): *France's Determined Struggle against Salafi Jihadism*. (CSIS Briefs). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/frances-determined-struggle-against-salafi-jihadism>

United Nations Security Council, Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED) (2018, March): *The Challenge of Returning and Relocating Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Research Perspectives*. (CTED Trends Report). URL: <https://www.un.org/sc/ctc/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CTED-Trends-Report-March-2018.pdf>

Vale, Gina (2018, July): *Cubs in the Lions' Den: Indoctrination and Recruitment of Children within Islamic State Territory*. (ICSR Report). URL: <https://icsr.info/2018/07/23/cubs-in-the-lions-den-indoctrination-and-recruitment-of-children-within-islamic-state-territory>

van der Heide, Liesbeth; Winter, Charlie; Maher, Shiraz (2018, November): *The Cost of Crying Victory: Policy Implications of the Islamic State's Territorial Collapse*. (ICCT Report). URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/the-cost-of-crying-victory-policy-implications-of-the-islamic-states-territorial-collapse>

Van Ostaeyen, Pieter; Van Vlierden, Guy (2018, May): *Citizenship and Ancestry of Belgian Foreign Fighters*. (ICCT Policy Brief). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19165/2018.2.03>

Varvelli, Arturo (2017, November): *Islamic State's Re-Organization in Libya and Potential Connections with Illegal Trafficking*. (GW Program on Extremism Occasional Paper). URL: <https://extremism.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2191/f/Varvelli%20IS%20Reorganization%20in%20Libya%20and%20Trafficking.pdf>

Waters, Gregory; Postings, Robert (2018, May): *Spiders of the Caliphate: Mapping the Islamic State's Global Support Network on Facebook*. (CEP Report). URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/sites/default/files/Spi>

[ders%20of%20the%20Caliphate%20%28May%202018%29.pdf](#)

Whiteside, Craig (2018, September): *Nine Bullets for the Traitors, One for the Enemy: The Slogans and Strategy behind the Islamic State's Campaign to Defeat the Sunni Awakening (2006-2017)*. (ICCT Research Paper). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19165/2018.1.07>

Williams, Heather J.; Chandler, Nathan; Robinson, Eric (2018): *Trends in the Draw of Americans to Foreign Terrorist Organizations from 9/11 to Today*. (RAND Research Reports, RR-2545-OSD). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7249/RR2545>

Wilson, Tom (2018, October): *Terrorism in the West: An Age of Extremes*. (HJS Report). URL: <https://henry-jacksonsociety.org/publications/terrorism-in-the-west-an-age-of-extremes>

Winter, Charlie; Haid, Haid (2018, June): *Jihadist Propaganda, Offline: Strategic Communications in Modern Warfare*. (Middle East Institute Policy Paper 2018-3). URL: <http://education.mei.edu/content/jihadist-propaganda-offline-strategic-communications-modern-warfare>

Zelin, Aaron Y. (2018, January): *The Others: Foreign Fighters in Libya*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Notes, 45). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-others-foreign-fighters-in-libya-and-the-islamic-state>

Zelin, Aaron Y. (2018, November): *Tunisian Foreign Fighters in Iraq and Syria*. [Video]. (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Notes, 55). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/tunisian-foreign-fighters-in-iraq-and-syria>

Zelin, Aaron Y.; Franken, Michael T. (2018, February): *Foreign Fighters in Libya: Consequences for Africa and Europe*. [Video]. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, PolicyWatch, 2934 / Counterterrorism Lecture Series). URL: <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/foreign-fighters-in-libya-consequences-for-africa-and-europe>

Zelin, Aaron Y.; Walles, Jacob (2018, December): *Tunisia's Foreign Fighters*. [Video]. (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, PolicyWatch 3053). URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/tunisias-foreign-fighters>

Zywietz, Bernd (2018, April 20): Zur Ästhetisierung in und von IS-Video-Propaganda (I). *Online-Propagandaforschung*. URL: <https://www.online-propagandaforschung.de/index.php/texte/aesthetisierung-is-video-propaganda-i>

Zywietz, Bernd (2018, May 10): Zur Ästhetisierung in und von IS-Video-Propaganda (II). *Online-Propagandaforschung*. URL: <https://www.online-propagandaforschung.de/index.php/2018/05/10/text-zur-aesthetisierung-in-und-von-is-video-propaganda-ii>

Note

Whenever retrievable, URLs for freely available versions of subscription-based publications have been provided. Thanks to the Open Access movement, self-archiving of publications in institutional repositories, on professional networking sites, or author homepages for free public use (so-called Green Open Access) has become more common. Please note, that the content of Green Open Access documents is not necessarily identical to the officially published versions (e.g., in case of pre-prints); it might therefore not have passed through all editorial stages publishers employ to ensure quality control (peer review, copy and layout editing etc.). In some cases, articles may only be cited after obtaining permission by the author(s).

About the compiler: Judith Tinnes, Ph.D., is a Professional Information Specialist. Since 2011, she works for the Leibniz Institute for Psychology Information ([ZPID](#)). Additionally, she serves as Information Resources

Editor to 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. In her editorial role, she regularly compiles bibliographies and other resources for Terrorism Research. She wrote her [doctoral thesis](#) on Internet usage of Islamist terrorists and insurgents (focus: media-oriented hostage takings). E-mail: j.tinnes@gmx.de

Bibliography: Boko Haram

Compiled and selected by Judith Tinnes

[Bibliographic Series of Perspectives on Terrorism – BSPT-JT-2019-5]

Abstract

This bibliography contains journal articles, book chapters, books, edited volumes, theses, grey literature, bibliographies and other resources on the Nigerian terrorist group Boko Haram. While focusing on recent literature, the bibliography is not restricted to a particular time period and covers publications up to May 2019. The literature has been retrieved by manually browsing more than 200 core and periphery sources in the field of Terrorism Studies. Additionally, full-text and reference retrieval systems have been employed to broaden the search.

Keywords: bibliography, resources, literature, Boko Haram, Islamic State West Africa Province, ISWAP, Abubakar Shekau, Abu Musab al-Barnawi, Nigeria, Lake Chad region

NB: All websites were last visited on 18.05.2019. - See also Note for the Reader at the end of this literature list.

Bibliographies and other Resources

Benkirane, Reda et al. (2015-): *Radicalisation, violence et (in)sécurité au Sahel*. URL: <https://sahelradical.hypotheses.org>

Bokostan (2013, February-): @BokoWatch. URL: <https://twitter.com/BokoWatch>

Campbell, John (2019, March 1-): *Nigeria Security Tracker*. URL: <https://www.cfr.org/nigeria/nigeria-security-tracker/p29483>

Counter Extremism Project (CEP) (n.d.-): *Boko Haram*. (Report). URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/threat/boko-haram>

Elden, Stuart (2014, June): *Boko Haram – An Annotated Bibliography*. *Progressive Geographies*. URL: <https://progressivegeographies.com/resources/boko-haram-an-annotated-bibliography>

Hoffendahl, Christine (2014, December): *Auf der Suche nach einer Strategie gegen Boko Haram*. [In search for a strategy against Boko Haram]. (Annotated Online Bibliography; GIGA dok-line AFRIKA). URL: https://www.giga-hamburg.de/de/system/files/iz_publications/dok-line_afrika_2014_3.pdf

Marlatt, Greta E. (2015, March): *Boko Haram: A Brief Bibliography of Open Source Information*. (Dudley Knox Library Bibliography). URL: <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=753034>

NATO Multimedia Library (2013, March): *Africa: Conflicts and Crises of the Last Five Years*. (Thematic Bibliography No. 3/13). URL: http://www.natolibguides.info/ld.php?content_id=10701671

Price, Eric (2011, September): *Selected Literature on Terrorism and Political Violence/Conflict in Africa since the Second World War*. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 5(3-4), 118-133. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2011/issue-3-4/selected-literature-on-terrorism-and-political-violence-conflict-in-africa-since-the-second-world-war--eric-price.pdf>

Solomon, Salem (Writer); Gumbo, Tatenda; Ferri, Steven (Designers & Producers) (2017, February): *Boko Haram: Terror Unmasked*. (VOA Report & Video Series). URL: <https://projects.voanews.com/boko-haram-terror-unmasked>

Books and Edited Volumes

Abegunrin, Olayiwola (2017): *Nigeria, Africa, and the United States: Challenges of Governance, Development, and Security*. (African Governance and Development). Lanham: Lexington Books.

Abubakar, Ibrahim Abdul (2015): *Anti-Money Laundering and Counter-Terrorism Financing: Law and Practice in Nigeria*. (Malthouse Law Books). Lagos: Malthouse Press.

Anugwom, Edlyne Eze (2019): *The Boko Haram Insurgence in Nigeria: Perspectives from Within*. (New Directions in Islam). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-96959-6>

Bauer, Wolfgang (2016): *Stolen Girls: Survivors of Boko Haram Tell their Story*. (Eric Frederick Trump, Trans.). New York: The New Press.

Campbell, John; Page, Matthew T. (2018): *Nigeria: What Everyone Needs to Know*[®]. New York: Oxford University Press.

Comolli, Virginia (2017): *Boko Haram: Nigeria's Islamist Insurgency*. (Revised & updated ed.). London: Hurst.

David, Ojochenemi J.; Asuelime, Lucky E.; Onapajo, Hakeem (2015): *Boko Haram: The Socio-Economic Drivers*. (Springer Briefs in Political Science). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-21230-2>

De Coning, Cedric; Gelot, Linnéa; Karlsrud, John (Eds.) (2016): *The Future of African Peace Operations: From the Janjaweed to Boko Haram*. (Africa Now). London / Uppsala: Zed Books / Nordic Africa Institute.

Faluyi, Olumuyiwa Temitope; Khan, Sultan; Akinola, Adeoye O. (2019): *Boko Haram's Terrorism and the Nigerian State: Federalism, Politics and Policies*. (Advances in African Economic, Social and Political Development). Cham: Springer International Publishing. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-05737-4>

Francis, David J. (Ed.) (2018): *African Peace Militaries: War, Peace and Democratic Governance*. (Routledge Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution). Abingdon: Routledge.

Habila, Helon (2016): *The Chibok Girls: The Boko Haram Kidnappings and Islamist Militancy in Nigeria*. New York: Columbia Global Reports.

Harmon, Stephen A. (2014): *Terror and Insurgency in the Sahara-Sahel Region: Corruption, Contraband, Jihad and the Mali War of 2012-2013*. (The International Political Economy of New Regionalisms Series). Abingdon: Routledge. (Original work published 2014)

Hentz, James J.; Solomon, Hussein (Eds.) (2017): *Understanding Boko Haram: Terrorism and Insurgency in Africa*. (Contemporary Terrorism Studies). Abingdon: Routledge.

Ibrahim, Patience; Hoffmann, Andrea C. (2017): *A Gift from Darkness: How I Escaped with my Daughter from Boko Haram*. (Shaun Whiteside, Trans.). London: Little, Brown.

Iyi, John-Mark; Strydom, Hennie (Eds.) (2018): *Boko Haram and International Law*. Cham: Springer International Publishing. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74957-0>

Kassim, Abdulbasit; Nwankpa, Michael (Eds.) (2018): *The Boko Haram Reader: From Nigerian Preachers to the Islamic State*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kendhammer, Brandon; McCain, Carmen (2018): *Boko Haram*. (Ohio Short Histories of Africa). Athens: Ohio University Press.

Kieh, George Klay; Kalu, Kelechi (Eds.) (2013): *West Africa and the U.S. War on Terror*. (Routledge Studies in US Foreign Policy). Abingdon: Routledge.

LeVan, A. Carl (2019): *Contemporary Nigerian Politics: Competition in a Time of Transition and Terror*. Cam-

bridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108560467>

MacEachern, Scott (2018): *Searching for Boko Haram: A History of Violence in Central Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mantzikos, Ioannis (Ed.) (2013, October): *Boko Haram: Anatomy of a Crisis*. (Edited Collection). Bristol: e-International Relations. URL: <https://www.e-ir.info/wp-content/uploads/Boko-Haram-e-IR.pdf>

Maszka, John (2017): *Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram: Guerrilla Insurgency or Strategic Terrorism?* London: World Scientific.

Matfess, Hilary (2017): *Women and the War on Boko Haram: Wives, Weapons, Witnesses*. (African Arguments). London: Zed Books.

Obi, Cyril; Oriola, Temitope B. (Eds.) (2018): *The Unfinished Revolution in Nigeria's Niger Delta: Prospects for Environmental Justice and Peace*. (Routledge Studies in Peace, Conflict and Security in Africa). Abingdon: Routledge.

Olabode, Shola Abidemi (2018): *Digital Activism and Cyberconflicts in Nigeria: Occupy Nigeria, Boko Haram and MEND*. Bingley: Emerald.

Omeni, Akali (2018): *Counter-Insurgency in Nigeria: The Military and Operations against Boko Haram, 2011-2017*. (Studies in Insurgency, Counterinsurgency and National Security). London: Routledge.

Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine (Ed.) (2014): *Boko Haram: Islamism, Politics, Security, and the State in Nigeria*. (West African Politics and Society Series, Vol. 2). [e-Book]. Leiden / Zaria: African Studies Centre (ASC) / French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/23853>

Ridley, Nick (2014): *Terrorism in East and West Africa: The Under-Focused Dimension*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781783470525>

Smith, Mike (2015): *Boko Haram: Inside Nigeria's Unholy War*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Solomon, Hussein (2015): *Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Africa: Fighting Insurgency from Al Shabaab, Ansar Dine and Boko Haram*. (New Security Challenges). New York: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137489890>

Taft, Patricia; Haken, Nate (2015): *Violence in Nigeria: Patterns and Trends*. (Terrorism, Security, and Computation). Cham: Springer International. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-14935-6>

Thurston, Alexander (2016): *Salafism in Nigeria: Islam, Preaching, and Politics*. (The International African Library, Vol. 52). Cambridge / London: Cambridge University Press / International African Institute.

Thurston, Alexander (2018): *Boko Haram: The History of an African Jihadist Movement*. (Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics, 65). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Varin, Caroline (2016): *Boko Haram and the War on Terror*. (Praeger Security International). Santa Barbara: Praeger.

Walker, Andrew (2016): *"Eat the Heart of the Infidel": The Harrowing of Nigeria and the Rise of Boko Haram*. London: Hurst.

Theses

Ackah-Arthur, Jemima (2013): *The Rhetoric in Human Security in the 21st Century: The Case of Boko Haram in Nigeria*. (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2429/55126>

- Babalola, Oluwatosin (2013): *Combating Violent-Extremism and Insurgency in Nigeria: A Case Study of the Boko Haram Scourge*. (Master's Thesis, University of Kansas, Lawrence, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1808/14203>
- Balaban, Yasin (2017, March): *The Boko Haram Crisis: Responses by State and Non-State Actors to a Security Challenge in the Lake Chad Region*. (Master's Thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11427/29319>
- Bamba, Ramzey (2014, December): *The Emerging Threats of Terrorism in West Africa: An Analysis of Ghana's Response*. (Master's Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana). URL: <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh/handle/123456789/27452>
- Bartlett, Isam (2018): *Bring Back our Girls: A Human Rights Analysis of Child Abductions by Boko Haram*. (Master's Thesis, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11394/6518>
- Biesmans, George Arthur (2017): *Fight in the Way of Allah: Examining the Boko Haram Insurgency through the Lens of the Post-Cold War International System*. (Master's Thesis, Universität Wien, Vienna, Austria). URL: <https://othes.univie.ac.at/47708>
- David, James Ojochenemi (2013, November): *The Root Causes of Terrorism: An Appraisal of the Socio-Economic Determinants of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria*. (Master's Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10413/10628>
- Ebi, Lawrence Eka (2018, July): *The Impact of the Boko Haram Terrorist Group on the Socio-Economic Well-Being and Livelihood of the Population in North-Eastern Nigeria*. (Master's Thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10500/25139>
- Eke, Surulola (2017): *Undertaking Population-Centric Counterinsurgency in the Age of Salafi-Driven Insurgencies: A Study of the Boko Haram Conflict*. (Master's Thesis, University of Victoria, Victoria, Canada). URL: <https://dspace.library.uvic.ca/handle/1828/8862>
- Faluyi, Olumuyiwa (2017, May): *An Assessment of Nigeria's Counter-Terrorism Policies against Boko Haram*. (Master's Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10413/14762>
- Fisseha, Mehari (2016, May): *The Nexus between Religion and Terrorism: An Investigation into the Boko Haram Killing Activities in Nigeria*. (Master's Thesis, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-295528>
- Flynn, Daniel (2017, March): *Understanding Boko Haram*. (Master's Thesis, DePaul University, Chicago, United States). URL: <https://via.library.depaul.edu/etd/223>
- Hairiya, Dauda (2017, July): *The Role of the Multinational Joint Task Force in Fighting against Boko Haram in Africa*. (Master's Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana). URL: <http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh/handle/123456789/27586>
- Hatupopi, Petrus (2017, March): *The Responsibility to Protect (R2P): An Analysis of the Fulfillment of the Obligation Borne by the Nigerian Government and the International Community to Protect the Nigerian Population from Boko Haram*. (Master's Thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11427/27491>
- Hlatshwayo, Belinda S. T. (2017, March): *International Criminal Law and the African Girl Child Soldier: Does the International Criminal Law Framework Provide Adequate Protection to the African Girl Child Soldier?* (Master's Thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11427/25316>
- Irene, Oseremen (2014, December): *Building Infrastructures for Peace: An Action Research Project in Nigeria*. (Doctoral Thesis, Durban University of Technology, Durban, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10321/1546>

- Isokpan, Aisosa Jennifer (2016, March): *The Boko Haram Insurgency and the Child's Right to Education in Nigeria*. (Master's Thesis, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11394/5351>
- Karlsson, Matilda (2015, Fall): *Islamic Terrorism: A Qualitative, Comparative Case Study between Al-Qaeda and Boko Haram*. (Bachelor's Thesis, Linnaeus University, Kalmar/Växjö, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:lnu:diva-49367>
- Kerins, Patrick M.; Mouaha-Bell, Stans Victor (2018, December): *Boko Haram's Rise and the Multinational Response*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/61200>
- Kristensen, Klaus Stig (2015, October): *Boko Haram: An African Insurgency*. (Master's Thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11427/20699>
- Maiangwa, Benjamin (2012, November): *State Fragility and the Reign of Terror in Nigeria: A Case Study of Boko Haram Terrorism*. (Master's Thesis, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban / Pietermaritzburg, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10413/9045>
- Matonte, James Philip (2018, April): *Exposure to Terrorism and Birthweight Outcomes in Nigeria*. (Master's Thesis, Montana State University, Bozeman, United States). URL: <https://scholarworks.montana.edu/xmlui/handle/1/14568>
- Medeiros, Anthony, III (2016, June): *Land Wars: The Political Economy of Nigeria's Displacement Crisis*. (Master's Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1721.1/105061>
- Mlambo, Mellissa Simbisai (2017, August): *Boko Haram and Nigerian Insecurity: Religion and the Failure of Governance as Causal Factors*. (Master's Thesis, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2263/65585>
- Murphy, Emma Grace (2017): *#BringBackOurGirls: Solidarity or Self-Interest? Online Feminist Movements and Third World Women*. (Master's Thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10092/14517>
- Mustapha-Koiki, Adepte Rahmat (2019): *Journalism and Risk: The Impact of Boko Haram Attacks on News Content and Journalists' Patterns of News Gathering and Reporting in Nigeria (2011-2012)*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10092/16426>
- Nwankpa, Michael Okwuchi (2017): *Conflict and Development in Nigeria: Counterinsurgency and Counterterrorism Strategies towards the Niger Delta and Boko Haram Conflicts*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Roehampton, London, United Kingdom). URL: [https://pure.roehampton.ac.uk/portal/en/studentthesis/conflict-and-development-in-nigeria\(eb6c557b-c185-4cc0-bc58-0b7153f33190\).html](https://pure.roehampton.ac.uk/portal/en/studentthesis/conflict-and-development-in-nigeria(eb6c557b-c185-4cc0-bc58-0b7153f33190).html)
- Oboho, Kitefre K.; Artis, Andrew J. (2015, June): *Boko Haram: Africa's New JV Team?* (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/45916>
- Ofongo, Olusegun Anthony (2018): *Defence Strategy: Intelligence and Management of Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria*. (Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1993/32912>
- Oftedal, Emilie (2013, Spring): *Boko Haram: A Transnational Phenomenon?* (Master's Thesis, University of Oslo, Oslo, Norway). URL: <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-37367>
- Ojelade, Steve Olufemi (2018): *Counterterrorism Policy towards Boko Haram in Nigeria during 2009-2015*. (Doctoral Thesis, Walden University, Minneapolis, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/10982497.html>
- Ojo, Victoria Olayide (2015, October): *The Boko Haram Violence from the Perspective of International Crimi-*

- nal Law*. (Master's Thesis, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/11394/5175>
- Onyegbula, Roselyn (2018): *Women's Experiences in Peace Building Processes: A Phenomenological Study of Undeterred Female Leaders in Northern Nigeria*. (Doctoral Thesis, Nova Southeastern University, Davie, United States). URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/pubnum/10839774.html?FMT=AI>
- Ori, Konye Obaji (2013, July): *Conceptualizing Boko Haram: Victimhood Ritual and the Construction of Islamic Fundamentalism*. (Master's Thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1805/4079>
- Post, Gerdine (2018, Spring): *Justifying the Unforgivable: How Ideology Shapes Patterns of Violence of Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab*. (Master's Thesis, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden). URL: <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2:1215639>
- Rock, Jason L. (2016, December): *The Funding of Boko Haram and Nigeria's Actions to Stop it*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/51603>
- Rodriguez, Richard Michael, Jr. (2014, Summer): *A Spatial Analysis of Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab References in Social Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*. (Master's Thesis, George Mason University, Fairfax, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1920/9110>
- Ryan, James D. (2013, June): *An Alliance Built upon Necessity: AQIM, Boko Haram, and the African "Arch of Instability"*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/34732>
- Sändig, Jan (2015): *Framing Non-Violent Protest and Insurgency: Boko Haram and MASSOB in Nigeria*. (Doctoral Thesis, University of Tübingen, Tübingen, Germany). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15496/publikation-24740>
- Schoemaker, R. H. (2015, June): *Can't...? Or Won't? The Nigerian Government and the Boko Haram Conflict*. (Master's Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/33632>
- Seiyefa, Ebimboere (2016, May): *Organised Violence: A Manifestation of Elite Political Culture: A Case Study of Boko Haram*. (Doctoral Thesis, Coventry University, Coventry, United Kingdom). URL: <http://curve.coventry.ac.uk/open/items/ecba3b57-b143-4d9c-b0b7-60c0bdcbf4d5/1>
- Smeets, Bastiaan (2016, August): *The "Flip-Flop" Approach to Terrorism: An Analysis of the Responses of Successive Nigerian Governments to the Ongoing Insurgency of Boko Haram*. (Master's Thesis, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/53666>
- Smith, Chelsey (2015, August): *The Technology of Hope: Twitter and the #BringBackOurGirls Campaign*. (Master's Thesis, Royal Roads University, Victoria, Canada). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10170/842>
- Uhler, Michael (2017, May): *Boko Haram: Why they Became an Affiliate of Daesh*. (Bachelor's Thesis, Linnaeus University, Växjö, Sweden). URL: <http://lnu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1106952&dswid=9423>
- Uloho, Justin Oberhiri (2013, November): *The Threat of New Terrorism in Nigeria: An Assessment of Boko Haram*. (Master's Thesis, North-West University, Mafikeng, South Africa). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10394/14693>
- Umar, Aminu Mohammed (2013, June): *Nigeria and the Boko Haram Sect: Adopting a Better Strategy for Resolving the Crisis*. (Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, United States). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/10945/34755>
- Uwazuruike, Confidence (2018, April): *Reporting Terrorism: Boko Haram in the Nigerian Press*. (Doctoral Thesis, Bournemouth University, Poole, United Kingdom). URL: <http://eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk/31179>
- Valenti, Adrianna D. (2015, May): *Estimating Populations at Risk in Data-Poor Environments: A Geographically*

Disaggregated Analysis of Boko Haram Terrorism 2009-2014. (Master's Thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, United States). URL: <http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll3/id/545402>

Vos, Love (2018, January): *Comparative Analysis of Radicalization in the Cases of Boko Haram and Abu Sayyaf*. (Bachelor's Thesis, Linnaeus University, Växjö, Sweden). URL: <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:lnu:di-va-70139>

Waldron, Thea (2019, May): *Gender Based Violence and Non-State Armed Groups: The Case of Boko Haram*. (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada). URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/2429/70112>

Journal Articles and Book Chapters

Abdulazeez, Medinat A.; Oriola, Temitope B. (2018): Criminogenic Patterns in the Management of Boko Haram's Human Displacement Situation. *Third World Quarterly*, 39(1), 85-103. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2017.1369028> URL: <https://www.ualberta.ca/-/media/571CC37A29394CAD8DBA8FCA368707C9>

Abubakar, Abdullahi Tasiu (2012, April): The Media, Politics and Boko Blitz. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 4(1), 97-110. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1386/jams.4.1.97_7

Abubakar, Dauda (2017): From Sectarianism to Terrorism in Northern Nigeria: A Closer Look at Boko Haram. In: Caroline Varin; Dauda Abubakar (Eds.): *Violent Non-State Actors in Africa: Terrorists, Rebels and Warlords*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature, 17-47. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-51352-2_2

Adelaja, Adesoji O.; Labo, Abdullahi; Penar, Eva (2018, June): Public Opinion on the Root Causes of Terrorism and Objectives of Terrorists: A Boko Haram Case Study. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(3), 35-49. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2018/issue-3/03--public-opinion-on-the-root-causes-of-terrorism-and-objectives-of-terrorists-a-boko-haram-case-study.pdf>

Agbedo, Chris Uchenna; Buluan, Doofan; Krisagbedo, Ebere C. (2013): Socio-Psychological Deconstruction of Fear of Boko Haram in Nigeria: The Nigerian Media Perspective. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 16, 58-73. URL: <https://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/NMMC/article/view/7094>

Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2013): Living in Fear: Religious Identity, Relative Deprivation and the Boko Haram Terrorism. *African Security*, 6(2), 153-170. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2013.788410>

Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2013): The Ongoing Campaign of Terror in Nigeria: Boko Haram versus the State. *Stability*, 2(3), Article 52. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.cl>

Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2013, Spring): Why Boko Haram Exists: The Relative Deprivation Perspective. *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*, 3(1), 144-157. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2979/africonfpeacrevi.3.1.144>

Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2013, August): No Retreat, No Surrender: Understanding the Religious Terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *African Study Monographs*, 34(2), 65-84. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14989/179136>

Agbiboa, Daniel E. (2013, December): Is Might Right? Boko Haram, the Joint Military Task Force, and the Global Jihad. *Military and Strategic Affairs*, 5(3), 53-72. URL: <https://www.inss.org.il/wp-content/uploads/systemfiles/Is%20Might%20Right.pdf>

Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2014): Peace at Daggers Drawn? Boko Haram and the State of Emergency in Nigeria. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 37(1), 41-67. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2014.853602>

Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2018): Eyes on the Street: Civilian Joint Task Force and the Surveillance of Boko Haram in Northeastern Nigeria. *Intelligence and National Security*, 33(7), 1022-1039. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02684527.2018.1475892>

Agbiboa, Daniel Egiegba (2018): National Heroes or Coming Anarchy? Vigilant Youth and the "War on Terror"

- in Nigeria. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(2), 272-294. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2017.1400497>
- Agbibo, Daniel Egigba; Maiangwa, Benjamin (2013, December): Boko Haram, Religious Violence, and the Crisis of National Identity in Nigeria: Towards a Non-Killing Approach. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 29(4), 379-403. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0169796X13503198>
- Aghedo, Iro (2014): Old Wine in a New Bottle: Ideological and Operational Linkages between Maitatsine and Boko Haram Revolts in Nigeria. *African Security*, 7(4), 229-250. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.977169>
- Aghedo, Iro; Osumah, Oarhe (2015, April): Insurgency in Nigeria: A Comparative Study of Niger Delta and Boko Haram Uprisings. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 50(2), 208-222. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909614520726>
- Ahmadu, Valkamiya (2015): Countering Violent Extremism in Nigeria. *per Concordiam*, 6(4), 36-39. URL: http://perconcordiam.com/perCon_V6N4_Eng.pdf
- Ajala, Olayinka (2018): Formation of Insurgent Groups: MEND and Boko Haram in Nigeria. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29(1), 112-130. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1403744>
- Ajogbeje, Korede; Adeniyi, Oluwatosin; Folarin, Oludele (2017, December): The Effect of Terrorism on Tourism Development in Nigeria: A Note. *Tourism Economics*, 23(8), 1673-1678. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354816617692477>
- Akilu, Fatima (2016, February): Nigeria's Response to Terrorism. In: The Carter Center (Ed.): *Countering Daesh Propaganda: Action-Oriented Research for Practical Policy Outcomes*. (Workshop Report). Atlanta: The Carter Center, 93-96. URL: https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/peace/conflict_resolution/countering-isis/counteringdaeshpropaganda-feb2016.pdf
- Akinola, Olabanji (2015): Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: Between Islamic Fundamentalism, Politics, and Poverty. *African Security*, 8(1), 1-29. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2015.998539>
- Akinola, Olabanji (2017): Beyond Maiduguri: Understanding Boko Haram's Rule in Rural Communities of Northeastern Nigeria. In: Program on Governance and Local Development (GLD); Project on Middle East Political Science (POMEPS) (Eds.): *Islam in a Changing Middle East: Local Politics and Islamist Movements*. (GLD Working Paper No. 13 2017). Gothenburg / Washington, DC: Editors, 119-126. URL: <http://gld.gu.se/media/1297/islam-in-a-changing-middle-east.pdf>
- Alao, Charles Abiodun (2013): Islamic Radicalisation and Violent Extremism in Nigeria. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 13(2), 127-147. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2013.796205>
- Alao, Charles Abiodun (2013): Islamic Radicalisation and Violence in Nigeria. In: James Gow; Funmi Olofinakin; Ernst Dijkhoorn (Eds.): *Militancy and Violence in West Africa: Religion, Politics and Radicalisation*. (Contemporary Security Studies). Abingdon: Routledge, 43-89.
- Alda, Erik; Sala, Joseph L. (2014): Links between Terrorism, Organized Crime and Crime: The Case of the Sahel Region. *Stability*, 3(1), Article 27. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.ea>
- Aliyu, Ahmed et al. (2015, July): Managing Terrorism and Insurgency through African Traditional Institutions: The Role of Kano Emirate Council – Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(4, S2), 126-136. URL: <http://www.mcser.org/journal/index.php/mjss/article/view/7060>
- Allen, Nathaniel D. F. (2017): Unusual Lessons from an Unusual War: Boko Haram and Modern Insurgency. *The Washington Quarterly*, 40(4), 115-133. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2017.1406711>
- Alupo, Beatrice Atim et al. (2018, April): Psychological Experiences of Refugees and the Response of the Community in the Lake Chad Region. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2018.1463552>

Amaliya, Mark; Nwankpa, Michael (2014, February): Assessing Boko Haram: A Conversation. *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 5(1), 81-87. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.832>

Amao, Olumuyiwa Babatunde; Maiangwa, Benjamin (2017): Has the Giant Gone to Sleep? Re-Assessing Nigeria's Response to the Liberian Civil War (1990–1997) and the Boko Haram Insurgency (2009–2015). *African Studies*, 76(1), 22-43. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00020184.2017.1285665> URL: <https://www.otago.ac.nz/politics/otago636915.pdf>

Asogwa, Chika Euphemia; Iyere, John I.; Attah, Chris O. (2012, July): The Mass Media Reportage of Crimes and Terrorists Activities: The Nigerian Experience. *Asian Culture and History*, 4(2), 175-181. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5539/ach.v4n2p175>

Attuquayefio, Philip (2014, September): Drones, the US and the New Wars in Africa. *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 5(3), 3-13. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.942>

Awodola, Bosede; Ayuba, Caleb (2015, July): Terrorism in Nigeria: The Case of the Boko Haram. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(4, S2), 247-257. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n4s2p247>

Awodola, Bosede; Oboshi, Agyeno (2015, May): Terrorism in Northern Nigeria: A Threat to Food Security in Maiduguri. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(3, S2), 11-17. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n3s2p11>

Awofeso, Niyi; Ritchie, Jan; Degeling, Pieter (2003): The Almajiri Heritage and the Threat of Non-State Terrorism in Northern Nigeria—Lessons from Central Asia and Pakistan. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 26(4), 311-325. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100390208260>

Ayodeji, Olowu; Samuel, Ariyo Kayode (2014): Niger Delta Restiveness in Nigeria: A Multimodal Discourse Analytical Study of Cover Pages of Selected Editions of Tell News Magazines. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 29, 43-50. URL: <https://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/NMMC/article/view/15521>

Badar, Mohamed Elewa; Amin, ElSayed M. A.; Higgins, Noelle (2014, June): The International Criminal Court and the Nigerian Crisis: An Inquiry into the Boko Haram Ideology and Practices from an Islamic Law Perspective. *International Human Rights Law Review*, 3(1), 29-60. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/22131035-00301001>

Bakare, I. A. (2016): Soft Power as a Means of Fighting International Terrorism: A Case Study of Nigeria's "Boko Haram". *Vestnik RUDN. International Relations*, 16(2), 285-295. URL: <http://journals.rudn.ru/international-relations/article/view/14277>

Bamidele, Oluwaseun (2016, Summer): Civilian Joint Task Force' (CJTF) – A Community Security Option: A Comprehensive and Proactive Approach to Counter-Terrorism. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 7, 124-144. URL: <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/40>

Bamidele, Seun (2015, September): Terrorism in Mali and Nigeria: Assessment and Projection. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 7(8), 10-15. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/CTTA-September-2015.pdf>

Barkindo, Atta (2013, June): "Join the Caravan": The Ideology of Political Authority in Islam from Ibn Taymiyya to Boko Haram in North-Eastern Nigeria. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 7(3), 30-43. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2013/issue-3/%E2%80%9Cjoin-the-caravan%E2%80%9D.pdf>

Barkindo, Atta (2016, June): Boko-Haram–IS Connection: Local and Regional Implications. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 8(6), 3-8. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/CTTA-June-2016.pdf>

Barkindo, Atta; Bryans, Shane (2016, Summer): De-Radicalising Prisoners in Nigeria: Developing a Basic Prison Based De-Radicalisation Programme. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 7, 1-25. URL: <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/>

index.php/jd/article/view/56

Bauer, Emma; Conroy, Meghan (2016, April): Boko Haram: Nigerian Military Crackdown Prompts Terror Group to Adapt. *Terrorism Monitor*, 14(8), 5-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Terrorism-Monitor-Volume-XIV-Issue-8-01.pdf>

Beauchamp, Zack (2014, May 13): The Crisis in Nigeria, in 11 Maps and Charts. *Vox*. URL: <https://www.vox.com/2014/5/13/5710484/boko-haram-maps-charts-nigeria>

Bertram, Stewart; Ellison, Keith (2014, February): Sub Saharan African Terrorist Groups' Use of the Internet. *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 5(1), 5-26. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.825>

Besenyő, János; Mayer, Ádám (2015): Boko Haram in Context: The Terrorist Organization's Roots in Nigeria's Social History. *Defence Against Terrorism Review*, 7(1), 47-58. URL: <http://www.coedat.nato.int/publication/datr/volume10/04-BokoHaraminContext-TheTerroristOrganizations-RootsinNigeriasSocialHistory.pdf>

Blood, Matthew (2015, May): Nigeria's Critical Juncture: Boko Haram, Buhari, and the Future of the Fourth Republic. *Small Wars Journal*, 5/2015. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/nigeria%e2%80%99s-critical-juncture-boko-haram-buhari-and-the-future-of-the-fourth-republic>

Bloom, Mia; Matfess, Hilary (2016, May): Women as Symbols and Swords in Boko Haram's Terror. *PRISM*, 6(1), 104-121. URL: https://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_6-1/Women%20as%20Symbols%20and%20Swords.pdf

Borárosová, Ingrid; Walter, Aaron T.; Filipec, Ondřej (2017): Boko Haram. In: *Global Jihad: Case Studies in Terrorist Organizations*. [e-Book]. Gdańsk: Research Institute for European Policy (ibpe), 137-154. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320591252_Global_Jihad_Case_Studies_in_Terrorist_Organizations

Boré, Henri (2014, July): Investing in Powerful Networks in Nigeria? *Small Wars Journal*, 7/2014. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/investing-in-powerful-networks-in-nigeria>

Botha, Anneli; Abdile, Mahdi (2019): Reality Versus Perception: Toward Understanding Boko Haram in Nigeria. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(5), 493-519. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1403152>

Bouchat, Clarence J. (2016): Political Economy and Stability in Nigeria. In: Anthony N. Celso; Robert Nalbandov (Eds.): *The Crisis of the African State: Globalization, Tribalism, and Jihadism in the Twenty-First Century*. Quantico: Marine Corps University Press, 163-202.

Brosig, Malte (2015): Nigeria. In: *Cooperative Peacekeeping in Africa: Exploring Regime Complexity*. (Cass Series on Peacekeeping). Abingdon: Routledge, 141-147.

Bunte, Jonas B.; Vinson, Laura Thaut (2016, January): Local Power-Sharing Institutions and Interreligious Violence in Nigeria. *Journal of Peace Research*, 53(1), 49-65. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343315614999> URL: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/9c7e/c0b0a7ab965fc4d9420dea2bf41a9dc039e2.pdf>

Cannon, Brendon; Iyekekpolo, Wisdom (2018): Explaining Transborder Terrorist Attacks: The Cases of Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab. *African Security*, 11(4), 370-396. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2018.1560970>

Celso, Anthony N. (2015): The Islamic State and Boko Haram: Fifth Wave Jihadist Terror Groups. *Orbis*, 59(2), 249-268. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2015.02.010>

Celso, Anthony (2018): The Islamic State's Impact on the Jihadist War in Nigeria and Mali. In: *The Islamic State: A Comparative History of Jihadist Warfare*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 137-172.

Chiluwa, Innocent (2017): The Discourse of Terror Threats: Assessing Online Written Threats by Nigerian Terrorist Groups. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 40(4), 318-338. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1194025>

- Chizea, Bona; Osumah, Oarhe (2015): Two Sides of a Coin: Traditional Rulership and the Mitigation of Non-state Security Threats in Nigeria. *African Security*, 8(2), 75-95. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2015.1036668>
- Chukwurah, Daniel C.; Eme, Okechukwu; Ogbeje, Eunice Nmire (2015, May): Implication of Boko Haram Terrorism on Northern Nigeria. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(3), 371-379. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5901/mjss.2015.v6n3p371>
- Clubb, Gordon; Tapley, Marina (2018): Conceptualising De-Radicalisation and Former Combatant Re-Integration in Nigeria. *Third World Quarterly*, 39(11), 2053-2068. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1458303> URL: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Gordon_Clubb/publication/324782297_Conceptualising_de-radicalisation_and_former_combatant_re-integration_in_Nigeria
- Collier, Paul (2016, January): Security Threats Facing Africa and its Capacity to Respond. *PRISM*, 5(2), 31-41. URL: https://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_5-2/PRISM5-2_Security_Threats.pdf
- Cook, David (2013, April): Boko Haram: Reversals and Retrenchment. *CTC Sentinel*, 6(4), 10-12. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2013/04/CTCSentinel-Vol6Iss45.pdf>
- Comolli, Virginia (2016): Boko Haram and Islamic State. In: Simon Staffell; Akil N. Awan (Eds.): *Jihadism Transformed: Al-Qaeda and Islamic State's Global Battle of Ideas*. London: Hurst, 129-140.
- Counted, Victor (2017): Attachment Theory and Religious Violence: Theorizing Adult Religious Psychopathology. *Journal for the Study of Religion*, 30(1), 78-109. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17159/2413-3027/2017/v30n1a4>
- Cummings, Ryan (2017, December): A Jihadi Takeover Bid in Nigeria? The Evolving Relationship between Boko Haram and al-Qa`ida. *CTC Sentinel*, 10(11), 24-29. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/12/CTC-Sentinel_Vol10Iss11-18.pdf
- D'Amato, Silvia (2018): Terrorists Going Transnational: Rethinking the Role of States in the Case of AQIM and Boko Haram. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 11(1), 151-172. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2017.1347238>
- Davidson, Christopher M. (2016): The Islamic State – A Gift that Keeps Giving. In: *Shadow Wars: The Secret Struggle for the Middle East*. London: Oneworld, 469-504.
- Davis, Jessica (2017): Evolving Global Jihad: Boko Haram and Al Shabaab. In: *Women in Modern Terrorism: From Liberation Wars to Global Jihad and the Islamic State*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 103-118.
- Delia Deckard, Natalie; Barkindo, Atta; Jacobson, David (2015): Religiosity and Rebellion in Nigeria: Considering Boko Haram in the Radical Tradition. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 38(7), 510-528. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1022443>
- Detzi, Daniel; Winkleman, Steven (2016): Hitting Them Where it Hurts: A Joint Interagency Network to Disrupt Terrorist Financing in West Africa. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 39(3), 227-239. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2015.1099994>
- Dowd, Robert (2014, Winter): Religious Diversity and Violent Conflict: Lessons from Nigeria. *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, 38(1), 153-168. URL: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/579fc2ad725e253a86230610/t/57ec7841be6594808a4543f7/1475115074402/38-1_Dowd1.pdf
- Dyrenforth, Thomas (2018, Winter): Countering Violent Extremism in Nigeria and Uganda: A Comparative Case Study. *International Affairs Review*, 26(1), 24-49. URL: <http://iar-gwu.org/content/countering-violent-extremism-nigeria-and-uganda>
- Ebiede, Tarila Marclint (2017): Beyond Rebellion: Uncaptured Dimensions of Violent Conflicts and the Implications for Peacebuilding in Nigeria's Niger Delta. *African Security*, 10(1), 25-46. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1270140>

- Ebohon, Sylvanus I.; Ifeadi, Emmanuel U. B. (2012): Managing the Problems of Public Order and Internal Security in Nigeria. *African Security*, 5(1), 1-23. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2012.653304>
- Edogor, Ignatius Obi (2015): Users' Perception of Crisis Portrayals on Social Media: A Study of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 35, 85-97. URL: <https://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/NMMC/article/view/20831>
- Eke, Surulola James (2016): Running to Fight Another Day: Commodification of Peace and the Resurgence of Violence in Post-Amnesty Niger Delta. *African Security*, 9(2), 136-159. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1178561>
- Ekwueme, Anthony Chinedu; Obayi, Paul Martins (2012): Boko Haram Assault on Nigeria: Towards Effective Mass Media Response. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 5, 1-7. DOI: <https://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/NMMC/article/view/2791>
- El-Bushra, Judy; Ladbury, Sarah; Ukiwo, Ukoha (2013): From Design to Implementation: Addressing the Causes of Violent Conflict in Nigeria. *Stability*, 3(1), Article 1. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.cy>
- Elu, Juliet; Price, Gregory (2014, November): The Causes and Consequences of Terrorism in Africa. In: Célestin Monga; Justin Yifu Lin (Eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics: Volume 1. Context and Concepts*. (Oxford Handbooks Online). Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxford-hb/9780199687114.013.16>
- Ette, Mercy (2016, August): Condensational Symbols in British Press Coverage of Boko Haram. *International Communication Gazette*, 78(5), 451-468. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048516640209>
- Ette, Mercy; Joe, Sarah (2018, December): "Rival Visions of Reality": An Analysis of the Framing of Boko Haram in Nigerian Newspapers and Twitter. *Media, War & Conflict*, 11(4), 392-406. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635218776560>
- Eveslage, Benjamin S. (2013, October): Clarifying Boko Haram's Transnational Intentions, Using Content Analysis of Public Statements in 2012. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 7(5), 47-76. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2013/issue-5/clarifying-boko-haram%E2%80%99s-transnational-intentions.pdf>
- Falode, Adewunmi James (2016, February): The Nature of Nigeria's Boko Haram War, 2010-2015: A Strategic Analysis. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10(1), 41-52. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2016/005-the-nature-of-nigeria-s-boko-haram-war-2010-2015-a-strategic-analysis.pdf>
- Falode, Adewunmi James (2016, August): Countering the Boko Haram Group in Nigeria: The Relevance of Hybrid Doctrine. *Small Wars Journal*, 8/2016. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnal/art/countering-the-boko-haram-group-in-nigeria-the-relevance-of-hybrid-doctrine-0>
- Felbab-Brown, Vanda (2018, May): Nigeria Case Study. In: Cale Salih et al.: *The Limits of Punishment: Transitional Justice and Violent Extremism*. [e-Book]. Tokyo: United Nations University, 83-125. URL: <https://cpr.unu.edu/the-limits-of-punishment-transitional-justice-and-violent-extremism.html>
- Feyyaz, Muhammad (2015, February): Understanding the Intensity of Boko Haram's Terrorism. *CTX*, 5(1). URL: <https://globalecco.org/343>
- Finn, Melissa; Momani, Bessma (2017): Building Foundations for the Comparative Study of State and Non-State Terrorism. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 10(3), 379-403. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2017.1287753>
- Fjelde, Hanne; Østby, Gudrun (2014): Socioeconomic Inequality and Communal Conflict: A Disaggregated Analysis of Sub-Saharan Africa, 1990-2008. *International Interactions*, 40(5), 737-762. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0022216X.2014.944444>

[0.1080/03050629.2014.917373](https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2014.917373)

Gaines, Jack (2016, November): Boko Haram. In: Katherine Bauer (Ed.): *Beyond Syria and Iraq: Examining Islamic State Provinces*. (The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, Policy Focus 149). Washington, DC: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 71-74. URL: <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/beyond-syria-and-iraq-examining-islamic-state-provinces>

Gebrewold, Belachew (2014): Legitimate Regional Powers? A Failed Test for Ethiopia, Nigeria, and South Africa. *African Security*, 7(1), 1-23. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.880029>

Gentili, Giorgia (2016): The Debate around the Evolution of Boko Haram's Connections to al Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb. *Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società*, 3, 7-40. URL: <http://www.sicurezzaterrorismosocieta.it/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/The-debate-around-the-evolution-Gentili.pdf>

Giroux, Jennifer (2008, May): Turmoil in the Delta: Trends and Implications. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 2(8), 11-22. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2008/issue-8/45-279-1-pb.pdf>

Glazzard, Andrew et al. (2017, September): Islamist Violent Extremism: A New Form of Conflict or Business as Usual? *Stability*, 6(1), Article 13. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.503>

Gow, James; Olonisakin, 'Funmi; Dijkhoorn, Ernst (2013): Deep History and International Security: Social Conditions and Competition, Militancy and Violence in West Africa. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 13(2), 231-258. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2013.796213>

Gray, Simon; Adeakin, Ibikunle (2015): The Evolution of Boko Haram: From Missionary Activism to Transnational Jihad and the Failure of the Nigerian Security Intelligence Agencies. *African Security*, 8(3), 185-211. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2015.1069120>

Griffin, Christopher (2016): Operation Barkhane and Boko Haram: French Counterterrorism and Military Cooperation in the Sahel. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 27(5), 896-913. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2016.1208283>

Haken, Nate; Taft, Patricia; Jaeger, Raphaël (2012): A CAST Case-Study: Assessing Risk in the Niger Delta. In: V. S. Subrahmanian (Ed.): *Handbook of Computational Approaches to Counterterrorism*. New York: Springer, 489-513. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-5311-6_22

Hansen, Stig Jarle (2018, October): Unity Under Allah? Cohesion Mechanisms in Jihadist Organizations in Africa. *Armed Forces & Society*, 44(4), 587-605. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X17740086>

Hansen, William W.; with the assistance of Kingsley Jima; Nurudeen Abbas; & Basil Abia (2016, October): Poverty and "Economic Deprivation Theory": Street Children, Qur'anic Schools/almajirai and the Dispossessed as a Source of Recruitment for Boko Haram and other Religious, Political and Criminal Groups in Northern Nigeria. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 10(5), 83-95. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2016/issue-5/508-poverty-and-economic-deprivation-theory-street-children-qur-anic-schools-almajirai-and-the-dispossessed-as-a-source-of-recruitment-for-boko-haram-and-other-religious-political-and-.pdf>

Harmon, Stephen A. (2016): Nigeria: The Growth of Radical Islam. In: *Terror and Insurgency in the Sahara-Sahel Region: Corruption, Contraband, Jihad and the Mali War of 2012-2013*. (The International Political Economy of New Regionalisms Series). Abingdon: Routledge, 111-128. (Original work published 2014)

Heger, Katrin (2015, Spring): Is Boko Haram Likely to Move towards More Effective Governance? *The Journal on Terrorism and Security Analysis*, 10, 52-66. URL: http://satsa.syr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/JTSA_Spring_2015.pdf

Henderson, Zachary (2015, November): The Future of Conflict: A Study of Boko Haram and Hybrid Warfare.

Georgetown Security Studies Review, Special Edition: The Changing Calculus of Security and Violence, 79-105. URL: <http://georgetownsecuritystudiesreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Final-CCS-Conference-Journal.pdf>

Heng, Yee-Kuang (2018): The Continuing Resonance of the War as Risk Management Perspective for Understanding Military Interventions. *Contemporary Security Policy*, 39(4), 544-558. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260.2018.1494670>

Hentz, James J. (2018): The Multidimensional Nature of the Boko Haram Conflict. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29(5-6), 839-862. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1519295>

Herbst, Jeffrey; Mills, Greg (2016, January): Emerging Risks and Opportunities in Sub-Saharan Africa. *PRISM*, 5(2), 15-29. URL: https://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_5-2/PRISM5-2_Emerging_Risks.pdf

Higazi, Adam et al. (2018, April): A Response to Jacob Zenn on Boko Haram and al-Qa'ida. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(2), 200-210. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2018/2018-02/higazi-revised.pdf>

Hill, J. N. C. (2014, July): Boko Haram, the Chibok Abductions and Nigeria's Counterterrorism Strategy. *CTC Sentinel*, 7(7), 15-17. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2014/07/CTCSentinel-Vol7Iss75.pdf>

Hodges, Robert C. (2018, May): The Evolving Threat to U.S. National Security Produced by Islamic Terrorist Organizations in North Africa. *Small Wars Journal*, 05/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/evolving-threat-us-national-security-produced-islamic-terrorist-organizations-north-africa>

Hudson, Valerie M.; Matfess, Hilary (2017, Summer): In Plain Sight: The Neglected Linkage between Brideprice and Violent Conflict. *International Security*, 42(1), 7-40. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00289

Hütte, Moritz; Steinberg, Guido; Weber, Annette (2015, June): Boko Haram: Threat to Nigeria and its Northern Neighbours. In: Guido Steinberg; Annette Weber (Eds.): *Jihadism in Africa: Local Causes, Regional Expansion, International Alliances*. (SWP Research Paper 2015/RP 05). Berlin: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, 85-98. URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/jihadism-in-africa>

Ibaba, Ibaba Samuel (2011, September): Terrorism in Liberation Struggles: Interrogating the Engagement Tactics of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 5(3-4), 18-32. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2011/issue-3-4/terrorism-in-liberation-struggles.pdf>

Ibrahim, Yahaya Ibrahim (2019, March): Insurrections djihadistes en Afrique de l'Ouest: idéologie mondiale, contexte local, motivations individuelles. *Hérodote*, 2019/1 (No. 172), 87-100. <https://doi.org/10.3917/her.172.0087>

Igboin, Benson Ohihon (2012): Boko Haram Sharia Reasoning and Democratic Vision in Pluralist Nigeria. *International Studies*, 14(1), 75-93. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2478/v10223-012-0055-z>

Igboin, Benson Ohihon (2014): Boko Haram Radicalism and National Insecurity: Beyond Normal Politics. *Journal of Religion and Violence*, 2(1), 94-121. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5840/jrv20142110>

Ijeomah, Chigozi (2012): Deconstructing the Reporting of Hostage Taking in the Niger Delta. *Global Media Journal African Edition*, 6(1), 23-42. URL: <http://globalmedia.journals.ac.za/pub/article/view/81>

Ike, Tarela Juliet (2018, June): Reconceptualising the Role of Law in Countering Terrorism: A Case Study of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *Journal of Law and Criminal Justice*, 6(1), 107-112. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15640/jlcj.v6n1a9>

Ikuteyijo, Lanre; Rotimi, Kemi (2014): The Image of Nigeria Police: Lessons from History. *Journal of Applied Security Research*, 9(2), 221-235. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19361610.2014.883296>

- Ismail, Olawale (2013): Radicalisation and Violent Extremism in West Africa: Implications for African and International Security. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 13(2), 209-230. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2013.796209>
- Iyekekpolo, Wisdom Oghosa (2016): Boko Haram: Understanding the Context. *Third World Quarterly*, 37(12), 2211-2228. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1177453>
- Jacob, Jacob Udo-Udo (2017, March): The War Has Just Begun: Boko Haram and the Coming Diffusion of Terror in Nigeria. *Small Wars Journal*, 3/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-war-has-just-begun-boko-haram-and-the-coming-diffusion-of-terror-in-nigeria>
- Jacob, Jacob Udo-Udo; Akpan, Idorenyin (2015): Silencing Boko Haram: Mobile Phone Blackout and Counter-insurgency in Nigeria's Northeast Region. *Stability*, 4(1), Article 8. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.ey>
- Jerome, Afeikhen (2016, January): Lessons from Colombia for Curtailing the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria. *PRISM*, 5(2), 95-105. URL: https://cco.ndu.edu/Portals/96/Documents/prism/prism_5-2/PRISM5-2_Lessons_From_Colombia_2015031902.pdf
- Johnmary, Ani Kelechi (2014): Factoring Tradotronic Media Communication for Human Security Management and Social Stability in Nigerian Communities. *conflict & communication online*, 13(1). URL: http://www.cco.regener-online.de/2014_1/abstr_engl/ani_abstr_engl.html
- Johnson, Christopher Keith (2017, October): Reign without Rule: Borno State in Northeast Nigeria. *Small Wars Journal*, 10/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/reign-without-rule-borno-state-north-east-nigeria>
- Johnson, Christopher Keith (2017, October): Unintended Consequences: How the Global Democracy and Development Community Contribute to the Creation of Violent Non-State Actors such as Boko Haram. *Small Wars Journal*, 10/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/unintended-consequences-how-global-democracy-and-development-community-contribute-creation>
- Julum, Jeffrey; Evans, Daniel (2015, October): Exploring Networks Competing for Influence: Kano State, Nigeria. *Small Wars Journal*, 10/2015. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/exploring-networks-competing-for-influence-kano-state-nigeria>
- Kamp, Mathias (2014, June): The Governability of the Multinational State of Nigeria: Is Decentralisation the Solution or Part of the Problem? *KAS International Reports*, 6/2014, 7-30. URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep09971>
- Karmon, Ely (2014, February): Boko Haram's International Reach. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 8(1), 74-83. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2014/issue-1/boko-haram%E2%80%99s-international-reach--ely-karmon.pdf>
- Karmon, Ely (2015, April): Islamic State and al-Qaeda Competing for Hearts & Minds. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 9(2), 71-79. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2015/volume-2/7-islamic-state-and-al-qaeda-competing-for-hearts--minds-by-ely-karmon.pdf>
- Kassim, Abdulbasit (2015): Defining and Understanding the Religious Philosophy of jihādī-Salafism and the Ideology of Boko Haram. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 16(2-3), 173-200. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2015.1074896>
- Koenig, Nicole (2016): The Sahel: Between Collective Strategy and Individual Action. In: *EU Security Policy and Crisis Management: A Quest for Coherence*. (Routledge Studies in European Security and Strategy). Abingdon: Routledge, 114-140.
- Koos, Carlo (2016, February): Does Violence Pay? The Effect of Ethnic Rebellion on Overcoming Political Depriation. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 33(1), 3-24. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894214559670>

- Koos, Carlo (2018): Which Grievances Make People Support Violence against the State? Survey Evidence from the Niger Delta. *International Interactions*, 44(3), 437-462. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2017.1369411>
- Koos, Carlo; Pierskalla, Jan (2016): The Effects of Oil Production and Ethnic Representation on Violent Conflict in Nigeria: A Mixed-Methods Approach. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28(5), 888-911. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2014.962021> URL: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bsz:352-0-346704>
- Kulungu, Mustapha (2019, February): Does Boko Haram Pose a Threat to the US? *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 11(2). URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/CTTA-February-2019.pdf>
- Ladbury, Sarah et al. (2016): Jihadi Groups and State-Building: The Case of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *Stability*, 5(1), Article 16. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.427>
- Langer, Arnim; Godefroidt, Amélie; Meuleman, Bart (2017): Killing People, Dividing a Nation? Analyzing Student Perceptions of the Boko Haram Crisis in Nigeria. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 40(5), 419-438. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1214434> URL: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/45291744.pdf>
- Lellou, Hamid (2018, April): Is Boko Haram an Islamic Terrorist Organization? – A Review of the Literature. *Small Wars Journal*, 4/2018. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/boko-haram-islamic-terrorist-organization-review-literature>
- Lia, Brynjar (2015, August): Understanding Jihadi Proto-States. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 9(4), 31-41. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2015/volume-4/4-understanding-jihadi-proto-states-by-brynjar-lia.pdf>
- Linden, Ian; with Thomas Thorp (2016): Religious Conflicts and Peace Building in Nigeria. *Journal of Religion and Violence*, 4(1), 85-100. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5840/jrv20165223>
- Linke, Andrew M.; Schutte, Sebastian; Buhaug, Halvard (2015, March): Population Attitudes and the Spread of Political Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Studies Review*, 17(1), 26-45. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/misr.12203> URL: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/19bf/f00d70403a563f336b94bcd8714ff176e45d.pdf>
- Loimeier, Roman (2012): Boko Haram: The Development of a Militant Religious Movement in Nigeria. *Africa Spectrum*, 47(2-3), 137-155. URL: <https://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/afsp/article/view/555>
- Mahadevan, Prem (2014, August): Jihadism in Africa: Marching Together, Striking Separately. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 6(7), 4-7. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/CTTA-August14.pdf>
- Mahmood, Omar S. (2018): Boko Haram and al-Shabaab: Adaptable Criminal Financing amid Expanded Terror. In: Kimberley L. Thachuk; Rollie Lal (Eds.): *Terrorist Criminal Enterprises: Financing Terrorism through Organized Crime*. (Praeger Security International). Santa Barbara: Praeger, 95-116.
- Maiangwa, Benjamin (2014): Jihadism in West Africa: Adopting a Three-Dimensional Approach to Counterterrorism. *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 9(3), 17-32. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15423166.2014.984559>
- Maiangwa, Benjamin (2014, February): “Soldiers of God or Allah”: Religious Politicization and the Boko Haram Crisis in Nigeria. *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 5(1), 58-66. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.829>
- Mantzikos, Ioannis (2014, December): Boko Haram Attacks in Nigeria and Neighbouring Countries: A Chronology of Attacks. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 8(6), 63-81. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2014/issue-6/boko-haram-attacks-in-nigeria-and-neighbouring-countries-a-chronology-of-attacks--ioannis-mantzikos.pdf>
- Maryann, Ugwu Ebere; Udejah, Ray (2014): Influence of ICT in the Media Report of Abuja Bomb Blast. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 29, 65-73. URL: <https://www.iiste.org/Journals/index.php/NMMC/article/>

[view/15524](#)

Matfess, Hilary (2016): Institutionalizing Instability: The Constitutional Roots of Insecurity in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. *Stability*, 5(1), Article 13. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.458>

Matfess, Hilary (2016, August 17): The Wives of Boko Haram: The Women who Willingly Married Militants. *Foreign Affairs*. URL: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/nigeria/2016-08-17/wives-boko-haram>

Matfess, Hilary; Blair, Graeme; Hazlett, Chad (2018, February): Beset on All Sides: Children and the Landscape of Conflict in North East Nigeria. In: Siobhan O'Neil; Kato van Broeckhoven (Eds.): *Cradled by Conflict: Child Involvement with Armed Groups in Contemporary Conflict*. New York: United Nations University, 177-207. URL: <http://collections.unu.edu/view/UNU:6409>

Mbowou, Claude (2017): Between the "Kanuri" and Others: Giving a Face to a Jihad with neither Borders nor Tribes in the Lake Chad Basin. In: Virginie Collombier; Olivier Roy (Eds): *Tribes and Global Jihadism*. London: Hurst, 131-152.

McGregor, Andrew (2014, May): Alleged Connection between Boko Haram and Nigeria's Fulani Herdsmen Could Spark a Nigerian Civil War. *Terrorism Monitor*, 12(10), 8-10. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/TerrorismMonitorVol12Issue10_03.pdf

McGregor, Andrew (2015, June): Conflict at a Crossroads: Can Nigeria Sustain its Military Campaign against Boko Haram? *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(13), 7-11. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/TerrorismMonitorVol13Issue13_03.pdf

McGregor, Andrew (2016, September): Nigeria Expands its "War on Terrorism" to the Niger Delta. *Terrorism Monitor*, 14(18), 7-11. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/TM_Vol_14_Iss_03.pdf

McGregor, Andrew (2017, February): The Fulani Crisis: Communal Violence and Radicalization in the Sahel. *CTC Sentinel*, 10(2), 34-40. URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2017/02/CTC-Sentinel_Vol10Iss223.pdf

McNamee, Mark (2013, November): Militancy in the Niger Delta Becoming Increasingly Political – A Worry for 2015. *Terrorism Monitor*, 11(21), 4-6. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/TM_011_Issue21.pdf

Menner, Scott (2014, October): Boko Haram's Regional Cross-Border Activities. *CTC Sentinel*, 7(10), 10-14. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2014/10/CTCSentinel-Vol7Iss10.pdf>

Mensah-Ankrah, Chris (2017, January-March): Eriksonian Analysis of Terrorism in West Africa. *International Journal of Cyber Warfare and Terrorism*, 7(1), 42-59. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4018/IJCWT.2017010104> URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/312407145_Eriksonian_Analysis_of_Terrorism_in_West_Africa

Moody, Jessica (2016, June): The Niger Delta Avengers: A New Threat to Oil Producers in Nigeria. *Terrorism Monitor*, 14(12), 6-8. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/TM_June_13_2016_02.pdf

Moore, Jeff (2015, January): Boko Haram's Resiliency Spells Trouble for West Africa. *Small Wars Journal*, 1/2015. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/boko-haram%e2%80%99s-resiliency-spells-trouble-for-west-africa>

Morris, Michael F; Edel, Charles (2006): Nigeria. In: Derek S. Reveron; Jeffrey Stevenson Murer (Eds.): *Flashpoints in the War on Terrorism*. New York: Routledge, 287-305.

Musa, Aliyu Odamah (2012, April): Socio-Economic Incentives, New Media and the Boko Haram Campaign of Violence in Northern Nigeria. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 4(1), 111-124. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1386/jams.4.1.111_1

Musa, Aliyu Odamah; Yusha'u, Muhammad Jameel (2013, September): Conflict Reporting and Parachute Journalism in Africa: A Study of CNN and Al Jazeera's Coverage of the Boko Haram Insurgency. *Journal of Arab &*

Muslim Media Research, 6(2-3), 251-267. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.6.2-3.251_1

Nevalsky, Eric Chien (2015): Developing Terrorism Coverage: Variances in News Framing of the January 2015 Attacks in Paris and Borno. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 8(3), 466-477. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2015.1096656>

Njoku, Emeka T. (2017): "Laws for Sale:" The Domestication of Counterterrorism Policies and its Impact in Nigeria. In: Scott Nicholas Romaniuk et al. (Eds.): *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Counterterrorism Policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature, 1003-1020. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55769-8>

Nwabueze, Chinenye; Ekwughe, Victoria (2014, March): Nigerian Newspapers' Coverage of the Effect of Boko Haram Activities on the Environment. *Journal of African Media Studies*, 6(1), 71-89. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1386/jams.6.1.71_1

Nwankpa, Michael Okwuchi (2014, February): The Politics of Amnesty in Nigeria: A Comparative Analysis of the Boko Haram and Niger Delta Insurgencies. *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 5(1), 67-77. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.830>

Nwankpa, Michael Okwuchi (2017): Dialoguing and Negotiating with Terrorists: Any Prospect for Boko Haram? *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 9(2), 106-124. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2016.1189445>

Nwoko, Kenneth Chukwuemeka (2011, March): Food Terrorism in Nigeria: Fears, Possibilities and Action. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 4(1), 159-165. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5539/jpl.v4n1p159>

Nwozor, Agaptus (2014, April): Redefining Political Terrorism: Nigerian Media and the Crisis of Democratization. *African Research Review*, 8(2), 96-117. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4314/afrev.v8i2.7>

Obajeun, Jonah Ayodele (2016): Radicalization Drivers and De-Radicalization Process: The Case of Tolerance Academy in Nigeria. In: Sara Zeiger (Ed.): *Expanding Research on Countering Violent Extremism*. Abu Dhabi / Perth: Hedayah / Edith Cowan University, 117-126. URL: <http://www.hedayahcenter.org/Admin/Content/File-410201685227.pdf>

Obamamoye, Babatunde F. (2018): Navigating the Enigma of Negotiating with a Jihadist Terrorist Group. *African Security*, 11(4), 397-417. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2018.1560973>

Obamamoye, Babatunde F. (2019): State Weakness and Regional Security Instability: Evidence from Africa's Lake Chad Region. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 13, Article a639. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4119/UNIBI/ijcv.639>

Ofongo, Olusegun Anthony (2016, Summer): The Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: What Could Have Been the Precursors? *Journal for Deradicalization*, 7, 145-163. URL: <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/61>

Ogbogu, Jennifer Chidinma (2015, September): Analysing the Threat of Boko Haram and the ISIS Alliance in Nigeria. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 7(8), 16-21. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/CTTA-September-2015.pdf>

Ogbogu, Jennifer Chidinma (2016, April): Nigeria's Approach to Terrorist Rehabilitation. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 8(4), 16-21. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/CTTA-April-2016.pdf>

Ogbogu, Jennifer Chidinma (2018): Nigeria's Past and Present Efforts at Rehabilitation and Reintegration. In: Rohan Gunaratna; Sabariah M. Hussin (Eds.): *International Case Studies of Terrorist Rehabilitation*. (Routledge Studies in the Politics of Disorder and Instability). Abingdon: Routledge, Chapter 9.

Oginni, Simon Oyewole; Opoku, Maxwell Peprah; Alupo, Beatrice Atim (2018): Terrorism in the Lake Chad Region: Integration of Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*. Advance

Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2018.1457975>

Ogunlana, Sunday O. (2019): Halting Boko Haram / Islamic State's West Africa Province Propaganda in Cyberspace with Cybersecurity Technologies. *Journal of Strategic Security*, 12(1), Article 4. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5038/1944-0472.12.1.1707>

Ogunnubi, Olusola; Onapajo, Hakeem; Isike, Christopher (2017): A Failing Regional Power? Nigeria's International Status in the Age of Boko Haram. *Politikon*, 44(3), 446-465. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2016.1266231>

Ojo, Adegbola; Ezepue, Patrick Oseloka (2017, December): Using Casualty Assessment and Weighted Hit Rates to Calibrate Spatial Patterns of Boko Haram Insurgency for Emergency Response Preparedness. *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 8(4), 1-17. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.1415>

Okenyodo, 'Kemi (2016, April): The Role of Women in Preventing, Mitigating and Responding to Violence and Violent Extremism in Nigeria. In: Naureen Chowdhury Fink; Sara Zeiger; Rafia Bhulai (Eds.): *A Man's World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism*. [e-Book]. Abu Dhabi / New York: Hedayah / Global Center on Cooperative Security, 100-116. URL: <https://www.globalcenter.org/publications/a-mans-world-exploring-the-roles-of-women-in-countering-terrorism-and-violent-extremism>

Okereke, C. Nna-Emeka (2014, August): The Resilience of Boko Haram: Myth or Reality? *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 6(7), 8-12. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/CTTA-August14.pdf>

Olabode, Shola Abidemi (2018, April): A Preliminary Overview of ICT Use in the Boko Haram Conflict: A Cyberconflict Perspective. *Contemporary Voices*, 1(1), 36-49. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.1479>

Olaniyan, Azeez; Asuelime, Lucky (2014): Boko Haram Insurgency and the Widening of Cleavages in Nigeria. *African Security*, 7(2), 91-109. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2014.909246>

Olonisakin, 'Funmi; Rashid, Ismail; Gow, James (2013): Militancy and Violence in West Africa: Reflecting on Radicalisation, Comparing Contexts and Evaluating Effectiveness of Preventive Policies. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 13(2), 117-125. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2013.796201>

Omeni, Akali (2017, April): The Chibok Kidnappings in North-East Nigeria: A Military Analysis of Before and After. *Small Wars Journal*, 4/2017. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-chibok-kidnappings-in-north-east-nigeria-a-military-analysis-of-before-and-after>

Omeni, Akali (2018): Boko Haram's Increasingly Sophisticated Military Threat. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29(5-6), 886-915. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1519299>

Omenma, J. T.; Hendricks, C. M. (2018, July): Counterterrorism in Africa: An Analysis of the Civilian Joint Task Force and Military Partnership in Nigeria. *Security Journal*, 31(3), 764-794. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41284-018-0131-8>

Onapajo, Hakeem (2014): Violence and Votes in Nigeria: The Dominance of Incumbents in the Use of Violence to Rig Elections. *Africa Spectrum*, 49(2), 27-51. DOI: <https://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/afsp/article/view/753>

Onapajo, Hakeem (2017): Has Nigeria Defeated Boko Haram? An Appraisal of the Counter-Terrorism Approach under the Buhari Administration. *Strategic Analysis*, 41(1), 61-73. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09700161.2016.1249177>

Onapajo, Hakeem (2017): State Repression and Religious Conflict: The Perils of the State Clampdown on the Shi'a Minority in Nigeria. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 37(1), 80-93. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2017.1294375>

Onapajo, Hakeem; Usman, Abubakar A. (2015): Fuelling the Flames: Boko Haram and Deteriorating Chris-

- tian-Muslim Relations in Nigeria. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 35(1), 106-122. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602004.2015.1007667>
- Onapajo, Hakeem; Uzodike, Ufo Okeke (2012): Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria: Man, the State, and the International System. *African Security Review*, 21(3), 24-39. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2012.687693>
- Onapajo, Hakeem; Uzodike, Ufo Okeke; Whetho, Ayo (2012): Boko Haram Terrorism in Nigeria: The International Dimension. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 19(3), 337-357. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2012.740319>
- Opoku, Maxwell Pephrah; Sakah, Bernard Nsaidzedze; Alupo, Beatrice Atim (2017): The Impact of Boko Haram Threat on Economic Activities in Cameroon: Perceptions of People in Yaoundé. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 9(3), 222-237. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2016.1231212>
- Oriola, Temitope B. (2017): "Unwilling Cocoons": Boko Haram's War against Women. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 40(2), 99-121. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1177998> URL: <https://www.ualberta.ca/-/media/7CB7F5EA8A8B4D40B0DE1018FA12A569>
- Oriola, Temitope B.; Akinola, Olabanji (2018): Ideational Dimensions of the Boko Haram Phenomenon. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 41(8), 595-618. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2017.1338053>
- Oriola, Temitope; Haggerty, Kevin D.; Knight, Andy W. (2013): Car Bombing "With Due Respect": The Niger Delta Insurgency and the Idea Called MEND. *African Security*, 6(1), 67-96. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2013.759477>
- Osisanwo, Ayo (2016, August): Discursive Representation of Boko Haram Terrorism in Selected Nigerian Newspapers. *Discourse & Communication*, 10(4), 341-362. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481316638149>
- Osumah, Oarhe (2013): Boko Haram Insurgency in Northern Nigeria and the Vicious Cycle of Internal Insecurity. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 24(3), 536-560. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2013.802605>
- Oyeniya, Bukola Adeyemi (2014): One Voice, Multiple Tongues: Dialoguing with Boko Haram. *Democracy and Security*, 10(1), 73-97. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2013.858031>
- Oyewole, Samuel (2015): Boko Haram and the Challenges of Nigeria's War on Terror. In: Alastair Finlan (Ed.): *The Test of Terrorism: Responding to Political Violence in the Twenty-First Century*. Abingdon: Routledge, 79-88.
- Oyewole, Samuel (2017): Making the Sky Relevant to Battle Strategy: Counterinsurgency and the Prospects of Air Power in Nigeria. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 40(3), 211-231. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1188533>
- Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine (2016): A Sectarian Jihad in Nigeria: The Case of Boko Haram. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 27(5), 878-895. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2016.1208286>
- Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine (2017): Pilgrimage to Mecca and "Radical" Islam: New Trends from Sub-Saharan Africa. *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 8(3), 273-289. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21520844.2017.1370574>
- Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine (2018): A Sectarian Jihad in Nigeria: The Case of Boko Haram. In: Paul B. Rich; Richard Burchill (Eds.): *Jihadist Insurgent Movements*. Abingdon: Routledge, 150-167.
- Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine (2018): The Killing Fields of the Nigerian Army: Any Lessons Learned? *African Security*, 11(2), 110-126. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2018.1480140>
- Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine (2018): "The Only Good Jihadist Is a Dead Jihadist": Boko Haram and De-Radicalization around Lake Chad. *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 29(5-6), 863-885. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2018.1519297>

- Pesature, Daniel (2015, December): Justifying Jihad: A Case Study of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. *Small Wars Journal*, 12/2015. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/justifying-jihad-a-case-study-of-al-shabaab-and-boko-haram>
- Pham, J. Peter (2016): Boko Haram: The Strategic Evolution of the Islamic State's West Africa Province. *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa*, 7(1), 1-18. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/21520844.2016.1152571>
- Pham, J. Peter (2016, January): How Boko Haram Became the Islamic State's West Africa Province. *The Journal of International Security Affairs*, 30, 17-26. URL: https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/images/publications/20162701_How_Boko_Haram_Became_the_Islamic_State_s_West_Africa_Province_Ph-am-JISA_2016.pdf
- Pieri, Zacharias P.; Zenn, Jacob (2016): The Boko Haram Paradox: Ethnicity, Religion, and Historical Memory in Pursuit of a Caliphate. *African Security*, 9(1), 66-88. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19392206.2016.1132906>
- Pieri, Zacharias P.; Zenn, Jacob (2018, December): Under the Black Flag in Borno: Experiences of Foot Soldiers and Civilians in Boko Haram's "Caliphate". *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 56(4), 645-672. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022278X18000447>
- Polk, William R. (2018): Boko Haram and Nigeria. In: *Crusade and Jihad: The Thousand-Year War between the Muslim World and the Global North*. (The Henry L. Stimson Lectures Series). New Haven: Yale University Press, 462-471.
- Popoola, I. S. (2012): Press and Terrorism in Nigeria: A Discourse on Boko Haram. *Global Media Journal African Edition*, 6(1), 43-66. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5789/6-1-82>
- Popovski, Vesselin; Maiangwa, Benjamin (2016): Boko Haram's Attacks and the People's Response: A "Fourth Pillar" of the Responsibility to Protect? *African Security Review*, 25(2), 159-175. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2016.1152987>
- Pricopi, Marius (2016): Tactics Used by the Terrorist Organisation Boko Haram. *Scientific Bulletin*, 21(1), 40-45. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/bsaft-2016-0035>
- Regan, Joshua (2019): The Piracy Terrorism Paradigm: An Interlinking Relationship. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 11(2), 149-157. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2018.1445120>
- Richards, Joanne (2017): Demobilising and Disengaging Violent Extremists: Towards a New UN Framework. *Stability*, 6(1), Article 14. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/sta.543>
- Rosenberg, Sam (2016, June): Nigeria and Boko Haram: A Fight that Cannot Be Won on the Battlefield Alone. *Georgetown Security Studies Review*, 4(2), 127-133. URL: <http://georgetownsecuritystudiesreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/GSSR-Vol.-4-Iss.-2.pdf>
- Sambe, Bakary (2016): From Protest Movement to Terrorism: Origins and Goals of Boko Haram. *KAS International Reports*, 1/2016, 25-37. URL: <https://www.kas.de/web/auslandsinformationen/artikel/detail/-/content/von-der-protestbewegung-zum-terrorismus>
- Sampson, Isaac Terwase (2016, April): The Dilemmas of Counter-Bokoharamism: Debating State Responses to Boko Haram Terrorism in Northern Nigeria. *Security Journal*, 29(2), 122-146. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1057/sj.2013.2>
- Sampson, Isaac Terwase; Onuoha, Freedom C. (2011, September): "Forcing the Horse to Drink or Making it Realise its Thirst"? Understanding the Enactment of Anti-Terrorism Legislation (ATL) in Nigeria. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 5(3-4), 33-49. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2011/issue-3-4/%E2%80%98forcing-the-horse-to-drink-or-making-it-realise-its-thirst-isaac-terwase-and-freedom-c.-onuoha.-onuoha.pdf>
- Sasso, Alessandra (2016, March): The Origins and Affiliations of Islamic Terrorism in Africa. In: Hedwig Gius-to (Ed.): *Daesh and the Terrorist Threat: From the Middle East to Europe*. [e-Book]. Brussels / Rome: Foundation

for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) / Fondazione Italianeuropei, 42-51. URL: <https://italianeuropei.it/en/i-libri/item/3740-daesh-and-the-terrorist-threat-from-the-middle-east-to-europe/3740-daesh-and-the-terrorist-threat-from-the-middle-east-to-europe.html>

Schritt, Jannik (2015): The “Protests against Charlie Hebdo” in Niger: A Background Analysis. *Africa Spectrum*, 50(1), 49-64. DOI: <https://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/afsp/article/view/828>

Seedat, Fatima (2016): Sexual Economies of War and Sexual Technologies of the Body: Militarised Muslim Masculinity and the Islamist Production of Concubines for the Caliphate. *Agenda*, 30(3), 25-38. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2016.1275558>

Shorey, Margot; Nickels, Benjamin P. (2015, April): Chad: A Precarious Counterterrorism Partner. *CTC Sentinel*, 8(4), 7-10. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2015/04/CTCSentinel-Vol8Issue44.pdf>

Slayton, Caleb (2016, February): Language Skills for the Special Forces Operator: Access and Information in the African Permissive Environment. *CTX*, 6(1). URL: <https://globalecco.org/language-skills61>

St-Pierre, Yan (2015): Islamic State and Boko Haram: How Dangerous Is the Partnership? In: Janusz Biene; Martin Schmetz (Eds.): *Kalifat des Terrors: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven auf den Islamischen Staat*. (Sicherheitspolitik-Blog Fokus). Frankfurt: Sicherheitspolitik-Blog, 49-54. URL: <https://www.sicherheitspolitik-blog.de/files/2015/07/Kalifat-des-Terrors.pdf>

St-Pierre, Yan (2015): Re-Enforcing Radicalisation with Bad PR? The Nigerian Army’s Handling of Boko Haram. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 4, 44-70. URL: <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/25>

Suleiman, Muhammad L. Dan (2015, September): Countering Boko Haram. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 7(8), 22-27. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/CTTA-September-2015.pdf>

Sulemana, Mohammed (2015, March): Islamism in West Africa: Context and Enabling Factors. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 7(2), 19-23. URL: <https://www.rsis.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/CTTA-March-2015.pdf>

Tanchum, Michaël (2012): Al-Qa’ida’s West African Advance: Nigeria’s Boko Haram, Mali’s Touareg, and the Spread of Salafi Jihadism. *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 6(2), 75-90. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23739770.2012.11446504>

Tar, Usman A.; Bala, Bashir (2019): Boko Haram Insurgency, Terrorism and the Challenges of Peacebuilding in the Lake Chad Basin. In: Kenneth Omeje (Ed.): *Peacebuilding in Contemporary Africa: In Search of Alternative Strategies*. (Routledge Studies in African Development). Abingdon: Routledge, 142-165.

Teirilä, Olli J. (2014): The Challenges to Cooperation Posed by the Nexus of Terrorism and Organized Crime: Comparing the Situations between the Andean and the Sahel Regions. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 37(1), 18-40. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2014.853605>

Tella, Oluwaseun (2018, September): Boko Haram Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism: The Soft Power Context. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 53(6), 815-829. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909617739326>

Tobor, John Oghenero (2016, September): Terrorism or Clamor for Resource Control: An Analysis of Nigeria’s Niger Delta Militants. *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 7(3), 23-33. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.1261>

Udoh, Tommy Victor (2016): Online Extremism in Nigeria. *per Concordiam*, 7(2), 28-33. URL: http://perconcordiam.com/perCon_V7N2_ENG.pdf

Umukoro, Nathaniel (2016): Thermodynamics: Application of its Principles to the Effects of Cross-Border Migration and Boko Haram Crisis on Security Challenges in Africa. *Journal of Applied Security Research*, 11(1), 44-60. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/19361610.2016.1104279>

Varin, Caroline (2018): The Perfect Storm: A Study of Boko Haram, Religious Extremism, and Inequality in

- Nigeria. In: Kristian Steiner; Andreas Önnersfors (Eds.): *Expressions of Radicalization: Global Politics, Processes and Practices*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan / Springer Nature, 247-271. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65566-6_9
- Ward, Daniel E. (2016, March): The Boko Haram Insurgency: Applying the FID Model? *Small Wars Journal*, 3/2016. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/the-boko-haram-insurgency-applying-the-fid-model>
- Warner, Jason; Hulme, Charlotte (2018, August): The Islamic State in Africa: Estimating Fighter Numbers in Cells across the Continent. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(7), 21-28. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2019/01/CTC-SENTINEL-082018-final.pdf>
- Watts, Michael J. (2014): A Tale of Two Insurgencies: Oil, Authority and the Spectre of Terror in Nigeria. In: Alex Houen (Ed.): *States of War since 9/11: Terrorism, Sovereignty and the War on Terror*. (Routledge Critical Terrorism Studies). Abingdon: Routledge, 103-129.
- Weeraratne, Suranjan (2017): Theorizing the Expansion of the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29(4), 610-634. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2015.1005742>
- Wyszomierski, Lauren E. (2015): Boko Haram and the Discourse of Mimicry: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Media Explanations for Boko Haram's Improved Video Propaganda Quality. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 8(3), 503-515. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2015.1091657>
- Yusha'u, Muhammad Jameel (2012, November): Representation of Boko Haram Discourses in the British Broad-sheets. *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research*, 5(1), 91-108. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1386/jammr.5.1.91_1
- Yusuf, Hakeem O. (2013): Harvest of Violence: The Neglect of Basic Rights and the Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 6(3), 371-391. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17539153.2013.835528>
- Zenn, Jacob (2013, January): Boko Haram's International Connections. *CTC Sentinel*, 6(1), 7-13. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2013/01/CTCSentinel-Vol6Iss1.pdf>
- Zenn, Jacob (2013, March): Cooperation or Competition: Boko Haram and Ansaru after the Mali Intervention. *CTC Sentinel*, 6(3), 1-8. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2013/03/CTCSentinel-Vol6Iss31.pdf>
- Zenn, Jacob (2013, June): Boko Haram's Evolving Tactics and Alliances in Nigeria. *CTC Sentinel*, 6(6), 10-16. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2013/06/CTCSentinel-Vol6Iss63.pdf>
- Zenn, Jacob (2014, January): Northern Cameroon under Threat from Boko Haram and Séléka Militants. *Terrorism Monitor*, 12(1), 7-9. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/TM_012_Issue1_04.pdf
- Zenn, Jacob (2014, February): Leadership Analysis of Boko Haram and Ansaru in Nigeria. *CTC Sentinel*, 7(2), 23-29. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2014/02/CTCSentinel-Vol7Iss2.pdf>
- Zenn, Jacob (2014, March): Nigerian al-Qaedaism. *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, 16, 99-117. URL: https://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/1393/ct_16_posting.pdf
- Zenn, Jacob (2014, May): Boko Haram and the Kidnapping of the Chibok Schoolgirls. *CTC Sentinel*, 7(5), 1-8. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2014/05/CTCSentinel-Vol7Iss5.pdf>
- Zenn, Jacob (2014, July): Boko Haram Opens New Fronts in Lagos and Nigeria's Middle Belt. *Terrorism Monitor*, 12(15), 6-8. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/TerrorismMonitorVol12Issue15_02.pdf
- Zenn, Jacob (2014, September): Boko Haram's Emerging Caliphate in Nigeria: Will Maiduguri Fall? *Terrorism Monitor*, 12(18), 4-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/TerrorismMonitorVol12Issue18.pdf>
- Zenn, Jacob (2014, October): Boko Haram: Recruitment, Financing, and Arms Trafficking in the Lake Chad

Region. *CTC Sentinel*, 7(10), 5-10. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2014/10/CTCSentinel-Vol7Iss10.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2015, February): Mindful of the Islamic State, Boko Haram Broadens Reach into Lake Chad Region. *Terrorism Monitor*, 13(3), 8-11. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Terrorism-MonitorVol13Issue3_02.pdf

Zenn, Jacob (2015, March): A Biography of Boko Haram and the Bay`a to al-Baghdadi. *CTC Sentinel*, 8(3), 17-21. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2015/03/CTCSentinel-Vol8Issue322.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2015, August): Wilayat West Africa Reboots for the Caliphate. *CTC Sentinel*, 8(8), 10-16. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2015/08/CTCSentinel-Vol8Issue813.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2016, May): Boko Haram: Two Years on Shekau and Buhari still Face Pressure over the Chibok Schoolgirls. *Terrorism Monitor*, 14(10), 8-11. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Terrorism-Monitor-Volume-XIV-Issue-03.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2016, August): Boko Haram: Abu Musab al-Barnawi's Leadership Coup and Offensive in Niger. *Terrorism Monitor*, 14(17), 8-11. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/TM_Vol_14_Issue_09.pdf

Zenn, Jacob (2017, December): Demystifying al-Qaida in Nigeria: Cases from Boko Haram's Founding, Launch of Jihad and Suicide Bombings. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 11(6), 174-190. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2017/issue-6/1520176-demystifying-al-qa-ida%E2%80%99s-impact-in-nigeria-cases-from-boko-haram%E2%80%99s-founding-launch-of-jihad-and-suicide-bombings-by-jacob-zenn.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2017, December): Electronic Jihad in Nigeria: How Boko Haram Is Using Social Media. *Terrorism Monitor*, 15(23), 5-7. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/Terrorism-Monitor-December-9-2017.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2018, March): Boko Haram's Backyard: The Ongoing Battle in Cameroon. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(6), 3-5. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Terrorism-Monitor-March-23-2018.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2018, March): Boko Haram's Conquest for the Caliphate: How Al Qaeda Helped Islamic State Acquire Territory. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2018.1442141>

Zenn, Jacob (2018, March): The Terrorist Calculus in Kidnapping Girls in Nigeria: Cases from Chibok and Dapchi. *CTC Sentinel*, 11(3), 1-8. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/app/uploads/2018/03/CTC-Sentinel-Vol11Iss3.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2018, May): Boko Haram's Senegalese Foreign Fighters: Cases, Trends and Implications. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(9), 7-10. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/Terrorism-Monitor-May-4-2018.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2018, May): The Lessons of Abu Zinnira: A Spokesman in Boko Haram's Kidnappings and Factional Feuds. *Militant Leadership Monitor*, 9(4). URL: <https://jamestown.org/brief/the-lessons-of-abu-zinnira-a-spokesman-in-boko-harams-kidnappings-and-factional-feuds>

Zenn, Jacob (2018, June): A Primer on Boko Haram Sources and Three Heuristics on al-Qaida and Boko Haram in Response to Adam Higazi, Brandon Kendhammer, Kyari Mohammed, Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos, and Alex Thurston. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(3), 74-91. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2018/issue-3/06---special-correspondence-a-primer-on-boko-haram-sources-and-three-heuristics-on-al-qa-ida-and-boko-haram-in-response-to-.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2018, June): Boko Haram in Celebration? An Analysis of Four Years of Ramadan Videos (2015-

2018). *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(13), 6-8. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Terrorism-Monitor-June-29-2018.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2018, August): Boko Haram's Man Chari: Abubakar Shekau's Missing Military Amir. *Militant Leadership Monitor*, 9(7). URL: <https://jamestown.org/brief/boko-harams-man-chari-abubakar-shekaus-missing-military-amir>

Zenn, Jacob (2018, October): Boko Haram's Ultra-Extremist Side Resurfaces: From the Execution of Mamman Nur to Humanitarian Workers. *Terrorism Monitor*, 16(20), 8-10. URL: <https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/TM-Oct.-19-Issue.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2019, January): Al-Barnawi vs. Shekau—Jihadist Rivalries in Nigeria. *Militant Leadership Monitor*, 9(12). URL: <https://jamestown.org/brief/al-barnawi-vs-shekau-jihadist-rivalries-in-nigeria>

Zenn, Jacob (2019, February): The Islamic State's Provinces on the Peripheries: Juxtaposing the Pledges from Boko Haram in Nigeria and Abu Sayyaf and Maute Group in the Philippines. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(1), 88-105. URL: <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2019/issue-1/zenn---revised.pdf>

Zenn, Jacob (2019, March): Boko Haram's Factional Feuds: Internal Extremism and External Interventions. *Terrorism and Political Violence*. Advance Online Publication. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2019.1566127>

Zenn, Jacob; Barkindo, Atta; Heras, Nicholas A. (2013): The Ideological Evolution of Boko Haram in Nigeria: Merging Local Salafism and International Jihadism. *The RUSI Journal*, 158(4), 46-53. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2013.826506>

Zenn, Jacob; Cisse, Abdou (2016, September): Boko Haram in Senegal: Expanding West Africa Province. *Terrorism Monitor*, 14(19), 5-7. URL: https://jamestown.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/TM_Vol_14_Iss_19.pdf

Zenn, Jacob; Pearson, Elizabeth (2014, February): Women, Gender and the Evolving Tactics of Boko Haram. *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 5(1), 46-57. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15664/jtr.828>

Zenn, Jacob; Pieri, Zacharias (2017, Summer): How much Takfir Is too much Takfir? The Evolution of Boko Haram's Factionalization. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 11, 281-308. URL: <http://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/107>

Zenn, Jacob; Pieri, Zacharias (2019): Boko Haram. In: Andrew Silke (Ed.): *Routledge Handbook of Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. (Routledge Handbooks). Abingdon: Routledge, 278-291.

Grey Literature

Amnesty International (2018, May): "They Betrayed Us": Women who Survived Boko Haram Raped, Starved and Detained in Nigeria. (Report AFR 44/8415/2018). URL: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr44/8415/2018/en>

Amnesty International (2018, November): *They Took our Husbands and Forced us to Be their Girlfriends: Women in North-East Nigeria Starved and Raped by those Claiming to Rescue them*. (Report AFR 44/9122/2018). URL: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr44/9122/2018/en>

Augé, Benjamin (2015, March): *Nigerian Presidential Elections, what's at Stake?* (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2015/03/201531165034861371.html>

Barau, Aliyu Salisu (2018, April): *Boko Haram: Protection Issues for Displaced and Distressed Women and Children in Northern Nigerian Cities*. (IIED Working Paper). URL: <https://pubs.iied.org/10842IIED>

- Bigio, Jamille; Vogelstein, Rachel (2017, September): *Countering Sexual Violence in Conflict*. (CFR Discussion Paper). URL: <https://www.cfr.org/report/countering-sexual-violence-conflict>
- Bodansky, Yossef (2014, June): *Boko Haram – A Serious Threat*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 275). URL: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/180761/275_Bodansky.pdf
- Bodansky, Yossef (2015, February): *Boko Haram – An Analysis of the Latest Developments*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 317). URL: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/187756/317_Bodansky.pdf
- Bodansky, Yossef (2015, February): *The Boko Haram and Nigerian Jihadism*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 318). URL: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/187751/318_Bodansky.pdf
- Bodansky, Yossef (2015, April): *The Islamic State in West Africa – Boko Haram Up-Date*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 341). URL: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/190297/341_Bodansky.pdf
- Bodansky, Yossef (2015, May): *The Islamic State in West Africa – Boko Haram Up Date II*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 349). URL: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/190986/349_Bodansky.pdf
- Bodansky, Yossef (2015, August): *The Islamic State in West Africa – Boko Haram Up-Date III*. (ISPSW Strategy Series: Focus on Defense and International Security, Issue No. 368). URL: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/193192/368_Bodansky.pdf
- Botha, Anneli et al. (2017, February): *Understanding Nigerian Citizens' Perspectives on Boko Haram*. (ISS Monograph No. 196). URL: <https://issafrica.org/research/monographs/understanding-nigerian-citizens-perspectives-on-boko-haram>
- Boukhars, Anouar (2018, July): *The Paradox of Modern Jihadi Insurgencies: The Case of the Sahel and Maghreb*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2018/07/paradox-modern-jihadi-insurgencies-case-sahel-maghreb-180715094436599.html>
- Bryson, Rachel; Bulama Bukarti, Audu (2018, September): *Boko Haram's Split on Women in Combat*. (Tony Blair Institute for Global Change Report). URL: <https://institute.global/insight/co-existence/boko-harams-split-women-combat>
- Caillet, Romain (2016, September 2): *Analyse: de l'usage du takfir au Nigéria – la controverse de Boko Haram avec l'État Islamique en Afrique de l'Ouest*. *Relioscope*. URL: <https://www.religion.info/2016/09/02/analyse-takfir-au-nigeria-controverse-boko-haram-etat-islamique>
- Campbell, John (2014, October): *Boko Haram: Origins, Challenges and Responses*. (NOREF Policy Brief). URL: <https://noref.test.vpdev.no/Publications/Regions/Nigeria/Boko-Haram-origins-challenges-and-responses>
- Campbell, John (2014, November): *U.S. Policy to Counter Nigeria's Boko Haram*. (CFR, Center for Preventive Action; Special Report No. 70). URL: <https://www.cfr.org/report/us-policy-counter-nigerias-boko-haram>
- Campbell, John (2015, February): *Nigeria's 2015 Presidential Election*. (CFR, Center for Preventive Action; Contingency Planning Memorandum Update). URL: <https://www.cfr.org/report/nigerias-2015-presidential-election>
- Castillejo, Clare (2015, January): *Political Parties and the Social Contract in Fragile States*. (NOREF Expert Analysis). URL: <https://noref.no/Publications/Themes/Peacebuilding-and-mediation/Political-parties-and-the-social-contract-in-fragile-states>
- Chimezie, Aguezeala Alban (2013, August): *"State of Emergency" as the Best Policy Option for Boko Haram Terrorism*. (RIEAS Article). URL: <http://rieas.gr/researchareas/2014-07-30-08-58-27/islamic-studies/2021-state->

of-emergency-as-the-best-policy-option-for-boko-haram-terrorism

Cold-Ravnkilde, Signe; Plambech, Sine (2016, January): *Boko Haram: From Local Grievances to Violent Insurgency*. (DIIS Report 2015: 21). URL: <https://www.diis.dk/en/research/avoiding-past-mistakes-in-the-fight-against-boko-haram>

Cole, Beth Ellen et al. (2017, September): *Breaking Boko Haram and Ramping up Recovery: US Engagement in the Lake Chad Region: 2013 to 2016*. (USIP Case Study). URL: <https://www.usip.org/3dlessons/lakechadregion>

Cook, David (2014, December): *Boko Haram: A New Islamic State in Nigeria*. (James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy Report). URL: <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/research/boko-haram-new-islamic-state-nigeria>

Cooke, Jennifer G. (Host) (2017): *Addressing Violent Extremism in the Sahel: The Role of Civil Society*. (CSIS Podcast). URL: <https://www.csis.org/podcasts/curated-conversations/addressing-violent-extremism-sahel-role-civil-society>

Cooke, Jennifer G. et al. (2016, September): *Militancy and the Arc of Instability: Violent Extremism in the Sahel*. (CSIS Report). URL: <https://www.csis.org/analysis/militancy-and-arc-instability>

Counter Extremism Project (2018): *Nigeria: Extremism & Counter-Extremism*. (Report). URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/countries/nigeria>

Cox, Kate et al. (2018, November): *Social Media in Africa: A Double-Edged Sword for Security and Development*. (RAND / UNDP Research Report; RAND External Publications, EP-67730). URL: https://www.rand.org/pubs/external_publications/EP67730.html

de Tésières, Savannah (2017, March): *Measuring Illicit Arms Flows: Niger*. (Small Arms Survey Briefing Paper). URL: <http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/about-us/highlights/2017/highlight-bp-niger.html>

de Tésières, Savannah (2018, January): *At the Crossroads of Sahelian Conflicts: Insecurity, Terrorism, and Arms Trafficking in Niger*. (Small Arms Survey Report). URL: <http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/about-us/highlights/2017/highlight-sana-niger.html>

Doukhan, David (2015, January): *The Rise of Caliphates*. (ICT Articles). URL: <http://www.ict.org.il/Article/1297/The-Rise-of-Caliphates>

Doukhan, David (2016, January): *Winds of War in Nigeria and the “Tropical Shi’ism Zone”*. (ICT Articles). URL: <http://www.ict.org.il/Article/1582/Winds-of-war-in-Nigeria-and-the-Tropical-Shiism-Zone>

Doukhan, David (2016, March): *The Nigerian Reality in the War against Boko Haram: Between Hope and Despair*. (ICT Articles). URL: <http://www.ict.org.il/Article/1643/The-Nigerian-Reality-in-the-War-against-Boko-Haram>

Doukhan, David (2017, October): *Nigeria’s War against Boko Haram Is Far from Being Over*. (ICT Articles). URL: <http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2091/Nigerias-War-Against-Boko-Haram-Is-Far-From-Being-Over>

Essa, Azad (2014, August): *Nigerian Hostage Crisis: The Likelihood of Western Intervention*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/mritems/Documents/2014/8/11/2014811111543174734Nigerian%20Hostage%20Crisis.pdf>

Fakude, Thembisa (2015, April): *New Era in Nigerian Politics*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2015/04/20154157454950346.html>

Fanusie, Yaya J.; Entz, Alex (2017, May): *Boko Haram: Financial Assessment*. (Terror Finance Briefing Book). (FDD Report). URL: http://www.defenddemocracy.org/content/uploads/documents/CSIF_Boko_Haram.pdf

Feakin, Tobias (2014, September): *The New Frontiers of Islamist Extremism: Understanding the Threat that al-Qaeda Affiliates Pose to African Security*. (ASPI Special Report). URL: <https://www.aspi.org.au/report/>

[new-frontiers-islamist-extremism-understanding-threat-al-qaeda-affiliates-pose-african](#)

Felter, Claire (2018, August): *Nigeria's Battle with Boko Haram*. (CFR Backgrounder). URL: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/nigerias-battle-boko-haram>

Forest, James J. F. (2012, May): *Confronting the Terrorism of Boko Haram in Nigeria*. (JSOU Report 12-5). URL: http://jsou.libguides.com/ld.php?content_id=2876918

Galberg, Jenna (2019, April): *Scattered for Safety: Boko Haram, Girls, and the Promise of Distance Learning*. (PIPS Brief No. 11.1). URL: https://www.wm.edu/offices/global-research/projects/pips/white_papers/galberg_final.pdf

Global Initiative For Civil Stabilisation, The (GICS) (2019, April): *Survival and Expansion: The Islamic State's West African Province*. (Report). URL: <https://conflictstudies.gics.live/2019/04/23/gics-report-survival-and-expansion-the-islamic-states-west-african-province>

Griffin, Christopher (2016): *Operation Barkhane and Boko Haram: French Counterterrorism and Military Cooperation in the Sahel*. (TRENDS Working Paper 5/2015). URL: <http://trendsinstitution.org/operation-barkhane-and-boko-haram-french-counterterrorism-and-military-cooperation-in-the-sahel>

Guitta, Olivier; Simcox, Robin (2014, June): *Terrorism in Nigeria: The Threat from Boko Haram and Ansaru*. (HJS Briefing). URL: <https://henryjacksonsociety.org/2014/06/09/terrorism-in-nigeria-the-threat-from-boko-haram-and-ansaru>

Hahonou, Eric Komlavi (2016, February): *Corruption, Insecurity and Border Control in Niger: Security in the Sahel*. (DIIS Policy Brief). URL: <https://www.diis.dk/en/research/fighting-corruption-is-key-to-improve-border-control-in-niger>

Hahonou, Eric Komlavi (2016, October): *Stabilizing Niger: The Challenges of Bridging Local, National and Global Security Interests*. (DIIS Working Paper 2016: 9). URL: <https://www.diis.dk/en/research/frances-and-the-eus-strategies-to-stabilize-niger>

Hammoura, Hindieh et al. (2015): *Self-Destructing or Self-Helping: The Nigerian Military and Boko Haram*. (Project Report; Roskilde University, Bachelor Study Programme in Social Science). URL: <https://core.ac.uk/display/43031105>

Herbert, Siân; Husaini, Sa'eed (2018, February): *Conflict, Instability, and Resilience in Nigeria: Rapid Literature Review*. (GSDRC Report). URL: <https://gsdrc.org/publications/conflict-instability-and-resilience-in-nigeria>

Heungoup, Hans De Marie (2017, February): *The Humanitarian Fallout from Cameroon's Struggle against Boko Haram*. (ICG Commentary). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/humanitarian-fallout-camerouns-struggle-against-boko-haram>

Hickie, Scott; Abbott, Chris; Clarke, Matthew (2018, January): *Remote Warfare and the Boko Haram Insurgency*. (Report; Open Briefing / Oxford Research Group, Remote Warfare Programme). URL: <https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/remote-warfare-and-the-boko-haram-insurgency>

Hilary, Alozieuwa Simeon Onyemachi (2014, January): *Understanding the Boko Haram Crisis in Nigeria: A Lenticular Perspective*. (RIEAS Article). URL: <http://www.rieas.gr/images/simeon14.pdf>

Hoffmann, Leena Koni (2014, July): *Who Speaks for the North? Politics and Influence in Northern Nigeria*. (Chatham House Africa Programme Research Paper). URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/who-speaks-north-politics-and-influence-northern-nigeria>

Hogendoorn, E. J. (2018, October): *To Help Defeat Boko Haram, the EU Should Push for Good Governance and Accountability*. (ICCT Policy Brief). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.19165/2018.2.08>

Hoinathy, Remadji; Eizenga, Daniel (2019, February): *The State of Secularism in Chadian Higher Education:*

Testing Perceived Ties to Violent Extremism. (Resolve Network Research Brief No. 2). URL: <https://www.resolve-net.org/research/state-secularism-chadian-higher-education-testing-perceived-ties-violent-extremism>

Human Rights Watch (HRW) (2014): “*Those Terrible Weeks in their Camp*”: *Boko Haram Violence against Women and Girls in Northeast Nigeria.* (Report). URL: <https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/10/27/those-terrible-weeks-their-camp/boko-haram-violence-against-women-and-girls>

Ibrahim, Jibrin; Bala, Saleh (2018, December): *Civilian-Led Governance and Security in Nigeria after Boko Haram.* (USIP Special Report 438). URL: <https://www.usip.org/index.php/publications/2018/12/civilian-led-governance-and-security-nigeria-after-boko-haram>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2014, April): *Curbing Violence in Nigeria (II): The Boko Haram Insurgency.* (Africa Report N°216). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/curbing-violence-nigeria-ii-boko-haram-insurgency>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2014, November): *Nigeria’s Dangerous 2015 Elections: Limiting the Violence.* (Africa Report N°220). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/nigeria-s-dangerous-2015-elections-limiting-violence>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2015, June): *The Central Sahel: A Perfect Sandstorm.* (Africa Report N°227). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/niger/central-sahel-perfect-sandstorm>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2015, September): *Curbing Violence in Nigeria (III): Revisiting the Niger Delta.* (Africa Report N°231). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/curbing-violence-nigeria-iii-revisiting-niger-delta>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2016, March): *Chad: Between Ambition and Fragility.* (Africa Report N°233). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/chad/chad-between-ambition-and-fragility>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2016, March): *Exploiting Disorder: al-Qaeda and the Islamic State.* (Special Report). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/exploiting-disorder-al-qaeda-and-islamic-state>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2016, April): *Implementing Peace and Security Architecture (III): West Africa.* (Africa Report N°234). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/implementing-peace-and-security-architecture-iii-west-africa>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2016, May): *Boko Haram on the Back Foot?* (Africa Briefing N°120). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/boko-haram-back-foot>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2016, June): *Nigeria: The Challenge of Military Reform.* (Africa Report N°237). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/nigeria-challenge-military-reform>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2016, November): *Cameroon: Confronting Boko Haram.* (Africa Report N°241). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/cameroon-confronting-boko-haram>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2016, December): *Nigeria: Women and the Boko Haram Insurgency.* (Africa Report N°242). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/nigeria-women-and-boko-haram-insurgency>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2017, February): *Niger and Boko Haram: Beyond Counter-Insurgency.* (Africa Report N°245). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/niger/245-niger-and-boko-haram-beyond-counter-insurgency>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2017, February): *Watchmen of Lake Chad: Vigilante Groups Fighting Boko Haram.* (Africa Report N°244). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/244-watchmen-lake-chad-vigilante-groups-fighting-boko-haram>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2017, March): *Fighting Boko Haram in Chad: Beyond Military Measures*. (Africa Report N°246). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/chad/246-fighting-boko-haram-chad-beyond-military-measures>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2017, May): *Instruments of Pain (IV): The Food Crisis in North East Nigeria*. (Africa Briefing N°126). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/b126-instruments-pain-iv-food-crisis-north-east-nigeria>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2017, September): *Herders against Farmers: Nigeria's Expanding Deadly Conflict*. (Africa Report N°252). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/252-herders-against-farmers-nigerias-expanding-deadly-conflict>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2017, October): *Cameroon's Far North: Reconstruction amid Ongoing Conflict*. (Africa Briefing N°133). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/b133-extreme-nord-du-cameroun-le-casse-tete-de-la-reconstruction-en-periode-de-conflit>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, April): *Preventing Boko Haram Abductions of Schoolchildren in Nigeria*. (Africa Briefing N°137). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/b137-preventing-boko-haram-abductions-schoolchildren-nigeria>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2018, August): *Cameroon's Far North: A New Chapter in the Fight against Boko Haram*. (Africa Report N°263). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/263-extreme-nord-du-cameroun-nouveau-chapitre-dans-la-lutte-contre-boko-haram>

International Crisis Group (ICG) (2019, May): *Facing the Challenge of the Islamic State in West Africa Province*. (Africa Report N°273). URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/273-facing-challenge-islamic-state-west-africa-province>

International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), Jihadi Websites Monitoring Group (JWMG) Desk (2018, December): *The Islamic State in West Africa Accuses Shekau, the Leader of Boko Haram, of Deviating from Islam*. (JWMG Insights). URL: <http://www.ict.org.il/Article/2306/The-Islamic-State-in-West-Africa>

Issa, Saïbou; Machikou, Nadine (2019, February): *Reintegrating Former Boko Haram Associates: Perspectives from Far North Region in Cameroon*. (Global Center on Cooperative Security Policy Brief). URL: <https://www.globalcenter.org/publications/reintegrating-former-boko-haram-associates-reintegration-des-ex-associés-de-boko-haram>

Knoechelmann, Maike (2014, October): *Why the Nigerian Counter-Terrorism Policy toward Boko Haram has Failed: A Cause and Effect Relationship*. (ICT Working Papers Series, No. 32). URL: <http://www.ict.org.il/Article/1226/Why-the-Nigerian-Counter-Terrorism-policy-toward-Boko-Haram-has-failed>

Knoope, Peter; Chauzal, Grégory (2016, January): *Beneath the Apparent State of Affairs: Stability in Ghana and Benin: The Potential for Radicalization and Political Violence in West Africa*. (Clingendael Report). URL: <https://www.clingendael.org/publication/beneath-apparent-state-affairs-stability-ghana-and-benin>

Koos, Carlo (2014, March): *Does Violence Pay? The Effect of Ethnic Rebellion on Overcoming Political Deprivation*. (GIGA Working Papers, No. 244). URL: <https://www.giga-hamburg.de/en/news/does-violence-pay>

Lacey, Peter L. (2012): *The Emergence of Boko Haram: An Analysis of Terrorist Characteristics*. (Paper presented at the 3rd Australian Counter Terrorism Conference, Novotel Langley Hotel, Perth, Western Australia, 3rd-5th December, 2012). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4225/75/57a2d5558af78>

Loertscher, Seth; Milton, Daniel (2015, December): *Held Hostage: Analyses of Kidnapping across Time and among Jihadist Organizations*. (CTC Report). URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/held-hostage-analyses-of-kidnapping-across-time-and-among-jihadist-organizations>

Mahmood, Omar S. (2013, April): *Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria: No Easy Fix*. (HSPI Issue Brief Series, No.

- 18). URL: https://cchs.gwu.edu/sites/g/files/zaxdzs2371/f/downloads/IssueBrief_18_HSPI.pdf
- Mahmood, Omar S. (2016, May): *Boko Haram: A Primer*. (FPRI E-Notes). URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2016/05/boko-haram-primer>
- Mahmood, Omar S.; Ani, Ndubuisi Christian (2018, July): *Factional Dynamics within Boko Haram*. (ISS Research Report). URL: <https://issafrica.org/research/books-and-other-publications/factional-dynamics-within-boko-haram>
- Mahmood, Omar S.; Ani, Ndubuisi Christian (2018, July): *Responses to Boko Haram in the Lake Chad Region: Policies, Cooperation and Livelihoods*. (ISS Research Report). URL: <https://issafrica.org/research/books-and-other-publications/responses-to-boko-haram-in-the-lake-chad-region-policies-cooperation-and-livelihoods>
- Maiangwa, Benjamin; Uzodike, Ufo Okeke (2012, July): *The Changing Dynamics of Boko Haram Terrorism*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2012/07/20127316859987337.html>
- Malik, Nikita (2017, October): *Trafficking Terror: How Modern Slavery and Sexual Violence Fund Terrorism*. (CRT Report). URL: <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/2017/10/08/trafficking-terror-how-modern-slavery-and-sexual-violence-fund-terrorism>
- Mbiyozo, Aimée-Noël (2017, December): *How Boko Haram Specifically Targets Displaced People*. (ISS Policy Brief). URL: <https://issafrica.org/research/policy-brief/how-boko-haram-specifically-targets-displaced-people>
- McCullough, Aoife et al. (2017, February): *Understanding Trajectories of Radicalisation in Agadez*. (ODI Report). URL: <https://www.odi.org/publications/10760-understanding-trajectories-radicalisation-niger>
- McQuaid, Julia et al. (2015, February): *Rethinking the U.S. Approach to Boko Haram: The Case for a Regional Strategy*. (CNA Report). URL: https://www.cna.org/cna_files/pdf/DRM-2014-U-009462-Final.pdf
- Meagher, Kate (2014, November): *Beyond Terror: Addressing the Boko Haram Challenge in Nigeria*. (NOREF Policy Brief). URL: <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Beyond%20terror.pdf>
- Nowak, Matthias; Gsell, André (2018, June): *Handmade and Deadly: Craft Production of Small Arms in Nigeria*. (Small Arms Survey Briefing Paper). URL: <http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/about-us/highlights/2018/high-light-bp-nigeria-craft-prod.html>
- Nozawa, Junko; Lefas, Melissa (2018, October): *When the Dust Settles: Judicial Responses to Terrorism in the Sahel*. (Global Center on Cooperative Security Report). URL: <https://www.globalcenter.org/publications/when-the-dust-settles-judicial-responses-to-terrorism-in-the-sahel-quand-la-poussiere-retombe-la-justice-face-au-terrorisme-dans-le-sahel>
- Nwankpa, Michael (2015, May): *Boko Haram: Whose Islamic State?* (James A. Baker III Institute For Public Policy Research Paper). URL: <https://www.bakerinstitute.org/research/boko-haram-whose-islamic-state>
- Oftedal, Emilie (2013, May): *Boko Haram – An overview*. (FFI-rapport 2013/01680). URL: <https://www.ffi.no/no/rapporter/13-01680.pdf>
- Olojo, Akinola (2013, October): *Nigeria's Troubled North: Interrogating the Drivers of Public Support for Boko Haram*. (ICCT Research Paper). URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/nigerias-troubled-north-interrogating-the-drivers-of-public-support-for-boko-haram>
- Onuoha, Freedom C. (2012, December): *(Un)Willing to Die: Boko Haram and Suicide Terrorism in Nigeria*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2012/12/2012122491416595337.html>
- Onuoha, Freedom C. (2013, March): *Jama'atu Ansarul Musilimina Fi Biladis Sudan: Nigeria's Evolv-*

ing Militant Group. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2013/04/20134412740282470.html>

Onuoha, Freedom C. (2013, September): *Porous Borders and Boko Haram's Arms Smuggling Operations in Nigeria*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2013/09/201398104245877469.html>

Onuoha, Freedom C. (2014, April): *Boko Haram and Nyanya Bomb Blast*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2014/04/20144299643486571.html>

Onuoha, Freedom C. (2014, June): *Why Do Youth Join Boko Haram?* (USIP Special Report). URL: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2014/06/why-do-youth-join-boko-haram>

Onuoha, Freedom C. (2016, October): *Split in ISIS-Aligned Boko Haram Group*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2016/10/split-isis-aligned-boko-haram-group-161027113247008.html>

Onuoha, Freedom C.; George, Temilola A. (2015, March): *Boko Haram's Use of Female Suicide Bombing in Nigeria*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2015/03/2015317105714685938.html>

Onuoha, Freedom C.; Oyewole, Samuel (2018, April): *Anatomy of Boko Haram: The Rise and Decline of a Violent Group in Nigeria*. (Aljazeera Centre for Studies Report). URL: <http://studies.aljazeera.net/en/reports/2018/04/anatomy-boko-haram-rise-decline-violent-group-nigeria-180422110920231.html>

Paden, John (2015, February): *Religion and Conflict in Nigeria: Countdown to the 2015 Elections*. (USIP Special Report 359). URL: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2015/01/religion-and-conflict-nigeria>

Page, Matthew T. (2018, September): *The Intersection of China's Commercial Interests and Nigeria's Conflict Landscape*. (USIP Special Report 428). URL: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2018/09/intersection-chinas-commercial-interests-and-nigerias-conflict-landscape>

Pantucci, Raffaello; Jespersen, Sasha (2015, April): *From Boko Haram to Ansaru: The Evolution of Nigerian Jihad*. (RUSI Occasional Paper). URL: <https://rusi.org/publication/occasional-papers/boko-haram-ansaru-evolution-nigerian-jihad>

Pate, Amy (2015, January): *Boko Haram: An Assessment of Strengths, Vulnerabilities, and Policy Options*. (START Report to the Strategic Multilayer Assessment Office, Department of Defense, and the Office of University Programs, Department of Homeland Security). URL: <https://www.start.umd.edu/publication/boko-haram-assessment-strengths-vulnerabilities-and-policy-options>

Pate, Amy (2015, January): *Surveying the Literature on Counter-Terrorism, Counter-Insurgency, and Countering Violent Extremism: A Summary Report with a Focus on Africa*. (START Report to the Strategic Multilayer Assessment Office, Department of Defense, and the Office of University Programs, Department of Homeland Security). URL: <https://www.start.umd.edu/publication/surveying-literature-counter-terrorism-counter-insurgency-and-countering-violent>

Pérouse de Montclos, Marc-Antoine (2014, September): *Nigeria's Interminable Insurgency? Addressing the Boko Haram Crisis*. (Chatham House Africa Programme Research Paper). URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publication/nigerias-interminable-insurgency-addressing-boko-haram-crisis>

Plambech, Sine; Cold-Ravnkilde, Signe Marie (2016, February): *Defeating Boko Haram Requires a Multifaceted Approach: Jihadist Violence in Nigeria Continues*. (DIIS Policy Brief). URL: <https://www.diis.dk/en/research/only-a-multifaceted-approach-will-defeat-boko-haram>

Reeve, Richard (2015, February): *Nigeria's Bloody Valentine: Boko Haram's Electoral Opportunity*. (Oxford Research Group Briefing). URL: <https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/nigerias-bloody-valentine-boko-ha>

rams-electoral-opportunity

Reeve, Richard; Pelter, Zoë (2014, August): *From New Frontier to New Normal: Counter-Terrorism Operations in the Sahel-Sahara*. (Remote Control Project Report). URL: <https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/from-new-frontier-to-new-normal-counter-terrorism-operations-in-the-sahel-sahara>

Rosenau, William; Mushen, Emily; McQuaid, Julia (2015, March): *Security during Nigeria's 2015 National Elections: What Should we Expect from the Police?* (CNA Africa Security Reports). URL: <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA616056>

Sæbø, Maren (2017, February): *Boko Haram: The Islamist Insurgency in Nigeria*. (HSI Report). URL: <https://www.hate-speech.org/new-report-on-the-boko-haram>

Salifu, Uyo; Ewi, Martin (2017, February): *Boko Haram and Violent Extremism: Perspectives from Peacebuilders*. (ISS Policy Brief 97). URL: <https://issafrica.org/research/policy-brief/boko-haram-and-violent-extremism-perspectives-from-peacebuilders>

Sanni, Amidu (2016, November): *Jihadist and Salafi Discourses in Sudanic Africa: Boko Haram and the Emerging Terror Network in Muslim West Africa*. (KFCRIS; Dirasat, No. 17). URL: <http://kfcris.com/pdf/3ccfbf4278cdad70197e6fc1ab4c34ad58af0d96222f8.pdf>

Shepherd, Ben; Melly, Paul (2016, April): *Stability and Vulnerability in the Sahel: The Regional Roles and Internal Dynamics of Chad and Niger*. (NOREF Report). URL: <https://reliefweb.int/report/niger/stability-and-vulnerability-sahel-regional-roles-and-internal-dynamics-chad-and-niger>

Simonelli, Corina et al. (2014, May): *Boko Haram Recent Attacks*. (START Background Report). URL: <https://www.start.umd.edu/publication/boko-haram-recent-attacks>

Sounaye, Abdoulaye; Malefakis, Medinat Abdulazeez (2019, April): *Religious Politics and Student Associations in Nigeria: The Case of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria*. (RESOLVE Network Research Brief No. 3). URL: <https://www.resolvenet.org/research/religious-politics-and-student-associations-nigeria>

Stevenson, John (2015, January): *Statistical Analysis of Event Data Concerning Boko Haram in Nigeria (2009-2013)*. (START Report to the Strategic Multilayer Assessment Office, Department of Defense, and the Office of University Programs, Department of Homeland Security). URL: <https://www.start.umd.edu/publication/statistical-analysis-event-data-concerning-boko-haram-nigeria-2009-2013>

Thurston, Alexander (2016, January): *"The Disease Is Unbelief": Boko Haram's Religious and Political Worldview*. (The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World, Analysis Paper, No. 22). URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-disease-is-unbelief-boko-harams-religious-and-political-worldview>

Thurston, Alexander (2016, November 2): *Insights into Boko Haram's Early Thought: Muhammad Yusuf and Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi*. *Jihadica*. URL: <http://www.jihadica.com/insights-into-boko-harams-early-thought-muhammad-yusuf-and-abu-muhammad-al-maqdisi>

Tull, Denis M. (2015, August): *Cameroon and Boko Haram: Time to Think beyond Terrorism and Security*. (SWP Comments, 2015/C 42). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/cameroon-and-boko-haram-time-to-think-beyond-terrorism-and-security>

Tull, Denis M.; Weber, Annette (2015, April): *Nigeria: Boko Haram and the Regionalization of Terrorism*. (SWP Comments, 2015/C 21). URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/en/publication/boko-haram-regionalization-of-terrorism>

Ukiwo, Ukoha; Rustad, Siri Aas (2015): *Nigeria's Presidential Election 2015*. (PRIO Conflict Trends 02|2015). URL: <https://www.prio.org/Publications/Publication/?x=7619>

United Nations Human Rights Council (HRC) (2015, December): *Violations and Abuses Committed by Boko Haram and the Impact on Human Rights in the Countries Affected*. (Report A/HRC/30/67). URL: <https://docu->

[ments-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G15/280/62/PDF/G1528062.pdf](https://www.ments-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G15/280/62/PDF/G1528062.pdf)

Van Den Hoek, Jamon (2017, September): *Agricultural Market Activity and Boko Haram Attacks in Northeastern Nigeria*. (OECD Publishing; West African Papers, No. 9). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1787/13ba9f2e-en>

Vincent, Ntuda Ebode Joseph et al. (2017): *The Boko Haram Conflict in Cameroon: Why Is Peace so Elusive?* (Diom Richard Ngong, Trans.). (FES Report). URL: <https://www.ecoi.net/en/document/1426784.html>

Warner, Jason; Matfess, Hilary (2017, August): *Exploding Stereotypes: The Unexpected Operational and Demographic Characteristics of Boko Haram's Suicide Bombers*. (CTC Report). URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/posts/report-exploding-stereotypes-the-unexpected-operational-and-demographic-characteristics-of-boko-harams-suicide-bombers>

Williams, Paul D. (2015, May): *Enhancing U.S. Support for Peace Operations in Africa*. (CFR Special Report No. 73). URL: <https://www.cfr.org/report/enhancing-us-support-peace-operations-africa>

Zenn, Jacob (2014, May): *Boko Haram's Mass-Kidnapping in Chibok: Shekau's Gains and Objectives*. (The Jamestown Foundation Hot Issues). URL: <https://jamestown.org/program/hot-issue-boko-harams-mass-kidnapping-in-chibok-shekau-s-gains-and-objectives/#.V0qwop797tR>

Zenn, Jacob (Ed.) (2018, May): *Boko Haram beyond the Headlines: Analyses of Africa's Enduring Insurgency*. (Report). West Point: Combating Terrorism Center (CTC). URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/boko-haram-beyond-headlines-analyses-africas-enduring-insurgency>

Note

Whenever retrievable, URLs for freely available versions of subscription-based publications have been provided. Thanks to the Open Access movement, self-archiving of publications in institutional repositories, on professional networking sites, or author homepages for free public use (so-called Green Open Access) has become more common. Please note, that the content of Green Open Access documents is not necessarily identical to the officially published versions (e.g., in case of preprints); it might therefore not have passed through all editorial stages publishers employ to ensure quality control (peer review, copy and layout editing etc.). In some cases, articles may only be cited after obtaining permission by the author(s).

About the compiler: Judith Tinnes, Ph.D., is a Professional Information Specialist. Since 2011, she works for the Leibniz Institute for Psychology Information ([ZPID](https://www.zpid.de/)). Additionally, she serves as Information Resources Editor to 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. In her editorial role, she regularly compiles bibliographies and other resources for Terrorism Research. She wrote her [doctoral thesis](#) on Internet usage of Islamist terrorists and insurgents (focus: media-oriented hostage takings). E-mail: j.tinnes@gmx.de

Counterterrorism Bookshelf: 62 Books on Terrorism & Counter-Terrorism-Related Subjects

Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

So many books are published on terrorism and counterterrorism-related subjects that it is difficult to catch up on a large backlog of monographs and edited volumes received for review. In order to catch up on this backlog, this column consists mostly of capsule Tables of Contents of 62 books, including also several books published less recently but still meriting attention. Some of these books will be reviewed in future issues of 'Perspectives on Terrorism' as stand-alone reviews.

The following capsule overviews are arranged topically under the headings "Terrorism – General," "Terrorist Groups," "Country Studies," "Counterterrorism - General," "Counterterrorism – Countering Violent Extremism," "Counterterrorism – Conflict Resolution," "Counterterrorism – Intelligence," and "Counterterrorism – Legal."

Terrorism—General

Alain Badiou, *Our Wound is Not So Recent* (Medford, MA: Polity, 2016), 80 pp., US \$ 9.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5095-1493-9.

The text is a transcript of a speech by the author on November 23, 2015 at the Theatre de la Commune d'Aubervilliers in Paris, France. It discusses the implications of the wave of Islamist terrorist attacks in Paris, which the author attributes to a malaise connected to the supremacy of global capitalism and new forms of imperialism leading to the weakening of states under their domination which have become breeding grounds for a new form of nihilism that seeks revenge against such domination.

Mia Bloom with John Horgan, *Small Arms: Children and Terrorism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 248 pp., US \$ 27.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-8014-5385-5.

Table of Contents: (1) What Is a Child?; (2) Child Soldiers versus Children in Terrorist Groups; (3) Learning to Hate: Socialization and Cultural Influences; (4) Pathways to Involvement: Coercion; (5) Pathways to Involvement: Consensus and Cultures of Martyrdom; (6) Experiences, Apprenticeships, and Careers in Terror; (7) Leaving Terrorism Behind; (8) An End or a New Beginning?

Stephanie Dornschneider, *Whether to Kill: The Cognitive Maps of Violent and Nonviolent Individuals* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 328 pp., US \$ 79.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-8122-4770-1.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) A Cognitive Mapping Approach to Political Violence; (2) Interviewing Violent and Nonviolent Individuals; (3) A Short History of the Individuals' Groups; (4) Constructing Cognitive Maps About Political Violence; (5) A Computational Analysis of Violent and Nonviolent Activism; (6) Alternative Worlds Without Violence; Conclusion; Appendix 1: Chapter 1: Pearl's Definition for Causal Models and Counterfactuals (Pearl 2000); Appendix 2: Alternative Worlds Without Violence.

Maik Fielitz and Laura Lotte Laloire (Eds.), *Trouble on the Far Right: Contemporary Right-Wing Strategies and Practices in Europe* (Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag, 2016), 208 pp., US \$ 30.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-3-8376-3720-5.

Table of Contents: Part I: To Begin With; (1) Trouble on the Far Right: Introductory Remarks; (2) Europe's Far

Right in Flux; Part II: At the Ballot Box; (3) No One-Trick Ponies: The Multifaceted Appeal of the Populist Radical Right; (4) The Far Right in Austria: Small on the Streets, Big in Parliament; (5) The Turning Fortunes of Romania's Far Right: The Rise and Fall of Greater Romania Party; (6) Svoboda and the Restructuring of Ukrainian Nationalism; Part III: On the Street; (7) Don't Call me Right!: The Strategy of Normalization in German Right-Wing Extremism; (8) On Patrol with the New German Vigilantes; (9) CasaPound Italia: The Fascist Hybrid; (10) Who Are 'They'? : Continuities and Changes in the Discourse of CasaPound Italia on Migration and Otherness; (11) What's in the Mind of the Neo-Nazi Next Door?: A Personal Reflection on the Rise and Persistence of Golden Dawn in Greece; Part IV: Over Cultural Hegemony; (12) Preparing for (Intellectual) Civil War: The New Right in Austria and Germany; (13) The Strategy of the French Identitaires: Entering Politics through the Media; (14) Arguing with the Nouvelle Droite: Substantive Debate, Partisan Polemics or Truth Seeking? (15) Black Sheep in a Far-Right Zoo?: Fethullah Gülen's Strategy of 'Non-Violence'; (16) Women and their Rights in the Nationalists' Strategies: Abortion as a Contentious Issue in the Polish 'Culture War'; Part V: Underground; (17) A Warfare Mindset: Right-Wing Extremism and 'Counter-State Terror' as a Threat for Western Democracies; (18) Right-Wing Terrorism and Hate Crime in the UK; Part VI: Within; (19) Patterns of Far-Right and Anti-Muslim Mobilization in the United Kingdom; But – Where Do These People Come From?: The (Re)Emergence of Radical Nationalism in Finland; (20) The Far Right in Latvia: Should We Be Worried?; (21) The Achilles' Heel of Bulgaria's Patriotic Front; (22) The Changing Face of Neo-Nazism.

James Fitzgerald, Nadya Ali, and Megan Armstrong (Eds.), *Terrorism and Policy Relevance: Critical Perspectives* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2018), 154 pp., US \$ 155.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 49.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1388-9486-0.

Table of Contents: (1) Editors' introduction: critical terrorism studies: reflections on policy-relevance and disciplinarity; (2) Critical terrorism studies, victimisation, and policy relevance: compromising politics or challenging hegemony; (3) Terror from behind the keyboard: conceptualising faceless detractors and guarantors of security in cyberspace; (4) 'Read it in the papers, seen it on TV...': the 1981 Libyan hit squad scare as a case of simulated terrorism in the United States; (5) Ask the audience: television, security and Homeland (6) Interrogating representations of 'militants' and 'terrorists' in the United States' Militant Imagery Project and the Counterterrorism Calendar; (7) To be or not to be policy relevant? Power, emancipation and resistance in CTS research; (8) Dialogue, praxis and the state: a response to Richard Jackson; (9) Counter-radicalisation policy across Europe: an interview with Maarten van de Donk (Radicalisation Awareness Network); (10) Frontline perspectives on preventing violent extremism: an interview with Alyas Karmani (STREET UK).

Timothy Howe and Lee L. Brice (Eds.), *Brill's Companion to Insurgency and Terrorism in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2016), 372 pp., US \$ 184.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-9-0042-2235-9.

Table of Contents: Series Foreword; Preface; Part 1: (1) Introduction; Insurgency and Terrorism in the Ancient World, Grounding the Discussion; Part 2: The Ancient Near East; (2) Insurgency and Terror in Mesopotamia; (3) Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in the Assyrian Empire during the Late Eight Century BCE; (4) Fourth Century Revolts against Persia: The Test Case of Sidon (348-345 BCE); Part 3: Classical Greece and the Hellenistic World; (5) Spartan State Terror: Violence, Humiliation, and the Reinforcement of Social Boundaries in Classical Sparta; (6) Alexander and 'Afghan Insurgency': A Reassessment; (7) Insurgency in Ptolemaic Egypt; Part 4: The Roman World; (8) Insurgency or State Terrorism? The Hispanic Wars in the Second Century BCE; (9) Roman Counterinsurgency Policy and Practice in Judaea; (10) From Batavian Revolt to Rhenish Insurgency; (11) Gallic Insurgencies? Annihilating the Bagaudae; (12) Epilogue: Looking Ahead.

Noriyuki Katagiri, *Adapting to Win: How Insurgents Fight and Defeat Foreign States in War* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 312 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-8122-4641-4.

Table of Contents: (1) How Do Insurgents Fight and Defeat Foreign States in War?; (2) Origins and Proliferation of Sequencing; (3) How Sequencing Theory Works; (4) The Conventional Model: The Dahomean War (1890-1894); (5) The Primitive Model: Malayan Emergency (1948-1960); (6) The Degenerative Model: The Iraq War (2003-2011); (7) The Premature Model: The Anglo-Somali War (1900-1920); (8) The Maoist Model: The Guinean War of Independence (1963-1974); (9) The Progressive Model: The Indochina War (1946-1954); Conclusion; Appendix A. List of Extrasystemic Wars (1816-2010”; Appendix B. Description of 148 Wars and Sequences.

Randall D. Law, *Terrorism: A History* [Second Edition] (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2016), 378 pp., US \$ 84.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 26.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-9090-6.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) Terror and Tyrannicide in the Ancient World; (2) Terror and Tyrannicide in the Middle Ages; (3) Terror and Tyrannicide in the Early Modern Era in Europe; (4) The Dawn of Revolutionary Terrorism; (5) “Russian Revolutionary Terrorism; (6) The Era of the European *Attentat*; (7) Labor, Anarchy, and Terror in America; (8) White Supremacy and American Racial Terrorism; (9) The Dawn of Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism; (10) The Era of State Terror; (11) Decolonization and Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism from the 1930s to the Early 1960s; (12) Decolonization and Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism from the Late 1960s to the Present; (13) The Era of Leftist and International Terrorism; (14) The Rise of Jihadist Terrorism; (15) Recent Non-Jihadist Terrorism; (16) 9/11, the War on Terror, and Recent Trends in Terrorism.

Barak Mendelsohn, *Jihadism Constrained: The Limits of Transnational Jihadism and What it Means for Counterterrorism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), 176 pp., US \$ 80.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 34.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5381-1848-1.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) The Emergence of Transnational Jihadism; (2) The Power of National and Tribal Identities; (3) Grand Plans Collapse on the Walls of Reality; (4) Intra-Jihadi Conflicts; (5) The Way Forward.

Nirode Mohanty, *Jihadism: Past and Present* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), 350 pp., US \$ 115.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4985-7596-6.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) This is No Peace: A Historical Perspective; (2) Jihadi Terrorism; (3) Causes of Terrorism; (4) Radical Jihadi Movements; (5) Salafi Jihadism (Daesh) and Stealth Jihadism; Epilogue; Appendix 1: Glossary; Appendix 2: Islamic Sects.

Thomas M. Nichols, *Eve of Destruction: The Coming Age of Preventive War* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 192 pp., US \$ 45.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-8122-4065-5.

Table of Contents: Preface; (1) A New Age of Prevention; (2) Humanitarian Intervention, Sovereignty, and Prevention; (3) The End of Deterrence; (4) International Perspectives on Preemption and Prevention; (5) After Iraq; (6) Governing the New Age of Prevention; Afterword Now What?

Chiara Ruffa, *Military Cultures in Peace and Stability Operations: Afghanistan and Lebanon* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 204 pp., US \$ 65.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-8122-5018-3.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) Force Employment, Unit Peace Operation Effectiveness, and Military Cultures; (2) French and Italian Military Cultures; (3) French and Italian Units in Lebanon; (4) French and Italian Units in Afghanistan; Conclusion; Appendix.

Martin Shaw, *What is Genocide?* [Second Edition] (Medford, MA: Polity, 2015), 232 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 26.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-8707-0.

Table of Contents: Preface to the Second Edition; (1) Introduction: The Importance of Definition; Part I: The Genocide Idea; (2) Raphael Lemkin and the Idea of Genocide; (3) The Concept After Lemkin; (4) The Holocaust Standard; (5) The 'Cleansing' Euphemism; (6) The Many 'Cides' of Genocide; Part II: Agency and Structure in Genocide; (7) From Internationality to a Structural Concept; (8) The Structure of Genocide Conflict and War; (9) Actors and Process in Genocidal Conflict; (10) Structural Contexts: Explaining Modern Genocide; (11) Conclusion: New Definitions.

Thomas W. Simon, *Genocide, Torture, and Terrorism* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 244 pp., US \$ 109.99 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-1374-1510-3.

Table of Contents: Introduction; Part I: Comparing Injustice: The Centrality of Genocide; (1) Comparing Wrongs; (2) Comparing Genocides; (3) Rwanda: Undervalued Injustice; Part II: Comparative Applications: War on Terror's Distortions; (4) Torture: Undervalued Injustice; (5) Terrorism: Overvalued Injustice; Part III: From Theory to Practice: Humanitarian Intervention Revised; (6) Universal Wrongs: *Jus Cogens*; (7) Duty to Act: Beyond Responsibility to Protect; Conclusion; Appendix A: "Genocide, Torture, and Terrorism Compared"; Appendix B: International Crimes Compared.

Lisa Stampnitzky, *Disciplining Terror: How Experts Invented "Terrorism"* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 246 pp., US \$ 125.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 29.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1076-9734-8.

Table of Contents: (1) Introduction; (2) The Invention of Terrorism and the Rise of the Terrorism Experts; (3) From Insurgencies to Terrorists, Experts, Rational Knowledge, and Irrational Subjects; (4) Disasters, Diplomats, and Databases: Rationalization and its Discontents; (5) 'Terrorism Fever': The First War on Terror and the Politicization of Expertise; (6) 'Loose Can(n)ons' From 'Small Wars' to the 'New Terrorism'; (7) The Road to Pre-Emption; (8) The Politics of (Anti-)Knowledge: Disciplining Terrorism After 9/11; (9) Conclusion: The Trouble With Experts.

Chris E. Stout (Ed.), *Terrorism, Political Violence, and Extremism: New Psychology to Understand, Face, and Defuse the Threat* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger/ABC-Clio, LLC, 2017), 357 pp., US \$ 58.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4408-5192-6.

Table of Contents: Introduction; Part I: Theory and Observation; (1) The Psychology of Terrorism; (2) Why ISIL and Why Now? A Psychological Examination of the Rise of ISIL; (3) Terrorist Theology, Delusion, and Apotheosis in Death; (4) The Psychology of War; (5) Psychological, Theological, and Thanatological Aspects of Suicide Terrorism; (6) Terror, Sexual Arousal, and Torture: The Question of Obedience or Ecstasy Among Perpetrators; (7) War Rape: Unveiling the Complexities of Motivation and Reparation in Order to Create Lines of Peace and Empowerment (8) Unresolved Trauma: Fuel for the Cycle of Violence and Domestic Terrorism; (9) Offensive Counterintelligence: Using Psychology to Sabotage Social Bonds in Terrorist Organizations; Part II: Approaches for Understanding and Healing; (10) Terror and Violence Perpetrated by Children and upon Children; (11) Older Adults and Terrorism; (12) The Psychological Impact of Terrorism on Refugee Populations; Part III: Questioning Authority; (13) Americanism: Causes, Consequences, and Growth; (14) Military Psychology: An Oxymoron; Conclusion.

John Schwarzmantel, *Democracy and Political Violence* (Edinburgh, Scotland, UK: Edinburgh, 2011), 224 pp., US \$ 120.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 39.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7486-3796-6.

Table of Contents: (1) Conflict and Community; (2) The Forms and Nature of Political Violence; (3) The State and Violence; (4) Democracy and Terrorism; (5) Ethnic and Nationalist Violence and Democracy; (6) Violence and the Installations of Democracy; (7) Culture, Violence and Democracy; (8) Democracy in Times of Risk and Uncertainty.

Mathias Thaler, *Naming Violence: A Critical Theory of Genocide, Torture, and Terrorism* (Columbia University Press, 2018), 248 pages, US \$ 65.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-2311-8814-2.

Table of Contents: (1) Political Theory Between Moralism and Realism; (2) Telling Stories on Art's Role in Dispelling Genocide Blindness; (3) How to Do Things with Hypotheticals: Assessing Thought Experiments About Torture; (4) Genealogy as Critique: Problematizing Definitions of Terrorism; (5) The Conceptual Tapestry of Political Violence.

W. Kip Viscusi (Ed.), *The Risks of Terrorism* (Boston, MA: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 152 pp., US \$ 149.99 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4020-7734-0. (Published as special issue of the *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty*, Vol. 26, Numbers 2/3, March/May 2003).

Table of Contents: Part I: Risk Beliefs: (1) Sacrificing Civil Liberties to Reduce Terrorism Risks; (2) Terrorism and Probability Neglect; (3) Judged Terror Risk and Proximity to the World Trade Center; Part II: Insurance Market Effects; (4) Catastrophic Events, Parameter Uncertainty and the Breakdown of Implicit Long-Term Contracting: The Case of Terrorism Insurance; (5) Insuring September 11th: Markets Recovery and Transparency; Part III: Policy Responses; (6) The Ecology of Terror Defense; (7) Interdependent Security.

Anna Zizola and Paolo Inghilleri, *Women on the Verge of Jihad: The Hidden Pathways Towards Radicalization* (Milan, Italy: Mimesis International, 2018), 120 pp., US \$ 14.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-8-8697-7131-6.

Table of Contents: An Introduction: Clear Actions, Hidden Mechanisms; (1) The Active Role of Women in the Jihad; (2) From the Mind to the Politics: Main Causes of Women Radicalization; (3) Women and Islamist Online Propaganda; (4) Case Studies of Western Female Jihadists; (5) Women in Counter-Terrorism Programs; (6) Conclusions.

Terrorist Groups

Beverley Milton-Edwards and Stephen Farrell, *Hamas* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2010), 340 pp., US \$ 79.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 36.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-4296-3.

Table of Contents: Preface; (1) We Deal with Allah Directly; (2) In the Path of al-Qassam; (3) Sowing; (4) The First Intifada; (5) Oslo and 'Vain Endeavours'; (6) The Second Intifada; (7) The Qassam Brigades; (8) The Martyrs Syndrome; (9) Harvesting; (10) Women; (11) A House Divided; (12) Bullet and Ballot; (13) Hamastan; (14) Inferno.

Country Studies

Chechnya

James Hughes, *Chechnya: From Nationalism to Jihad* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 296 pp., US \$ 26.50 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-8122-4013-9.

Table of Contents: Preface; (1) The Causes of Conflict; (2) Russia's Refederalization and Chechnya's Secession; (3) A Secular Nationalist Conflict; (4) Dual Radicalization: The Making of Jihad; (5) Chechnya and the Meaning of Terrorism; (6) Chechnya and the Study of Conflict; (7) Conclusion.

Great Britain

Darren Kelsey, *Media, Myth and Terrorism: A Discourse-Methodological Analysis of the 'Blitz Spirit' in British Newspaper Responses to the July 7th Bombings* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 226 pp., US \$ 119.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 99.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1374-1068-9.

Table of Contents: (1) Introduction: The Politics of Remembering and the Myth of the Blitz; (2) Journalism, Storytelling and Ideology: A Discourse-Mythological Approach; (3) Media and the War on Terror; (4) Statistical Analysis of British Newspapers after the 7 July Bombings; (5) London Responds: Wartime Defiance and Front-Line Heroism; (6) The FTSE Fights on: Discourses of the City, the Stock Market and the Economy; (7) Rituals of National Narration: The Symbolic Role of Commemorative Events and the Royal Family; (8) Discourses of International Unity: The 'Special Relationship' and Western Foreign Policy; (9) Soft-Touch Justice: Blaming Human Rights and Multiculturalism; (10) Conclusion: Mythologies of the Past, Present and Future.

Marc Sageman, *The London Bombings* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 312 pp., US \$ 49.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-8122-5118-0.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) The Emergence of Islamist Communities in Britain; (2) Crevice: The Fateful Decision to Attack Britain; (3) Theseus: The London Bombings; (4) Vivace: The Failed Copycat London Bombings; (5) Overt: The Transatlantic Airlines Liquid Bombs Plot; (6) Getting the Story Straight.

India

Bidyut Chakrabarty and Rajat Kumar Kujur, *Maoism in India: Reincarnation of Ultra-Left Wing Extremism in the Twenty-First Century* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012), 264 pp., US \$ 165.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 59.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-4155-3352-2.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) Maoism, Governance and the Red Corridor; (2) Genesis of Maoism in India; (3) Maoism: The Roadmap for Future India; (4) Growth and Consolidation of Maoism in Orissa; (5) Maoism in Orissa: Socio-Economic Indicators; (6) The Maoist Organization and State Response; (7) Maoism: Articulation of an Ideology and its Future; Conclusion; Appendix 1: Left-Wing Extremist (Naxalite) Affected Areas; Appendix 2: Party Constitution of the Communist Party of India (Maoist); Appendix 3: Programme and Constitution of the People's Guerrilla Army; Appendix 4: The Resettlement and Rehabilitation Policy of the Government of Orissa; Appendix 5: CPI (Maoist Central Committee); Appendix 6: Naxal-Influenced Districts of Orissa.

Durba Ghosh, *Gentlemanly Terrorists: Political Violence and the Colonial State in India, 1919-1947* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 290 pp., US \$ 93.99 [Hardcover], US \$ 29.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-3166-3738-8.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) The Reforms of 1919: Montagu-Chelmsford, the Rowlatt Act, Jails Commission, and the Royal Amnesty; (2) The History of Revolutionary Terrorism Through Autobiography; (3) After Chauri Chaura: The Revival and Repression of Revolutionary Terrorism; (4) After the Chittagong Armoury Raid: Revolutionary Terrorism in the 1930s; (5) From Political Prisoner to Security Prisoner; (6) Revolutionary Autobiographies: Postcolonial Tellings of Nationalist History; Conclusion.

Sarab Jit Singh, *Operation Black Thunder: An Eyewitness Account of Terrorism in Punjab* (Thousand Oaks,

CA: Sage Publications, 2002/2014), 364 pp., US \$ 32.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-8-1321-1794-0.

Table of Contents: Foreword; Preface; (1) The Golden Temple: In the Eye of the Storm; (2) The Sikh Heritage and the Punjab Problem; (3) The Rajiv-Longowal Accord: The 'Secret' Healing Touch; (4) S. Barnala's Government: The Healing Touch Impaired; (5) Governor Ray's Tenure; (6) The Politics of the Clergy; (7) January—March 1988: The Killings Increase; (8) April—May 1988: Measures to End the Killing; (9) Operation Black Thunder; (10) The Militants Surrender; (11) Trial at Midnight; (12) Restoring the *Maryada*; (13) Demoralisation Versus a Gun Battle; (14) The SGPC's Dilemma; (15) Jasbir Singh Rode's Dismissal; (16) The Corridor Plan; (17) Jasbir Singh Rode Resurrected; (18) *Panchayat* Elections Postponed: Missed Opportunities; (19) The Militants and the Police: Between the Two Terrors; (20) The 'National Games'; (21) A New Government at the Centre; (22) The 'Civil Face' of Governor Mukherjee's Administration; (23) Governor Varma's Tenure; (24) 1990: The Killings Continue; (25) Governor Malhotra Takes Charge; (26) Attempts to Restore Democracy; (27) Delhi's Inconsistent Punjab Policy; (28) Elections by February 1992; (29) From President's Rule to an Elected Government: The Return of Democracy; (30) In Retrospect.

Israel

Alexander Bligh, *Israeli Prisoner of War Policies: From the 1949 Armistice to the 2006 Kidnappings* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017), 312 pp., US \$ 110.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-7391-9471-3.

Table of Contents: Part I: The Legal, Intelligence, and Policy Sources of the Israeli Policies; (1) The Internationally Agreed upon Standards for Recognizing POWs/MIAs and the Israeli Working Definitions; (2) The Intelligence Dimension of Taking and Losing POWs; (3) Early Indications of an Emerging Policy: Strategic Defeats and Tactical Successes, 1949-1955; Part II: Israel and the Arab Nation States: The Emergence of POW Rules in Light of the Regional Battlefields, 1955-1967; (4) De Facto Policy in the Shadow of a Coming War, 1955-1956; (5) Israel Extends Its Own Working Interpretation of the Term POW: Prisoner Issues in the Wake of the 1956 Conflict to late 1962; (6) New Regimes, Old Policies, and the Connection between Regime Changes and the Fate of Israeli Agents in Hostile Hands, 1963-1967; (7) The 1967 War: Extending the Israeli Definition of POWs; Part III: Israel, the State Actors, and the Subnational Players: New Rules, Parallel Systems, and the Merging of the Two – the Fourth Generation; (8) The 1967–1970 Crucial Interregnum: The Challenging Legacy of the War of Attrition; (9) Black September, Sub-National Actors, and the Early Internationalization of the Hostage/POW Issue, 1970–1973; (10) The 1973 War as a Watershed Line and the Dramatic Shift to Defensive POW Policies; Part IV: Fourth-Generation Approaches Taking Over: POWs and Hostages as a Means for Smaller Powers to Gain Parity with Israel; (11) The Palestinian Sub-State Actors Taking Over: From POWs to Hostages? The Effect of Fourth Generation Players on the Making of POW Policies, 1974 -1985; (12) Sub-National Actors Taking Center Stage in the POW Context: 1986 to 2011; Conclusion.

Thomas E. Copeland, with Alethia H. Cook and Lisa M. McCartan (Eds.), *Drawing A Line in the Sea: The 2010 Gaza Flotilla Incident and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011/2013), 200 pp., US \$ 92.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 44.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7391-8807-1.

Table of Contents: Introduction: Understanding the Gaza Flotilla Incident; Part 1: The Scenario; (2) Ethnic and Religious Dimensions of the Israeli-Palestinian Struggle; (3) Why There? The Origin, Evolution, and Historical Significance of the Gaza Strip; (4) Iran and Weapons Proliferation in Lebanon and Gaza; (5) Ethical Considerations and Israeli Policy towards the Palestinians; Part 2: The Players; (6) Islamic Resurgence in Turkey: The Mavi Marmara Incident as its Statement; (7) Hamas - Ideology, Elections, and Governance in Gaza; (8) Charity Begins (and Ends?) at Home: The Nexus between Islamic Social Welfare and the Funding of Terrorism; (9) RMA's, Hybrid Wars, and the Gaza Flotilla Incident; Part 3: The Incident and Its Aftermath; (10) Tactical Ethics: An Evaluation of the Israeli Naval Commando Assault on the MV *Mavi Marmara*; (11) Playing Offense and Defense: Examining the Effectiveness of Israel's Counterterrorism Strategies; (12) Understanding American Media Reaction to the Gaza Flotilla Incident; (13) US-Israeli Relations in the Wake of the Flotilla Incident; (14) Drawing a Line in the Sea: What the Gaza Flotilla Incident Means; Glossary of Terms.

John Ehrenberg and Yoav Peled (Eds), *Israel and Palestine: Alternative Perspectives on Statehood* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 396 pp., US \$ 89.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4422-4507-5.

Table of Contents: Introduction: The Picture; Part I: Overviews; (1) Facing the Music: Israel, Palestine, and the Politics of Partisan Delusions; (2) Making Sense of the Nakba: Ari Shavit, Baruch Marzel, and Zionist Claims to Territory; (3) Israel and the Closing of the American Jewish Mind; (4) The Root Causes of Enduring Conflict: Can Israel and Palestine Co-Exist?; (5) Reclaiming Human Rights: Alternative Paths to an Israeli/Palestinian Peace; Part II: Two States; (6) Not Exactly Apartheid: Between Settler Colonialism and Military Occupation; (7) The One-State Delusion; (8) To What Extent Reconciliation? An Analysis of the Geneva Accord between Israelis and Palestinians; (9) One Country Two States: Planning Alternative Spatial Relations between Palestine and Israel From Back to Back to Face to Face; Part III: The One-State Alternative; (10) The Way Forward in the Middle East; (11) The One-State Solution and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Palestinian Challenges and Prospects; (12) A One-State Solution? From a 'Struggle Unto Death' to 'Master-Slave' Dialectics; (13) Past and Present Perfect of Israel's One-State Solution; (14) Toward a Shared Vision of Israel and Israel/Palestine; (15) Neither One nor Two: Reflections about a Shared Future in Israel-Palestine; (16) Between One and Two: Apartheid or Confederation for Israel/Palestine?; (17) Beyond Traditional Sovereignty Theory in Conflict Resolution: Lessons from Israel/Palestine; Conclusion: Out of the Darkness.

Raphael D. Marcus, *Israel's Long War with Hezbollah: Military Innovation and Adaptation Under Fire* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2018), 320 pp., US \$ 110.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 36.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-6261-6611-0.

Table of Contents: Introduction; Part I: Strategic Adaptation; Introduction to Part I; (1) IDF 'Routine Security' and the Evolution of Hezbollah (1985-92); (2) Deterrence, Guerrilla Warfare, and the Establishment of the 'Rules of the Game' (1993-99); (3) A Change in the Strategic Equation: The IDF Withdrawal from Lebanon (2000); (4) The Erosion of Deterrence, the 2006 War, and the Dahiya Doctrine (2000-17); Conclusion to Part I; Part II: Operational Adaptation; Introduction to Part II; (5) The Origins of the RMA in Israel; (6) The RMA in Action: IDF Operations in Lebanon and Hezbollah's Adaptation in the 1990s; (7) The Rise of the IDF's Operational Theory Research Institute and Systemic Operational Design; (8) The 2006 Lebanon War: Military Adaptation and Counteradaptation; (9) The Blame Game: A Reappraisal of the IDF's 2006 Operational Concept; Conclusion to Part II; Conclusions; Afterword: Back to the Future: IDF Force Planning and Hezbollah's Military Adaptation in Syria; Chronology.

Tamara Neuman, *Settling Hebron: Jewish Fundamentalism in a Palestinian City* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 256 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-8122-4995-8.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) Orientations; (2) Between Legality and Illegality; (3) Motherhood and Property Takeover; (4) Spaces of the Everyday; (5) Religious Violence; (6) Lost Tribes and the Quest for Origins; Conclusion: Unsettling Settlers.

Gershon Shafir, *A Half Century of Occupation: Israel, Palestine, and the World's Most Intractable Conflict* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017), 296 pp., US \$ 26.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-5202-9350-2.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) What is the Occupation; (2) Why Has the Occupation Lasted This Long?; (3) How has the Occupation Transformed the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict?; Appendix: List of Israeli Prime Ministers, PLO Chairmen, and Palestinian National Authority Presidents and Prime Ministers.

Northern Ireland

Jessie Blackbourn, *Anti-Terrorism Law and Normalising Northern Ireland* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 212 pp., US \$ 160.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 53.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1382-0196-5.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) Resolving the Constitutional Question; (2) Devolution and Decommissioning; (3) The ‘Normalization of Security’ I: The Removal of Emergency Powers; (4) The ‘Normalization of Security II: The Military in Northern Ireland; (5) Normalizing Policing and Justice; (6) Paramilitary Prisoners; (7) Northern Ireland: The New Normal?

Pakistan

Jawad Syed, Edwina Pio, Tahir Kamran, and Abbas Zaidi (Eds.), *Faith-Based Violence and Deobandi Militancy in Pakistan* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 546 pp., US \$ 169.99 [Hardcover], US \$ 169.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-3499-4965-6.

Table of Contents: Introduction: An Alternative Discourse on Religious Militancy; (2) Could Pakistan Have Remained Pluralistic?; (3) The Genesis, Evolution and Impact of ‘Deobandi’ Islam on the Punjab: An Overview; (4) Covering Faith-Based Violence: Structure and Semantics of News Reporting in Pakistan; (5) Historical Roots of the Deobandi Version of Jihadism and Its Implications for Violence in Today’s Pakistan; (6) Experiences of Female Victims of Faith-Based Violence in Pakistan; (7) Marked by the Cross: The Persecution of Christians in Pakistan; (8) Pakistan: A Conducive Setting for Islamist Violence Against Ahmadis; (9) Barelvi Militancy in Pakistan and Salmaan Taseer’s Murder; (10) The Shias of Pakistan: Mapping an Altruistic Genocide; (11) The Intra-Sunni Conflicts in Pakistan; (12) Genealogical Sociology of Sectarianism: A Case Study of Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan; (13) Islamization and Barelvis in Pakistan; (14) Fighting the Takfiris: Building an Inclusive American Muslim Community by Countering Anti-Shia Rhetoric in the USA; (15) The ‘Othering’ of the Ahmadiyya Community in Bangladesh; (16) Hidden in Plain Sight: Deobandis, Islamism and British Multiculturalism Policy; (17) Violence and the Deobandi Movement; (18) Pakistan’s Counterterrorism Strategy: A Critical Overview.

Counterterrorism—General

Christopher Baker-Beall, *The European Union’s Fight Against Terrorism: Discourse, Policies, Identity* (Manchester, England, UK: Manchester University Press, 2016), 216 pp., US \$ 120.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 37.50 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7190-9106-3.

Table of Contents: Introduction: the Language of the European Union’s ‘Fight Against Terrorism’; (1) Investigating the Language of EU Counter-Terrorism: Analytical Techniques; (2) Constructing the Threat of Terrorism in Western Europe and the European Union: a Genealogy; (3) Constructing the ‘Terrorist’ Other: a ‘New’ and ‘Evolving’ Threat to the European Union; (4) Constructing the ‘Migrant’ Other: Globalisation, Securitisation and Control; (5) Constructing the ‘Muslim’ Other: Preventing ‘Radicalisation’, ‘Violent Extremism’ and ‘Terrorism’; (6) Conclusion: The ‘Fight Against Terrorism’ Discourse and the EU’s Emerging Role as a Holistic Security Actor.

T. Hamid al-Bayati, *A New Counterterrorism Strategy: Why the World Failed to Stop al Qaeda and ISIS/ISIL, and How to Defeat Terrorists* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2017), 280 pp., US \$ 75.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4408-4687-8.

Table of Contents: Introduction; Part I: Why the World Failed to Stop Al Qaeda and ISIS/ISIL; (1) U.S. Presidents’ Counterterrorism Strategy; (2) Why the World Failed to Stop Al Qaeda; (3) Why the World Failed to Stop ISIS/ISIL; (4) Funding Terrorism; (5) Terrorists Exploit the Internet; (6) Lone Wolf Terrorists; (7)

Terrorist Groups Attract Foreign Fighters; (8) Terrorist Groups' Ideology; Part II: A New 12-Step Counterterrorism Strategy to Defeat Terrorists; (9) Strategy to Stop Terrorists' Funding; (10) Strategy to Stop Internet Terrorism; (11) Strategy to Stop Lone Wolf Terrorists; (12) Strategy to Stop Foreign Fighters; (13) Strategy for the War of Ideology; (14) Strategy to Stop Future Terrorism; (15) Conclusion: The New 12-Step Counterterrorism Strategy to Defeat Terrorists.

James S. Corum and Wray R. Johnson, *Airpower in Small Wars: Fighting Insurgents and Terrorists* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2003), 528 pp., US \$ 26.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7006-1240-6.

Table of Contents: Preface; Introduction; (1) Biplanes and Bandits: The Early U.S. Airpower Experience in Small Wars; (2) Colonial Air Control: The European Powers Develop New Concepts of Air Warfare; (3) The Greek Civil War and the Philippine Anti-Huk Campaign; (4) The French Colonial Wars, 1946-1962: Indochina and Algeria; (5) The British Colonial Wars, 1945-1973: Malaya, South Arabia, and Oman; (6) Airpower in South Vietnam, 1954-1965; (7) Airpower and Counterinsurgency in Southern Africa; (8) Protracted Insurgencies: Latin American Air Forces in Counterinsurgency Operations; (9) Intervention in the Mideast, 1962-2000: Three Counterinsurgency Campaigns; (10) Conclusion.

Kathleen Gleeson, *Australia's 'War on Terror' Discourse* (New York, NY: Ashgate Publishing 2014/Routledge, 2016), pp., US \$ 165.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 59.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1382-7202-6.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) Analyzing the 'war on terror' Discourse; (2) Interpretation and Response; (3) The Architecture of the Discourse; (4) Australia's 'war on terror': Phase One; (5) Australia's 'war on terror': Phase Two; (6) A Genealogy of Dissent; Conclusion: From Self to Other.

Hendrik Hegemann, *International Counterterrorism Bureaucracies in the United Nations and the European Union* [A publication of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg] (Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos/Bloomsbury, 2014), 320 pp., US \$ 90.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4742-4315-5.

Table of Contents: (1) Introduction; (2) Analyzing International Bureaucracies: A Theoretical Framework; (3) Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and International Cooperation: Surveying an Ambivalent Field; (4) The United Nations and the European Union in the Fight against Terrorism; (5) Case Study 1: The United Nations Secretariat; (6) Case Study 2: The UN Counterterrorism Committee Executive Directorate; (7) Case Study 3: The European Commission; (8) Case Study 4: The EU Counterterrorism Coordinator; (9) Conclusion.

Dorle Hellmuth, *Counter Terrorism and the State: Western Responses to 9/11* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 392 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-8122-4743-5.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) The Conceptual Debate: Setting the Stage for Structural Analysis; (2) Case Study I: The United States; (3) Case Study II: Germany; (4) Case Study III: Great Britain; (5) Case Study IV: France; (6) Comparative Analysis of Structural Effects on Counterterrorism Decision-Making; Summary of Findings and Conclusion.

Isaac Kfir and Georgia Grice (Eds.), *Counterterrorism Yearbook 2019* (Barton, ACT, Australia: Australian Strategic Policy Institute, March 2019), 146 pp., no price [Paperback], https://s3-ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/ad-aspi/2019-03/ASPI%20Counterterrorism%20YB2019_acc_1.pdf?VWvpiCRC_om4gXFvmBHvSn-0NIDNOOrMvM.

Table of Contents: Preface; Introduction; Australia; Counterterrorism in Southeast Asia; China: Repression at Home, Extension Abroad; Bangladesh and India; Afghanistan and Pakistan; The Middle East and Counterterrorism; East Africa; West Africa and the Sahel; Western Europe; After the Caliphate: New Developments

in Response to Foreign Terrorist Fighters; The Future of Countering Violent Extremism; Negotiating With Terrorists; Counterterrorism in Cyberspace; Social Media and Counterterrorism; Countering Terrorism Financing: An Australian Case Study; Assessing Innovations and New Trends in Counterterrorism.

Mark M. Lowenthal, *The Future of Intelligence* (Medford, MA: Polity, 2018), 160 pp., US \$ 59.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 19.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5095-2029-9.

Table of Contents: Preface; (1) What this Book is About; (2) Technology Vectors; (3) Analysis Vectors; (4) Governance Vectors; (5) Looking Ahead (Includes a discussion of the role of intelligence in counterterrorism).

Kevin McGrath, *Confronting al Qaeda: New Strategies to Combat Terrorism* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2011), 336 pp., US \$ 42.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-5911-4503-5.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) The Framework of the U.S.-Al Qaeda Struggle; (2) A Game of Twister: Al Qaeda Strategy; (3) Herding Cats: Al Qaeda Post 9/11 Modus Operandi; (4) The Heart of the Conflict: The U.S.-Al Qaeda Struggle's Political Dimension; (5) A Question of Importance: The Obama Administration and Iraq; (6) A Question of Priorities: The Obama Administration; (7) A Question of Leverage: The Obama Administration and Pakistan; (8) A Question of Willpower: The Obama Administration and Afghanistan; Conclusion: The Obama Administration and the Way Forward.

William Nester, *America's War Against Global Jihad: Past, Present, and Future* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), 404 pp., US \$ 120.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4985-7530-0.

Table of Contents: Introduction; Part I: The Ways of War; (1) The Islamic Way of War to 9/11; (2) The American Way of War to 9/11; (3) Revolution and Counterrevolution; (4) Terrorism and Counterterrorism; Part II: The Primary Fronts; (5) Afghanistan and Pakistan; (6) Iraq and Syria; Part III: The Secondary Fronts; (7) Hezbollah and Iran; (8) Hamas and Israel; (9) The Arab Spring and Fall; (10) Jihad and the Wider Muslim World; Part IV: The Ways Ahead; (11) Global Jihad; (12) Nightmares and Dawns.

Bryan C. Price, *Targeting Top Terrorists: Understanding Leadership Removal in Counterterrorism Strategy* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2019), 288 pp., US \$ 90.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 30.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-2311-8823-4.

Table of Contents: (1) Introduction; (2) Organizations and Leaders; (3) Leadership in Terrorist Organizations; (4) Quantitative Analysis of Leadership Decapitation in Terrorist Groups; (5) The Effects of Leadership Decapitation on Hamas; (6) Conclusion: Policy Implications and Future Research; Appendix: Terrorist Groups by Category.

G r me Truc [translated by Andrew Brown], *Shell Shocked: The Social Response to Terrorist Attacks* (Medford, MA: Polity, 2018), 280 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 28.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5095-2034-3.

Table of Contents: Preface; Introduction: Terrorist attacks as a test; Part I: What is happening to us; (1) Under attack (9/11 live: accident, terrorist attack, or act of war?; The view from Europe: from Western solidarity to a cosmopolitan perspective); (2) Experiencing your 'own' 9/11 (11 March attacks like a 'new 9/11'; 7 July 2005, a 'British 9/11?'); (3) To show, or not to show, violence (The place of the dead; The ethics of iconographic decisions); (4) Demonstrating solidarity (The attacks as a 'time to demonstrate'; Why demonstrate after an attack?); (5) Observing silence (A ritual of collective mourning; A problem of moral equivalence); Part II: What touches us; (6) Terrorist attacks and their publics (From written reactions to the concerned publics; In what capacity an attack concerns us); (7) The meanings of 'we' (Above and below the level of the nation; World cities and the test of terrorism); (8) The values at stake (Reactions to terrorist attacks as value judg-

ments; The banal pacifism of the Europeans); (9) The attacks in persons (The singularization of the victims; Reacting as a singular person); (10) Solidarity in the singular (The attachment to place; The coincidence of dates; The homology of experiences); Conclusion: ‘There’s something of Charlie in all of us’; Afterword to the English edition.

Counterterrorism—Countering Violent Extremism

Kawser Ahmed, Patrick Belanger, and Susan Szmania. *Community-Focused Counter-Radicalization and Counter-Terrorism Projects: Experiences and Lessons Learned* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 20180, 132 pp. US \$ 85.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4985-5776-4.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) Community Projects and Collaborations; (2) What Drives Radicalization? Perspectives from the Field; (3) Challenges of Community-Based Projects; (4) Community Resilience; (5) Toward a ‘Complex-Adaptive’ Model.

Counterterrorism—Conflict Resolution

Nina Caspersen, *Peace Agreements: Finding Solutions to Intra-State Conflicts* (Medford, MA: Polity, 2017), 224 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 24.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-8027-9.

Table of Contents: Introduction; Part 1: Content; (1) Territory; (2) Security; (3) Power; (4) Justice; (5) A Post-Cold War Blueprint for Peace?; Part 2: Context and Process; (6) Internal Dynamics: A Right Time for Peace; (7) External Involvement: Opportunities and Constraints; Conclusion.

Christopher Coker, *Can War Be Eliminated?* (Medford, MA: Polity, 2014), 120 pp., US \$ 45.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 12.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-7923-5.

Table of Contents: Prologue; (1) Evolution; (2) Culture; (3) Technology; (4) Geopolitics; (5) Peace; (6) Humanity.

Oliver Ramsbotham, *When Conflict Resolution Fails* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2017), 256 pp., US \$ 69.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 24.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-8799-5.

Table of Contents: Preface; Part I: The Argument: (1) Learning from Failure; (2) Conflict Resolution and its Enemies; (3) Why Conflict Resolution Fails; (4) Promoting Strategic Engagement; Part II: Case Study: The Israeli-Palestine Conflict; (5) Strategic Thinking for Possessors: Israelis; (6) Strategic Thinking for Challengers: Palestinians; (7) Strategic Engagement within, across and between Conflict Parties; (8) The Kerry Initiative and the Role of Third Parties; Part III: (9) Other Phases, Other Levels, Other Conflicts; (10) Exploring Agnostic Dialogue; Conclusion: Living with Radical Disagreement.

Eric Y. Shibuya, *Demobilizing Irregular Forces* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012), 208 pp., US \$ 59.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 19.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-7456-4886-6.

Table of Contents: (1) Introduction; (2) The History and Evolution of DDR; (3) Disarmament: The Ephemeral Beginning; (4) Demobilization: The Real Heart of the Matter; (5) Reintegration: The End of the Beginning; (6) Challenges and Conclusions.

Counterterrorism—Intelligence

Atin Basuchoudhary, James T. Bang, Tinni Sen, and John David, *Predicting Hotspots: Using Machine*

Learning to Understand Civil Conflict (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), 178 pp., US \$ 90.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4985-2067-6.

Table of Contents: Preface; (1) An Overview of the Literature on Conflict; (2) Machine Learning Methods; (3) The Variables; (4) Preparing the Data; (5) Implementing Machine Learning to Predict Conflict Using R; (6) Models and Results; (7) Choosing from Among Seminal Models of Conflict Theory; (8) Choosing Among Microeconomic Models of Conflict; (9) Bargaining Failure, Commitment Problems, and the Likelihood of Conflict; (10) Toward a Predictive Theoretical Model of Civil Conflict: Some Speculation.

Thomas E. Copeland, *Fool Me Twice: Intelligence Failure and Mass Casualty Terrorism* (Boston, MA: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2007), 292 pp., US \$ 130.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-9-0041-5845-0.

Table of Contents: (1) Introduction; (2) February 26, 1993: The World Trade Center; (3) April 19, 1995: Oklahoma City; (4) June 25, 1996: Khobar Towers, Saudi Arabia; (5) August 7, 1998: U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania; (6) September 11, 2001: The Twin Towers; (7) Surprise, Again and Again; Appendix: Government-Imposed Restrictions on FBI Domestic Terrorism Investigations.

Loch K. Johnson, *National Security Intelligence* [Second Edition] (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2017), 314 pp., US \$ 74.95 [Hardcover], US \$ 24.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5095-1305-5.

Table of Contents: Preface; (1) National Security Intelligence: The First Line of Defense; (2) Intelligence Collection and Analysis: Knowing about the World; (3) Covert Action: Secret Attempts to Shape History; (4) Counterintelligence: The Hunt for Moles; (5) Safeguards against the Abuse of Secret Power; (6) National Security Intelligence: Shield and Hidden Sword of the Democracies.

Counterterrorism—Legal

Helen Duffy, *The ‘War on Terror’ and the Framework of International Law* [Second Edition] (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1070 pp., US \$ 165.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 82.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1076-0172-7.

Table of Contents: (1) Introduction; Part I: Terrorism and Responsibility; (2) ‘Terrorism’ in International Law; (3) International Responsibility, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism; Part II: Responding to Terrorism: Legal Framework and Practice; (4) Criminal Justice; (5) The Use of Force; (6) International Humanitarian Law; (7) International Human Rights Law; Part III: Case Studies; (8) Case Study I: Guantanamo Bay Detentions Under International Human Rights and Humanitarian Law; (9) Case Study II: Osama bin Laden – ‘Justice Done?’; (10) Case Study III: Extraordinary Rendition; (11) The Role of the Courts: Human Rights Litigation in the ‘War on Terror’; (12) Conclusion.

Christopher J. Finlay, *Terrorism and the Right to Resist: A Theory of Just Revolutionary War* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015/2017), 354 pp., US \$ 113.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 35.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1076-1256-3.

Table of Contents: (1) Introduction; Part I: Theory and Principles; (2) Justice, Oppression, and the Right to Resist; (3) Rights worth Killing for; (4) The Codes of Resistance; (5) Rights Worth Dying for: Distributing the Costs of Resistance; Part II: Wars of Liberation: Fighting Within the Standard JIB; (6) Non-State Groups and the Authority to Wage War; (7) Guerrilla War, Discrimination, and the Problem of Lawful Irregulars; Part III: Fighting Beyond the Law of War; (8) The Partisan *jus in bello*: Resistance Beyond the Laws of War; (9) Terrorist War; (10) Back to the Start: The Ethics of Beginning; Conclusions.

Michael L. Gross, *The Ethics of Insurgency: A Critical Guide to Just Guerrilla Warfare* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 337 pp., US \$ 97.99 [Hardcover], US \$ 35.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1076-8464-5.

Table of Contents: Preface; (1) Just Guerrilla Warfare: Concepts and Cases; Part I: The Right to Fight; (2) The Right to Fight: Just Cause and Legitimate Authority; (3) The Right to Fight: Who Fights and How?; Part II: Hard War; (4) Large-Scale Conventional Guerrilla Warfare: Improvised Explosive Devices, Rockets, and Missiles; (5) Small-Scale Conventional Guerrilla Warfare: Targeted Killing and Taking Prisoners; (6) Human Shields; Part III: Soft War; (7) Terrorism and Cyberterrorism; (8) Economic Warfare and the Economy of War; (9) Public Diplomacy, Propaganda, and Media Warfare; (10) Civil Disobedience and Nonviolent Resistance; Part IV: Concluding Remarks; (11) Just War and Liberal Guerrilla Theorizing.

Jonathan Hafetz, *Punishing Atrocities Through a Fair Trial: International Criminal Law from Nuremberg to the Age of Global Terrorism* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 202 pp., US \$ 110.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 32.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1070-9455-0.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) Creating the Template: Nuremberg and the Post-World War II International Prosecution; (2) International Criminal Law's Revival and the Challenges of Implementation; (3) The Creation of a Permanent International Criminal Court; (4) Procedure and Fairness in a Decentralized System; (5) The Selectivity Challenge in International Criminal Law; (6) Accountability and Fairness: A Window into the Recurring Debate over Treating Terrorism as a Crime under International Law; Concluding Remarks.

Jackson Nyamuya Maogoto, *Battling Terrorism: Legal Perspectives on the Use of Force and the War on Terror* (New York, NY: Ashgate Publishing, 2005/Routledge, 2016), 218 pp., US \$ 165.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 59.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1382-7655-0.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) The Development of the Law Relating to the Use of Force in International Law; (2) Countering Terrorism: An Evaluation of the Law Enforcement and Conflict Management Approaches; (3) The Cold War Era: Terrorist Action and Reaction; (4) Jumping the Gun – An Old Problem as a Solution for New Threats?: Afghanistan, Iraq and Beyond; (5) Striking the Enemy's Lair: The War on Terror and State-Sponsored Terrorism; (6) The War on Terror: Rattling International Law with Raw Power?

Mary L. Volcansek and John F. Stack Jr. (Eds.), *Courts and Terrorism: Nine Nations Balance Rights and Security* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011/2014), 284 pp., US \$ 113.00 [Hardcover], US \$ 47.99 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-1076-1431-4.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) Detentions and Security versus Liberty in Times of National Emergency; (2) One More Casualty of the 'War on Terror'; (3) State Secrets and Democratic Values; (4) What Lessons Can Be Drawn from a *Sui Generis* Case?: The Global 'War on Terror' and Northern Ireland; (5) The British Experience with Terrorism: From the Iraq to Al Qaeda; (6) Detention and Treatment of Suspected Terrorists under the European Convention on Human Rights; (7) Australia's Commonwealth Model and Terrorism; (8) Judicial Rejection as Substantial Relief: The Israeli Supreme Court and the 'War on Terror'; (9) Preserving Rights and Protecting the Public: The Italian Experience; (10) Squaring the Circle: Fighting Terror while Consolidating Democracy in Spain; (11) From Exception to Normalcy: Law, the Judiciary, Civil Rights, and Terrorism in Colombia, 1984-2004; Conclusion: Lessons Learned.

Noah Weisbord, *The Crime of Aggression: The Quest for Justice in an Age of Drones, Cyberattacks, Insurgents, and Autocrats* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 240 pages, US \$ 35.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-0-6911-6987-3.

Table of Contents: Introduction; (1) Is Law Dead?; (2) Timeslip: Invasion of the Crimea, Collapse of the

League of Nations; (3) The Nuremberg Avant-Garde Moment; (4) Cold War *Jus ad Bellum*: Law of Force vs. Rule of Law; (5) Nuremberg Renaissance: The 1990s; (6) The Crime of Aggression: From Rome to Kampala; (7) Judging Wars; (8) Sci-fi Warfare; (9) You're under Arrest, Mr. President; (10) Activation.

About the Reviewer: Dr. Joshua Sinai is the Book Reviews Editor of 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. He can be reached at: Joshua.sinai@comcast.net.

Book Reviews

J.M. Berger, *Extremism* [The MIT Press Essential Knowledge Series] (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018), 216 pp., US \$ 15.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-0-2625-3587-8.

Reviewed by Daniela Scerri

J.M. Berger is a prolific writer, publishing in both scholarly and journalistic media. *Extremism* is one of his latest scholarly writings. The book provides a concise introduction about what extremism is, how extremist groups form and develop, how extremist narratives and ideologies are constructed, and why extremist groups become violent, including the intricacies of how in-groups and out-groups develop and how extremism is sustained.

In chapter one, Berger addresses the definitional problem of extremism, highlighting the conflation that exists with aspects of both radicalisation and terrorism. In his view, “*defining extremism is not a casual matter*” (p.21). Using chronological examples of events from history that could be labelled ‘extremist’, he takes us back to the city of Carthage in the second century BC, to the apocalyptic Jihad of Al Qaeda, America’s new “alt-right,” and the anti-Semitic conspiracy tract “The Protocols of the Elders of Zion”. In doing so, Berger highlights the many old and modern faces of extremism. In the second chapter Berger questions what extremism is, and in simple terms, offers three insights; “*Extremism is rarely simple. Extremism is not the province of any single race, religion, or political school. Extremism can be profoundly consequential in societies*” (p.23).

What is particularly distinctive in *Extremism* is that Berger does not focus on one ideological or religious frame but uses various examples of extremism from history across the entire social spectrum. Throughout, he applies the social identity approach of Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner to illustrate how people categorize themselves and others as members of competing social groups. Using this theory, Berger develops his central argument and explains in detail the inter-group dynamics of in-groups and out-groups—“*us versus them*” (p.24) and what occurs when extremism escalates.

Subtly, Berger revisits the definitional problem of extremism, violent extremism, and radicalisation, highlighting differences. Whilst disentangling terrorism from extremism, stating that extremism is a belief system, he goes on to develop his own working definition of extremism; “*Extremism refers to the belief that an in-group’s success or survival can never be separated from the need for hostile action against an out-group. The hostile action must be part of the in-group’s definition of success. Hostile acts can range from verbal attacks and diminishment to discriminatory behavior, violence, and even genocide*” (p.44). According to Berger, both structure and content of extremist ideologies are key.

Chapter three examines how identity movements define and sub-divide in-groups and out-groups. Establishing a collective identity made up of beliefs, traits and practices are central in defining the in-group. Berger points out how a hostile attitude towards the out-group is “*defined through a narrative process of identity construction that parallels the construction of the in-group definition*” (p.57). Rigid boundaries are set up between in-groups and out-groups, “*almost universally framed by the belief of its own purity...*” (p.64).

In chapter four, Berger provides the reader with a detailed analysis of crises and solutions that drive violence and other hostile interactions amongst collectives. The most common crisis narratives used by extremists, include impurity, conspiracy, dystopia, existential threat, apocalypse and triumphalism. Being outside ordinary politics, extremist groups only seek to resolve conflicts through “*crisis-solution constructs*” (p.99) leading to the use of hostile actions. Terrorism is only one possible tactic available to extremists.

Chapter five is dedicated to the concept of radicalisation. Berger views the “*process of adoption*” [of an ideology as] “*more instructive than the contents of the ideology.*” (p.119) Grievances are described as “*common elements in extremist arguments and rationalizations*” (p. 127). Using the Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh and modern-day jihadist foreign fighters as examples, Berger indicates that there are two potential cross-ideological drivers of radicalisation. These are, “*the effects of categorisation and learning bias, and the effects of disruptions to the status quo*” (p.132). According to Berger, one very effective strategy adopted to cope with uncertainty is

a group identity that is distinctive and clearly defined. Moreover, extremist ideologies work when they provide *entitativity*, which is defined as “*the property of a group, resting on clear boundaries and internal homogeneity, social interaction, clear internal structure, common goals and common fate*” (p. 139).

In his concluding remarks, Berger reminds us that extremism is not a new phenomenon. Countering it is no easy feat but without clear definitions, solutions remain elusive. Therefore, more efforts need to be made to understand what is meant not only by extremism, but also by radicalisation and other muddled concepts.

Elegantly written, the book provides a lucid discussion of a contested concept, with illustrating examples from right-wing, left-wing, and religious terrorism. For anyone new to the extremism landscape, it is an excellent introductory text to better understand political extremism. John M. Berger is a publisher at Intelwire.com, as well as co-author of the critically acclaimed volume *ISIS: The State of Terror* with Jessica Stern (New York: Harper-Collins, 2015).

About the Reviewer: Daniela Scerri is a postgraduate research student at the School of Law, Royal Holloway, University of London, UK.

Recent Online Resources for the Analysis of Terrorism and Related Subjects

Compiled and selected by Berto Jongman

Most of the items included below became available online between April and June 2019. They are categorized under the following headings:

1. Non-Religious Terrorism
2. Religious Terrorism
 - 2.1. *Al-Qaeda and Affiliates*
 - 2.2. *Daesh (IS, ISIL, ISIS) and Affiliates*
 - 2.3. *Other Organizations*
3. Terrorist Strategies and Tactics
4. Conflict, Crime and Political Violence other than Terrorism
 - 4.a. *Organized Crime Group*
 - 4.b. *Hate Crimes, Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, Xenophobia*
 - 4.c. *Extremist and Radical Groups*
 - 4.c.a. *Right-wing Extremism*
 - 4.c.b. *Left-wing Extremism*
 - 4.c.c. *Islamist Extremism*
 - 4.c.d. *Single Issue Extremism*
5. Counter-Terrorism - General
6. Counter-Terrorism Strategies and Operations
 - 6.a. *General*
 - 6.b. *Foreign Fighters and their Families*
 - 6.c. *Prosecution, Sentences*
7. State Repression, Gross Human Rights Violations, and Clandestine Warfare
 - 7.a. *Arbitrary Arrest/Detention*
 - 7.b. *Extrajudicial Killings, Executions*
 - 7.c. *Forced Disappearance*
 - 7.d. *Genocide, War Crimes, Crimes against Humanity*
 - 7.e. *State Repression by Extended Surveillance Capabilities*
8. Prevention, Preparedness, and Resilience Studies
9. Intelligence
 - 9.a. *Organizations*
 - 9.b. *Operations*
10. Cyber Operations

- 10.a. *General*
- 10.b. *Cyber Crime*
- 10.c. *Cyber Warfare & Espionage*
- 11. Information Warfare
 - 11.a. *Internet Governance - General*
 - 11.b. *Internet Regulation/Censorship/Removal of Harmful Content*
 - 11.c. *Counter-Narratives*
 - 11.d. *Strategic Communication/Information Warfare/Influence Operations*
 - 11.e. *Internet Jihad*
- 12. Risk and Threat Assessments, Forecasts, and Analytical Studies
 - 12.a. *Analytical Studies*
 - 12.b. *Terrorism Databases*
 - 12.c. *Specific and National Threat Assessments/Warnings*
 - 12. d. *Forecasts*
- 13. Also Worth Reading

N.B.: 'Recent Online Resources for the Analysis of Terrorism and Related Subjects' is a regular feature in 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. For past listings, see 'Archive' at <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/perspectives-on-terrorism>.

1. Non-Religious Terrorism

- V. Pabst. Die blutige Geschichte der griechischen Stadtguerilla wirft ihren Schatten über Athen. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.nzz.ch/international/griechenland-solidaritaet-fuer-anarchisten-ld.1483481>
- T. Hershco. France and the urban guerrilla warfare of the Black Blocs. *BESA Center Perspectives*, #1,180, *The Begin-Sadat Center for Strategic Studies*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://besacenter.org/perspectives-papers/france-black-blocs/>
- I. Akeregha. Ethnic nationalities vow to set up militia against killer herdsmen, Boko Haram terrorists. *The Guardian*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://guardian.ng/news/ethnic-nationalities-vow-to-set-up-militia-against-killer-herdsmen-boko-haram-terrorists/>
- Colombia will not allow Venezuela border to be rebel sanctuary – Duque. *Reuters*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-colombia-rebels-venezuela/colombia-will-not-allow-venezuela-border-to-be-rebel-sanctuary-duque-idUKKCN1SG20W>
- Nigeria's Civilian JTF militia releases 900 child recruits. *The Defense Post*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://thedefensepost.com/2019/05/10/nigeria-civilian-jtf-releases-900-child-soldiers/>
- V. Kaura. India's unsolved Maoist terrorism problem. *The Diplomat*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/05/indias-unsolved-maoist-terrorism-problem/>
- J. McDermott. Op-Ed: Could the FARC peace process in Colombia still fail? *InSight Crime*, April 26, 2019. URL: <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/op-ed-could-the-farc-peace-process-in-colombia-still-fail/>
- M. Solmaz. PKK feeds on lawlessness: media outlets, Amnesty office raided in London. *Daily Sabah*, April 29, 2019. <https://www.dailysabah.com/war-on-terror/2019/04/29/pkk-feeds-on-lawlessness-media-outlets-am>

nesty-office-raided-in-london

S.A. Mansour. Are Turkey and Qatar supporting terrorism in Libya? *European Eye on Radicalization*, April 26, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/are-turkey-and-qatar-supporting-terrorism-in-libya/>

P. Rogers. We already know who will win the war in Libya – western arms dealers. *Open Democracy*, April 18, 2019. URL: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/we-already-know-who-will-win-the-war-in-libya-western-arms-dealers/>

N. Pedde. The Gulf and Europe: Libya's proxy war is a web of conflicting narratives. *Middle East Eye*, April 25, 2019. URL: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/gulf-and-europe-libyas-proxy-war-web-conflicting-narratives>

2. Religious Terrorism

2.1. Al-Qaeda and Affiliates

Sahel: how Mali is descending into chaos. *The North Africa Journal*. June 3, 2019. URL: <http://north-africa.com/sahel-how-mali-is-descending-into-chaos/>

A.Y. Zelin. A new Tunisian preacher rises in Huras al-Din. *Tunisianjihadism.com*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://tunisianjihadism.com/2019/05/28/a-new-tunisian-preacher-rises-in-huras-al-din/>

M. al-Lami. Al-Qaeda softens its tone but still wants blood. *Chatham House*, May 28, 2019. URL: https://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/twt/al-qaeda-softens-its-tone-still-wants-blood?CMP=share_btn_tw

Russian MoD reveals HTS losses in northern Hama, says terrorist group is planning new attack. *South Front*, May 25, 2019. URL: <https://southfront.org/russian-mod-reveals-hts-loses-in-northern-hama-says-terrorist-group-is-planning-new-attack/>

A. Lebovic. Mapping armed groups in Mali and the Sahel. *European Council on Foreign Relations*, May 2019. URL: https://www.ecfr.eu/mena/sahel_mapping

A. Shah Ghanizada. Ghazwa-e-Hind: al-Qaeda's final jihad plan for India. *Khaama Press*, July 18, 2014. URL: <https://www.khaama.com/ghazwa-e-hind-al-qaedas-final-jihad-plan-for-india-6425/>

G. Wood. I wrote to John Walker Lindh. He wrote back. *The Atlantic*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/05/my-letters-john-walker-lindh-american-jidahist/590071/>

T. Joscelyn. Analysis: John Walker Lindh fight for al-Qaeda's pro-Taliban force. *FDD's Long War Journal*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/analysis-john-walker-lindh-fought-for-al-qaedas-pro-taliban-force.php>

B. Roggio. US commander confirms: al-Qaeda operating 'across' Afghanistan. *FDD's Long war Journal*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/us-commander-confirms-al-qaeda-operating-across-afghanistan.php>

Syria group Hayat al-Sham and al-Qaeda legacy. *BBC*, May 22, 2019. URL: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48353751?intlink_from_url=https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/middle-east&link_location=live-reporting-story

T. Hegghammer. The caravan: Abdallah Azzam and the rise of global jihad. *Cambridge University Press*, 2020, 280 pp. URL: <https://www.amazon.com/Caravan-Abdallah-Azzam-Global-Jihad/dp/0521759145>

A. Roul. Al-Qaeda and Islamic State reinvigorating East Turkistan Jihad. *TerrorismMonitor*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://jamestown.org/program/al-qaeda-and-islamic-state-reinvigorating-east-turkistan-jihad/>

- J. Allchin. Many rivers, one sea. Bangladesh and the challenge of Islamist militancy. *Hurst*, 2019, 240 pp. URL: <https://www.hurstpublishers.com/book/many-rivers-one-sea/>
- Returning from the land of jihad: the fate of women associated with Boko Haram. *International Crisis Group*, Report #275, Africa, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/275-returning-land-jihad-fate-women-associated-boko-haram>
- U. Botobekov. Think like a jihadist. Anatomy of Central Asian Salafi groups. *Geopolitical Handbooks*, 2019. URL: <https://modern diplomacy.eu/product/anatomy-of-central-asian-salafi-groups/>
- F. Davies, A. Leihead. The war in the desert. Why the Sahara is terror's new front line. *BBC*, May 16, 2019. URL: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/resources/idt-sh/war_in_the_desert
- H. McKay. Hunting Ayman al-Zawahiri: where has the al-Qaeda leader been hiding for 18 years? *Fox News*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.foxnews.com/world/hunting-ayman-al-zawahiri-where-has-the-al-qaeda-leader-been-hiding-for-eighteen-years>
- J. Fenton-Harvey. Al-Qaeda is still a deadly threat in Yemen. *The New Arab*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/comment/2019/5/9/al-qaeda-is-still-a-deadly-threat-in-yemen>
- C. Casola. Jihad and instability in Sahel: the extent of a crisis. *Italian Institute for International Political Studies*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/jihad-and-instability-sahel-extent-crisis-23053>
- Information war: inside the Taliban's media operations. *The Express Tribune*, May 11, 2019. URL: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/1970578/3-information-war-inside-talibans-media-operations/>
- A. Qadir Sediqi, R. Jain. Taliban fighters double as reporters to wage Afghan digital war. *Reuters*, May 11, 2019. URL: <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-afghanistan-taliban-media/taliban-fighters-double-as-reporters-to-wage-afghan-digital-war-idUKKCN1SH02S>
- T. Mayer. The suicide bomber who survived. *Spiegel Online*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/international/global societies/a-boko-haram-suicide-bomber-who-survived-a-1266671.html - ref=nl-international>
- HTS, al-Qaeda & Turkish-backed militants form joint operations room in Idlib. *South Front*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://southfront.org/hts-al-qaeda-turkish-backed-militants-form-joint-operations-room-in-idlib/>
- B. Abboudi. Down but not out: al-Qaeda and the Algerian protest movement. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(9), May 7, 2019. URL: <https://jamestown.org/program/down-but-not-out-al-qaeda-and-the-algerian-protest-movement/>
- H. McKay. More evidence emerges of Iran-al-Qaeda ties. *Fox News*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.foxnews.com/world/more-ties-between-iran-and-al-qaeda-emerge>
- T. Joscelyn. Al-Qaeda-linked operations room counterattacks as bombs fall northern Syria. *FDD's Long War Journal*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/al-qaeda-linked-operations-room-counterattacks-as-bombs-fall-northern-syria.php>
- Z. Ali. Osama bin Laden: eight years after his death, where is al-Qaeda? *BBC*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48056433>
- A. Jawad al-Tamimi. In Syria, tensions persist between Hayat Tahrir al-Sham and al-Qaeda loyalists. *Pundicity*, April 30, 2019. URL: <http://www.aymennjawad.org/22632/in-syria-tensions-persist-between-hayat-tahrir-al>
- IntelBrief: perpetual war in Somalia. *The Soufan Center*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://thesoufancenter.org/intel-brief-perpetual-war-in-somalia/>

T. Refslund Hamming. Jihadists' code of conduct in the era of ISIS. *Middle East Institute*, April 26, 2019. URL: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/jihadists-code-conduct-era-isis>

F. Mansouri, Z. Keskin (Eds.). *Contesting the theological foundations of Islamism and violent extremism*. Palgrave, Macmillan, 2019, 232 pp.

2.2. Daesh (IS, ISIL, ISIS) and Affiliates

Inside the ADF rebellion. A glimpse into the operations of Democratic Republic of Congo's secretive jihadist group. *Congo Research Group*, 2019. URL: <https://insidetheadf.org>

ADF leadership biographies. *Insidetheadf.org*. 2019. URL: <https://insidetheadf.org/leadership-adf-bios/>

C.P. Clarke. What does the Islamic State's organizational restructuring tell us? The Hague: *ICCT*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/what-does-the-islamic-states-organisational-restructuring-tell-us/>

B. Roggio. Caliphate, interrupted. *FDD's Long War Journal*, June 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/06/caliphate-interrupted.php>

B. Aras. Not RIP: how ISIS is going virtual. *The National Interest*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/not-rip-how-isis-going-virtual-59917>

H.J. Ingram, C. Whiteside, C. Winter. The guerrilla 'caliph': speeches that bookend the Islamic State's 'caliphate' era. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(5), May/June 2019. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/guerrilla-caliph-speeches-book-end-islamic-states-caliphate-era/>

S. Heller. A glimpse into the Islamic State's external operations, post-caliphate. *War on the Rocks*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://warontherocks.com/2019/05/a-glimpse-into-the-islamic-states-external-operations-post-caliphate/>

P. Magid. How ISIS still threatens Iraq. *Foreign Policy*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/28/how-isis-still-threatens-iraq/>

A. Jawad al-Tamimi. Opposition to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi: Sheikh Abu Eisa al-Masri's critique of Islamic State media. *Pundicity*, May 27, 2019. URL: <http://www.aymennjawad.org/22742/opposition-to-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-sheikh-abu>

A. Jawad al-Tamimi. Opposition to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi: the testimony of a former Alumni. *Pundicity*, May 21, 2019. URL: <http://www.aymennjawad.org/22715/opposition-to-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-the-testimony-.XO0nNl2KFrk.twitter>

IS threatens 'hot summer' by scorching Iraq, Syria farmlands. *VOA*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.voanews.com/a/is-threatens-hot-summer-by-scorching-iraq-syria-farmlands-/4932148.html>

Captured Islamic State map files underscore technological capabilities and priorities for state building. *IHS Markit*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://ihsmarkit.com/research-analysis/islamic-state-map-files.html>

L. Masri, A. Abelayt. Instructions from headquarters: Islamic State's new guerrilla manual. *Reuters*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-security-islamic-state-idUSKCN1SU19J>

Dangerous developments: the weaponry of IS West Africa (Pt. 2). *Calibre Obscura*. May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.calibreobscura.com/dangerous-developments-the-weaponry-of-iswa-part-2/>

J. Seldin. Islamic State in Afghanistan growing bigger, more dangerous. *VOA*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-state-in-afghanistan-growing-bigger-more-dangerous/4927406.html>

R. Postings. ISIS announces new India and Pakistan provinces, casually breaking up Khorasan. *The Defense Post*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://thedefensepost.com/2019/05/15/islamic-state-pakistan-province-al-hind/>

C. Patton. Russia spy chief warns 5,000 ISIS foreign fighters threaten borders of former Soviet Union. *Newsweek*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.newsweek.com/russia-spy-chief-warns-5000-isis-foreign-fighters-threaten-borders-former-1431576>

ISIS has amassed 5,000 fighters close to CIS border in North of Afghanistan: Russia. *Khaama Press*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.khaama.com/isis-has-amassed-5000-fighters-close-to-cis-border-in-north-of-afghanistan-russia-03436/>

British forces searching for al-Baghdadi in Libya. *Al Masdar News*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/british-forces-searching-for-al-baghdadi-in-libya/>

N. al-Dayel. 'Now is the time to wake up': Islamic State's narratives of political awareness. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546553.2019.1603145?tokenDomain=eprints&tokenAccess=KXHiXW7np753J6vD69wE&forwardService=show-FullText&target=10.1080%2F09546553.2019.1603145&doi=10.1080%2F09546553.2019.1603145&doi=10.1080%2F09546553.2019.16031>

T. Hamming. Kill the caliph! The Islamic State's evolution from an integrated to a fragmented group. *Jihadica*, May 20, 2019. URL: <http://www.jihadica.com/kill-the-caliph-the-islamic-states-evolution-from-an-integrated-to-a-fragmented-group/>

Islamic State establishes a 'wilayat' or province in Pakistan. *NewsIn.Asia*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://newsin.asia/islamic-state-establishes-a-wilayat-or-province-in-pakistan/>

A. Jawad al-Tamimi. Islamic State insurgent tactics: translation and analysis (II). *Pundicity*, May 17, 2019. URL: <http://www.aymennjawad.org/2019/05/islamic-state-insurgent-tactics-translation-1>

Caliphate soldiers and lone actors: what to make of IS claims for attacks in the West 2016-2018. *EUROPOL*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/caliphate-soldiers-and-lone-actors-what-to-make-of-is-claims-for-attacks-in-the-west-2016-2018/>

'Wolf packs a common trend in IS' – counter-terrorism expert. *New Straits Times*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://www.nst.com.my/news/crime-courts/2019/05/488526/wolf-packs-common-trend-counter-terrorism-expert>

J. McIntyre. Thousands of ISIS fighters remain undefeated in underground cells, coalition general admits. *Washington Examiner*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/thousands-of-isis-fighters-remain-undefeated-in-underground-cells-coalition-general-admits>

F.J. Marty. The particular presence of the Islamic State in Kunar. *The Diplomat*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/05/the-peculiar-presence-of-the-islamic-state-in-kunar/>

Expert explains why Daesh referred to specific 'caliphate' in India for 1st time. *Sputnik*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://sputniknews.com/analysis/201905131074946825-india-caliphate-daesh-province-kashmir/>

J. Ubaldi. The rise, fall and possible re-emergence of ISIS. *InHomeland Security*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://inhomelandsecurity.com/possible-re-emergence-isis/>

Daesh remnants wage hidden war of raids, killings. *Associated Press*, May 13, 2019. URL: <http://www.arab-news.com/node/1496576/middle-east>

Daesh takes advantage of battle for Tripoli. *Gulf News*, May 11, 2019. URL: https://gulfnews.com/world/mena/daesh-takes-advantage-of-battle-for-tripoli-1.63883276?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter

B. Jansen. After caliphate's fall, Islamic State insurgents still spread fear. *Stars & Stripes*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.stripes.com/news/middle-east/after-caliphate-s-fall-islamic-state-insurgents-still-spread-fear-1.580780-.XNk2HsM1QBM.twitter>

Chechen jihadist group takes part in Idlib battle against Syrian army. *Al Masdar News*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/in-pictures-chechen-jihadist-group-takes-part-in-idlib-battle-against-syrian-army/>

Where in the world is al-Baghdadi now? New report claims ISIS leader is in Afghanistan. *Al Masdar News*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/where-in-the-world-is-al-baghdadi-now-new-report-claims-isis-leader-is-in-afghanistan/>

Life under Islamic State: a first-person account. *Fanack*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://fanack.com/life-under-islamic-state/>

F. Bukhari, A. Pal. Islamic State claims 'province' in India for first time after clash in Kashmir. *Reuters*, May 11, 2019. URL:

F. Marone. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi and the dilemma of visibility. *European Eye on radicalization*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-and-the-dilemma-of-visibility/>

S. al-Salhy. Most wanted man on earth: Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, self-proclaimed leader of the murderous Daesh 'caliphate'. *Arab News*, May 5, 2019. URL: <http://www.arabnews.com/node/1492701/middle-east>

Battle for Libya's Tripoli gives chance to Daesh. *Arab News*, May 11, 2019. URL: <http://www.arabnews.com/node/1495496/middle-east>

A. Ethirajan. Sri Lanka attacks: the family networks behind the bombings. *BBC*, May 11, 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-48218907>

M. Krona. Efter kalifatets fall omgrupperar IS på nätet. *DOKU*, May 10, 2019. URL: https://doku.nu/2019/05/10/efter-kalifatets-fall-omgrupperar-is-pa-natet/?fbclid=IwAR0vYhvnDNXjdG_s_QJMeW-taxhnlrpi9HJLv4swLitSEjiY8zrpFAJMZZOQ

A. Sahi. Why the ISIS threat lives on. *Macleans*, April 25, 2019. URL: <https://www.macleans.ca/opinion/why-the-isis-threat-lives-on/?fbclid=IwAR0EuwfPdXipYAHTHcLRYW0PGo5U365F5lzBH9M1CTPPRUu-jZGdY2bZo3kw>

R. de Wijk. IS herrijst uit zijn as, in een nog gevaarlijker variant. *Trouw*, May 10, 2019. URL: https://www.trouw.nl/opinie/is-herrijst-uit-zijn-as-in-een-nog-gevaarlijker-variant~a16ed8a1/?fbclid=IwAR2aXV_f0kVt6X_NfZ3grj9p9MfU9bQWkdc6ldIrPNTdaaqoWufBlao_0E

B.M. Perkins. Islamic State claims signal resilience and shifting strategy. *Terrorism Monitor*, 17(9), 2019. URL: <https://jamestown.org/program/briefs-304/>

A. Ibrahim. ISIS's church attacks break Mohammed's own pledges. *Foreign Policy*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/08/isis-church-attacks-break-mohammeds-own-pledges/> - 39;s Picks OC

J. Seldin. Even in defeat, Islamic State's foreign fighters expanding. *VOA*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.voanews.com/a/even-in-defeat-islamic-state-foreign-fighters-expanding/4909190.html>

K. Mehlman-Orozco. The jihadi next door: how ISIS is forcing, defrauding, and coercing your neighbor into terrorism. *Skyhorse*, 2019, 268 pp.

F. Bergoglio Errico. Book review: The jihadi next door: how ISIS is forcing, defrauding, and coercing your neighbor into terrorism. *European Eye on Radicalization*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/the-jihadi-next-door-how-isis-is-forcing-defrauding-and-coercing-your-neighbor-into-terrorism/>

F. Flade, G. Mascolo. Deutsche Behörden halten Baghdadi-Video für echt. *Tageschau*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/bagdadi-video-101.html>

Tracking the DRC's Allied Democratic Forces and its links to ISIS. *The Conversation*, May 8, 2019. URL:

https://theconversation.com/tracking-the-drcs-allied-democratic-forces-and-its-links-to-isis-116439?fbclid=IwAR3kzORzl5-Hhg8QLZJy-YHGodwZNY_8ggX-V6Tr7rOXBR2egu_X7ymmzac

H. Ghoraba. The future of Islamic State. *Al-Ahram Weekly*, May 8, 2019. URL: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/News/27114.aspx>

R. Hall. ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi has more PR advisers than a Hollywood actor. *The Independent*, April 30, 2019. URL: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/isis-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-video-iraq-syria-middle-east-a8892401.html?fbclid=IwAR2H-pqkFg_wUjal6QsR7xFr7vcUy9JruSQp-kNuuNunqHCj1Sft4MWIes

Five big terrorist groups threaten Indonesia, analyst says. *Tempo*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://en.tempo.co/read/1203226/five-big-terrorist-groups-threaten-indonesia-analyst-says>

T. Towers. ISIS leader went public to 'stop top terrorists defecting to al-Qaida.' *The Daily Star*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/world-news/776249/isis-leader-new-video-Ab-Bakr-al-Baghdadi-syria-iraq-al-Qaida>

T. Towers. Ramadan terror bloodbath feared as places of worship warned to 'remain vigilant.' *The Daily Star*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailystar.co.uk/news/latest-news/776223/ramadan-2019-start-date-calendar-sri-lanka-news-terror-revenge-attacks-mosques>

L. Sellin. The next Islamic State battlefield will be in South Asia. *The National Interest*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/next-islamic-state-battlefield-will-be-south-asia-55687>

How to kill 60% of your newly-trained militants: a look at IS 'strategy,' in: *Hasaka*, July 2015. *From Chechnya to Syria*, May 7, 2019. URL: <http://www.chechensinsyria.com/?p=26275>

N. Henin. The caliphate is gone, but Islamic State has a new plan. *The Guardian*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/07/isis-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi-algeria-sudan>

C. Weiss. Islamic State releases photos from DRC. *FDD's Long war Journal*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/islamic-state-releases-photos-from-drc.php>

R. Postings. Islamic State recognizes new Central Africa Province, deepening ties with DR Congo militants. *The Defense Post*, April 30, 2019. URL: <https://thedefensepost.com/2019/04/30/islamic-state-new-central-africa-province/>

G. Leupp. Sri Lanka, ISIL and religious tribalism. *Counterpunch*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.counter-punch.org/2019/05/03/sri-lanka-isil-and-religious-tribalism/>

R. Hoinathy. Boko Haram's resurgence in Chad. *Institute for Security Studies*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://issaf-rica.org/iss-today/boko-harams-resurgence-in-chad>

C. Clarke. Islamic State's latest video could have long and terrifying consequences. *Los Angeles Times*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-clarke-afghanistan-baghdadi-20190506-story.html>

B. Wallace, J. Cafarella. ISIS reasserts global reach for Ramadan 2019. *Institute for the Study of War*, May 1, 2019. URL: <http://iswresearch.blogspot.com/2019/05/isis-reasserts-global-reach-for-ramadan.html>

R. Read. ISIS will target Christians in annual Ramadan offensive, think tank predicts. *Washington Examiner*, May 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/policy/defense-national-security/isis-will-target-christians-in-annual-ramadan-offensive-think-tank-predicts>

A. Choudhury, S. Sharma. Sri Lanka bombings: a new pattern of transnational terror. *The Diplomat*, April 30, 2019. URL: <https://thediplomat.com/2019/05/sri-lanka-bombings-a-new-pattern-of-transnational-terror/>

M. Amir Rana. An ongoing war. *Dawn*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1480396>

M. Plant. Where in the world is Baghdadi? Activists and analysts attempt to trace IS leader. *The New Arab*, April 30, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/blog/2019/4/30/online-investigators-try-to-trace-baghdadis-whereabouts>

H. V. Pant, K. Taneja. ISIS's new target: South Asia. *Foreign Policy*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/02/isiss-new-target-south-asia/>

Hassan Hassan. Welcome to the post-Middle East ISIS. *Foreign Policy*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/03/welcome-to-the-post-middle-east-isis/>

S. Maher. Islamic State and the age of atrocity. *New Statesman*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.newstatesman.com/world/middle-east/2019/05/islamic-state-and-age-atrocity?fbclid=IwAR2wm-I8F4uE3a6M0X-iLRLvX2JRLJnBU6sL3BhhqGZGuNqDIGlOWBl7lk>

T. Lister. Destroyed on the battlefield, ISIS begins new chapter of terror. *CNN*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/04/28/world/isis-sri-lanka-international-threat-intl/index.html>

W. McCants. The believer. How an introvert with a passion for religion and soccer became Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, leader of the Islamic State. *Brookings*, September 1, 2015. URL: <http://csweb.brookings.edu/content/research/essays/2015/thebeliever.html>

What's next for ISIS? Terrorist leader outlines path forward post-caliphate. *Associated Press*, May 1, 2019. URL: https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/what-s-next-for-isis-terrorist-leader-outlines-path-forward-post-caliphate-1.7188680?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter

2.3. Other Organizations

Inside a Hezbollah attack tunnel. *Arutz Sheva*, May 29, 2019. URL: <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/263882>

A. Ahronheim. Yemen's Houthi rebels begin raising funds for cash-strapped Hezbollah. *The Jerusalem Post*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Yemens-Houthi-rebels-begin-raising-funds-for-cash-strapped-Hezbollah-590899>

B. Weinthal. Terrorist organization Hamas runs BDS campaign from Gaza. *The Jerusalem Post*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Terrorist-organization-Hamas-runs-BDS-campaign-from-Gaza-590820>

A. Jawad al-Tamimi. Hezbollah in Nubi and Zahara: the life of Ibrahim Khalil. *Pundicity*, May 27, 2019. URL: <http://www.aymennjawad.org/2018/12/hezbollah-in-nubl-and-zahara-the-life-of-ibrahim>

A. Ibrahim, H. Karcic. The Balkan Wars created a generation of Christian terrorists. *Foreign Policy*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/24/the-balkan-wars-created-a-generation-of-christian-terrorists/>

D. Haverty. Paramilitaries are surging again in Northern Ireland. *Foreign Policy*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/24/paramilitaries-are-surging-again-in-northern-ireland/>

A. Toumaj. IRGC-controlled Iraqi group threatens to retaliate if US strikes. *FDD's Long War Journal*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2019/05/irgc-controlled-iraqi-group-threatens-to-retaliate-if-us-strikes.php>

M. Rafizadeh. Iran: planning to kidnap and kill more Americans. *Gatestone Institute*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/14254/iran-kidnap-kill-americans>

K. Abu Toameh. Palestinians: the new Hamas list of 'traitors.' *Gatestone Institute*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/14251/palestinians-hamas-traitors>

P. Smyth. The Shia militia mapping project. *The Washington Institute*, May 2019. URL: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/the-shia-militia-mapping-project>

Houthis entice child soldiers with keys to 'enter paradise' when they die. *Arab News*, May 15, 2019. URL: <http://www.arabnews.com/node/1497301/middle-east>

Widespread fires consume the agricultural crops ready for harvesting in Deir Ezzor and the accusing fingers point to the Iranian militias. *Deirezzor4*, May 21, 2019. URL: https://en.deirezzor24.net/widespread-fires-consume-the-agricultural-crops-ready-for-harvesting-in-deir-ezzor-and-the-accusing-fingers-point-to-the-iranian-militias/?fbclid=IwAR1T50mA2sYh2_eLYeQYBbKPqJ0Kxta352zUCbRT_jSb_CCMuiVOMEwxcbl

Powerful Iraqi group says they will remain part of 'axis of resistance' despite foreign pressure. *Al Masdar News*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.almasdarnews.com/article/powerful-iraqi-group-says-they-will-remain-part-of-axis-of-resistance-despite-foreign-pressure/>

J. Stevenson. The price of peace in Northern Ireland. *Foreign Affairs*, May 20, 2019. URL: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/reviews/review-essay/2019-05-20/price-peace-northern-ireland?utm_campaign=tw_daily_soc&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter_posts

Hamas's financial aid to the wounded and the families of those killed in the return Marches. *The Meir Amit Intelligence & Terrorism Information Center*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/hamass-financial-aid-wounded-families-killed-return-marches/>

News of Terrorism and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (May 1-May 14, 2019). *The Meir Amit Intelligence & Terrorism Information Center*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/news-terrorism-israeli-palestinian-conflict-may-1-may-14-2019/>

A.M. Tabatabai, C.P. Clarke. Iran seeks to cement legitimacy of Shia militias. *Foreign Policy Research Institute*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.fpri.org/article/2019/05/iran-seeks-to-cement-legitimacy-of-shia-militias/>

R. Tercatin. Islamic Jihad leader expects war with Israel to break out next summer. *The Jerusalem Post*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Islamic-Jihad-leader-expects-war-with-Israel-to-break-next-summer-589104>

K. Abu Toameh. Gaza terror groups: we still have the finger on the trigger. *The Jerusalem Post*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Gaza-terror-groups-We-still-have-the-finger-on-the-trigger-589188>

B. Chellaney. India's internal jihadist threat is rapidly growing. *Daily O*, May 2, 2019. URL: https://www.dailyo.in/politics/sri-lanka-terror-attack-tamil-nadu-thowheed-jamaath-islamist-terrorism-terrorist-groups-in-india-saudi-wahhabism/story/1/30518.html?fbclid=IwAR1GIHxanuaMe1bPft-Tbw_qycjFkD-K65rLHUTVaGWp3o6FnLy11RsU0C18

Another round of escalation in the Gaza Strip, more intensive and severe than the previous ones. *The Meir Amit Intelligence & Terrorism Information Center*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/another-round-escalation-gaza-strip-intensive-severe-previous-ones/>

Hezbollah's foundation for the wounded: purpose, modus operandi and funding methods. *The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/hezbollahs-foundation-wounded-purpose-modus-operandi-funding-methods/>

K. Abu Toameh. Hamas, Islamic Jihad again celebrate 'victory' – analysis. *The Jerusalem Post*, May 6, 2018. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Hamas-Islamic-Jihad-again-celebrate-victory-588964>

A. Issacharoff. In 'cash for calm' bid, Hamas shows it's ready to fight. *The Times of Israel*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/in-cash-for-calm-bid-hamas-shows-its-ready-to-fight/>

S. Jawad al-Tamimi. Suqaylaniyah in North Hama: interview. *Pundicity*, May 4, 2019. URL: <http://www.pundicity.com/2019/05/04/suqaylaniyah-in-north-hama-interview/>

aymennjawad.org/2019/05/suqaylabiyah-in-north-hama-interview

3. Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

Monitoring explosive violence in 2018. AOAV, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://aoav.org.uk/2019/monitoring-explosive-violence-in-2018/>

S. Stewart. Fire as a weapon of terrorism. *Stratfor Worldview*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://worldview.stratfor.com/article/fire-weapon-terrorism>

Y. Jeremy Bob. Sex trafficking on the Darknet being used to finance terrorism – report. *The Jerusalem Post*, April 19, 2019. URL: https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Sex-trafficking-on-the-darknet-being-used-to-finance-terrorism-report-587216?fbclid=IwAR2rvwhaK7_odokBt8ByEJuMOiWoDsVzwePBT5qYb6wiAw-1jVTZJ9UZduho

D. Post. Sydney electrician pleads guilty to designing missiles for IS. *9News.com*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.9news.com.au/national/sydney-news-haiem-zahab-electrician-who-pleaded-guilty-to-supporting-islamic-state-deradicalised/e37fc775-516b-410c-849f-fc9f970fa095>

Funding terrorism: campaign of a jihadi organization operating in the Gaza Strip to raise funds in Bitcoin. *The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/funding-terrorism-campaign-jihadi-organization-operating-gaza-strip-raise-funds-bitcoin/?fbclid=IwAR0wgIG0wcJgQHRbyRmy9zLRW4GSokQ9Mkrq6TR9usDvljTTnGpCz8dDYPs>

Greater efforts needed to address the potential risks posed by terrorists use of unmanned aircraft systems. *CTED Trends Alert*, May 2019. URL: https://www.un.org/sc/ctc/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/CTED-UAS-Trends-Alert-Final_17_May_2019.pdf

Gaza-based jihadi group extends its fundraising campaign to Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn, calls on followers to promote it. *MEMRI, Cyber & Jihad Lab*, May 17, 2019. URL: <http://cjlabs.memri.org/latest-reports/gaza-based-jihadi-group-extends-its-fundraising-campaign-to-twitter-instagram-linkedin-calls-on-followers-to-promote-it/>

A.A. Matheis, C. Winter. ‘The greatness of her position’: comparing Identitarian and jihadi discourses on women. *ICSR*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://icsr.info/2019/05/15/the-greatness-of-her-position-comparing-identitarian-and-jihadi-discourses-on-women/>

C. Dion-Schwarz, D. Manheim, P.B. Johnston. Terrorist use of cryptocurrencies. Santa Monica: *RAND*, RR-3026, 2019, 98p. URL: https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR3026.html?utm_source=WhatCountsEmail&utm_medium=Homeland Security and Public Safety+AEM: Email Address NOT LIKE DOT-MIL&utm_campaign=AEM:511539495

J. Owen Nwachukwu. Over 1,700 children carry arms in Borno. *Daily Post*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://dailypost.ng/2019/05/10/1700-children-carry-arms-borno/>

Maritime terrorism: a rising threat from al-Qaeda and Iranian proxies. *European Eye on Radicalization*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/maritime-terrorism-a-rising-threat-from-al-qaeda-and-iranian-proxies-2/>

P. Gurski. Are we really seeing a rise in terrorist attacks on religious sites? *Borealis Threat & Risk Consulting*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/we-really-seeing-rise-terrorist-attacks-religious-sites-phil-gurski/>

J. Gant. Ancient treasures ‘looted by ISIS including a statue from ravaged Palmyra are being ‘offered for sale on Facebook. *Daily Mail Online*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7014775/Ancient-treasures-looted-ISIS-offered-sale-Facebook.html>

R. Postings. An education in Islamic State extremism. *The Defense Post*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://thedefensepost.com/2019/05/08/islamic-state-education-children/>

Spanish jihadi cell funded through Danish tax fraud on chicken, cheese and chocolate. *The Local*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.thelocal.dk/20190508/danish-vat-food-fraud-funded-spanish-jihadi-cell-report>

B. Schuurman, E. Bakker, N. Bouhana, P. Gill. Lone actor terrorist attack planning and preparation: a data driven analysis. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 63(4), 2018, pp. 1191-1200. URL: <http://bit.ly/2ZlbfRW>

Combating nuclear terrorism. NRC needs to take additional actions to ensure the security of high-risk radioactive material. *GAO-19-468*, April 4, 2019. URL: https://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-19-468?utm_campaign=usgao_email&utm_content=monthinreview&utm_medium=email&utm_source=govdelivery

B. Blodgett. Drones becoming frightening weapon of choice for terrorists. *In Homeland Security*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://inhomeandsecurity.com/drones-frightening-weapon-terrorists/>

A. Chew. From Sri Lanka to Indonesia, more mothers are becoming suicide bombers – and killing their children too. *South China Morning Post*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/society/article/3008808/sri-lanka-indonesia-more-mothers-are-becoming-suicide-bombers-and>

J. Reinl. Middle East drone wars heat up in Yemen. *The New Arab*, April 30, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/indepth/2019/4/30/Middle-East-drone-wars-heat-up-in-Yemen>

World Press Freedom Day: Middle East still most dangerous region for journalists. *The New Arab*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/indepth/2019/5/3/middle-east-still-most-dangerous-region-for-journalists>

P.W. Singer. What insurgency will look like in 2030. *Defense One*, April 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/04/what-insurgency-will-look-2030/156594/>

4. Conflict, Crime and Political Violence other than Terrorism

4.a. Organized Crime Groups

I. Otiz, B. Darby. New York Times unmasks Honduran community fighting MS-13. *Breitbart*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.breitbart.com/border/2019/06/02/new-york-times-unmasks-honduran-community-fighting-ms-13/>

Crime kingpin and his three comrades shot dead in Kabul. *Khaama Press*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.khaama.com/criminal-kingpin-and-his-three-comrades-shot-dead-in-kabul-03465/>

E. Felden, M. von Heim. Biker gang raid: what do we know about al-Salam-313? *Deutsche Welle*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/biker-gang-raid-what-do-we-know-about-al-salam-313/a-48839866>

M. van Brunnersum. 22 members of one of Europe's most prolific criminal gangs who made £600m in two years are arrested in Britain and on the continent as police recover £7m in cash, cars and gold. *Daily Mail Online*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7058621/Criminal-gangs-arrested-Britain-Europe-police-recover-cash-cars-gold.html>

More than 20 arrested across Europe in swoop on drug gang. *The Guardian*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/may/22/22-arrested-across-europe-in-swoop-on-alleged-dangerous-drug-gang>

Operational taskforce leads to dismantling of one of Europe's most prolific groups behind €680 million operation. *EUROPOL*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/newsroom/news/operational-taskforce-leads-to-dismantling-of-one-of-europe's-most-prolific-crime-groups-behind-€680-million-operation>

P. Asmann. Testimony of top Sinaloa cartel member may sink 'El Chapo' defense. *InSight Crime*, January 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/testimony-sink-el-chapo-defense/>

Venezuela Investigative Unit. Venezuelan gang muscles into Trinidad and Tobago, others may follow. *InSight Crime*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/venezuela-gang-evander-muscles-trinidad-and-tobago/>

A. Alas. Banda 'Viudas Negras' recibe penas de 15 a 30 anos de prision. *El Mundo*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://elmundo.sv/banda-viudas-negras-recibe-penas-de-15-a-30-anos-de-prision/>

A. Torres. Mexico's most powerful drugs cartel seeks soldiers and cops to join their ranks –as it's alleged that a judge was paid \$940,000 for favors that included releasing one of their leaders. *Daily Mail Online*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7038649/Mexicos-powerful-drugs-cartel-seeks-soldiers-cops-join-criminal-organization.html>

V. Dodd. We can't halt drug trade with arrests, says crime agency chief. *The Guardian*, May 13, 2019. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/may/13/uk-demand-for-illegal-drugs-as-strong-as-ever-says-agency-chief?CMP=share_btn_tw

Venezuela Investigative Unit. Failed Venezuela uprising benefits armed and criminal groups. *InSight Crime*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/failed-venezuela-uprising-benefits-armed-criminal-groups/>

J. Ben Yahya, I. van Zyl. Organized crime meets terrorism in Tunisia. *ISS Today*, May 7, 2019. URL: https://issafrica.org/iss-today/organised-crime-meets-terrorism-in-tunisia?utm_source=BenchmarkEmail&utm_campaign=ISS_Weekly&utm_medium=email

E.R. Leukfeldt, E.R. Kleemans, E.W. Kruisbergen, R.A. Roks. Criminal networks in a digitized world: on the nexus of borderless opportunities and local embeddedness. *Trends in Organized Crime*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12117-019-09366-7>

M. Galeotti. 'The Vory: Russia's super mafia'. Pushkin House Book Prize finalist. *The Moscow Times*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.themoscowtimes.com/2019/05/05/mark-galleotti-the-vory-russias-super-mafia-a65488>

4.b. Hate Crimes, Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, Xenophobia

P. Oltermann. German Jews fear kippah solidarity is just a PR stunt. *The Guardian*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/jun/02/kippah-march-berlin-will-not-halt-antisemitism>

Muslim Council of Britain calls for Conservative Party to be investigated by human rights watchdog over 'Islamophobia.' *Daily Mail Online*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7079207/Conservative-Party-investigated-human-rights-watchdog-Islamophobia.html>

K. Connolly. 'Spectres of the past': Angela Merkel sounds alarm over anti-Semitism. *The Guardian*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/28/spectres-of-the-past-angela-merkel-warns-against-rise-of-far-right>

S. Stalinsky. National Commission needed to monitor and combat anti-Semitism. *The Hill*, May 25, 2019. URL: <https://thehill.com/opinion/civil-rights/445414-national-commission-needed-to-monitor-and-combat-anti-semitism-in-the-us>

H. Kesvani. What happened when I met my Islamophobic troll. *The Guardian*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/may/23/what-happened-when-i-met-my-islamophobic-troll>

P. Gurski. The need to compare terrorists apples with terrorist apples. *Borealis Threat & Risk Consulting*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/need-compare-terrorists-apples-terrorist-phil-gurski/>

- K. Weill. More than 500 attacks on Muslims in America this year. *The Daily Beast*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://thedefensepost.com/2019/05/19/mali-nigeria-peacekeeper-killed-tessalit-chad-injured-timbuktu/>
- J. Sharman, L. Dearden. 'Anti-Islamic' posters in Essex showing crusader chasing woman in burqa with AK-47 investigated by police. *The Independent*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/islamist-stickers-essex-not-welcome-generation-identity-rayleigh-police-a8923166.html>
- J. Rankin. Hungary accused of fuelling xenophobia with anti-migrant rhetoric. *The Guardian*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/21/hungary-accused-of-fuelling-xenophobia-human-rights-violations>
- Reward of \$5,000 offered for information in mosque arson. *Al Arabiya*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/world/2019/05/21/Reward-of-5-000-offered-for-information-in-mosque-arson.html>
- J. Keenan. Britain is making sexual harassment a hate crime. *Foreign Policy*, May 19, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/19/britain-is-making-sexual-harassment-a-hate-crime/>
- Chicago synagogues targeted in rash of suspected hate crimes. *The Times of Israel*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/chicago-synagogues-targeted-in-rash-of-suspected-hate-crimes/>
- IntelBrief: the comeback of hate in Europe. *The Soufan group*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-the-comeback-of-hate-in-europe/>
- Germany becomes the first parliament in Europe to denounce Israel boycott campaign as anti-Semitic after saying it triggers memories of Nazi slogan 'Don't buy from Jews.' *Daily Mail Online*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7041507/German-parliament-denounces-Israel-boycott-movement.html>
- I. Drury. Government rejects proposals for an official definition of Islamophobia after experts warned Sajid Javid it could be 'backdoor blasphemy law' and limit free speech. *Daily Mail Online*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7034553/Government-REJECTS-proposals-official-definition-Islamophobia.html>
- D. Danjevic. Serb party billboards vandalized with hate messages in Croatia. *Deutsche Welle*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/serb-party-billboards-vandalized-with-hate-messages-in-croatia/a-48740805>
- W. Streeting. Yes, Islamophobia is a type of racism. Here's why. *The Guardian*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/15/islamophobia-racism-definition-free-speech-there-sa-may>
- German officials say anti-Semitic incidents up 20% in past year. *The Times of Israel*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/german-officials-say-anti-semitic-incidents-up-20-in-past-year/>
- US anti-Semitism envoy: Europe's kosher meat bans 'forced expulsion' for Jews. *The Times of Israel*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/us-anti-semitism-envoy-europes-kosher-meat-bans-forced-expulsion-for-jews/>
- C. Liphshiz. Brutal attack on Swedish woman sends shiver through tiny Jewish community. *The Times of Israel*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/brutal-attack-on-swedish-woman-sends-shiver-through-tiny-jewish-community/>
- Man arrested in Denmark for stabbing Jewish woman in Sweden. *The Times of Israel*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/man-arrested-in-denmark-for-stabbing-jewish-woman-in-sweden-on-tuesday/>
- Racist and Anti-Semitic hate crime rose nearly 20 per cent in Germany last year, while Islamophobia attacks dropped. *Daily Mail Online*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7027825/Anti-Semitic-hate-crime-rose-nearly-20-cent-Germany-year-government-warned.html>

Germany sees 20% rise in Anti-Semitic crime in 2018, blames far right. *The Jerusalem Post*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Germany-sees-20-percent-rise-in-anti-Semitic-crime-in-2018-blames-far-right-589703>

Meer geweld tegen buitenlanders in Duitsland. *RTL Nieuws*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.rtlnieuws.nl/nieuws/buitenland/artikel/4711166/meer-geweld-tegen-buitenlanders-duitsland-rechtsextrem>

A. Freedman. Hatred of Jews terrifies me. So do false accusations of anti-Semitism. *The Guardian*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/14/antisemitism-rashida-tlaib-mccain>

Sri Lanka imposes new curfew as mosques attacked. *Reuters*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-sri-lanka-blasts-socialmedia/sri-lanka-imposes-new-curfew-as-mosques-attacked-idUKKCN1SJ02H>

Z. Laub. Hate speech on social media: global comparisons. *Council on Foreign Relations*, April 11, 2019. URL: <https://killarneyeconomicconference.com/cyber-security-transatlantic-policy-forum/>

A. te Bogt, F. Timmers. Vluchtelingen belaagd in eigen huis in Enschede. *Algemeen Dagblad*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/vluchtelingen-belaagd-in-eigen-huis-in-enschede~a844bf97/>

C. Tomlinson. 'Allahu Akbar': French church vandalized twice in two weeks. *Breitbart*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.breitbart.com/europe/2019/05/10/french-church-attacked-twice-only-ten-days/>

T. Axelrod. Germany issues an 'early warning' report about rise of Islamist anti-Semitism. *The Times of Israel*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/germany-issues-an-early-warning-report-about-rise-of-islamist-anti-semitism/>

R. Lowry. The 8chan terrorists. *National Review*, April 30, 2019. URL: https://www.nationalreview.com/2019/04/anti-semitism-internet-old-lies/?fbclid=IwAR3LgmgiOKfwppFJL8rX_Tx4ZNvSubMi4oP6Q-jn6lUokfWpGf9YsWgzbw_0

E. Palmer. Neo-Nazis disrupt Arkansas Holocaust remembrance event to voice support for professor accused of anti-Semitism. *Newsweek*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://trib.al/5varmER>

P. Gurski. Keep the faith and let others keep theirs. *The Hill Times*, April 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.hill-times.com/2019/04/29/keep-the-faith-and-let-others-keep-theirs/197345>

J. Magid. Jewish youth wounded in West Bank stoning near town vandalized in hate crime. *The Times of Israel*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/jewish-youth-wounded-in-west-bank-stoning-near-town-vandalized-in-hate-crime/>

F. Renout. Toename antisemitisme in Frankrijk, zonder duidelijke oorzaak. *NOS.nl*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://nos.nl/artikel/2283120-toename-antisemitisme-in-frankrijk-zonder-duidelijke-oorzaak.html>

H. Sherwood. Antisemitism 'calling into question future of Jewish life in Europe.' *The Guardian*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/may/01/antisemitism-calling-into-question-future-of-jewish-life-in-europe>

4.c. Extremist and Radical Groups

4.c.a. Right-wing Extremism

P. Gurski. It is time to categorically reject the Norse-god inspired far right in Canada. *Borealis Threat & Risk Consulting*, May 27, 2019. URL: <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/time-categorically-reject-norse-god-inspired-far-right-phil-gurski/>

A new right victim complex. *European Eye on radicalization*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/a-new-right-victim-complex/>

E. Caesar. The Undercover Fascist. *The New Yorker*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/05/27/the-undercover-fascist>

H.J. Parkinson. As rightwing populism spreads, bigotry against the LGTB community is growing. *The Guardian*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/17/rightwing-populism-bigotry-lgbt-community-rights>

J. Halliday, S. Murphy. 'Punches, attacks, milkshakes': inside the Tommy Robinson campaign. *The Guardian*, May 17, 2019. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/may/17/tommy-robinson-election-tour-flags-fights-milkshake-far-right?CMP=share_btn_tw

L. Schlegel. 'Germany does not exist!': Analyzing the Reichsbürger Movement. *European Eye on Radicalization*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/germany-does-not-exist-analyzing-the-reichsburger-movement/>

Confronting white supremacy (part I): the consequences of inaction. US Congressional Hearing, *Committee on Oversight and Reform*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://oversight.house.gov/legislation/hearings/confronting-white-supremacy-part-i-the-consequences-of-inaction>

E. Åsbrink. The Swedish dream was always too good to be true. And now the far right is back. *The Guardian*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/14/sweden-far-right-wartime-past>

T. Bjørgo, M. Mareš. Vigilantism against migrants and minorities. New York: Routledge, 2019, 384 pp. URL: <https://www.routledge.com/Vigilantism-against-Migrants-and-Minorities/Bjorgo-Mares/p/book/9781138493926>

J. Wilson. 'Senseless hate': the far right's deep roots in southern California. *The Guardian*, May 5, 2019. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/05/far-right-southern-california-history?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other

J. Crosse. Neo-Nazi networks exposed across US military. *World Socialist Web Site*, May 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2019/05/04/nzws-m04.html>

D. Crouch. 'Hate is always local': the Swedish city that said no to Neo-Nazis. *The Guardian*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/may/01/hate-is-always-local-the-swedish-city-that-said-no-to-neo-nazis>

De nieuwe generatie extreemrechts en haar online schaduw. *Nuance door Training & Advies (NTA)*, 2019. URL: [file://localhost/Users/bertojongman/Downloads/De nieuwe generatie extreemrechts en haar online schaduw.pdf](file://localhost/Users/bertojongman/Downloads/De%20nieuwe%20generatie%20extreemrechts%20en%20haar%20online%20schaduw.pdf)

4.c.b. Left-wing Extremism

T. Virgili. Three ideologies. *European Eye on Radicalization*, May 27, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/three-ideologies/>

German AfD members complain about attacks on party ahead of EU, local elections. *Sputnik*, April 19, 2019. URL: <https://sputniknews.com/europe/201904191074284606-germany-afd-local-eu-elections/>

P. Merzlikin. Crushing the anarchists. Following a suicide attack on the FSB, Russia has cracked down on leftist activists nationwide, sweeping up more than a few random bystanders. *Meduza*, April 19, 2019. URL: <https://meduza.io/en/feature/2019/04/19/crushing-the-anarchists>

4.c.c. Islamist Extremism

- C. Yeginsu. One of UK's most prolific extremist cells is regrouping. *New York Times*, May 19, 2019. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/18/world/europe/uk-extremist-cell-anjem-choudary.html>
- N. Fadil, M. de Koning, F. Ragazzi. Radicalization in Belgium and the Netherlands. Critical perspectives on violence and security. Amsterdam: ACMES, 2019. URL: <http://religionresearch.org/act/2019/05/16/radicalisering-in-belgie-en-nederland/>
- A.S. Yayla. IHH: the nonprofit face of jihadism. *The International Institute for Counter-terrorism*, May 17, 2019. URL: https://www.academia.edu/39164342/IHH_The_Nonprofit_Face_of_Jihadism
- R. Radwan. Father of hate: hate detained Saudi cleric Safar al-Hawali promoted anti-Western ideas. *Arab News*, April 29, 2019. URL: <http://www.arabnews.com/node/1489456/saudi-arabia>
- Saudi cleric apologizes for 'intolerant' views of Sahwa movement. *Arab News*, May 7, 2019. URL: <http://www.arabnews.com/node/1493956/saudi-arabia>
- L. Schlegel. Confident terrorists: how self-efficacy can contribute to violent extremism. *European Eye on Radicalization*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/confident-terrorists-how-self-efficacy-can-contribute-to-violent-extremism/>
- E. Corner, N. Bouhana, P. Gill. The multifinality of vulnerability indicators in lone-actor terrorism. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 25(2), 2019. URL: <https://www.radicalisationresearch.org/research/corner-vulnerability-indicators-in-lone-actor-terrorism/>
- P. Gill. Toward a scientific approach to identifying and understanding indicators of radicalization and terrorist intent: eight key problems. *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management*, 2(3-4), 2016, pp. 187-191. URL: https://www.radicalisationresearch.org/research/gill-understanding-indicators-of-radicalization-and-terrorist-intent/?utm_campaign=twitter&utm_medium=twitter&utm_source=twitter

4.c.d. Single Issue Extremism

- E. Wills. Extinction Rebellion 'yet to decide on using drones for Heathrow Airport protests.' *Evening Standard*, June 2, 2019. URL: https://www.standard.co.uk/news/uk/extinction-rebellion-yet-to-decide-on-using-drones-for-heathrow-airport-protests-a4156706.html?utm_medium=Social&utm_source=Twitter-Echo-box=1559490104
- B. Olmer. Reeks nieuwe dreigementen van anti-windmolenactivisten. *Dagblad van het Noorden*, May 27, 2019. URL: <https://www.dvhn.nl/groningen/Anti-windmolenactivisten-dreigen-weer-met-asbest-politie-treft-niets-aan-op-de-genoemde-dumpplekken-24497527.html?fbclid=IwAR0TaJu5-RbYQplz7uPbAL6T-PfkcEg-j0VJqML6CSupNgbm-0dg6GfZTs4U>
- S. Murphy-Bates. Greenpeace activists 'shut down' BP's London headquarters with barricades blaming the firm for 'fuelling the climate emergency.' *Daily Mail Online*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7048603/Greenpeace-activists-shut-BPs-London-headquarters-stone-barricades.html>
- C. Moore. Three Greenpeace activists dangle from Sydney Harbour Bridge and refuse to come down as 13 are arrested over climate change protest. *Daily Mail Online*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7025091/Six-Greenpeace-activists-climb-Sydney-Harbour-Bridge.html>
- A. Brown. Testing the line. As Animal Rights activists push legal boundaries, Canada considers what makes a terrorist. *The Intercept*, May 12, 2019. URL: <https://theintercept.com/2019/05/12/animal-rights-activism-canada/>
- E. Timmer. Stadguerrilla op het platteland. *De Telegraaf*, May 11, 2019. URL: https://www.telegraaf.nl/nieuws/3570952/stalguerrilla-op-het-platteland?utm_source=telegraaf&utm_medium=newsletter&utm_campaign=

[paign=telegraaf_update&utm_content=Snelnieuws+artikel+1+en+3 &utm_term=20190511120000_update&EMAIL_SK=SK5240053](https://www.telegraaf.nl/nieuws/20190511120000_update&EMAIL_SK=SK5240053)

5. Counter-Terrorism – General

M. Pugliese. Interview with Christiane Hoehn, principal advisor to the EU Counter-Terrorism Coordinator. *European Eye on Radicalization*, June 3, 20-19. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/interview-with-christiane-hoehn-principal-advisor-to-the-eu-counter-terrorism-coordinator/>

P. Neumann. *Bluster: Donald Trump's war on terror*. London: C. Hurst & Co, 2019, 160 pp. URL: https://www.amazon.co.uk/dp/1787381897/ref=cm_sw_r_tw_dp_U_x_15L6Cb56Z23YF?fbclid=IwAR3H5vB7OhT0nhKzbStYGua0ipf0ZTK2B00ouk2GEDw4oNog0B-O1Qebws

D. Macgregor. Why do we fight? How do we fight? *The American Conservative*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/why-do-we-fight-how-do-we-fight-memorial-day/>

Meddling 101: US army research center publishes strategy to destabilize Russia. *RT*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.rt.com/usa/460122-rand-study-destabilize-russia/>

N. Bakos. *The Targeter. My Life in the CIA, Hunting Terrorists and Challenging the White House*. 2019. URL: https://www.amazon.com/Targeter-Hunting-Terrorists-Challenging-White/dp/B07RZ37BXC/ref=sr_1_1?keywords=the+targeter&qid=1558546978&s=gateway&sr=8-1

B. McGurk. Hard truths in Syria. America can't do more with less, and it shouldn't try. *Foreign Affairs*, May-June, 2019. URL: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/syria/2019-04-16/hard-truths-syria?utm_source=twitter_posts&utm_campaign=tw_daily_soc&utm_medium=social

T. Durden. How the West's war in Libya spurred terrorism in 14 countries. *ZeroHedge*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-05-21/how-wests-war-libya-spurred-terrorism-14-countries>

T. Harshaw. The terrorists can be beaten, but not the way we're trying. *Bloomberg*, May 19, 2019. URL: https://finance.yahoo.com/news/terrorists-beaten-not-way-trying-141912799.html?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cubGlua2VkaW4uY29tL2ZlZWQv&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAAHKENLxQmxfafO-9m6kh4X-DGseTiH3wfs4D5EozazeTiOlpcnYrFc5USf5HnZ1wyGnYYYDPn3MNIUK8fBJZY

The final days of Sri Lanka's civil war. *BBC Witness History*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p07954f0>

D. Byman. You can't defeat tomorrow's terrorists by fighting yesterday's enemy. *Foreign Policy*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/16/you-cant-defeat-tomorrows-terrorists-by-fighting-yesterdays-enemy-sri-lanka-easter-israel-norway-yigal-amir-anders-breivik/>

L. Robinson, T.C. Helmus, R.S. Cohen, A. Nader. A. Radin, M. Magnuson, K. Migacheva. *Modern political warfare: current practices, possible responses*. Santa Monica: RAND, RR-1772-A, 2018, 354p. URL: https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1772.html

Iran's playbook. Deconstructing Tehran's regional strategy. *The Soufan Center*, May 2019. URL: <https://thesoufancenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Iran's-Playbook-Deconstructing-Tehran's-Regional-Strategy-by-The-Soufan-Center.pdf>

Confronting the rise of domestic terrorism in the Homeland. Congressional Hearing, *Committee on Homeland Security*, (testimonies by M. McGarrity (FBI), B. Murphy (Department of Homeland Security), B. Wiegmann (Department of Justice), May 8, 2019. URL: <https://homeland.house.gov/hearings-and-markups/hearings/confronting-rise-domestic-terrorism-homeland>

C. Young. New book examines collusion and counterinsurgency in the north. *The Irish News*, May 11, 2019.

- URL: <https://www.irishnews.com/news/northernirelandnews/2019/05/11/news/new-book-examines-collusion-and-counterinsurgency-in-the-north-1617311/>
- B. Chellaney. The Global War on Terrorism has failed. Here's how to win. *Foreign Policy*, May 11, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/11/the-global-war-on-terrorism-has-failed-heres-how-to-win/>
- S. Tisdall. We lost faith in joint efforts to halt wars. Result? Ask Syria. *The Guardian*, May 11, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/may/11/great-powers-wars-nationalist-strongmen-syria-libya>
- Global Research Network (GRN). United Nations Security Council: Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED). 2019. URL: <https://us2.campaign-archive.com/?u=8343c3b932a7be398ceb-413c9&id=48cc001220>
- Grades on global issues: combating transnational terrorism. Council of Councils report card on international cooperation, May 2019. URL: https://www.cfr.org/interactive/councilofcouncils/reportcard2019/?utm_medium=social_owned&utm_source=tw-!/grades/2018/8651?utm_medium=social_owned&utm_source=tw&utm_campaign=coc-2019
- J. Martyns Okeke. Repositioning the AU's role in countering terror. *ISS Today*, May 3, 2019. URL: https://is-safrica.org/iss-today/repositioning-the-aus-role-in-countering-terror?utm_source=BenchmarkEmail&utm_campaign=ISS_Weekly&utm_medium=email
- S. D'Amato. Cultures of counterterrorism. French and Italian responses to terrorism after 9/11. New York: Routledge, 2019. URL: https://www.academia.edu/39069886/Cultures_of_Counterterrorism._French_and_Italian_Responses_to_Terrorism_after_9_11?auto=bookmark
- R. Simcox. Let the terrorists win? *The National Interest*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/let-terrorists-win-56607>
- E. Rosand. In strategies to counter violent extremism, politics often trump evidence. *Brookings*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/05/06/in-strategies-to-counter-violent-extremism-politics-often-trumps-evidence/>
- E. Tsir Cohen. Pushing the jihadist genie back into the bottle: how to counter the ongoing terrorist threat. *Brookings*, May 2019. URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/research/pushing-the-jihadist-genie-back-into-the-bottle-how-to-counter-the-ongoing-terrorist-threat/>
- Secret wars: insights from the backstage of covert conflict. *The Stimson Center*, May 14, 2019. URL: https://www.stimson.org/content/secret-wars-insights-backstage-covert-conflict?fbclid=IwAR0eu23PZOgcfwaJaO-qUTdPu9hC_ySENKLutFlk_WyfnrYrQrqvJBsq_NX4
- ASM Ali Ashraf. The Global War on Terrorism, domestic imperatives, and paramilitary police units: lessons from South Asia. The Hague: ICCT, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/the-global-war-on-terrorism-domestic-imperatives-and-paramilitary-police-units-lessons-from-south-asia/>
- D.R. Mahanty, A. Shiel. Protecting civilians still matters in great-power conflict. *Defense One*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.defenseone.com/ideas/2019/05/protecting-civilians-still-matters-great-power-conflict/156723/?oref=d-river>
- M. Mogato. Balikatan: US shifts gears from counterterrorism to great power competition. *Rappler*, April 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.rappler.com/thought-leaders/227492-analysis-us-shifts-gears-counterterrorism-great-power-competition-balikatan-2019>
- J. Kavanaugh, B. Frederick, A. Stark, N. Chandler, M.L. Smith, M. Povlock, L.E. Davis, E.F. Geist. Characteristics of successful US military interventions. Santa Monica: RAND, RR-4062-A, 2019, 354p. URL: https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR3062.html?utm_medium=rand_social&utm_source=linked-in&utm_campaign=oea

6. Counter-Terrorism Strategies, Tactics and Operations

6.a. General

A. Murat Alhas. Turkey, Pakistan discuss counterterrorism efforts. *Anadolu Agency*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/asia-pacific/turkey-pakistan-discuss-counter-terrorism-efforts/1495200>

T. Baaklini, P. Burns. Not supporting the Lebanese Army is akin to supporting Iran and Hezbollah. *Kataeb.org*, June 3, 2019. URL: <http://kataeb.org/articles/2019/06/03/not-supporting-the-lebanese-army-is-akin-to-supporting>

S. Dagher. Assad or we burn the country. How one family's lust for power destroyed Syria. *Little Brown*, 2019, 520 pp. URL: <https://www.middleeastmonitor.com/20190530-assad-or-we-burn-the-country-how-one-family-lust-for-power-destroyed-syria/>

O. Davis. Theorizing the advent of weaponized drones as techniques of domestic paramilitary policing. *Security Dialogue*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0967010619843483?journalCode=sdb>

S. Roblin. Israel tried to 'eliminate' Iran's nuclear program by killing scientists. Was it effective? *The National Interest*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/israel-tried-eliminate-irans-nuclear-program-killing-scientists-57932>

P.K. Balachchandran. How Muslim and non-Muslim countries tackle Islamic radicalization. *MENAFN*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://menafn.com/1098491776/HowMuslimandnonMuslimcountriestackleIslamicradicalization>

M. Jaffe-Hoffman. Former IDF commander says Israel has no strategy for handling Hamas. *The Jerusalem Post*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/Former-IDF-Commander-says-Israel-has-no-strategy-for-handling-Hamas-588854>

M. Karlshoej-Pedersen. Trump administration's move away from transparency may undermine US military operations. *The Strategist*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/trump-administrations-move-away-from-transparency-may-undermine-us-military-operations/>

6.b. Foreign Fighters and their Families

Sweden hosted expert meeting on tribunal, *Government Offices of Sweden*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.government.se/press-releases/2019/06/sweden-hosted-expert-meeting-on-tribunal/>

D.L. Byman. Foreign fighters are dangerous – for the groups they join. *Brookings*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/05/29/foreign-fighters-are-dangerous-for-the-groups-they-join/>

De 26-jarige Mohamed el-Hafiani verliest de Franse nationaliteit voor deelname aan een terroristische organisatie. *Nieuws.marokko.nl*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://nieuws.marokko.nl/57576/frans-marokkaanse-terrorist-ontdaan-van-franse-nationaliteit/>

A. Kouwenhoven, B. Eck. Nederlanderschap afpakken van Syriëganger blijkt ondanks wet lastig. *NRC Handelsblad*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2019/06/02/nederlanderschap-afpakken-van-syriëganger-blijkt-ondanks-wet-lastig-a3962340>

H. Salon, S. Piel, M. Semo. La condamnation à mort de djihadistes français en Irak met la position de Paris à l'épreuve. *Le Monde*, June 4, 2019. URL: https://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2019/06/04/la-condamnation-a-mort-de-djihadistes-francais-en-irak-met-la-position-de-paris-a-l-epreuve_5471055_3210.html

J. Dunleavy. A dozen French ISIS members sentenced to death in Iraq. *Washington Examiner*, June 4, 2019.

URL: <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/a-dozen-french-isis-members-sentenced-to-death-in-iraq>

M. Quell. EU states eye tribunal to prosecute Islamic State fighters. *Courthouse News Service*, June 3, 2019. URL: https://www.courthousenews.com/eu-states-eye-tribunal-to-prosecute-islamic-state-fighters/?fbclid=IwAR2KvXK1mlT7eJdJhrxKQNxgvrCF5YPZmuVVWdqG25DtkPzmVdO4F_oirXM

Islamic State group: Spain arrests man 'financing return of fighters.' *BBC*, May 31, 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-48476758>

A. Ismaeli, T. Arne Andreassen, O. Stokke, K. Hanssen. Aftonposten fant søstrene fra Bærum i live i Syria. Passet på fem foreldreløse norske søsken. *Aftonposten*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.aftenposten.no/verden/i/pL9Wwo/Aftenposten-fant-sostrene-fra-Barum-i-live-i-Syria-Passet-pa-fem-foreldreløse-norske-sosken?fbclid=IwAR0uJQPGS3GAuyHifolEs1qHYG0ekR7ANgjdPzkxyultmYfscWfVqLs7bsA>

R. Wright. The kids of the Islamic State. *Foreign Policy*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/06/03/the-kids-of-the-islamic-state-al-hol-refugees-isis/>

Iraq death sentences a 'disgrace' for France: lawyers. *Al Arabiya*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2019/06/03/Iraq-death-sentences-a-disgrace-for-France-lawyers.html>

IntelBrief: French foreign fighters sentenced to death in Iraq. *The Soufan Center*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-french-foreign-fighters-sentenced-to-death-in-iraq/>

M. Zegers. De zieleroerselen van Laura H. Leven in het kalifaat. Review of: Thomas Rueb: Laura H. Het kalifaatmeisje uit Zoetermeer. *Das Mag*, 2018, 538p. *NRC Handelsblad*, November 22, 2018. URL: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2018/11/22/de-zieleroerselen-van-laura-h-a2756198>

K. Versteegh. 'Ik wil mijn dochter terug uit Syrie.' *NRC Handelsblad*, May 31, 2019. URL: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2019/05/31/ik-wil-mijn-dochter-terug-a3962184 - /handelsblad/2019/06/01/>

J. Ari Gross. Arab Israeli woman charged with joining terror group in Syria. *The Times of Israel*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/arab-israeli-woman-charged-with-joining-terror-group-in-syria/>

A. Dworkin. A tribunal for ISIS fighters? European Council on Foreign Relations, May 31, 2019. URL: https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_a_tribunal_for_isis_fighters

S. Foltyn. Inside the Iraqi courts sentencing ISIS fighters to death. *The Guardian*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/02/inside-the-iraqi-courts-sentencing-foreign-isis-fighters-to-death>

Iraqi court sentences two French men to death for being Islamic State fighters. *Reuters*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-court-is/iraqi-court-sentences-two-french-men-to-death-for-being-islamic-state-fighters-idUSKCN1T30AZ>

More than 500 foreign Daesh members convicted in Iraq: court. *The Daily Star*, May 8, 2019. URL: https://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2019/May-08/482673-more-than-500-foreign-daesh-members-convicted-in-iraq-court.ashx?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter

M. Chulov, J. Borger. US repatriates family from Syrian detention camp for ISIS suspects. *The Guardian*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/22/us-repatriates-family-from-syrian-camp-for-isis-suspects>

Qui sont les Français que l'Irak juge pour appartenance à l'EI? *AFP*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://actu.orange.fr/monde/qui-sont-ces-12-francais-que-l-irak-juge-pour-appartenance-a-l-ei-CNT000001g0RkC.html>

T. Beemsterboer. Wat deden Loes en Souad in het kalifaat? *NRC Handelsblad*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2019/05/28/wat-deden-loes-en-souad-in-het-kalifaat-a3961976 - /handelsblad/2019/05/29/>

B. Patel. French jihadists sentenced to death in Iraq for joining ISIS as a seventh is condemned to execution. *Daily Mail Online*, May 29, 2019. URL: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7082035/Iraq-condemns-7th-Frenchman-death-IS-membership.html?ito=social-twitter_mailonline

Iraq condemns 7th Frenchman to death for ISIS membership. *Al Arabiya*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2019/05/29/Iraq-condemns-seventh-Frenchman-to-death-for-ISIS-membership.html>

B.M. Jenkins. Options for dealing with Islamic State foreign fighters currently detained in Syria. 12(5), *CTC Sentinel*, 12(5), May/June, 2019. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/options-dealing-islamic-state-foreign-fighters-currently-detained-syria/>

T. Stickings, J. Curtis. British 'Beatles gang' jihadi says 'White Widow' Sally Jones was killed by an airstrike along with her 12-year-old son 'in retaliation for the Manchester terror attack.' *Daily Mail Online*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7082601/British-Beatles-gang-jihadi-says-White-Widow-Sally-Jones-killed-airstrike.html>

Iraq hands over 188 Turkish children of suspected Islamic State members. *Reuters*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-court-turkey/iraq-hands-over-188-turkish-children-of-suspected-islamic-state-members-idUSKCN1SZ0XV>

R. Jalabi, A. de Carbonnel. Islamic State suspects sent by US from Syria to Iraq. *Reuters*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-islamicstate-transfers-idUSKCN1SZ0R1>

Bangladesh's Foreign Minister tells ITV News Shamima Begum is 'not our problem.' *ITV News*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.itv.com/news/2019-05-02/bangladeshs-foreign-minister-tells-itv-news-islamic-state-bride-shamima-begum-is-not-their-problem/>

Notorious IS fighter Michael Skråmo's orphaned children reunited with grandparent. *ITV News*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.itv.com/news/2019-05-09/isis-fighter-michael-skramo-orphaned-children-sweden-reunited-family/>

British hostage-keeper Alexandra Kotey reveals to ITV News his role in so-called Islamic State. *ITV News*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.itv.com/news/2019-05-28/alexandra-kotey-isis-terror-cell-uk-the-beatles-west-london-terror-cell/>

M. Ebraheem. Iraqi court sentences seventh French IS terrorist to death. *Iraqi News*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.iraqinews.com/features/iraqi-court-sentences-seventh-french-is-terrorist-to-death/>

M. Ebraheem. Iraqi court sentences three French nationals to death for joining Islamic State. *Iraqi News*, May 26, 2019. URL: <https://www.iraqinews.com/features/iraqi-court-sentences-3-french-nationals-to-death-for-joining-islamic-state/>

M. Ebraheem. Frenchman handed down death penalty in Iraq for joining Islamic State. *Iraqi News*, May 27, 2019. URL: <https://www.iraqinews.com/features/frenchman-handed-down-death-penalty-in-iraq-for-joining-islamic-state/>

Au process des Français à Bagdad, longs échanges et moments surprenants. *LOBS*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.nouvelobs.com/monde/20190528.AFP7468/au-proces-des-francais-a-bagdad-longs-echanges-et-moments-surprenants.html>

France says around 450 IS-linked nationals detained in Syria. *The New Arab*, May 28, 2019. URL: https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2019/5/28/france-says-around-450-is-linked-nationals-detained-in-syria?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=sf

M. Townsend. Sajid Javid condemned for 'criminalising fighters against ISIS.' *The Guardian*, May 26, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/a-new-right-victim-complex/>

- J. Ilhan Kizilhan. Providing psychosocial care to child soldiers in post-IS Iraq. The Hague: *ICCT*, May 27, 2019. URL: <https://icct.nl/publication/providing-psychosocial-care-to-child-soldiers-living-in-post-is-iraq/>
- France opposed in principle to execution in Iraq of three French Islamic State members. *Reuters*, May 27, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iraq-court-is-france-idUSKCN1SX0K4>
- F. Boon. Jeanine Hennis: 'Je kunt mensen niet oneindig in een kamp houden.' *NRC Handelsblad*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2019/05/24/je-kunt-mensen-niet-oneindig-in-een-kamp-houden-a3961520-/handelsblad/2019/05/25/>
- Counter-terrorism: unacceptable losses. *Strategy Page*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.strategypage.com/htmw/hterror/20190523.aspx-foo>
- Jihadists who left Spain for Syria as foreign terrorist fighters but have returned. Expert Comment 14/2019, *Elcano Royal Institute*, May 20, 2019. URL: <http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/wcm/connect/0d0130b1-0cc3-49de-9579-0ba7fae32363/Commentary-Reinares-Jihadists-left-Spain-Syria-foreign-terrorist-fighters-returned.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=0d0130b1-0cc3-49de-9579-0ba7fae32363>
- D. Byman. When jihadists come back home. *The Wall Street Journal*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/when-jihadists-come-back-home-11558624596?shareToken=st969d73c58d064433bf80b7b44e-52a65d>
- R. Hermann. Schweden sondiert die Möglichkeit eines internationalen IS-Tribunals. *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.nzz.ch/international/schweden-sondiert-die-moeglichkeit-eines-internationalen-is-tribunals-ld.1483162>
- R. Wright. A visit to post-ISIS Syria: human crises pose risk. *USIP*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2019/05/visit-post-isis-syria-human-crises-pose-risk>
- C. van der Wal. Hulpteam naar Syrië voor Nederlandse kalifaatkinderen. *Algemeen Dagblad*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/hulpteam-naar-syrie-voor-nederlandse-kalifaatkinderen~a814661a/>
- S. Bell. Turkey willing to help Canada repatriate ISIS members held in Syria, official says. *Global News*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://globalnews.ca/news/5296900/turkey-willing-to-help-canada-repatriate-isis-members/>
- R. Walton. 'Jihadi John' was a self-made terrorist impossible to arrest. *The Times*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/jihadi-john-was-a-self-made-terrorist-impossible-to-arrest-f2dg7s7bw?shareToken=b6e0c6b298f470699829e351ae085f6f>
- I. Drury. British jihadis face 10 years in jail when they return from Syria as Home Secretary Sajid Javid unveils plan to put terror hotspots on a travel blacklist. *Daily Mail Online*, May 19, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7047569/British-jihadis-face-10-years-jail-return-Syria.html>
- I. Coles. Swede brings his orphaned grandchildren home from ISIS trauma. *The Wall Street Journal*, May 19, 2019. URL: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/swede-brings-his-orphaned-grandchildren-home-from-isis-trauma-11558290653>
- B. van Huet. 'Haal kinderen van IS-strijders zo snel mogelijk terug naar Nederland.' *Algemeen Dagblad*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://www.ad.nl/binnenland/haal-kinderen-van-is-strijders-zo-snel-mogelijk-terug-naar-nederland~accac02d/>
- H. Keultjes. Kamer: Nederland moet Zweeds initiatief voor IS-tribunaal steunen. *Algemeen Dagblad*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://www.ad.nl/politiek/kamer-nederland-moet-zweeds-initiatief-voor-is-tribunaal-steunen~a26b5fa7/>
- IntelBrief: A crisis in the camps. *The Soufan Center*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://thesoufancenter.org/intel-brief-a-crisis-in-the-camps/>

- Albanian jihadist killed by Syrian army in northeast Latakia. *Al Masdar News*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://mobile.almasdarnews.com/article/albanian-jihadist-killed-by-syrian-army-in-northeast-latakia/>
- C. MacDiarmid. The orphans of ISIS: innocent children forsaken in 'hellish' Syrian camps. *The National*, April 16, 2019. URL: <https://www.thenational.ae/world/mena/the-orphans-of-isis-innocent-children-forsaken-in-hellish-syrian-camps-1.849314>
- Thousands of ISIS children suffer in camps as countries grapple with their fate. *The New York Times*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/08/world/middleeast/isis-prisoners-children-women.html?fbclid=IwAR1qTz3yqAnKjMtx1YrsnPcrxUgreCW2aaKEdfbw-H8P6IgO3J-CalRoW8Y>
- J. Seldin. Iraqi foreign fighters lurk in Syrian shadows. VOA, May 11, 2019. URL: <https://www.voanews.com/a/iraqi-foreign-fighters-lurk-in-syrian-shadows/4912757.html>
- J. Seldin. IS foreign fighters dispersing via loosely aligned networks. VOA, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.voanews.com/a/is-foreign-fighters-dispersing-via-web-of-loosely-aligned-networks-/4911009.html>
- J. Seldin. Even in defeat, Islamic State's foreign fighters expanding. VOA, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.voanews.com/a/even-in-defeat-islamic-state-foreign-fighters-expanding/4909190.html>
- J. Seldin. Fears grow Islamic State's foreign fighters ready to carry on. VOA, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.voanews.com/a/fears-grow-islamic-state-foreign-fighters-ready-to-carry-on/4907281.html>
- M. Daou. France taken to court for refusing to repatriate the children of jihadists. *France24*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.france24.com/en/20190507-france-taken-court-over-repatriating-children-jihadists>
- F. Mannocchi. Quando il jihadista viene dai Balcani. *L'Espresso*, May 9, 2019. URL: http://espresso.repubblica.it/internazionale/2019/05/06/news/jihadista-balconi-1.334425?refresh_ce
- Kazakhstan repatriates 156 children of ISIS fighters from Syria. *The Defense Post*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://thedefensepost.com/2019/05/10/kazakhstan-repatriates-156-isis-children/>
- S. Bell. Canada looked at 'possible options' for bringing back ISIS members, document shows. *Global News*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://globalnews.ca/news/5258869/canada-possible-options-bringing-back-isis-members/>
- V. Yee. Is a child of ISIS just a child? Or a time bomb? *The New York Times*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/08/world/middleeast/isis-prisoners-children-women.html>
- K. Nawzad. Seven children of dead ISIS parents reunited with Swedish grandfather in Erbil. *Kurdistan24*, 2019. URL: <http://www.kurdistan24.net/en/news/1f15e0a8-7ac1-40ee-b30e-ccdf86b895b3>
- V. Lee. What should be done with the women and children of ISIS? *The New York Times*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/08/world/middleeast/isis-prisoners-children-women.html>
- W. van Wilgenburg. Children of ISIS members handed over to Swedish delegation in Syria. *Kurdistan24*, May 7, 2019. URL: <http://www.kurdistan24.net/en/news/dba9a72e-f08f-439d-bcfe-dc396c5815b8>
- More than 500 foreign IS members convicted in Iraq. *The New Arab*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2019/5/8/more-than-500-foreign-is-members-convicted-in-iraq>
- Bangladesh arrests suspected Daesh militant back from Syria. *Gulf Today*, May 8, 2019. URL: https://www.gulftoday.ae/news/2019/05/08/bangladesh-arrests-suspected-daesh-militant-back-from-syria?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter
- Dozens of foreign fighters back in Denmark. *The Local*, April 6, 2016. URL: <https://www.thelocal.dk/20160406/dozens-of-foreign-fighters-have-returned-to-denmark>
- T. Kington. 45,000 children of ISIS 'are ticking time bomb.' *The Times*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.the->

times.co.uk/article/45-000-children-of-isis-are-ticking-time-bomb-lp0nq9q2m

France taken to court for refusing to repatriate the children of jihadists. *France24*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.france24.com/en/20190507-france-taken-court-over-repatriating-children-jihadists>

A. Zammit. Captured Australian Islamic State members: whose problem? *ADI*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.avert.net.au/blog//captured-australian-islamic-state-members-whose-problem>

T. Shelton. Detention and torture of children in Iraq could create new generation of militants, experts warn. *ABC News*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2019-05-05/torture-of-kids-in-iraq-could-create-a-new-militant-generation/11061598>

N. Svanberg, K. Malmgren, D. Olsen. Syrienåtervändare misstänks för mordförsök i inbrottsdrama. *Expressen*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.expressen.se/nyheter/brottscentralen/syrienatervandare-misstanks-for-mordforsok-i-inbrottsdrama/>

AIVD. Uitreizigers en terukeerders. Hoeveel Nederlanders zijn uitgereisd naar een jihadistisch strijdgebied? May 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.aivd.nl/onderwerpen/terrorisme/dreiging/uitreizigers-en-terugkeerders>

F. Bouma. Aantal Nederlandse Syriëgangers in kampen meer dan verdubbeld. *NRC Handelsblad*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2019/05/02/aantal-nederlandse-syriegangers-in-kampen-meer-dan-verdubbeld-a3958911>

AIVD: meer Nederlandse Syriëgangers in Koerdische kampen en detentie. *Nos.nl*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://nos.nl/artikel/2282935-aivd-meer-nederlandse-syriegangers-in-koerdische-kampen-en-detentie.html>

A. Sage. Macron in talks with Iraq to jail jihadists for ‘crash and arms.’ *The Times*, May 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/macron-in-talks-with-iraq-to-jail-jihadists-for-cash-and-arms-bmxx-2k5v6?shareToken=0b0db5674c9209779da4f91f9355c4a9>

6.c. Prosecution, Sentences

German court fines 7 men who claimed to be ‘Sharia police.’ *Arab News*, May 27, 2019. URL: <http://www.arabnews.com/node/1502841/world>

M. Sandelin. Hon dömdes till femton år – och då jublar alla. *Doku.nu*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://doku.nu/2019/05/28/hon-domdes-till-femton-ar-och-da-jublar-alla/?fbclid=IwAR0kUEjSr5LW0VXS381kUhl-9nUE03nnZhfJlit-kSST4BG3fKWCKgFCeOw>

Iraq sentences three French citizens to death for joining ISIS. *The Guardian*, May 26, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/26/iraq-sentences-three-french-citizens-to-death-for-joining-isis>

C. Hill. Indiana man sentenced to federal prison for vandalism at Carmel synagogue. *IndyStar*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://eu.indystar.com/story/news/crime/2019/05/21/carmel-synagogue-vandalism-indiana-man-no-lan-brewer-sentenced-federal-prison/3758040002/>

‘Meir-terrorist’ veroordeeld tot 15 maanden cel. *Gazet van Antwerpen*, May 24, 2019. URL: https://www.gva.be/cnt/dmf20190524_04421384/meir-terrorist-veroordeeld-tot-15-maanden-cel

Sri Lanka president pardons hardline Buddhist monk. *Reuters*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/sri-lanka-monk-pardon/sri-lanka-president-pardons-hardline-buddhist-monk-idUSL4N22Y3A0>

Syrian given nine-year sentence for Copenhagen ‘matchstick’ terror plot. *The Local*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.thelocal.dk/20190521/syrian-given-nine-year-sentence-for-copenhagen-matchstick-terror-plot>

Ali Kourani convicted in Manhattan federal court for covert terrorist activities on behalf of Hizballah’s Islamic Jihad Organization. *US Department of Justice*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/ali-kourani-convicted-manhattan-federal-court-covert-terrorist-activities-behalf-hizballah-s>

- J. Wood. Far-right paedophile, 23, gives a Nazi salute as he is jailed for life for plotting to murder Labour MP with a machete in revenge for child abuse probe against him. *Daily Mail Online*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7040159/Neo-Nazi-paedophile-23-plotted-murder-Labour-MP-machete-jailed-life.html>
- Lancashire man sentenced to life. *Counter Terrorism Policing*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://www.counterterrorism.police.uk/lancashire-man-sentenced-to-life/>
- J. Thomsen. Man sentenced to prison for death threats to FCC chairman over net neutrality repeal. *The Hill*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://thehill.com/policy/technology/444311-man-sentenced-to-20-months-in-prison-for-threatening-to-kill-fcc-chairs>
- Far-right terrorist Jack Renshaw gives Nazi-salute as he is jailed for plot to murder MP. *Sky News*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://news.sky.com/story/amp/neo-nazi-jack-renshaw-jailed-for-life-over-plot-to-kill-his-mp-11722061>
- UK's May 'deeply concerned' by Iran's jailing of British Council staffer. *The Times of Israel*, May 15, 2019. URL: https://www.timesofisrael.com/uks-may-deeply-concerned-for-british-council-staffer-jailed-in-iran/?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter
- UAE courts jail man for joining Daesh. *Arab News*, May 14, 2019. URL: <http://www.arabnews.com/node/1496876/middle-east>
- Texan faces up to 88 years on terrorism-related convictions. *Chron*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.chron.com/news/texas/article/Texan-faces-up-to-88-years-on-terrorism-related-13822817.php>
- A. Grimm. Daoud gets 16 years in FBI terror sting, tried to set off car bomb in Loop. *Chicago Sun Times*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://chicago.suntimes.com/news/daoud-prison-sentence-fbi-sting-car-bomb-terrorism/>
- I. Karakas. Turkey: Reyhanli plotter receives multiple life terms. *Anadolu Agency*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.aa.com.tr/en/turkey/turkey-reyhanli-plotter-receives-multiple-life-terms/1476938>
- 53 keer levenslang voor Turks brein achter bomaanslag bij Syrische grens. *Algemeen Dagblad*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.ad.nl/buitenland/53-keer-levenslang-voor-turks-brein-achter-bomaanslag-bij-syrische-grens~a1270094/>
- 'Mastermind' of deadly 2013 Turkey bombing sentenced to life. *Al Arabiya*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2019/5/13/mastermind-of-deadly-2013-turkey-bombing-sentenced-to-life>
- M. Kekatos. White supremacist, 51, faces up to 140 years in prison after sending more than 50 threat letters to kill people, including President Trump. *Daily Mail Online*, May 12, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7021047/Connecticut-man-faces-140-years-prison-threatening-kill-Trump-others.html>
- Convicted ISIS member who killed five Iraqi forces sentenced to death. *Rudaw*, May 10, 2019. URL: <http://www.rudaw.net/english/middleeast/iraq/090520195>
- G. Martin. British terror suspect 'who shared a flat with White Widow Samantha Lewthwaite' is jailed for four years for possessing bomb-making materials in Kenya. *Daily Mail Online*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7011903/British-terror-suspect-jailed-four-years-possessing-bomb-making-materials-Kenya.html>
- Man, 25, who tried to detonate what he thought was a car bomb outside a crowded Chicago bar in terror plot is sentenced to 16 years in prison. *Daily Mail Online*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6999163/Man-tried-detonate-car-bomb-outside-Chicago-bar-sentenced-16-years-prison.html>
- Man (51) die vlucht Etihad wou opblazen met bom in vleesmolen veroordeeld voor terrorisme. *HLN*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.hln.be/nieuws/buitenland/man-51-die-vlucht-etihad-wou-opblazen-met-bom-in-vleesmolen-veroordeeld-voor-terrorisme~aa90bc85/>

T. Hays, J. Mustian. Would-be subway bomber hopes for 2nd chance from cooperating. *Associated Press*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.usnews.com/news/us/articles/2019-05-01/will-cooperation-pay-off-for-would-be-nyc-subway-bomber>

7. State Repression, Gross Human Rights Violations, and Clandestine Warfare

7.a. Arbitrary Arrest/Detention

E. Tucker. Case of US man held as spy in Russian stalls without answers. *Associated Press*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://apnews.com/e732bc3f11ac4e07aa6b1160f41447b2>

J.M. Olsen. Swedish court rules not to extradite Assange for rape probe. *Associated Press*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://apnews.com/a860022f25074100887cc8c7c22eab50>

Z. Budryk. Assange won't be charged in CIA leak: report. *The Hill*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://thehill.com/policy/cybersecurity/446537-assange-wont-be-charged-in-cia-leak-report>

M. Bouattia. Death of an activist: a shame on Algeria's state. *The New Arab*, May 31, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/comment/2019/5/31/death-of-an-activist-a-shame-on-algerias-state>

Iran sentences journalist to two years in jail. *Al Arabiya*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/media/print/2019/06/02/Iran-sentences-journalist-to-two-years-in-jail-.html>

M. Martina. Thirty years after Tiananmen, protesters' goals further away than ever. *Reuters*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-tiananmen/thirty-years-after-tiananmen-protesters-goals-further-away-than-ever-idUSKCN1T3001>

Rights group accuses Egyptian forces of war crimes in Sinai. *Reuters*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-security/rights-group-accuses-egyptian-forces-of-war-crimes-in-sinai-idUSKCN1SY0BO>

T. Durden. 18 ways Julian Assange changed the world. *ZeroHedge*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-05-28/18-ways-julian-assange-changed-world>

S. Bengali. 'The hunting has been accelerated': arrests, killings strike fear in Thailand's dissidents. *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-thailand-dissidents-20190528-story.html>

D. Brennan. Director on bribery in North Korea – 'If you have money you can get away with anything, including murder': report. *Newsweek*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.newsweek.com/north-korea-corruption-bribery-murder-united-nations-human-rights-1437048>

T. Francis Chan. As the US targets China's 'concentration camps,' Xinjiang's human rights crisis is only getting worse. *Newsweek*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.newsweek.com/xinjiang-uyghur-crisis-muslim-china-1398782>

Russia upholds jail sentence for Danish Jehovah's witness. *The Local*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.thelocal.dk/20190523/russia-upholds-jail-sentence-for-danish-jehovahs-witness>

J. Goldsmith. The US media is in the crosshairs of the new Assange indictment. *Lawfare*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/us-media-crosshairs-new-assange-indictment>

Egypt court orders the release of Al Jazeera journalist. *Reuters*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-politics/egypt-court-orders-the-release-of-al-jazeera-journalist-idUSKCN1ST2D0>

T. Francis Chan. As the US targets China's 'concentration camps,' Xinjiang's human rights crisis is only getting worse. *Newsweek*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.newsweek.com/xinjiang-uyghur-crisis-muslim-china-1398782>

- S. el Deeb. Documents shine rare light on Syrian government crackdown. *Associated Press*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.apnews.com/ed098bdd8b3a4bf79611c6c15157b192>
- Egypt's prosecutor orders release of seven opposition figures: source. *Reuters*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-court/egypts-prosecutor-orders-release-of-seven-opposition-figures-source-idUSKCN1SQ25J>
- Saudi Arabia forcibly disappears two foreign journalists, including Al Jazeera reporter. *The New Arab*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2019/5/20/riyadh-detains-two-foreign-journalists-including-al-jazeera-reporter>
- US whistleblower Chelsea Manning sent back to jail after refusing to testify in Wikileaks. *France24*, May 16, 2019. URL: https://www.france24.com/en/20190516-usa-whistleblower-chelsea-manning-sent-back-jail-after-refusing-testify-wikileaks-probe?ref=tw_i
- N. Conrad, S. Petersmann. UN arms expert imprisoned in Tunisia on 'fabricated' charges. *Deutsche Welle*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/un-arms-expert-imprisoned-in-tunisia-on-fabricated-charges/a-48741321>
- Saudi Arabia increases crackdown on activists. *Uprising Today*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.uprising.today/saudi-arabia-increases-crackdown-on-activists/>
- T. Kahn, A. Shaheed, R. Parris Richter, I. Cotler. Profiles of Iranian repression. *FDD*, October 29, 2018. URL: [https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2018/10/29/profiles-of-iranian-repression/?utm_content=buffereec93&utm_medium=Twitter+\(via+Buffer\)&utm_source=twitter.com/fdd&utm_campaign=@FDD+via+Buffer+feed](https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2018/10/29/profiles-of-iranian-repression/?utm_content=buffereec93&utm_medium=Twitter+(via+Buffer)&utm_source=twitter.com/fdd&utm_campaign=@FDD+via+Buffer+feed)
- H. Ellis-Petersen. Thai activists accused of insulting monarchy 'disappear' in Vietnam. *The Guardian*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/10/thai-activists-accused-of-insulting-monarchy-disappear-in-vietnam>
- C. Setboonsarng, K. Johnson. Three Thais accused of insulting king have disappeared: rights groups. *Reuters*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-rights/three-thais-accused-of-insulting-king-have-disappeared-rights-groups-idUSKCN1SG0FZ>
- Ethiopia says 1,400 nationals freed from Saudi prisons pending deportation. *The New Arab*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2019/5/9/ethiopia-says-1-400-nationals-freed-from-saudi-prisons>
- M. Rivers. Security cameras and barbed wire: living amid fears and oppression in Xinjiang. *CNN*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/05/08/asia/uyghur-xinjiang-china-kashgar-intl/index.html>
- Why these reporters spent 18 months in a Burmese jail. *PBS*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.pbs.org/news-hour/show/why-these-reporters-spent-18-months-in-a-burmese-jail>
- Ex-detainees say China forcing Muslims into low paid labour. *The New Arab*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2019/5/7/muslim-detainees-say-china-using-forced-labour>
- Uighur Muslim crackdown expands to Beijing and Shanghai. *The New Arab*, April 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/indepth/2019/4/8/uighur-muslim-crackdown-expands-to-beijing-and-shanghai>
- D. Brennan. Muslim re-education camps in China are needed to avoid terrorist attacks, state media claims. *Newsweek*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.newsweek.com/china-re-education-camps-terrorism-muslims-xinjiang-us-islam-1417622>
- H. Ellis-Petersen. Myanmar frees Reuters journalists jailed for reporting on Rohingya crisis. *The Guardian*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/07/myanmar-frees-reuters-journalists-jailed-for-reporting-on-rohingya-crisis>

R. Sisk. China running 'concentration camps' for millions of Muslims, Pentagon says. *Military.com*, May 3, 2019. URL: https://www.military.com/daily-news/2019/05/03/china-running-concentration-camps-millions-muslims-pentagon-says.html?utm_source=Sailthru&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=ebb_05.06.19&utm_term=Editorial-Military-EarlyBirdBrief

Israeli tech used to imprison journalists in Myanmar – report. *The Times of Israel*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-tech-used-to-imprison-journalists-in-myanmar-report/>

Turkey doctors get prison terms for criticizing Syria offensive, *The New Arab*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/news/2019/5/4/turkey-doctors-get-prison-terms-for-criticising-syria-offensive>

US accuses China of using 'concentration camps' against Muslim minority. *The Guardian*, May 4, 2019. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/04/us-accuses-china-of-using-concentration-camps-uyghur-muslim-minority?CMP=share_btn_tw

K.Bo Willaims. Guantanamo is becoming a nursing home for its aging terror suspects. *Defense One*, April 26, 2019. URL: <https://www.defenseone.com/politics/2019/04/guantanamo-nursing-home-terrorist-suspects/156575/?oref=d-dontmiss>

M. Clarke. China's Uyghur 're-education' centers and the ghosts of totalitarians past. *War on the Rocks*, April 25, 2019. URL: <https://warontherocks.com/2019/04/chinas-uyghur-re-education-centers-and-the-ghosts-of-totalitarians-past/>

7.b. Extra-judicial Killings, Executions

B. Gertz. Pompeo calls on China to disclose Tiananmen massacre details. *The Washington Free Beacon*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://freebeacon.com/national-security/pompeo-calls-on-china-to-disclose-tiananmen-massacre-details/?fbclid=IwAR3yqpVAGKwyNIhhNvql5xvVzINFO9P373ucbM522kRYL7obIIWJ-jQ-n5ys>

UN probe urges DR Congo to 'step up' fight against impunity. *Pulse*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.pulse.ng/news/world/un-probe-urges-dr-congo-to-step-up-fight-against-impunity/bsq1nq4>

I. Buruma. China was pionier van het autoritaire kapitalisme. *NRC Handelsblad*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2019/06/03/china-was-pionier-van-het-autoritaire-kapitalisme-a3962435-/handelsblad/2019/06/04/>

N. Malik. The military crackdown in Sudan lays bare the dark heart of Bashir's regime. *The Guardian*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jun/04/military-sudan-bashir-protesters-death-khartoum>

K. Cheng. Declassified: Chinese official said at least 10,000 civilians died in 1989 Tiananmen massacre, documents show. *Hongkongfp.com*, December 21, 2017. URL: <https://www.hongkongfp.com/2017/12/21/declassified-chinese-official-said-least-10000-civilians-died-1989-tiananmen-massacre-documents-show/>

A. Perrone. Tiananmen Square: Chinese defence minister justifies 1989 massacre. *The Independent*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/china-tiananmen-square-anniversary-protests-wei-fenghe-speech-singapore-a8940591.html>

China says Tiananmen crackdown was 'correct' policy. *The Guardian*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/02/china-says-tiananmen-crackdown-was-correct-policy>

N. Smith. Burmese army committing fresh atrocities in Rakhine state, says Amnesty. *The Telegraph*, May 29, 2019. URL: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/05/28/burmese-army-inflicting-fresh-atrocities-rohingya-says-amnesty/?WT.mc_id=tmg_share_tw

J. Burke. Hemedti: the feared commander pulling the strings in Sudan. *The Guardian*, May 29, 2019. URL:

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/29/hemedti-the-feared-commander-pulling-the-strings-in-sudan>

M. Graham. Judge in war crimes case against Navy SEAL weighs dismissal motion. *Reuters*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-navyseal-warcrimes/judge-in-war-crimes-case-against-navy-seal-weighs-dismissal-motion-idUSKCN1SZ0Z1>

A. Shazad. Rights groups call for investigation of killing of Pakistani activists. *Reuters*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-pakistan-rights/rights-groups-call-for-investigation-of-killing-of-pakistani-activists-idUSKCN1SY17M>

J. Tubiana. The man who terrorized Darfur is leading Sudan's supposed transition. *Foreign Policy*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/14/man-who-terrorized-darfur-is-leading-sudans-supposed-transition-hemeti-rsf-janjaweed-bashir-khartoum/>

N. Ismail. 'Death penalties are the norm in Saudi Arabia.' *Deutsche Welle*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/death-penalties-are-the-norm-in-saudi-arabia/a-48854174>

T. Stickings. Saudi Arabia 'will execute three scholars including Islamic 'reformist' on 'terror charges' after Ramadan.' *Daily Mail Online*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7057553/Saudi-Arabia-execute-three-scholars-including-Islamic-reformist-Ramadan.html>

Atrocity Alert (Burkina Faso, Sri Lanka, Syria, Congo DR) , #155, May 22, 2019. URL: <http://createsend.com/t/j-43CDFE4BA52DE43F2540EF23F30FEDED>

UN team unearths 12 mass graves in Iraq probe of ISIS crimes. *Al Arabiya*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/News/middle-east/2019/05/20/UN-team-unearths-12-mass-graves-in-Iraq-probe-of-ISIS-crimes.html>

R2P Monitor (describes developments in Afghanistan, Myanmar, Syria, Yemen, Cameroon, Nigeria, Burundi, CAR, DR Congo, Israel, Occupied Territories, Mali, South Sudan, Venezuela), Issue 45, May 15, 2019. URL: <http://www.globalr2p.org/publications/761>

F. Puerta. Extrajudicial killing dims hopes for Colombia's demobilized FARC. *InSight Crime*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/extrajudicial-killing-dims-hopes-colombia-demobilized-farc/>

O. al Najjar. The Saudi Shia: between an Iranian rock and a Saudi hard place. *Al Jazeera*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/saudi-shia-iranian-rock-saudi-hard-place-190507153257184.html>

Myanmar: deaths in army custody need independent inquiry. *Human Rights Watch*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/05/06/myanmar-deaths-army-custody-need-independent-inquiry>

J. Diego Cardenas, C. Dalby. Past extrajudicial murders haunt Colombia's military command. *InSight Crime*, March 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.insightcrime.org/news/analysis/colombia-military-command-extrajudicial-murders/>

Rio de Janeiro: killings by police hit a record high in Brazilian state. *The Guardian*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/03/rio-de-janeiro-police-killings-rise-brazil>

K. Hodall. Dutch court will hear widows' case against Shell over deaths of Ogoni Nine. *The Guardian*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/may/01/dutch-court-will-hear-widows-case-against-shell-over-deaths-of-ogoni-nine-esther-kiobel-victoria-bera-hague>

7.c. Forced Disappearance

Turkish ‘renditions’ exposed by ‘black ops’ investigation. *Arab News*, May 28, 2019. URL: <http://www.arab-news.com/node/1502946/media>

P. Wongcha-um, P. Tanakasempipat. Thai exiles in fear after murders and disappearances. *Reuters*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-thailand-rights-exiles-insight/thai-exiles-in-fear-after-murders-and-disappearances-idUSKCN1SU0DV>

7.d. Genocide, War Crimes, Crimes against Humanity

Oorlogsmisdaad gezien? Download nu de app. *NRC Handelsblad*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2019/06/04/oorlogsmisdaad-gezien-download-nu-de-app-a3962456-/handelsblad/2019/06/04/>

L. Cecco. Canada must not ignore indigenous ‘genocide,’ landmark report warns. *The Guardian*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/jun/03/canada-indigenous-genocide-women-report>

J. Dalton. Murdered and missing women and girls in Canada tragedy is genocide rooted in colonialism, official inquiry finds. *The Independent*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/canada-genocide-murdered-missing-women-girls-indigenous-inquiry-report-a8939646.html>

C. Knaus. ‘Do they actually care?’ Rwanda survivors don’t understand why Australia took in rebels. *The Guardian*, June 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/jun/02/do-they-actually-care-rwanda-survivors-dont-understand-why-australia-took-in-rebels>

M.A. Dushimana, J. Bastmeier. Rwanda, part 4: the ‘reconciliation villages’ where genocide survivor and perpetrator live side by side. *The New Humanitarian*, May 20, 2019. URL: https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/special-report/2019/05/20/rwanda-reconciliation-villages-genocide-survivor-perpetrator?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=social

A. Betül Bal. Trying to prove that you exist: plight of the Rohingya Muslims. *Daily Sabah*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailysabah.com/asia/2019/05/06/trying-to-prove-that-you-exist-plight-of-rohingya-muslims>

P. Wintour. Persecution of Christians ‘coming close to genocide’ in Middle East – report. *The Guardian*, May 2, 2019. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/02/persecution-driving-christians-out-of-middle-east-report?fbclid=IwAR0g7zb-qBaF7ObdBLrHDt9J4refTFfaSDu9D_fHfjVGRuGNm-FrNfeau70

L. Kuo. Revealed: new evidence of China’s mission to raze the mosques of Xinjiang. *The Guardian*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/07/revealed-new-evidence-of-chinas-mission-to-raze-the-mosques-of-xinjiang>

Doyle. Persecution of Christians is modern-day ‘genocide’ says report as Foreign Secretary Jeremy Hunt blames failure to confront the oppression of world’s most targeted faith group on ‘political correctness.’ *Daily Mail Online*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6986565/Persecution-Christians-modern-day-genocide-says-report.html?ito=social-facebook&fbclid=IwAR1-pUd7CBCCvVSEJ44BP-fAUSytkvTVQRanXP2N3LcNj6pLis5k2SVXA9Ao>

U. Bult. Iran’s ‘terror factory’ targeting Christians. *Gatestone Institute*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/14164/iran-targeting-christians>

C. Lynch. The alleged war criminal in the UN’s midst. *Foreign Policy*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/03/the-alleged-war-criminal-in-the-u-n-s-midst/>

R. Gramer. Former US diplomats lobby to stop South Sudan war crimes court. *Foreign Policy*, April 29, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/04/29/former-us-diplomats-lobby-to-stop-south-sudan-war-crimes-court-salva-kiir-lobbying-contract-africa-peace-deal-riek-machar/>

International decision-making in the age of genocide: Rwanda 1900-1994. United States Holocaust Museum. URL: <https://www.ushmm.org/confront-genocide/speakers-and-events/all-speakers-and-events/rwanda-conference>

7.e. State Repression by Extended Surveillance Capabilities

Federal watchdog says the FBI has access to 640 million photographs of Americans including drivers licenses and passports that can be searched by facial recognition technology, sparking surveillance fears. *Daily Mail Online*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7104737/Federal-watchdog-says-FBI-access-640-MILLION-photographs-Americans.html>

T. Durden. Newly released Amazon patent shows just how much creepier Alexa can get. *ZeroHedge*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-06-04/newly-released-amazon-patent-shows-just-how-much-creepier-alexa-can-get>

MassPrivateI. Police to use TSA-style scanners to spy on people in public places. *Activist Post*, May 30, 2019. URL: <https://www.activistpost.com/2019/05/police-to-use-tsa-style-scanners-to-spy-on-people-in-public-places.html?fbclid=IwAR2O5JqfqH5strQYVjZ5k3Zf104o5xXERUIISPx1D8rmt9tW4wDgNsjn5SA>

J. Pero. Facebook ordered by US judge to turn over data privacy records in lawsuit after company 's lawyer argues users have 'no right to privacy.' *Daily Mail Online*, June 3, 2019. URL: <http://5g-emf.com/government-whistleblower-reveals-how-tsa-agents-are-coming-down-with-cancer-from-5g-millimeter-wave-tech/?fbclid=IwAR2vsRHPeBkkYh8kOqEHJ6OdN5d3zKlyzYH1PzHNC1rpNilFr6dodEmSm84>

M. Field. Uproar over Palantir's sale of tracking software to US immigration agency. *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, May 31, 2019. URL: https://thebulletin.org/2019/05/uproar-over-palantirs-sale-of-tracking-software-to-us-immigration-agency/?utm_source=Twitter&utm_medium=Twitter Post&utm_campaign=PalantirTracking_06012019

J. Pinkstone. Amazon Alexa will soon record everything you say rather than wait to hear its name first, new patent reveals. *Daily Mail Online*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-7077775/Amazons-Alexa-listen-say.html>

S. Morris. Facial recognition tech prevents crime, police tell UK privacy case. *The Guardian*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2019/may/22/facial-recognition-prevents-crime-police-tell-uk-privacy-case>

D. Curran. Facial recognition will soon be everywhere. Are we prepared? *The Guardian*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/21/facial-recognition-privacy-prepared-regulation>

C. Dunder. 'Did I upset you, boss?': Can Dunder on the collapse of the media in Turkey. *Deutsche Welle*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.dw.com/en/did-i-upset-you-boss-can-dunder-on-the-collapse-of-media-in-turkey/a-48748774>

I. Cockerell. Inside China's massive surveillance operation. *WIRED*, May 9, 2019. URL: https://www.wired.com/story/inside-chinas-massive-surveillance-operation/?mbid=social_fb_onsiteshare&fbclid=IwAR1uOJN6X6_R4yEnB0yl_9eQwXFbRv-2m7uWBL5zeIrRmFciBfg0ePKzmA

C. Rolley. Is Chinese-style surveillance coming to the West? *The Guardian*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/07/chinese-style-surveillance-exported-west>

M. Kernan. Big tech and the rise of surveillance capitalism. *Counterpunch*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.counterpunch.org/2019/05/06/big-tech-and-the-rise-of-surveillance-capitalism/>

T. Durden. Chinese fund backed by Hunter Biden invested in tech to surveil Muslims. *ZeroHedge*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-05-06/chinese-fund-backed-hunter-biden-invested-tech>

surveil-muslims

How mass surveillance works in Xinjiang, China. 'reverse engineering' police app reveals profiling and monitoring strategy. *Human Rights Watch*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.hrw.org/video-photos/interactive/2019/05/02/china-how-mass-surveillance-works-xinjiang?fbclid=IwAR2T4NbX-OxQhugT-8gI-jLC6Syu-sImQU4PC7a0aH-J24tuRaHVJFeK97g>

T. Durden. China's mass surveillance app hacked; code reveals specific criteria for illegal oppression. *Zero-Hedge*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-05-02/chinas-mass-surveillance-app-hacked-code-reveals-specific-criteria-illegal>

8. Prevention, Preparedness and Resilience Studies

Anxiety, revolution, kidnapping: therapy secrets from across the world. *The Guardian*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/jun/04/anxiety-revolution-kidnapping-therapy-secrets-from-across-the-world>

M. Lozano Alia. A closer look at the Radicalization Awareness Network. *European Eye on Radicalization*, May 30, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/a-closer-look-at-the-radicalization-awareness-network/>

I. Ferris. Men with histories of sexual violence are 'more likely to be terrorists' so police should monitor them, top lawyer claims. *Daily Mail Online*, May 27, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7073493/Men-histories-sexual-violence-likely-terrorists-lawyer-claims.html>

Understanding the role of gender in preventing and countering violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism – good practices for law enforcement. *OSCE*, April 26, 2019. URL: <https://www.osce.org/secretariat/420563>

Africa Defense Forum. Centre rallies East Africa against Extremists. *Defence Web*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.defenceweb.co.za/security/national-security/centre-rallies-east-africa-against-extremists/>

RTI International. Countering violent extremism: the use of assessment tools for measuring violence risk. Literature review. *Prepared for Department of Homeland Security, Science and Technology Directorate*, March 2019. URL: https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/OPSR_TP_CVE-Use-Assessment-Tools-Measuring-Violence-Risk_Literature-Review_March2017-508.pdf

Deutscher Präventionstag 2019 mit Sonderveröffentlichung in Berliner Zeitung. *DPT*, May 21, 2019. URL: <http://www.praeventionstag.de/nano.cms/news/details/3664>

CTED Research Digest, Issue 6, May 2019. URL: <https://mailchi.mp/0145317f8f5e/cted-research-digest-issue-2942721?e=f3dd217787>

N. Khorrami. Beyond Sweden: other Scandinavian Counterterrorism Strategies. *European Eye on Radicalization*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/beyond-sweden-other-scandinavian-counterterrorism-strategies/>

To prevent radicalization, get youths to pursue creative goals. *Newsin.asia*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://newsin.asia/to-prevent-radicalization-get-youths-to-pursue-creative-goals/>

Practical guidelines. RAN Exit 'Management of exit work', January 17-28, 2019. Frankfurt (DE). URL: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/about-ran/ran-exit/docs/ran-exit_practical_guideline_frankfurt_17-18_01_2019_en.pdf

M. Bachner. EU to probe Palestinian textbooks for incitement to hatred, violence. *The Times of Israel*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/eu-to-probe-palestinian-textbooks-for-incitement-to-hatred-violence/>

A. Lauland, J.D.P. Moroney, J.G. Rivers, J. Bellasio, K. Cameron. Countering Violent Extremism in Australia and abroad. Santa Monica: RAND, RR-2168-RC, 2019, 112. URL: https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR2168.html?utm_source=WhatCountsEmail&utm_medium=Homeland Security and Public Safety+AEM: Email Address NOT LIKE DOTMIL&utm_campaign=AEM:511539495

CTED. Research Digest, May 2019. URL: <https://mailchi.mp/0145317f8f5e/cted-research-digest-is-sue-2942721?e=ef0b7f3679>

A. Pauwels. Terrorism and Masculinities. *European Eye on Radicalization*. May 6, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/terrorism-and-masculinities/>

Health and social care working group (RAN H&SC). URL: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/networks/radicalisation_awareness_network/about-ran/ran-h-and-sc_en

F. Praxl-Tabuchi. Gendered pathways to radicalization and desistance from violent extremism. *Global Center on Cooperative Security*, April 2019. URL: <https://www.globalcenter.org/publications/gendered-pathways-to-radicalization-and-desistance-from-violent-extremism/>

Understanding referral mechanisms in preventing and countering violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism. Navigating challenges and protecting human rights. A guidebook for South-Eastern Europe. OSCE, April 2019. URL: <https://www.osce.org/secretariat/418274?download=true>

C.J.J. McCann. The Prevent strategy and right-wing extremism. A case study of the English Defence League. *Routledge*, 2019, 186p. URL: <https://www.routledge.com/The-Prevent-Strategy-and-Right-wing-Extremism-A-Case-Study-of-the-English/McCann/p/book/9781138320673>

A new approach to preventing extremism in fragile states. *United States Institute of Peace*, April 23, 2019. URL: <https://www.usip.org/events/new-approach-preventing-extremism-fragile-states>

J. Moreira da Silva, E. Rosand. Prevention calls for strengthening development, humanitarian, peace 'triple nexus.' *IPI Global Observatory*, April 25, 2019. URL: <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2019/04/prevention-calls-strengthening-development-humanitarian-peace-triple-nexus/>

Vernieuwde tool triggerfactoren radicalisering. Expertise-Unit Sociale Stabiliteit (ESS). *Rijksoverheid*, March 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.platformjep.nl/actueel/nieuws/2019/03/04/vernieuwde-tool-triggerfactoren-radicalisering>

K. van den Bos. Why people radicalize. How unfairness judgements are used to fuel radical beliefs, extremist behaviors, and terrorism. *Oxford University Press*, 2018, 392p.

J. Ebner. Who are Europe's far-right identitarians? *Politico*, April 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.politico.eu/article/who-are-europe-far-right-identitarians-austria-generation-identity-martin-sellner/?fbclid=IwAR3FE-VW3cnjT4WUYn8mGqU3jqZuCLfQaFhnj-X5PSs-2ddBCvf-TjfVtMo>

J. Ebner. The rage: the vicious cycle of Islamist and far-right extremism. London: I.B. Tauris, 2017. URL: <https://www.amazon.com/Rage-Vicious-Islamist-Far-Right-Extremism-ebook/dp/B0746HD6R6>

K. Rekawek, V. Szucs, M. Babikova, K. Lozka. Pathways of radicalization of European jihadis. A thematic analysis of 310 cases. *GLOBSEC*, Counter Extremism Project, April 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.globsec.org/news/pathways-of-radicalization-of-european-jihadis/>

9. Intelligence

9.a. Organizations

'Security Switzerland 2019': Federal Intelligence Service presents its annual report. *The Federal Council*, May

29, 2019. URL: <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-75184.html>

S. Coulthart. From laboratory to the WMD commission: how academic research influences intelligence agencies. *Intelligence and National Security*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02684527.2019.1620547>

W.P. Strobel. Under CIA chief Gina Haspel, an intelligence service returns to the shadows. *The Wall Street Journal*, May 25, 2019. URL: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/under-cia-chief-gina-haspel-an-intelligence-service-returns-to-the-shadows-11558776600?shareToken=st9e08f4b94b0f464bb8367cdcea978605>

J. McLaughlin. Identity crisis: FBI plays catch-up as cyberthreats escalate. *Yahoo*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://news.yahoo.com/identity-crisis-fbi-plays-catch-up-as-cyber-threats-escalate-090000203.html; ylt=AwRC-IDGvTolcRmYAiBrQtDMD; ylu=X3oDMTBybGY3bmpvBGNvbG8DYmYxBHBvcwMyBHZ0aWQD-BHNIYwNzcg-->

M. Weiss. Iran's Qasem Soleimani is the mastermind preparing proxy armies for war with America. *The Daily Beast*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://www.thedailybeast.com/irans-qasem-soleimani-is-the-mastermind-preparing-proxy-armies-for-war-with-america>

Walls have ears: an analysis of classified Syrian security sector documents. *Syria Justice and Accountability Centre*. May 2019. URL: <https://syriaaccountability.org/library/walls-have-ears/>

Britain prepares for new spying law after Salisbury poisoning. *Reuters*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-security/britain-prepares-for-new-spying-law-after-salisbury-poisoning-idUSKCN1SQ1AE>

K. Benhold. As far right rises, a battle over security agencies grows. *The New York Times*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/07/world/europe/austria-far-right-freedom-party.html>

A. Hänni. The secret clubs of intelligence and security services: a look behind the scenes of counter-terrorism cooperation in Europe. *Officiere.ch*, March 31, 2019. URL: <https://www.officiere.ch/?p=35616>

D. Wroe, D. McCauley. Sack 'nutter' spy chiefs to fix relations with Beijing, Paul Keating urges. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.smh.com.au/federal-election-2019/sack-nutter-spy-chiefs-to-fix-relations-with-beijing-paul-keating-urges-20190505-p51k9p.html>

IRGC commander believed to have defected to the West. *Islamic State of Iran Crime Research Center*, May 6, 2019. URL: <http://isicrc.org/irgc-basij-and-hezbollah/exclusive-irgc-commander-believed-to-have-defected-to-the-west>

J. Khoury. Jordanian King sacks intel chief, senior officials amid reports of plot. *Haaretz*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/jordan/.premium-jordan-s-king-sacks-intel-chief-officials-amid-reports-of-plot-targeting-regime-1.7194239>

J. Stravdis. The Western allies need more eyes on the world. *Bloomberg*, May 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2019-05-03/eyes-in-the-sky-the-west-needs-a-bigger-intelligence-network>

Transcript: Mike Pompeo talks with Michael Morell on 'Intelligence matters.' *CBS News*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/transcript-mike-pompeo-talks-with-michael-morell-on-intelligence-matters/>

Hossein Salami the new commander of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps. *The Meir Amit Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.terrorism-info.org.il/en/hossein-salami-new-commander-iranian-revolutionary-guards-corps/>

9.b. Operations

- B. Blunden. Edward who? The Snowden affair ends with a whimper. *Counterpunch*, May 31, 2019. URL: <https://www.counterpunch.org/2019/05/31/edward-who-the-snowden-affair-ends-with-a-whimper/?fbclid=IwAR0NeO3yeh7jDgc08sE8dodZ5qQzDJrFDqNeE--3jLtOeqRMS-TQ7zdwOqI>
- M. Hussain. Israel hated American ban on sharing intel for assassinations, so US made new rules. *The Intercept*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://theintercept.com/2019/05/29/israel-drone-strikes-intelligence-nsa/snowden-sidtoday/>
- Spying, terrorism and the far-right worry Swiss authorities. *Swiss.info*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/politics/security-report-spying--terrorism-and-the-far-right-worry-swiss-authorities-/44986170-.XO6Stck9eqY.twitter>
- Y. Katz. Shadow strike. Inside Israel's secret mission to eliminate Syria's nuclear power. *St. Martin's Press*, 2019. URL: <https://www.amazon.com/Shadow-Strike-Israels-Mission-Eliminate/dp/1250191270>
- J. Campisi. Official: FBI increasing focus on domestic terror threats. *The Hill*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://thehill.com/policy/national-security/445364-official-fbi-increasing-focus-on-domestic-terror-threats>
- J. Creps. OSINT tools for the Dark Web. May 16, 2019. URL: <https://jakecreps.com/2019/05/16/osint-tools-for-the-dark-web/>
- T. Marcus. I spy: my life in MI5. *Macmillan*, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7043117/How-white-supremacist-plans-petrol-bomb-school-foiled-real-life-MI5-heroes.html>
- T. O'Connor. US Special Forces school publishes new guide for overthrowing foreign governments. *Newsweek*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.newsweek.com/us-guide-overthrow-government-special-forces-school-1419837>
- W. Irwin. Support to resistance: strategic purpose and effectiveness. *Joint Special Operations University*, JSOU Report 19-2, 2019. URL: https://jsou.libguides.com/ld.php?content_id=48094050
- Iran opposition NCRI conference: the inner workings of Tehran's terror & espionage machine. *People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI)*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://english.mojahedin.org/i/>
- CIA warns Khashoggi associates about threats from Saudi Arabia. *Al Jazeera*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/cia-warns-khashoggi-associates-threats-saudi-arabia-190509172652996.html>
- V. Vasillescu. La plus grande défaite de la CIA depuis des décennies. *Réseau International*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://reseauinternational.net/la-plus-grande-defaite-de-la-cia-depuis-des-decennies/>
- L. Siems. Intelligence, ethics, and bureaucracy: the duty to warn Jamal Khashoggi. *Just Security*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.justsecurity.org/63955/intelligence-ethics-and-bureaucracy-the-duty-to-warn-jamal-khashoggi/>
- B. Riedel. Unveiling Algeria's dark side. The fall of the Butcher of Algiers. *Brookings*, May 8, 2019. URL: https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/05/08/unveiling-algerias-dark-side/?utm_source=feedblitz&utm_medium=FeedBlitzRss&utm_campaign=brookingsrss/topfeeds/latestfrombrookings
- L. Vidino. Erdogan's long arm in Europe. *Foreign Policy*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/05/07/erdogans-long-arm-in-europe-germany-netherlands-milli-gorus-muslim-brotherhood-turkey-akp/>

10. Cyber Operations

10.a. General

P. Paganini. Past, present, and future of the Dark Web. *Security Affairs*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://securityaffairs.co/wordpress/85556/deep-web/dark-web-evolution.html>

J. O'Mahony. Interview Deloitte's Rob Wainwright. Without strong cybersecurity, backdoors will remain open. *Siliconpublic*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.siliconrepublic.com/enterprise/cybersecurity-rob-wainwright-killarney-forum?lrs=3027fe9d-1ff0-4992-9985-1d5e165c936c&id=wl:2sm:3li:4elevate:5awa:6oth:63994:635290>

C. Brooks. Public private partnerships and the cybersecurity challenge protecting critical infrastructure. *Forbes*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/cognitiveworld/2019/05/06/public-private-partnerships-and-the-cybersecurity-challenge-of-protecting-critical-infrastructure/-30609a475a57>

A.B. Shopski. The future firefighters @Odyssey. April 25, 2019. URL: <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/future-firefighters-odyssey-aleksandar-b-shopski/>

R. McGeehan. The next 50 years of cyber security. *Medium*, August 13, 2018. URL: <https://medium.com/@magoo/next50-ea33c5db5930>

G. Watts. Hidden dangers of China's cybersecurity law. *Asia Times*, April 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.asiatimes.com/2019/04/article/hidden-dangers-of-chinas-cybersecurity-law/>

T. Durden. This weekend is 'Y2K' for GPS systems: experts warn the grid, finance, & transportation at risk. *ZeroHedge*, April 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-04-05/weekend-y2k-gps-systems-experts-warn-grid-finance-transportation-risk>

Cyber security breaches survey 2019. *Gov.uk*, April 3, 2019, 66p. URL: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/cyber-security-breaches-survey-2019>

C. Pace. Why we wrote 'The threat intelligence handbook'. *Recorded Future*, October 2, 2019. URL: https://www.recordedfuture.com/threat-intelligence-handbook/?utm_campaign=THR-BOO&utm_content=88505644&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter&hss_channel=tw-95292874

Cyber Threat Report. A weekly update on cybersecurity threats to America. Issue 54, April 1, 2019. URL: <http://homelandsecurityinsight.com/reports/cyber-threat-report/>

10.b. Cyber Crime

P. Paganini. Digging in the deep web: exploring the dark side of the web. *Independently Published*, 2018, 210p. URL: https://www.amazon.it/dp/1980532540/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1521364459&sr=8-1&keywords=Digging+in+the+deep+web%3A+Exploring+the+dark+side+of+the+web

The FBI's most wanted cybercriminals. *ZDNet*, May 2019. URL: <https://www.zdnet.com/pictures/the-fbis-most-wanted-cyber-criminals/>

T. Durden. 'The most destructive breach in history': hackers use NSA code to grind Baltimore to a halt. *ZeroHedge*, May 27, 2019. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-05-27/most-destructive-breach-history-hackers-use-nsa-code-grind-baltimore-halt>

F. Hanson, E. Thomas. Cyber-enabled election interference occurs in one-fifth of democracies. *The Strategist*, May 17, 2019. URL: https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/cyber-enabled-election-interference-occurs-in-one-fifth-of-democracies/?utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Weekly+The+Strategist&utm_content=Weekly+The+Strategist+CID_aa32e7736a44afc559f8372f16445f2f&utm_source=CampaignMonitor

G. Sharma. Phishtales from the world's largest security awareness user conference. *Cybersecurity Ventures*,

May 14, 2019. URL: <https://cybersecurityventures.com/phishtales-from-the-worlds-largest-security-awareness-user-conference/>

GozNym malware: cybercriminal network dismantled in international operation. *EUROPOL*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/newsroom/news/goznym-malware-cybercriminal-network-dismantled-in-international-operation>

M. Miller. Feds take down cybercrime group that stole \$100m. *The Hill*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://thehill.com/policy/cybersecurity/444012-feds-take-down-cybercrime-group-that-stole-100m>

S. Weinglass. New details emerge about Israeli darknet and crypto suspects indicted in US. *The Times of Israel*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/eu-to-probe-palestinian-textbooks-for-incitement-to-hatred-violence/>

T. Durden. DOJ seizes Dark Web directory, suspected owners arrested in France and Israel. *ZeroHedge*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-05-09/doj-seizes-dark-web-drug-directory-accused-owners-arrested-france-and-israel>

Cybercrime in Switzerland: an ultimate survivor's guide. *The Local*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.thelocal.ch/20190502/cybercrime-in-switzerland-the-ultimate-survivors-guide-law-crime>

10.c. Cyber Warfare & Espionage

J.S. Nye. Deterrence in cyberspace. *Project Syndicate*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/deterrence-in-cyberspace-persistent-engagement-by-joseph-s-nye-2019-06>

IntelBrief: When cyberweapons escape. *The Soufan Center*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-when-cyberweapons-escape/>

G7 countries to simulate cross-border cyber attack next months: France. *Reuters*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-g7-france-cyber/g7-countries-to-simulate-cross-border-cyber-attack-next-month-france-idUSKCN1SG1KZ>

S. Taillat. Signalling, victory, and strategy in France's military cyber doctrine. *War on the Rocks*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://warontherocks.com/2019/05/signaling-victory-and-strategy-in-frances-military-cyber-doctrine/>

C. Cimpanu. In a first, Israel responds to Hamas hackers with an airstrike. *ZDNet*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.zdnet.com/article/in-a-first-israel-responds-to-hamas-hackers-with-an-air-strike/>

J. Ari Gross. IDF says it thwarted a Hamas cyber attack during weekend battle. *The Times of Israel*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/idf-says-it-thwarted-a-hamas-cyber-attack-during-weekend-battle/>

11. Information Warfare

11.a. Internet Governance – General

E. Rosenbach, K. Mansted. The geopolitics of information. *The Belfer Center*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.belfercenter.org/publication/geopolitics-information>

Seehofer will Messengerdienst zum Entschlüsseln zwingen. *Der Spiegel Online*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.spiegel.de/netzwelt/netzpolitik/horst-seehofer-will-messengerdienste-zum-entschluesseln-zwingen-a-1269121.html>

D.M. Gerstein. Three 'new rules' worth considering for the Internet. *The RAND Blog*, May 10, 2019. URL:

https://www.rand.org/blog/2019/05/three-new-rules-worth-considering-for-the-internet.html?utm_medium=rand_social&utm_source=linkedin&utm_campaign=oea

E. Morozov. It's not enough to break up Big Tech. We need to imagine a better alternative. *The Guardian*, May 11, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/11/big-tech-progressive-vision-silicon-valley>

11.b. Internet Regulation/Censorship/Removal of Harmful Content

R. Klar. Russia orders Tinder to turn over data to intelligence agencies. *The Hill*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://thehill.com/briefingroom-blogroll/446582-russia-orders-tinder-to-turn-over-data-to-intelligence-agencies>

Twitter apologizes for blocked China accounts ahead of Tiananmen anniversary. *Reuters*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-twitter/twitter-apologizes-for-blocked-china-accounts-ahead-of-tiananmen-anniversary-idUSKCN1T30C7>

Facebook removes 'inauthentic' Iranian accounts targeting British royals and Donald Trump. *ITV News*, May 29, 2019. URL: <https://www.itv.com/news/2019-05-29/facebook-removes-coordinated-inauthentic-behaviour-targeting-princess-eugenie/>

N. Gladstone. 'We have more work to do': Facebook battles hate, terror, child abuse and bots. *The Sydney Morning Herald*, May 26, 2019. URL: <https://www.smh.com.au/national/we-have-more-work-to-do-facebook-battles-hate-terror-child-abuse-and-bots-20190526-p51r7i.html?fbclid=IwAR2u4oPufNjbyOvX2MiZ-zEb-ULQau7FW-DAvNu45td-1f-boznLGoITXPhY>

C. Cadell. China's robot censors crank up as Tiananmen anniversary nears. *Reuters*, May 26, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-tiananmen-censorship/chinas-robot-censors-crank-up-as-tiananmen-anniversary-nears-idUSKCN1SW03Y>

Canada launches digital charter to protect privacy and tackle extremism. *Engineering & Technology*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://eandt.theiet.org/content/articles/2019/05/canada-launches-digital-charter-to-protect-privacy-and-tackle-extremism/>

E. Graham-Harrison. Far-right Facebook groups 'spreading hate to millions in Europe.' *The Guardian*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/22/far-right-facebook-groups-spreading-hate-to-millions-in-europe>

D. Hall. Counterterrorism experts on why we must engage with online extremists. *Noted*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.noted.co.nz/currently/social-issues/online-extremism-counterterrorism-experts-on-why-we-must-engage/>

D. Cheng. Christchurch Call to Action: governments, tech companies agree to tackle violent online content on social media. *New Zealand Herald*, May 16, 2019. URL: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12231337

H. Fouquet, G. Viscusi. Twitter, Facebook join global pledge to fight hate speech online. *The Jakarta Post*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2019/05/16/twitter-facebook-join-global-pledge-to-fight-hate-speech-online-.html>

Official Facebook page of Hamas military wing al-Qassam Brigades quotes Hamas officials, shares videos raising money for terrorist organizations. *MEMRI, Cyber & Jihad Lab*, May 16, 2019. URL: <http://cjlabs.memri.org/latest-reports/official-facebook-page-of-hamas-military-wing-al-qassam-brigades-quotes-hamas-officials-shares-videos-raising-money-for-terrorist-organizations/>

H. Neidig. Facebook bans Israel firm for pushing disinformation campaign in Africa. *The Hill*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://thehill.com/regulation/technology/444055-facebook-bans-israeli-firm-for-pushing-disinforma->

tion-campaign-in

Macron, Ardern host Paris summit against online extremism. *France24*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.france24.com/en/20190515-france-macron-ardern-paris-summit-online-extremism-facebook-twitter>

H. Agnew, A. Ram, D. Sevastopulo. US declines to join initiative to stamp out online extremism. *Financial Times*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.ft.com/content/35896f3a-772b-11e9-bbad-7c18c0ea0201>

B. Ganesh. Jihadis go to jail, white supremacists go free. *Foreign Policy*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://foreign-policy.com/2019/05/15/jihadis-go-to-jail-neo-nazis-walk-free-christchurch-call-social-media-dignity-digital-hate-culture-tarrant-breivik-bowers-white-supremacists-ardern-macron/>

K. Wilsher. Leaders and tech firms pledge to tackle extremist violence online. *The Guardian*, May 15, 2019. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/15/jacinda-ardern-emmanuel-macron-christchurch-call-summit-extremist-violence-online?CMP=share_btn_tw

ICT4Peace input to Christchurch call meeting in Paris. May 14, 2019. URL: <https://ict4peace.org/activities/ict4peace-input-to-christchurch-call-meeting-in-paris/?fbclid=IwAR1XyWSKuysOcp9wUI5lBRfRJ63I-z6LyIMTVu7RRaKONPKrjT8kJSE7OoVE>

H. Franco. Life after hate: the new fight on social networks. *European Eye on Radicalization*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/life-after-hate-the-new-fight-on-social-networks/>

E. Birnbaum. White House won't endorse global call to fight online extremism after New Zealand attack. *The Hill*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://thehill.com/policy/technology/443810-white-house-wont-endorse-global-call-to-fight-online-extremism-after>

Global Research network on terrorism and technology: The inaugural conference. *Brookings*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.brookings.edu/events/global-research-network-on-terrorism-and-technology-an-inaugural-conference/>

Christchurch attacks: Facebook curbs Live feature. *BBC*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-48276802>

S. Corbet, M. MacPherson. World leaders, tech bosses work on stemming online violence. *Associated Press*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://apnews.com/9aa77864e6754a5e9624c6f864691f28>

R. Ibbetson. Facebook shuts down string of rightwing 'fake news' accounts accused of spreading anti-migration and anti-Semitic messages in Italy ahead of EU-elections. *Daily Mail Online*, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7027725/Facebook-shuts-string-right-wing-fake-news-accounts-Italy-ahead-EU-elections.html>

R. Pape. Real-time terror is guaranteed to go viral. Grassroots networked response needed to confront social media terrorism. *Chicago Project on Security and Threats*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/christchurch-call-start-robert-pape/>

C. Graham McLay, A. Satarlano. New Zealand seeks global support for tougher measures on online violence. *The New York Times*, May, 2019. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/12/technology/ardern-macron-social-media-extremism.html>

J. Ardern. How to stop the next Christchurch massacre. *The New York Times*, May 11, 2019. URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/11/opinion/sunday/jacinda-ardern-social-media.html>

B. Flood. ISIS still uses Instagram to promote jihad and provoke terror attacks, study says. *Fox News*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.foxnews.com/tech/isis-instagram-jihad-terror>

E. Ainge Roy. Christchurch call: details emerge of Arden's plan to tackle online extremism. *The Guardian*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/13/christchurch-call-details-emerge-of->

arderns-plan-to-tackle-online-extremism

- S. Aneez, R. Sirilal. Sri Lanka blocks social media after worst anti-Muslim unrest since Easter bombings. *Reuters*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-sri-lanka-blasts-socialmedia/sri-lanka-blocks-social-media-after-worst-anti-muslim-unrest-since-easter-bombings-idUKKCN1SJ02H>
- F. Patrawala. UK lawmakers to social media: ‘You’re accessories to radicalization, accessories to crimes’, hearing on spread of extremist content. *Packt*, April 29, 2019. URL: <https://hub.packtpub.com/uk-lawmakers-to-social-media-accessories-radicalization-crimes-hearing-spread-extremist-content/>
- Extremist, terrorist content falls through Facebook cracks; Rep. Rose says more needs to be done. *Silive.com*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.silive.com/news/2019/05/extremist-terrorist-content-falls-through-facebook-cracks-rep-rose-says-more-needs-to-be-done.html>
- 99% Removed? Despite Zuckerberg claims, CEP finds proliferation of extremist content on Facebook. *Counter Extremism project*, April 11, 2019. URL: <https://www.counterextremism.com/press/99-removed-despite-zuckerberg-claims-cep-finds-proliferation-extremist-content-facebook>
- eGLYPH: moving the needle. *Counter Extremism Project*, YouTube, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BUE5zz3ppXA&feature=youtu.be>
- M. Rosemain, G. Barzic. France seeks handle on Facebook algorithms to help combat hate speech. *Reuters*, May 10, 2019. URL: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-macron-facebook/france-seeks-handle-on-facebook-algorithms-to-help-combat-hate-speech-idUSKCN1SG16G>
- D. Butler, B. Ortutay. Facebook auto-generates videos celebrating images by terror groups, extremists. *The Times of Israel*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/facebook-auto-generates-videos-celebrating-images-by-terror-groups-extremists/>
- Twitter: 370k accounts suspended for promoting terrorism, 459k for child porn. *Sputnik*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://sputniknews.com/science/201905091074866833-Twitter-370K-Accounts-Suspended-Promoting-Terrorism-2018/>
- Talking Terror. Facebook: counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism. *Soundcloud*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://soundcloud.com/user-366747443/facebook-counter-terrorism-and-countering-violent-extremism>
- A.G. Reed, H.J. Ingram. A practical guide to the first rule of CTCVE. Do violent extremist no favours. *EUROPOL*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/publications-documents/practical-guide-to-first-rule-of-ctcve>
- EU Internet referral Unit – EU IRU. Monitoring terrorism online. *EUROPOL*, 2019. URL: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/about-europol/eu-internet-referral-unit-eu-iru>
- On the importance of taking-down non-violent terrorist content. *VoxPol*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.voxpol.eu/on-the-importance-of-taking-down-non-violent-terrorist-content/>
- The speech wars. *The Atlantic*, 2019. URL: <https://www.theatlantic.com/projects/speech-wars/>
- B. Warner. When algorithms make the evidence vanish. Clampdowns on ‘terrorist’ material online could hamstring efforts to bring human-rights abusers to justice. *The Atlantic*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/05/facebook-algorithms-are-making-it-harder/588931/>
- The Guardian view on extremism online: who will guard the watchdogs? *The Guardian*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/may/05/the-guardian-view-on-extremism-online-who-will-guard-the-watchdogs>
- J. Wallis Simons. How Facebook is still allowing anti-Christian fanatics to peddle extremism –despite claim-

ing crack down on content promoting ‘violence and hate.’ *Daily Mail Online*, May 4, 2019. URL: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-6989757/How-Facebook-allowing-anti-Christian-extremists-peddle-hate-despite-crackdown.html?ito=social-twitter_mailonline

B. Fishman. Crossroads: counter-terrorism and the Internet. *Texas National Security Review*, 2(2), April 2019. URL: <https://tnsr.org/2019/04/crossroads-counter-terrorism-and-the-internet/>

P. Martineau. The existential crisis plaguing on line extremism researchers. *WIRED*, May 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.wired.com/story/existential-crisis-plaguing-online-extremism-researchers/>

Analysis: ISIS use of smaller platforms and the DWeb to share terrorist content – April 2019. *Tech against Terrorism*, May 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.techagainstterrorism.org/2019/04/29/analysis-isis-use-of-smaller-platforms-and-the-dweb-to-share-terrorist-content-april-2019/>

R. Lakschmanan. Online extremism is taking a mental toll on researchers studying it. *The Next Web*, May 4, 2019. URL: <https://thenextweb.com/socialmedia/2019/05/03/online-extremism-is-taking-a-mental-toll-on-researchers-studying-it/>

11.c. Counter-Narratives

D. Thompson. Why the internet is so polarized, extreme, and screamy. *The Atlantic*, May 23, 2019. URL: <https://amp.theatlantic.com/amp/article/590047/>

A. Maan. Defeat terrorists by dominating the narrative space. *Homeland Security Today*, April 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.hstoday.us/subject-matter-areas/terrorism-study/defeat-terrorists-by-dominating-the-narrative-space/>

Online extremism – Three learning arrangements to foster critical media literacy when dealing with online propaganda in schools. *CONTRA Manual*, 2018. URL: https://www.project-contrat.org/Contra/EN/Manual/manual_node.html

B.J. Lee. Informal countermessaging: the potential and perils of informal online countermessaging. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42(3), 2019. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/uter20/42/1-2?nav=toCList>

11.d. Strategic Communication/Information Warfare/Influence Operations

T. Durden. 32 Tips for navigating a society full of propaganda and manipulation. *ZeroHedge*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-06-04/32-tips-navigating-society-full-propaganda-and-manipulation>

P. Cruickshank. A view from the CT foxhole: Vidhya Ramalingam, co-founder, Moonshot CVE. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(5), May/June 2019. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/view-ct-foxhole-vidhya-ramalingam-co-founder-moonshot-cve/>

I. Cobain. How a book on Cold War propaganda inspired British counter-terror campaign. *Middle East Eye*, November 21, 2018. URL: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/how-book-cold-war-propaganda-inspired-british-counter-terror-campaign>

S. Hooper. How UK counter-terror units uses rap, graffiti to target Middle Eastern youth. *Middle East Eye*, November 21, 2018. URL: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/revealed-how-uk-counter-terror-unit-uses-rap-graffiti-target-middle-eastern-youth>

I. Cobain, H. Mechai. UK propaganda unit has secret plans to target French Muslims. *Middle East Eye*, May 15, 2019. URL: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/exclusive-uk-propaganda-unit-draws-plans-work-france>

I. Cobain. ‘Mind control’: the secret UK government blueprints shaping post-terror planning. *Middle East*

Eye, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/mind-control-secret-british-government-blue-prints-shaping-post-terror-planning>

I. Cobain. UK experts working on post-terror planning for Gulf States. *Middle East Eye*, May 27, 2019. URL: <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/exclusive-uk-experts-working-post-terror-planning-gulf-states>

A. Macleod (Ed.) Propaganda in the information age: still manufacturing consent. *Routledge*, 2019, 182p. URL: <https://www.amazon.co.uk/Propaganda-Information-Age-Manufacturing-Consent/dp/1138366404>

S. Sokol. On the social media 'battlefield,' the Israeli army has weaponized snark. *The Times of Israel*, May 10, 2019. URL: https://www.timesofisrael.com/on-the-social-media-battlefield-the-israeli-army-has-weaponized-snark/?utm_source=dlvr.it&utm_medium=twitter

A. Lavie. Hebrew media spreads fake Hamas video claiming to show deadly missile strike. *The Times of Israel*, May 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.timesofisrael.com/israeli-media-spreads-fake-hamas-video-claiming-to-show-deadly-missile-strike/>

M. Pomerleau. New report explains how China thinks about information warfare. *C4ISRNet*, May 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.c4isrnet.com/c2-comms/2019/05/03/new-report-explains-how-china-thinks-about-information-warfare/>

J.P. Sullivan. Unmasking maskirovka: Russia's cyber influence operations – OODA network expert book review. *OODA Loop*, April 26, 2019. URL: <https://www.oodaloop.com/ooda-original/2019/04/26/unmasking-maskirovka-russias-cyber-influence-operations-ooda-network-expert-book-review/>

N. Liv. United Cyber Caliphate. Herzliya: *ICT*, March 20, 2019. URL: <https://bylinetimes.com/2019/04/15/the-forgotten-killing-fields-of-iraq/>

T. Durden. The Management of Savagery: pro-war lobbyists push to ban book exposing regime change wars. *ZeroHedge*, April 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-04-06/management-savagery-pro-war-lobbyists-push-ban-book-exposing-regime-change-wars>

A. Nazarian. How Qatar infiltrated The New York Times. *Fox News*, April 6, 2019. URL: <https://www.fox-news.com/opinion/adelle-nazarian-how-qatar-infiltrated-the-new-york-times>

D. McElroy. Qatar 'spent huge sums on Muslim Brotherhood groups in Europe.' *The National*, April 5, 2019. URL: <https://www.thenational.ae/world/qatar-spent-huge-sums-on-muslim-brotherhood-groups-in-europe-1.845510>

Zhaohui Yu, Yaohong Liu. Strategic communications of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. *Asian Journal of Middle eastern and Islamic Studies*, April 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/25765949.2019.1586183?af=R&journalCode=rmei20&>

11.e. Internet Jihad

M. Aldersley. ISIS fanatics depict Big Ben on fire as chilling posters warn of 'London attacks soon' and show knife-wielding suicide bomber in New York. *Daily mail Online*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7057465/ISIS-posters-depict-Big-Ben-fire-warn-London-attacks-soon.html>

J. A. Piazza, A. Guler. The online caliphate: Internet usage and ISIS support in the Arab world. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546553.2019.1606801?journalCode=ftpv20>

P.K. Balachandran. Place of the internet in Islamic radicalization. *NewsIn Asia*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://newsin.asia/place-of-the-internet-in-islamic-radicalization/>

M.R. Torres-Soriano. Jihadist activism on Internet following the collapse of the caliphate. *European Eye on Radicalization*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/jihadist-activism-on-internet-follow->

[ing-the-collapse-of-the-caliphate/](#)

C. Winter. Researching jihadist propaganda: access, interpretation, and trauma. *Resolve Network*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://resolvenet.org/research/researching-jihadist-propaganda-access-interpretation-and-trauma>

Online jihad: monitoring jihadist online communities. *Onlinejihad.net*, May 9, 2019. URL: <https://onlinejihad.net/2019/05/09/making-of-a-jihadi-image/>

M. Myagkov, E. V. Shchekotin, S.I. Chudinov, V.L. Goiko. A comparative analysis of rightwing radical & Islamist communities' strategies for survival in social networks (evidence from VKontakte). *Media & Conflict*, May, 2018. URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1750635219846028>

S.M. Bender. Social media creates a spectacle society that makes it easier for terrorists to achieve notoriety. *VoxPol*, May 1, 2019. URL: <https://www.voxpol.eu/social-media-creates-a-spectacle-society-that-makes-it-easier-for-terrorists-to-achieve-notoriety/>

V. Mazzone. Jihadi online retaliations to the Christchurch terror attack. *European Eye on Radicalization*, April 2, 2019. URL: <https://eeradicalization.com/jihadi-online-retaliations-to-the-christchurch-terror-attack/>

12. Risk and Threat Assessments, Forecasts and Analytic Studies

12.a Analytical Studies

J. Smith. UK terrorism trends. *CHC Global*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/uk-terrorism-trends-jerry-smith/>

M.D. Silber. Terrorist attacks against Jewish targets in the West (2012-2019): the Atlantic divide between European and American attackers. *CTC Sentinel*, 12(5), May/June 2019. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/terrorist-attacks-jewish-targets-west-2012-2019-atlantic-divide-european-american-attackers/>

From criminals to terrorists and back? Quarterly report: Great Britain and Ireland, vol.2. *Globsec*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.globsec.org/publications/from-criminals-to-terrorists-and-back-quarterly-report-great-britain-and-ireland-vol-2/>

J. Bigio, R. Vogelstein. Women and terrorism. Hidden threats, forgotten partners. *Council on Foreign Relations*, May 2019. URL: https://www.cfr.org/report/women-and-terrorism?utm_medium=social_share&utm_source=tw

N. Massoumi, T. Mills, D. Miller. Secrecy, coercion and deception in research on 'terrorism' and 'extremism'. *Contemporary Social Science*, May 19, 2019, URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/21582041.2019.1616107?af=R>

R.J. Van den Berg. Legitimizing extremism: a taxonomy of justifications for political violence. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, May 20, 2019. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546553.2019.1606800?journalCode=ftpv20>

J.M. Berger. A brief history of extremism – is the problem worse than ever? *BBC, HistoryExtra*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://www.historyextra.com/period/20th-century/extremism-history-examples-explained-definition-facts-prevent-right-wing-religious/>

A. Nowrasteh. New research on immigration, terrorism and ideology. *Cato Institute*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.cato.org/blog/new-research-immigration-terrorism-ideology>

R. Onursal, D. Kirkpatrick. Is extremism the 'new' terrorism? The convergence of 'extremism' and 'terrorism' in British parliamentary discourse. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, April 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546553.2019.1598391?journalCode=ftpv20>

C. Brugh, S. Desmarais, J. Simons-Rudolph, S. Zottola. Gender in jihad: characteristics and outcomes among women and men involved in jihadism-inspired terrorism. *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management*, April 16, 2019. URL: <https://news.ncsu.edu/2019/04/study-highlights-how-little-we-know-about-women-terrorists/>

M. Shipman. Study highlights how little we know about women terrorists. *NC State University*, April 29, 2019. URL: <https://news.ncsu.edu/2019/04/study-highlights-how-little-we-know-about-women-terrorists/>

W. Koomen, J. van der Pligt. *The Psychology of Radicalization and Terrorism*. London: Routledge, 2015. URL: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315771984?fbclid=IwAR0rV1-aBY1MjqCWVQYF9W1tkZd-qzweS4KtlCw-3nkZ9x30kWjhz5Nh5YiM>

I. Overton. After Sri Lanka: the best books to understand modern terrorism. *The Guardian*, April 25, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/apr/25/rising-rage-iain-overton-picks-books-to-help-us-understand-modern-terrorism?fbclid=IwAR1vBi9qy-jAMftW19sCiM5xGQTeIv7hFN3gFThLBN9faq2jtq4y6vr-nue0>

Terrorism evolving: insights from research to combat the threat. *EUROPOL*, April 9, 2019. URL: <https://www.europol.europa.eu/newsroom/news/terrorism-evolving-insights-research-to-combat-threat>

K. Jasko, M. Szastok, J. Grzymala-Moszczyńska, M. Maj, A.W. Kruglanski. Rebel with a cause: personal significance from political activism predicts willingness to self-sacrifice. *Journal of Social Issues*, February 28, 2019. URL: <https://spssi.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/josi.12307>

A. Kruglanski, J. Belanger, R. Gunaratna. The three pillars of radicalization. Needs, Narratives, and Networks. 2019. URL: <https://www.start.umd.edu/events/save-date-three-pillars-radicalization-book-launch>

12.b. Terrorism Databases

J. Vieulleux. A global analysis of water-related terrorism, 1970-2016. *Terrorism & Political Violence*, May 24, 2019. URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546553.2019.1599863?journalCode=ftpv20>

Tijdlijn van aanslagen in het Westen. Chronologisch overzicht van jihadistische aanslagen in de periode 2004-2018. The Hague: *AIVD*, May 2019. URL: <https://www.aivd.nl/onderwerpen/terrorisme/tijdlijn-van-aanslagen-in-het-westen>

Doelwitten in beeld. Vijftien jaar jihadistische aanslagen in het Westen. The Hague: *AIVD*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.aivd.nl/documenten/publicaties/2019/05/21/aivd-publicatie-doelwitten-in-beeld.-vijftien-jaar-jihadistische-aanslagen-in-het-westen>

Most terror attackers work alone, Dutch security service report shows. *Dutch News.nl*, May 21, 2019. URL: <https://www.dutchnews.nl/news/2019/05/most-terror-attackers-work-alone-dutch-security-service-report-shows/>

J. Klausen. Western jihadism project. *Brandeis University*. URL: <https://www.brandeis.edu/klausen-jihadism/>

RiskMap2019. *ControlRisks*, 2019. URL: <https://www.controlrisks.com/riskmap?source=HEAD>

Core. Incident report. War, terrorism, unrest, violent crime. Q1 2019. *Control Risks*. URL: <https://www.controlrisks.com/our-thinking/insights/reports/core-incident-report-q1-2019>

Risk Maps 2019. AON's Guide to Political Risk, Terrorism & Political Violence. AON, 2019. URL: <https://www.aon.com/getmedia/7f878ce3-953e-40a1-898f-7c86fdcbf7b1/2019-Aon-Risk-Maps.aspx>

Populism, protectionism and the changing face of terrorism: assessing the threats. AON, 2019. URL: https://www.aon.com/2019-political-risk-terrorism-and-political-violence-maps/index.html?utm_source=email&utm_medium=main-from-eloqua&utm_campaign=riskmaps2019

ACLED Data Export Tool. URL: <https://www.acleddata.com/data/>

12.c. Specific and National Threat Assessments/ Warnings

T. Tahir. Holiday hell. ISIS 'plotting to massacre Brits in med hotels in Sri Lanka-style attacks. *The Sun*, June 2, 2019. URL: <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/9204011/isis-plotting-to-massacre-brits-in-med-hotels-in-sri-lanka-style-attacks/>

Intelligence warns of terror attacks on Srinagar, Awantipora Air Bases, security forces on alert: government sources. *India.com*, May 17, 2019. URL: <https://www.india.com/lok-sabha-elections-2019-india/intelligence-warns-of-terror-attacks-on-srinagar-awantipora-air-bases-security-forces-on-alert-govt-sources-3660724/>

Populism, protectionism and the changing face of terrorism: assessing the threats. AON, 2019. URL: <https://www.aon.com/2019-political-risk-terrorism-and-political-violence-maps/index.html>

D. Sabbagh, P. Wintour. UK raises threat level for British forces in Iraq and Gulf. *The Guardian*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/may/16/uk-raises-threat-level-for-british-forces-in-iraq>

M. Chulov. Iran tells Middle East militias: prepare for proxy war. *The Guardian*, May 16, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/may/16/iran-tells-middle-east-militias-prepare-for-proxy-war>

Combined Joint Task Force-Operation Inherent Resolve Press briefing by Maj. Gen. Ghika via satellite from Baghdad, Iraq. *US Department of Defense*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://dod.defense.gov/News/Transcripts/Transcript-View/Article/1848167/combined-joint-task-force-operation-inherent-resolve-press-briefing-by-maj-gen/>

M.R. Kelvinton. Global Salafi-jihadism ideology: the 'soft power' of the enemy. Herzliya: *ICT*, March 25, 2019. URL: https://www.ict.org.il/Article/2366/Global_Salafi-Jihadism_Ideology?fbclid=IwAR23heFl6TRRRJsc-5goOhGUuHSIS3xh42ltdxZPrS8vwEI_NFa3WNz9ERHs - gsc.tab=0

Y. Okbi. Qatari envoy arrives in Gaza strip, transfers \$30 million to Hamas. *The Jerusalem Post*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Qatari-envoy-arrives-in-Gaza-Strip-transfers-30-million-to-Hamas-589533>

D. Abumaria. Palestinian authority PM: Israel wants to destroy our economy. *The Jerusalem Post*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Palestinian-Authority-PM-Israel-Wants-to-Destroy-Our-Economy-589571>

Organized crime a greater threat than terrorism, says National Crime Agency. *The Times*, May 12, 2019. URL: <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/organised-crime-a-greater-threat-than-terrorism-says-national-crime-agency-vqzshwnvmn?shareToken=727be8e5f604a176bdb29dc5f667dad6>

Wachsende Gefahr durch Rechtsextreme. Analyse des Verfassungsschutzes. *Tageschau*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/rechtsextremismus-127.html>

'Verfassungsschutzpräsident. 'Neue Dynamik beim Rechtsextremismus. *Tageschau*, May 13, 2019. URL: <https://www.tagesschau.de/inland/verfassungsschutzpraesident-haldenwang-101.html>

F. Gardner. UK terror threat: how has it changed? *BBC*, May 7, 2019. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-48185759>

C. Long. Domestic terrorism threat is growing, US officials say in hearing. *PBS*, May 8, 2019. URL: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/watch-domestic-terrorism-threat-is-growing-officials-say-in-hearing>

European security chiefs alarmed at threat from far-right terrorism. *Scandinavian Times*, May 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.scandinaviatimes.com/news/260833112/european-security-chiefs-alarmed-at-threat-from-far-right-terrorism>

B. Roggio. Examining the global terrorism landscape. *FDD's Long war Journal*, April 30, 2019. URL: <https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2019/04/30/examining-the-global-terrorism-landscape/>

Examining the global terrorism landscape. (Testimonies from A. Soufan, V. Ramalingam, B. Roggio) *Hearing US Congress, Foreign Affairs Committee*, Subcommittee on the Middle East, North Africa, and International Terrorism, April 30, 2019. URL: <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/hearings?ID=1B83F8F3-E76B-4B0F-B1FE-65904DC055BC>

IntelBrief: assessing the global terrorism threat and looking ahead. *The Soufan Center*, April 30, 2019. URL: <https://thesoufancenter.org/intelbrief-assessing-the-global-terrorism-threat-and-looking-ahead/>

12.d. Forecasts

G. Hideg, A. Alvazzi del Frate. Darkening Horizons. Global Violent Death Scenarios, 2018-20. Briefing Paper, *Small Arms Survey*, May 2019. <http://www.smallarmssurvey.org/fileadmin/docs/T-Briefing-Papers/SAS-BP-Violent-Deaths-Scenarios.pdf>

R.J. Bunker. Stephen Sloan Seminar: assessing the future of domestic and international terrorism. *Small Wars Journal*, May 2019. URL: <https://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/stephen-sloan-seminar-assessing-future-domestic-and-international-terrorism>

Meeting the need to foresee and warn – our philosophy. The Red (Team) Analysis Society, April 2019. URL: <https://www.redanalysis.org/about-2/concept-philosophy/>

M. Frank, J. Benson, C. Besaw, J. Filitz, E. Keels, J. Powell. Annual risk of coup report -2019. *One Earth Future*, 2019. URL: <https://oefresearch.org/publications/annual-risk-coup-report-2019>

Global report on internal displacement 2019. *Internal Displacement Monitoring Center*, May 2019. URL: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-report/grid2019/>

Ten million people displaced internally by conflict in 2018. *Arab News*, May 10, 2019. URL: <http://www.arab-news.com/node/1495156/middle-east>

13. Also Worth Reading

S.J. Frantzman. 30 Years after Tiananmen, world embraces authoritarianism – analysis. *The Jerusalem Post*, June 4, 2019. URL: <https://www.jpost.com/International/30-years-after-Tiananmen-world-embraces-authoritarianism-591527>

Conflict Scenarios with Russia and China. Brookings Institution, *YouTube*, June 3, 2019. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pbucrsbd2NM>

A. Beckett. 'A zombie party': the deepening crisis of conservatism. *The Guardian*, May 28, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/may/28/a-zombie-party-the-deepening-crisis-of-conservatism>

F. Bekkers, T. Sweys. Playing to your strengths. A different perspective on future capabilities for the Dutch Army. *Militaire Spectator*, May 22, 2019. URL: <https://www.militairespectator.nl/thema/strategie-operaties/artikel/playing-your-strengths?fbclid=IwAR0wVnWssy33AjuKx0mOxdohZbKaY6OQo6OsnWAQATB-Pqd-02bmheor-gvc>

E. Berman, J.H. Felter, J.N. Shapiro. Small wars, big data. The information revolution in modern conflict. *Princeton University Press*, 2019, 400p. URL: <https://press.princeton.edu/titles/11241.html>

B. Nicholson. New wars, new weapons – new challenges for the Red Cross. *The Strategist*, May 23, 2019. URL: https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/new-wars-new-weapons-new-challenges-for-the-red-cross/?utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=Weekly+The+Strategist&utm_content=Weekly+The+Strategist+CID

[aa32e7736a44afc559f8372f16445f2f&utm_source=CampaignMonitor&utm_term=New wa](https://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index?fbclid=I-wAR2XQNd9QEF9_m0TdNyHHG5HmeK9g_B8dyI8wwJGwHtHyB3SRx4oyJNWpS8)

Democracy Index 2018. *The Economist*, 2019. URL: https://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index?fbclid=I-wAR2XQNd9QEF9_m0TdNyHHG5HmeK9g_B8dyI8wwJGwHtHyB3SRx4oyJNWpS8

Societal Transformation 2018-2037. 100 anticipated radical technologies, 20 regimes, Case Finland. *Committee for the Future 10*, 2018. URL: https://www.eduskunta.fi/FI/tietoaeduskunnasta/julkaisut/Documents/NETTI_TUVJ_10_2018_Societal_transformation_UUSI.pdf

J.J. Mearsheimer. Bound to fail: the rise and fall of the liberal international order. *International Security*, 43(4), Spring 2019. URL: https://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/full/10.1162/isec_a_00342

Synergizing Nonviolent Action and Peacebuilding. An Action Guide. *United States Institute of Peace*, May 2019. URL: <https://www.usip.org/programs/synergizing-nonviolent-action-and-peacebuilding>

F. Bekkers. Hybrid conflicts: the new normal? *TNO Innovation for Life, HCSS*, January 2019. URL: <https://www.hcss.nl/report/hybrid-conflicts-new-normal>

S. Newman. The other side of Black Mirror: literary utopias offer the seeds of better real life. *The Guardian*, May 14, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2019/may/14/black-mirror-literary-utopias-offer-the-seeds-of-better-real-life>

C. Lefteri. Extreme trauma leaves a legacy of pain for victims –and their children. *The Guardian*, May 12, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2019/may/12/extreme-trauma-leaves-a-legacy-of-pain-for-victims-and-their-children>

H. Devlin. Science of anger: how gender, age and personality shape this emotion. *The Guardian*, May 12, 2019. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2019/may/12/science-of-anger-gender-age-personality>

About the Compiler: Berto Jongman is Associate Editor of 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. He is a former senior Military Intelligence Analyst and currently serves as International Consultant on CBRN issues. A sociologist by training, he also worked for civilian Swedish and Dutch research institutes. Dr. Jongman was the recipient of the Golden Candle Award for his *World Conflict & Human Rights Maps*, published by PIOOM. He is editor of the volume 'Contemporary Genocides' (1996) and has also contributed to various editions of 'Political Terrorism', the award-winning handbook of terrorism research, edited by Alex P. Schmid.

115+ Academic Theses (Ph.D. and MA) on the Role of the Internet in Facilitating and Combating Radicalization, Extremism, Terrorism and Cyber-Terrorism, written in English between 1995 and 2019

Compiled and selected by Ryan Scrivens

Abstract

This bibliography contains doctoral dissertations (Ph.D.) and Master (MA) Theses on issues relating to the role of the Internet in facilitating and combating radicalization, extremism, terrorism and cyber-terrorism. Titles were retrieved manually by browsing the Open Access Theses and Dissertations (OATD) database using various combinations of search terms, including – but indeed not limited to – ‘online radicalization’, ‘online extremism’, ‘online terrorism’, and ‘cyber terrorism’. More than 1,600 entries were evaluated, of which 118 were ultimately selected for this list. All theses are open source. However, readers should observe possible copyright restrictions. The title entries are ‘clickable’, allowing access to full texts.

Keywords: bibliography, theses, Internet, online, radicalization, extremism, terrorism, cyber-terrorism, prevention

Bibliographic entries are divided into the following sub-sections:

1. Terrorists’ and Extremists’ Use of the Internet
2. Combating Terrorists and Extremists on the Internet
3. Intersection of Gender, Terrorism, Extremism and the Internet
4. Machine Learning to Explore Terrorists’ and Extremists’ Use of the Internet
5. Cyber-Terrorism

1. Terrorists’ and Extremists’ Use of the Internet

Albano, Gina M. *The Deceit of Internet Hate Speech: A Study of the Narrative and Visual Methods Used by Hate Groups on the Internet*. MA Thesis, March 2004, Rochester Institute of Technology. URL: <https://scholarworks.rit.edu/theses/6713>

Bahia, Jasmeet. *The Online Battleground: The Use of Online Platforms by Extremist Groups and Hacktivists to Form Networks and Collective Identities*. MA Thesis, August 2018, University of British Columbia. URL: <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/24/items/1.0369285>

Barfuss, Frank. *Just a Click Away: Radicalization in the Net Generation*. MA Thesis, 2015, University of Ottawa. URL: <https://ruor.uottawa.ca/handle/10393/32213>

Bulbeck, Emilia. *The Path to Persuasion: An Investigation into how Al-Shabab Constructs Their Brand in Their Digital Magazine Gaidi Mtaani*. MA Thesis, 2017, Uppsala University. URL: <http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A1148028&dswid=-954>

Campion, Selene. *Islamist Extremist Inspired Radicalization in France: Analyzing Recruitment Methods in Mosques, Prisons, and Online*. MA Thesis, May 2016, Brandeis University. URL: <http://bir.brandeis.edu/handle/10192/30571>

- Chang, Mark D. *Trolling New Media: Violent Extremist Groups Recruiting Through Social Media*. MA Thesis, December 2015, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/47919>
- Clayton, Ashleigh Nicole. *Are U.S. Based 'Jihadi' Inspired Terrorists Transitioning Away from Physical Training Camps to Online Training Camps?* MA Thesis, March 2018, California State University, San Bernardino. URL: <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd/618>
- Copello, Evan. *Hard Copy Versus #Hashtag: Examining the Channels of Terrorist Propaganda*. MA Thesis, April 2018, University of North Florida. URL: <https://digitalcommons.unf.edu/etd/802>
- Cutter, Dan. *IS, a Global Caliphate, and Exceptionalism: An Ideological Criticism of the Islamic State's Rhetoric in Dabiq*. MA Thesis, 2017, Kansas State University. URL: <https://krex.k-state.edu/dspace/handle/2097/35545>
- Daniels, Minji. *Online Islamic Organizations and Measuring Web Effectiveness*. MA Thesis, December 2004, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/1273>
- DeSoto, Barbara Luisa. *Violence, Transcendence and Spectacle in the Age of Social Media: #JeSuisCharlie Demonstrations and Hollande's Speech After the 2015 Terrorist Attacks*. MA Thesis, 2017, Brigham Young University. URL: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=7472&context=etd>
- Dhar, Soumia. *Understanding the Confluence of Online Islamism and Counterpublicity: An Ideological Study of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's Rhetoric in Ikhwanweb*. Ph.D. Thesis, July 2011, University of New Mexico. URL: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/cj_etds/28
- Guthrie, Amanda. *#IslamicState: An Analysis of Tweets in Support of ISIS After the November 2015 Attacks in Paris*. MA Thesis, August 2018, Auburn University. URL: <https://etd.auburn.edu/handle/10415/6406>
- Hall, Lori L. *Race and Online Hate: Exploring the Relationship Between Race and the Likelihood of Exposure to Hate Material Online*. Ph.D. Thesis, December 2017, Virginia Tech. URL: <https://vtechworks.lib.vt.edu/handle/10919/82037>
- Harvey-Crowell, Liam. *The Impact and Perception of Islam and Authority Online Among Muslim University Students in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador*. MA Thesis, October 2015, Memorial University of Newfoundland. URL: <https://research.library.mun.ca/11666>
- Hayne, Spencer O. *Borderless World, Boundless Threat: Online Jihadists and Modern Terrorism*. MA Thesis, November 2010, Georgetown University. URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/doc/818725727.html?FMT=AI&pubnum=1483143>
- Henry, Simon. *Charting the Path of Radicalisation in the Australian Survivalist Sub-Culture*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2016, Macquarie University. URL: <http://minerva.mq.edu.au:8080/vital/access/manager/Repository/mq:70237>
- Hunter, Stephanie Michelle. *The Functions of White Nationalism Online: A Content Analysis of White Nationalist Thematic Discourse Surrounding the Eve Carson Homicide*. MA Thesis, May 2009, Virginia Tech. URL: <https://vtechworks.lib.vt.edu/handle/10919/42800>
- Jones, Shannon. *Mapping Extremism: The Network Politics of the Far-Right*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2016, Georgia State University. URL: https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/political_science_diss/42/
- Levey, Philippa. *The Emergence of Violent Narratives in the Life-Course Trajectories of Online Forum Participants*. MA Thesis, 2016, Simon Fraser University. URL: <http://summit.sfu.ca/item/16638>
- Madrazo, Andrea. *Recruiting Followers for the Caliphate: A Narrative Analysis of Four Jihadist Magazines*. MA Thesis, 2018, University of Central Florida. URL: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd/5786>
- Martin, Jessica Marie. *The Information Battlefield: Al-Qaeda's Use of Advanced Media Technologies for Framed Messaging*. MA Thesis, December 2011, University of Nevada – Las Vegas. URL: <https://digitalscholarship.unlv.edu/thesesdissertations/1257>

- Martinez, Karen M. *Using the Race Card: Constructing Reverse-Racism Within the Anti-Immigration Debate*. MA Thesis, May 2017, Kent State University. URL: https://etd.ohiolink.edu/pg_10?0::NO:10:P10_ACCESSION_NUM:kent1501488212368347
- Mealer, Michael J. *Internet Radicalization: Actual Threat or Phantom Menace?* MA Thesis, September 2012, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/17416>
- McDonald, Carina Louise. *Web 2.0, Terror 2.0? Salafi-Jihadist Terrorist Use of the Internet*. MA Thesis, August 2010, University of Calgary. URL: <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/thesescanada/vol2/002/MR69442.PDF>
- McGowan, Pdraig. *Money Laundering, Terrorist Financing and New Technologies: Potential for Misuse of New Payment Methods in the UK and Ireland?* Ph.D. Thesis, July 2014, Dublin City University. URL: <http://doras.dcu.ie/20223>
- Micuda, Kelley Marie. *Combat Branding and the Islamic State: A Missing Link to Generating a Terrorist Recruit Profile*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2017, Fielding Graduate University. URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/doc/1879789789.html?FMT=AI&pubnum=10258582>
- Mitts, Tamar. *Terrorism, Islamophobia, and Radicalization*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2017, Columbia University. URL: <https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/D8Z03FHZ>
- Mold, Francesca Annemarie. *New Imaginaries of War: How Hamas and the Islamic State Advance Their Political Objectives on a Virtual Battlefield*. MA Thesis, 2017, Massey University. URL: <https://mro.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/11715>
- Munksgaard, Daniel Carl. *Warblog Without End: Online Anti-Islamic Discourses as Persuadables*. Ph.D. Thesis, July 2010, University of Iowa. URL: <https://ir.uiowa.edu/etd/715>
- Naffi, Nadia. *Learning About Oneself: An Essential Process to Confront Social Media Propaganda Against the Resettlement of Syrian Refugees*. Ph.D. Thesis, November 2017, Concordia University. URL: https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/983399/1/Naffi_PhD_S2018.pdf
- Ori, Konye Obaji. *Conceptualizing Boko Haram: Victimage Ritual and the Construction of Islamic Fundamentalism*. MA Thesis, July 2013, Indiana University. URL: <https://scholarworks.iupui.edu/handle/1805/4079>
- Quintero, Cynthia Estella. *A Typology of Homegrown Terrorists*. MA Thesis, December 2014, California State University, San Bernardino. URL: <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd/109>
- Ramsay, Gilbert. *Consuming the Jihad: An Enquiry into the Subculture of Internet Jihadism*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2011, University of St Andrews. URL: <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/3607>
- Reilly, Paul. *Framing Online Communications of Civil and Uncivil Groups in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland*. Ph.D. Thesis, November 2007, University of Glasgow. URL: <http://theses.gla.ac.uk/131>
- Revie, Roy. *Contemporary Conflict and the Online Information Environment: An Examination of American Military Engagement with Web 2.0*. Ph.D. Thesis, December 2014, University of Bath. URL: <https://researchportal.bath.ac.uk/en/studentTheses/contemporary-conflict-and-the-online-information-environment>
- Reynolds, Sean C. *German Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq*. MA Thesis, March 2016, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/48583>
- Reynolds, Teddy. *Pulling Back the Curtain: An Examination of the English Defence League and Their Use of Facebook*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2015, University of St Andrews. URL: <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/6927>
- Rippeon, Ryan. *Clandestine Message Passing in Virtual Environments*. MA Thesis, September 2018, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/3967>

Rodriguez, Richard Michael Jr. *A Spatial Analysis of Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab References in Social Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*. MA Thesis, July 2014, George Mason University. URL: <http://mars.gmu.edu/handle/1920/9110>

Rutledge, Rheanna. *Iraqi Insurgents' Use of YouTube as a Strategic Communication Tool: An Exploratory Content Analysis*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2009, Florida State University. URL: <http://fsu.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fsu%3A178304>

Saifudeen, Omer Ali. *"The Chosen" – An Examination of Extremist Muslim Narratives, Discourse and Ideologies in Cyberspace*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2011, National University of Singapore. URL: <https://scholarbank.nus.edu.sg/handle/10635/34468>

Salihu, Flurije. *Assemblages of Radicalism: The Online Recruitment Practices of Islamist Terrorists*. Ph.D. Thesis, May 2014, Arizona State University. URL: <https://repository.asu.edu/items/27545>

Schackmuth, Alex. *Extremism, Fake News and Hate: Effects of Social Media in the Post-Truth Era*. MA Thesis, June 2018, DePaul University. URL: <https://via.library.depaul.edu/etd/245>

Selepak, Andrew G. *White Hoods and Keyboards: An Examination of the Klan and Ku Klux Klan Web Sites*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2011, University of Florida. URL: <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UFE0043361/00001>

Sonkoly, Tibor K. *Aggressive Neighborhood Watch or Unconventional Threat? The Hungarian Extreme Right-Wing Self-Defense Movements*. MA Thesis, December 2014, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/44674>

Spinks, Brandon Todd. *Assessing Perceived Credibility of Web Sites in a Terrorism Context: The PFLP, Tamil Tigers, Hamas, and Hezbollah*. Ph.D. Thesis, May 2009, University of North Texas. URL: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc10980>

Thomas, Evan Nathan Patrick. *The Impact of Opinion Leadership and External Events on Forum Participants Following ISIS Online*. MA Thesis, 2016, Simon Fraser University. URL: <http://summit.sfu.ca/item/16448>

Thomson, Neil. *The Extremist Islamist Presence in Canadian Webspace: An Empirical Study*. MA Thesis, October 2006, Ryerson University. URL: <https://digital.library.ryerson.ca/islandora/object/RULA%3A3172>

Urena Figueroa, Alberto Miguel. *Terrorists and Cyberspace: The Digital Battleground*. MA Thesis, June 2018, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/59608>

Vidanage, Harinda Ranura. *Exploring the Impact of Online Politics on Political Agents and Political Strategies in the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2009, University of Edinburgh. URL: <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/5949>

Vujanovic, Jovana. *The Digital Caliphate*. MA Thesis, 2016, University of Vienna. URL: <http://othes.univie.ac.at/43246>

Woodring, David Wayne. *21st Century Radicalization: The Role of the Internet User and Nonuser in Terrorist Outcomes*. MA Thesis, May 2014, University of Arkansas. URL: <https://scholarworks.uark.edu/etd/2338>

2. Combating Terrorists and Extremists on the Internet

Alvarez, Juan Gabriel Estrada. *Freedom and the War on Terror in the Digital Age*. MA Thesis, March 2006, University of British Columbia. URL: <https://open.library.ubc.ca/cIRcle/collections/ubctheses/831/items/1.0051399>

Ampofo, Lawrence. *Terrorism 3.0: Understanding Perceptions of Technology, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism in Spain*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2011, Royal Holloway University of London. URL: <https://repository.royalholloway>

[ac.uk/items/fd658676-8ed2-9d0c-70e2-72e7fdd8df2f/9](https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/5027)

Banez, Justin D. *The Internet and Homegrown Jihadist Terrorism. Assessing U.S. Detection Techniques*. MA Thesis (English), December 2010, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/5027>

Braddock, Kurt Howard. *Fighting Words: The Persuasive Effect of Online Extremist Narratives on the Radicalization Process*. Ph.D. Thesis, August 2012, Penn State University. URL: <https://etda.libraries.psu.edu/catalog/15349>

Celebi, Erdogan. *Systems Approach to Terrorism, Countering the Terrorist Training Subsystem*. MA Thesis, December 2006, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/2401>

Gaffin, Elizabeth S. *Friending Brandeis: Privacy and Government Surveillance in the Era of Social Media*. MA Thesis, June 2012, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/7343>

Gallagher, Jerry P. *Reducing the Threat of Terrorism Through Knowledge Sharing in a Virtual Environment Between Law Enforcement and the Private Security Industry*. MA Thesis, March 2008, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/4242>

Hlase, Edwin Papie. *The Securitisation of Cyberspace in South Africa: The Tension Between National Security and Civil Liberties Continues*. MA Thesis, March 2018, University of Pretoria. URL: <https://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/68025>

Powell, John Eric. *Creating a Learning Organization for State, Local, and Tribal Law Enforcement to Combat Violent Extremism*. MA Thesis, September 2016, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/50468>

Rulffes, Angela Marie. *Privacy vs. Security: Fear Appeals, Terrorism and the Willingness to Allow Increased Government Surveillance*. Ph.D. Thesis, May 2017, Syracuse University. URL: <https://surface.syr.edu/etd/671>

Shah, Nisha. *Global Village, Global Marketplace, Global War on Terror: Metaphorical Reinscription and Global Internet Governance*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2009, University of Toronto. URL: <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/17830>

Zimmermann, Katie. *Terrorist Group Efforts in the Homeland and the Strategy to Combat Them*. MA Thesis, December 2014, Johns Hopkins University. URL: <https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/handle/1774.2/37312>

3. Intersection of Gender, Terrorism, Extremism and the Internet

Badalich, Savannah. *Online Radicalization of White Women to Organized White Supremacy*. MA Thesis, February 2019, Columbia University. URL: <https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/d8-j5pa-yz09>

Monroe, Brandi Lynn Evans. *Brand Caliphate and Recruitment Between the Genders*. MA Thesis, September 2016, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/50599>

Peladeau, Hillary. *“Support for Sisters Please”: Comparing the Online Roles of Al-Qaeda Women and Their Islamic State Counterparts*. MA Thesis, 2016, University of Western Ontario. URL: <http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/3894>

Pooley, Elizabeth Garcia. *A New Sisterhood: The Allure of ISIS in Syria for Young Muslim Women in the UK*. MA Thesis, May 2015, Arizona State University. URL: <https://repository.asu.edu/items/29719>

Tarras-Wahlberg, Louisa. *Promises of Paradise? A Study on Official ISIS-Propaganda Targeting Women*. MA Thesis, May 2016, Swedish Defence University. URL: <http://fhs.diva-portal.org/smash/record.jsf?pid=diva2%3A942997&dswid=6467>

Varanese, Joseph A. *“Follow Me So I Can DM You Back”: An Exploratory Analysis of a Female Pro-ISIS Twitter Network*. MA Thesis, 2016, University of Western Ontario. URL: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/4251>

4. Machine Learning to Explore Terrorists' and Extremists' Use of the Internet

Benigni, Matthew Curran. *Detection and Analysis of Online Extremist Communities*. Ph.D. Thesis, May 2017, Carnegie Mellon University. URL: https://figshare.com/articles/Detection_and_Analysis_of_Online_Extremist_Communities/6715841

Etudo, Ugochukwu O. *Automatically Detecting the Resonance of Terrorist Movement Frames on the Web*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2017, Virginia Commonwealth University. URL: <http://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd/4926>

Houston, Heather Graver. *Political Attitudes in 140 Characters or Less*. MA Thesis, 2012, University of Florida. URL: <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UFE0044688/00001>

Karad, Ravi Chandravadan. *A Semantic Triplet Based Story Classifier*. MA Thesis, April 2013, Arizona State University. URL: <https://repository.asu.edu/items/17802>

Kim, Nyunsu. *Perspective Scaling and Trait Detection on Social Media Data*. Ph.D. Thesis, April 2018, Arizona State University. URL: <https://repository.asu.edu/items/49332>

Lai, Guanpi. *A Framework for Application Specific Knowledge Engines*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2010, University of Arizona. URL: <https://repository.arizona.edu/handle/10150/204290>

Li, Siyuan. *Application of Recurrent Neural Networks in Toxic Comment Classification*. MA Thesis, 2018, University of California, Los Angeles. URL: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5f87h061>

Marks, Christopher Edward. *Analytic Search Methods in Online Social Networks*. Ph.D. Thesis, June 2017, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. URL: <https://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/112012>

Scanlon, Jacob. *Automatic Detection and Forecasting of Violent Extremist Cyber-Recruitment*. MA Thesis, April 2014, University of Virginia. URL: https://libra2.lib.virginia.edu/public_view/8049g526h

Scrivens, Ryan Matthew. *Understanding the Collective Identity of the Radical Right Online: A Mixed-Methods Approach*. Ph.D. Thesis, September 2017, Simon Fraser University. URL: <http://summit.sfu.ca/item/17632>

Stinson, Robert T. III. *Detection and Monitoring of Improvised Explosive Device Education Networks Through the World Wide Web*. MA Thesis, June 2009, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/7289>

5. Cyber-Terrorism

Ashbaugh, Lucas. *An Analysis of International Agreements Over Cybersecurity*. MA Thesis, May 2018, University of Maine. URL: <https://digitalcommons.library.umaine.edu/etd/2876>

Auwema, N. M. *The Discourse of Cyberterrorism: 'Exceptional Measures Call for the Framing of Exceptional Times'*. MA Thesis, June 2015, Leiden University. URL: <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/33653>

Biller, Jeffrey Thomas. *Cyber-Terrorism: Finding a Common Starting Point*. MA Thesis, May 2012, George Washington University. URL: <https://pqdtopen.proquest.com/doc/1033498100.html?FMT=AI&pubnum=1515265>

Boyer, Blake R. *Identification and Ranking of Critical Assets Within an Electrical Grid Under Threat of Cyber Attack*. MA Thesis, May 2011, Rutgers University. URL: <https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/33591>

Brow, Stephanie Lynn. *The California Independent System Operator Security Vulnerabilities*. MA Thesis, 2010, California State University, Sacramento. URL: <http://csus-dspace.calstate.edu/handle/10211.9/626>

Buch, Ryan K. *The Day of the Cyber Wolf*. MA Thesis, December 2014, Regis University. URL: <http://epublications.regis.edu/theses/210>

- Dawson, Maurice. *Hyper-Connectivity: Intricacies of National and International Cyber Securities*. Ph.D. Thesis, August 2017, London Metropolitan University. URL: <http://repository.londonmet.ac.uk/1282>
- DiBiasi, Jeffrey R. *Cyberterrorism: Cyber Prevention vs. Cyber Recovery*. MA Thesis, December 2007, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/3187>
- Egan, Taylor J. G. *Design and Control of Resilient Interconnected Microgrids for Reliable Mass Transit Systems*. MA Thesis, March 2019, University of Ontario Institute of Technology. URL: <https://ir.library.dc-uoit.ca/handle/10155/1020>
- Gobran, Ashraf. *Cyber Terrorism Threats*. MA Thesis, May 2015, Utica College. URL: <http://pqdtopen.proquest.com/doc/1683128117.html?FMT=AI&pubnum=1588500>
- Gordon, Richard. *Privacy, Security and the Cyber Dilemma: An Examination of New Zealand's Response to the Rising Threat of Cyber-Attack*. MA Thesis, 2014, Victoria University of Wellington. URL: <http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/handle/10063/3565>
- Hardwick, Patrick. *The Geneva Conventions in Modern Warfare: A Contemporary Analysis of Conflict Classification, Combatant Status, and Detainee Treatment in the War on Terror*. MA Thesis, August 2012, Texas State University, San Marcos. URL: <https://digital.library.txstate.edu/bitstream/handle/10877/4243/HARDWICK-THESIS.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y>
- Held, Warren V. *Hactivism: An Analysis of the Motive to Disseminate Confidential Information*. MA Thesis, December 2012, Texas State University, San Marcos. URL: <https://digital.library.txstate.edu/handle/10877/4381>
- Hughes, Dan. *A Discourse in Conflict: Resolving the Definitional Uncertainty of Cyber War*. MA Thesis, 2017, Massey University. URL: <https://mro.massey.ac.nz/handle/10179/12989>
- Hyacinthe, Berg P. *Users' Adoption of Emergent Technologies: Towards an Acceptable Model for Safer Cyber-Assisted Olfactory Information Exchanges in Standard, Micro, and Nano Systems*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2007, Florida State University. URL: <http://fsu.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fsu%3A181683>
- Ismail, Mohamed. *Sony Pictures and the U.S. Federal Government: A Case Study Analysis of the Sony Pictures Entertainment Hack Crisis Using Normal Accidents Theory*. MA Thesis, December 2017, University of Southern Mississippi. URL: https://aquila.usm.edu/masters_theses/330
- Langevin, James R. *Responding to the Threat of Cyberterrorism Through Information Assurance*. MA Thesis, June 1999, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/13544>
- Lensing, Reshma Pradhan. *Historical Events and Supply Chain Disruption: Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Cyber Events*. MA Thesis, June 2003, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. URL: <https://dspace.mit.edu/handle/1721.1/28561>
- Littleton, Matthew J. *Information Age Terrorism: Toward Cyberterror*. MA Thesis, December 1995, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/7469>
- Matusitz, Jonathan A. *Cyberterrorism: A Postmodern View of Networks of Terror and How Computer Security Experts and Law Enforcement Officials Fight Them*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2006, University of Oklahoma. URL: <https://shareok.org/handle/11244/1000>
- Mauslein, Jacob A. *Three Essays on International Cyber Threats: Target Nation Characteristics, International Rivalry, and Asymmetric Information Exchange*. Ph.D. Thesis, 2014, Kansas State University. URL: <http://krex.k-state.edu/dspace/handle/2097/18147>
- Minei, Elizabeth. *Cyberterrorists: Their Communicative Messages and the Effect on Targets*. MA Thesis, 2009, University of Central Florida. URL: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5165&context=etd>
- Moore, Joe Wesley. *Information Warfare, Cyber-Terrorism and Community Values*. MA Thesis, 2002, McGill

University. URL: http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/R/?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=29563&local_base=GEN01-MCG02

Mott, Gareth. *A Critical Reflection on the Construction of the Cyberterrorist Threat in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*. Ph.D. Thesis, April 2018, Nottingham Trent University. URL: <http://irep.ntu.ac.uk/id/eprint/34122>

Munk, Tine Hojsgaard. *Cyber-Security in the European Region: Anticipatory Governance and Practices*. Ph.D. Thesis, August 2015, University of Manchester. URL: [https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/cybersecurity-in-the-european-region-anticipatory-governance-and-practices\(6658eec7-cc61-4c84-9054-ea40cf405ed9\).html](https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/cybersecurity-in-the-european-region-anticipatory-governance-and-practices(6658eec7-cc61-4c84-9054-ea40cf405ed9).html)

Ozeren, Suleyman. *Global Response to Cyberterrorism and Cybercrime: A Matrix for International Cooperation and Vulnerability Assessment*. Ph.D. Thesis, August 2005, University of North Texas. URL: <https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc4847>

Rege, Aunshul. *Cybercrimes Against the Electricity Infrastructure: Exploring Hacker and Industry Perceptions*. Ph.D. Thesis, May 2012, Rutgers University. URL: <https://rucore.libraries.rutgers.edu/rutgers-lib/37331>

Stocking, Galen Asher Thomas. *The Threat of Cyberterrorism: Contemporary Consequences and Prescriptions*. MA Thesis, June 2004, California State University, San Bernardino. URL: <https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/etd-project/2590>

Tan, Kheng Lee Gregory. *Confronting Cyberterrorism with Cyber Deception*. MA Thesis, December 2003, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/6132>

Tester, Rodrick A. *Risk of Cyberterrorism to Naval Ships Inport Naval Station Everett: A Model Based Project Utilizing SIAM*. MA Thesis, March 2007, Naval Postgraduate School. URL: <https://calhoun.nps.edu/handle/10945/3574>

Tewell, Zachary Scott. *Digital Discourse, Online Repression, and Cyberterrorism: Information Communication Technologies in Russia's North Caucasus Republics*. MA Thesis, 2014, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. URL: <https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/record/uuid:70f74840-b34e-475a-aad6-658f4ef0b3d8>

Thatcher, Sarah E. H. *The Hunt for the Paper Tiger: The Social Construction of Cyberterrorism*. Ph.D. Thesis, October 2006, London School of Economics and Political Science. URL: <http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/3040>

Van Breda, Leanne Christine. *The Effectiveness of the Principle of Distinction in the Context of Cyber Warfare*. MA Thesis, 2014, University of Johannesburg. URL: <https://ujcontent.uj.ac.za/vital/access/manager/Repository/uj:11259>

Van Hoogenstyn, Andrew J. *Knowledge and Perceptions of "Cyberterrorism."* MA Thesis, December 2007, University of New Hampshire. URL: <https://scholars.unh.edu/thesis/69>

Veerasamy, Namosha. *CLC – Cyberterrorism Life Cycle Model*. Ph.D. Thesis, September 2014, University of Johannesburg. URL: <https://ujcontent.uj.ac.za/vital/access/manager/Repository/uj:12605>

Watt, Allan Charles. *New Zealand Government and Critical Infrastructure Ready Reaction to Cyber Terrorism*. MA Thesis, 2008, University of Auckland. URL: <https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/6758>

About the Compiler: Ryan Scrivens (Associate Editor for *Theses*) is an incoming Assistant Professor in the School of Criminal Justice at Michigan State University (MSU). His tenure-track appointment commences in August 2019. He is currently a Horizon Postdoctoral Fellow at Concordia University with Project SOMEONE, a Visiting Researcher at the VOX-Pol Network of Excellence, and a Research Associate at the International CyberCrime Research Centre (ICCRC) at Simon Fraser University (SFU). Ryan received his Ph.D. in Criminology from SFU.

Conference Monitor/Calendar of Events

(June – September 2019)

Compiled by Reinier Bergema

The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI), in its mission to provide a platform for academics and practitioners in the field of terrorism and counter-terrorism, compiles an online calendar, listing recent and upcoming academic and professional conferences, symposia and similar events that are directly or indirectly relevant to the readers of *Perspectives on Terrorism*. The calendar includes academic and (inter-) governmental conferences, professional expert meetings, book launches, civil society events and educational programs. The listed events are organised by a wide variety of governmental and non-governmental institutions, including several key (counter) terrorism research centres and institutes.

We encourage readers to contact the journal's Assistant Editor for Conference Monitoring, Reinier Bergema, and provide him with relevant information, preferably in the same format as the items listed below. Reinier Bergema can be reached at <r.bergema@icct.nl> or via Twitter: [@reinierbergema](https://twitter.com/reinierbergema).

June 2019**When All Else Fails: The Ethics of Resistance to State Injustice***CATO Institute*

3 June, Washington DC, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@catoinstitute](https://twitter.com/catoinstitute)**Achieving Durable Solutions for Returnee Children***Danish Institute for International Studies*

3 June, Copenhagen, Denmark

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@diisdsk](https://twitter.com/diisdsk)**Is America Experiencing Europe's Growing Anti-Semitism?***Hudson Institute*

4 June, Washington DC, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@HudsonInstitute](https://twitter.com/HudsonInstitute)**Book Launch Event: The Three Pillars of Radicalization***National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START)*

5 June, College Park, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@START_umd](https://twitter.com/START_umd)**The Future of US Security Institutions Under Trump***Chatham House*

5 June, London, United Kingdom

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ChathamHouse](https://twitter.com/ChathamHouse)**RAN Multi-Agency Meeting: Connections, Roles and Quality Review of Rehabilitation, Resocialisation and Exit Activities***Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) EXIT-P&P*

5-6 June, Budapest, Hungary

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@RANEurope](https://twitter.com/RANEurope)

The Conduct of Hostilities and International Humanitarian Law: Challenges of 21st Century Warfare*TMC Asser Institute*

6 June, The Hague, The Netherlands

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@TMCAsser](#)**Understanding Extremism in Northern Mozambique***Center for Strategic & International Studies*

6 June, Washington DC, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@csis](#)**Encrypted Extremism: A Discussion on Islamic State Exploitation of Telegram***George Washington University Program on Extremism*

6 June, Washington DC, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@gwupoe](#)**Everyone's Land. Non-State Actors and Fragmented Security in the MENA Region***Italian Institute for International Political Studies (ISPI)*

6 June, Geneva, Switzerland

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ispionline](#)**RAN Multi-Agency Meeting: Extremists Being Released From Prison—Community and Family Acceptance***Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) YF&C – P&P*

6-7 June, Budapest, Hungary

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@RANEurope](#)**Webinar: Hash Sharing and Identifying Terrorist Content at Scale***Tech Against Terrorism*

7 June, Online

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@techvsterrorism](#)**Verdiepingsleergang Terrorisme, Recht en Veiligheid [Advanced Course on Terrorism, Law and Security, in Dutch]***Leiden University*

6-7 June [and 23-24 May], The Hague, The Netherlands

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@UniLeiden](#)**GLOBSEC 2019 Bratislava Forum***GLOBSEC*

6-8 June, Bratislava, Slovakia

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@GLOBSEC](#)**VOX-Pol Summer School 2019: Topics in Violent Online Political Extremism***VOX-POL*

10-14 June, Dublin, Ireland

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@VOX_Pol](#)

RAN Steering Committee*Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN)*

11 June, Brussels, Belgium

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@RANEurope](#)**The Push for Peace: Ending the Syrian Conflict***The Institute of International and European Affairs*

11 June, Dublin, Ireland

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@iea](#)**Conflict in the 21st Century: Statelessness, Criminality, and Civilian Victimization***International Institute for Strategic Studies*

11 June, New York, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@IISS_org](#)**The Evolution of al-Qaeda Over Three Decades: Lessons Learned for the Future***International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague (ICCT)*

12 June, The Hague, The Netherlands

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ICCT_TheHague](#)**The Future of Conflict: Carnegie Junior Fellows Conference 2019***Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

12 June, Washington DC, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@CarnegieEndow](#)**VSE Annual Conference 2019: Victim Recovery – A Road of Many Routes***Victim Support Europe*

12-13 June, Strasbourg, France

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@VictimSupportEU](#)**ASPI International Conference: War in 2025***Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)*

12-14 June, Canberra, Australia

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ASPI_org](#)**Secrecy and Method in Security Studies***TMC Asser Institute*

13 June, The Hague, The Netherlands

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@TMCAsser](#)**Armed Conflict Survey 2019: IISS-Americas Book Launch***International Institute for Strategic Studies*

13 June, Washington DC, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@IISS_org](#)

After the Caliphate: The Islamic State and the Future Terrorist Diaspora*Spui25*

13 June, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@spui25](#)**Schools and Challenging Far Right Extremism***Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) EDU*

13-14 June, Berlin, Germany

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@RANEurope](#)**2019 National Security Conference: Sharpening America's Edge***Center for New American Security (CNAS)*

14 June, Washington DC, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@cnasdc](#)**Tech Against Terrorism at RightsCon 2019***Tech Against Terrorism*

14 June, Tunis, Tunisia

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@techvsterrorism](#)**The Syrian Refugee Crisis From the Perspective of Neighbouring Countries: Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq***Danish Institute for International Studies*

14 June, Copenhagen, Denmark

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@diisdsk](#)**Data Revolution and Terrorism Studies in Belgium: Bringing Academics and Practitioners Together***Egmont Institute*

14 June, Brussels, Belgium

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@Egmontinstitute](#)**Electronic Warfare Technology Conference***Cranfield University*

17-20 June, Cranfield, United Kingdom

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@CranfieldUni](#)**Arab Spring 2.0? The Shifting Sands of MENA Politics***Brookings Institute*

18 June, Doha, Qatar

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@BrookingsInst](#)**Tech Against Terrorism and GIFCT Jordan Launch***Tech Against Terrorism*

18 June, Amman, Jordan

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@techvsterrorism](#)

Understanding Cybercrime for Better Policing: Regional and Global Challenges*Chatham House*

18 June, London, United Kingdom

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ChathamHouse](#)**Leadership Targeting: Terrorists, Criminals and Consequences***International Institute for Strategic Studies*

18 June, London, United Kingdom

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@IISS_org](#)**Tyranny Comes Homes: The Domestic Fate of U.S. Militarism***CATO Institute*

19 June, Washington DC, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@catoinstitute](#)**Unpacking the Responsibility Gap(s) Arising from AI Applications in Weapon Technologies***TMC Asser Institute*

19 June, The Hague, The Netherlands

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@TMCAsser](#)**India's Modi Government 2.0 – Foreign and Security Priorities***International Institute for Strategic Studies*

19 June, London, United Kingdom

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@IISS_org](#)**Cyber 2019***Chatham House*

20 June, London, United Kingdom

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ChathamHouse](#)**Preparation Remembrance Day 2020***Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) EDU*

20-21 June, Bilbao, Spain

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@RANEurope](#)**Society for Terrorism Research 13th Annual International Conference: The Data Revolution in Terrorism Research: Implications for Theory and Practice***Society for Terrorism Research, Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo & the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI)*

20-21 June, Oslo, Norway

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@CrexUiO](#)**After the Caliphate: the Islamic State and the future terrorist movement***Egmont Institute*

25 June, Brussels, Belgium

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@Egmontinstitute](#)

Terrorism and Social Media: An International Conference*Swansea University*

25-26 June, Swansea, United Kingdom

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ctp_swansea](#)**July 2019****Peace, Conflict and Pedagogy***Liverpool Hope University*

2 July, Liverpool, United Kingdom

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@LiverpoolHopeUK](#)**Criminal Justice Platform Europe – Summer Course***Criminal Justice*

2-5 July, Barcelona, Spain

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: *n/a***Narratives and Strategies of FRE and Islamist Extremists***Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) P&P*

4 July, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@RANEurope](#)**ECPR Standing Group on Organised Crime, General Conference***European Consortium for Political Research*

5-6 July, Sofia, Bulgaria

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ecpr](#)**Executive Certificate Program in Counter-Terrorism Studies***International Institute for Counter-Terrorism*

7-26 July, Herzliya, Israel

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ICT_org](#)**TSAS Summer Academy 2019***Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security and Society (TSAS)*

8-11 July, Waterloo, Canada

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@TSASNetwork](#)**Book Talk: Farah Pandith “How We Win”***National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START)*

9 July, College Park, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@START_umd](#)**MENA Think Tank Forum: Migration and Diaspora***ORSAM Center for Middle Eastern Studies*

9-10 July, Ankara, Turkey

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@orsamtr](#)

Violence: An Inclusive Interdisciplinary Project*Progressive Connexions*

15-16 July, Verona, Italy

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ProgConnex](#)**Summer Workshop on Pandemics, Bioterrorism, and Global Health Security: From Anthrax to Zika***Schar School of Policy and Government*

15-18 July, Arlington, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@CSPS_GMU](#)**Seminar on the Protection of Public Spaces***European Forum for Urban Security*

17 July, Brasov, Romania

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@Efusnews](#)**2019 CBRN Defense Conference & Exhibition***National Defense Industrial Association*

23-24 July, Wilmington, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@NDIAToday](#)**The 7th International Academic Conference on Social Sciences (IACSS)***International Institute for Academic Development*

26-27 July, Prague, Czech Republic

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@IIACD](#)**SOF Symposium: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Past, Present, and Future***Aspen Institute*

30 July, Aspen, United States

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@aspeninstitute](#)**August 2019****Advanced Summer Programme: Preventing, Detecting and Responding to the Violent Extremist Threat***Leiden University & International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague*

19-23 August, The Hague, The Netherlands

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@UniLeiden](#); [@ICCT_TheHague](#)**Advanced Summer Programme: Terrorism, Countering Terrorism and the Rule of Law***International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague & TMC Asser Institute*

26-30 August

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ICCT_TheHague](#); [@TMCAsser](#)**Terrorism Risk Insurance Seminar***Australian Reinsurance Pool Cooperation*

29 August, Sydney, Australia

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: *n/a*

September 2019**3rd Cross-Sectoral and Cross-Pillar Meeting on Developing the Draft Work Plan to Implement the ASEAN Plan of Action to Prevent and Counter the Rise of Radicalisation and Violent Extremism 2018-2025***ASEAN*

2 September, Thailand

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ASEAN2019TH](#)**14th BISA US Foreign Policy Working Group: Annual Conference***The BISA US Foreign Policy Working Group*

4-5 September, Dublin, Ireland

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@USFPgroup](#)**2019 General Conference***European Consortium for Political Research*

4-7 September, Wroclaw, Poland

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@ecpr](#)**Postgraduate Conference 2019: Current Themes in the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence***Society for Terrorism Research*

6 September, Coventry, United Kingdom

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@SocTerRes](#)**World Summit on Counter-Terrorism: Terrorism 2020: Understand the Present, Prepare for the Future***International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT)*,

9-12 September 2019, Herzliya, Israel

Website: <http://www.ict.org.il/ContentWorld.aspx?ID=36#gsc.tab=0>Twitter: https://twitter.com/ICT_org/status/1125740755295842304/photo/1**Course: Counter Terrorism / Attack the Network (AtN)***NATO Centre of Expertise Defence Against Terrorism (COEDAT)*

9-13 September, Ankara, Turkey

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: *n/a***RAN YOUNG Academy Session 3—Challenges & Progress***Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) YOUNG*

10-11 September, Barcelona, Spain

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@RANEurope](#)**The Italian Political Science Conference (SISP 2019)***Società Italiana di Scienza Politica*

12-14 September, Lecce, Italy

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: *n/a***P/CVE trends in the EU***Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) P&P; Finnish EU Presidency*

17-18 September, Helsinki, Finland

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@RANEurope](#)

Extremists Being Released from Prison: Community and Family Acceptance

Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) P&P

19 September, Helsinki, Finland

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@RANEurope](#)

Steering Committee Meeting

Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN)

24 September, Brussels Belgium

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@RANEurope](#)

4th CDCT Bureau meeting

Council of Europe Committee on Counter-Terrorism (CDCT)

26 September

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@COE_HRightsRLaw](#)

Coroners Society National Conference 2019: The Challenge of Terrorism

Coroners Society of England and Wales

27 September, Essex, United Kingdom

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: *n/a*

Course: Terrorist Use of WMD

NATO Centre of Expertise Defence Against Terrorism (COEDAT)

30 September – 4 October, Ankara, Turkey

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: *n/a*

Disarmament and Non-Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW) & TMC Asser Institute

30 September – 4 October, The Hague, The Netherlands

Website: [visit](#) | Twitter: [@opcw](#); [@TMCAsser](#)

Acknowledgement

Special thank goes out to Berto Jongman, Alex Schmid, Leonie Vrugtman, Agnes Venema, Jeanine de Roy van Zuijdewijn, and Pricilia Sari for their suggestions and contributions to this conference calendar.

About The Compiler: *Reinier Bergema is a Research Fellow and Project Manager at the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague (ICCT) and an Assistant Editor at Perspectives on Terrorism. His research interests include, inter alia, radicalisation and Dutch (jihadist) foreign fighters.*

About *Perspectives on Terrorism*

Perspectives on Terrorism (PoT) is a joint publication of the Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI), headquartered in Vienna, Austria, and the Institute of Security and Global Affairs (ISGA) of Leiden University, Campus The Hague. PoT is published six times per year as a free, independent, scholarly peer-reviewed online journal available at <https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/perspectives-on-terrorism>.

PoT seeks to provide a platform for established scholars as well as academics and professionals entering the interdisciplinary fields of Terrorism-, Political Violence- and Conflict Studies.

The editors invite researchers and readers to:

- present their perspectives on the prevention of, and response to, terrorism and related forms of violent conflict;
- submit to the journal accounts of evidence-based, empirical scientific research and analyses;
- use the journal as a forum for debate and commentary on issues related to the above.

Perspectives on Terrorism has sometimes been characterised as ‘nontraditional’ in that it dispenses with some of the rigidities associated with commercial print journals. Topical articles can be published at short notice and reach, through the Internet, a much larger audience than subscription-fee based paper journals. Our on-line journal also offers contributors a higher degree of flexibility in terms of content, style and length of articles – but without compromising professional scholarly standards.

The journal’s Research Notes, Special Correspondence, Op-Eds and other content are reviewed by members of the Editorial Team, while its Articles are peer-reviewed by outside academic experts and professionals. While aiming to be policy-relevant, PT does not support any partisan policies regarding (counter-) terrorism and waging conflicts. Impartiality, objectivity and accuracy are guiding principles that we require contributors to adhere to. They are responsible for the content of their contributions and retain the copyright of their publication.

The Editorial Team of Perspectives on Terrorism consists of:

Prof. em. Alex P. Schmid, Editor-in-Chief

Prof. James J.F. Forest, Co-Editor

M.Sc. Christine Boelema Robertus, Associate Editor for IT

Prof. Gregory Miller, Associate Editor

Dr. Rashmi Singh, Associate Editor

Dr. Tore Bjørgo, Associate Editor

Dr. John Morrison, Associate Editor

Dr. Bart Schuurman, Associate Editor

Dr. Aaron Y. Zelin, Associate Editor

Dr. Joshua Sinai, Books Reviews Editor

Dr. Judith Tinnes, Information Resources Editor

Drs. Berto Jongman, Associate Editor

Mrs. Jodi Moore, Editorial Assistant

Dr. Ryan Scrivens, Associate Editor for Theses

Mr. Reinier Bergema, Assistant Editor for Conference Monitoring