



**UNIVERSITY OF  
KWAZULU-NATAL**

**An Investigation of Recruitment Strategies by Terrorist and  
Extremist Organisations: A Case Study of the Islamic State  
of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)**

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### Declaration

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Social Sciences in Political Science, to the College of Humanities; School of Social Sciences; Cluster of International and Public Affairs at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, South Africa.

I, Sinenhlanhla Amanda Sithole (212555683), declare that:

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## **Dedication**

This research paper is dedicated to my beloved daughter Nkosazana who serves as a constant source of inspiration that encourages me to strive to be the best I can be for us. I love you ‘waisin.’

## **Title:**

An Investigation of Recruitment Strategies by Terrorist and Extremist Organisations: A Case Study of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)

## **Abstract**

Whilst terrorism is a difficult phenomenon to define due to lack of a universally accepted definition when gleaning over the literature, the art of terrorist recruitment itself is a rather complex phenomenon which requires understanding of various other factors to explain it. This paper offers, extensively, the various definitions of terrorism and asks pertinent questions which respond to the reasons behind individuals choosing to commit to violence, in general, with religious political violence at the fore. This highlights through qualitative and theoretical undertaking the *Clash of Civilisations* once predicted by Huntington between the secular and non-secular as a means to explaining some of the religiously and politically motivated extremism. Modernisation as well as Relative Deprivation theories are further used to serve as a backdrop to the study. Modernisation speaks to the increasing spread of the phenomenon of westernisation globally which has come into conflict with cultural and religious ideologies. Relative Deprivation on the other hand focuses on the forms of deprivation that are perceived to have been created by westernisation resulting in the dissatisfaction which drives certain individuals to become terrorists. The methodology employed is a desktop qualitative interpretivist (phenomenology) approach using a case study to understand the problem that has been identified. Once the important questions are investigated and key objectives addressed, various recruitment strategies by terrorist organisations are explored and engaged, highlighting that each strategy is almost tailored towards luring a particular kind of recruit. ISIS is used as the relevant case study to highlight their recruitment strategies as well as their global reach which has shaken the world and has at least had many regions exploring the options of taking up heightened security measures than usual. No region is immune to this vile threat. Lastly recommendations are put forth on how to curb terrorism and the research further warns against blanket approaches to terrorism warning that despite the common denominator being violence, different groups execute their attacks differently calling for diverse solutions.

## **Acronyms and Abbreviations**

**AMZ:** Abu Musab al-Zarqawi

**AQC:** Al-Qaeda Central

**AQI:** Al-Qaeda in Iraq

**CNN:** Cable News Network

**IS:** Islamic State

**ISI:** Islamic State of Iraq

**ISIL:** Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (or al-Sham)

**ISIS:** Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

**JN:** Jabhat al-Nusra

**JTWJ:** Jama'at al-Tawhid wa al-Jihad

**PLO:** Palestine Liberation Organisation

**UN:** United Nations

**US:** United States

## Glossary

- Al-Qaeda:** founded by amongst others, Osama Bin Laden, this Salafi jihadi movement has become a global force and is being led by Ayman al Zawahiri.
- AQI:** currently known as just the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) later became the Islamic State of Iraq and thereafter ISIS.
- Baya't:** Considered as a pledge of allegiance amongst Muslims.
- Boko Haram:** An extremist jihadi group from Nigeria
- Caliph:** the chief Muslim civil and religious ruler, regarded as the successor of Muhammad and a leader to the entire Muslim community.
- Caliphate:** A state which is under the leadership of a caliph. It tends to be both political and religious in nature.
- Camp Bucca:** A detention facility that was managed by the US military in Iraq.
- Dabiq:** IS online magazine which was first published in 2014 used towards recruitment.
- Islamic State:** after declaring itself a caliphate, ISIS referred to itself as IS since June 2014.
- Islamic State of Iraq:** this group was affiliated with Al-Qaeda under the leadership of Zarqawi until 2012 having been conceived in 2006
- ISIS:** known as the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria also known as the Islamic State in Iraq and al Sham. After ISI's expansion to Syria the group changed its name to ISIS.
- Jabhat al-Nusra:** are Syrian based and are known to have affiliations with Al-Qaeda.
- Jihad:** known in Islam to refer to "struggle" and often is used to describe various actions including extremism.
- Koran/Qur'an:** the Islamic holy/sacred book.
- Mujahideen:** these are often fighters in Muslim countries waging militant jihad.

- Takfir:** refers to the exclusion of “non-believers” where a Muslim is referred to as an apostate.
- Shariah:** is an Islamic law which is based on the teachings of the Koran. ISIS seeks to rule through Sharia law.
- Tawhid:** is the concept of monotheism in Islam and is very central to the Muslim faith.
- Ummah:** an Arabic word meaning “community” more specifically the entire global Muslim community.
- Yazidi:** the Yazidi are a religious ethnic minority who are Kurdish-speaking and often find themselves victims to ISIS’s harsh brutality.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## 1. RESEARCH INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

Terrorism as a phenomenon has been an issue of enormous concentration worldwide and its ties and linkages with religious ideology has brought about even more controversy not just amongst scholars and researchers but various other actors as well. Counterterrorism strategies have no doubt been insufficient in successfully combating the phenomenon as more attacks on innocent civilians are regularly reported through various media, globally. One area of controversy that this research focuses on, is the intersection between religion and politics especially within Islam as there has been a notable rise in religious conflicts especially in the Middle East. This intersection thus highlights the nexus of this research, the nature of the recruitment process that takes place within terrorist organizations. This paper however stresses that Islam is not the only faith (or non-faith) associated with terrorism and religious conflict in general. “A society where the majority supports secular politics tends to be much less tolerant of religious extremism than one in which political Islam is the dominant discourse,” (Mansoor *et al* 2011) and in the case of ISIS, this proves true. Having already captured a territory and declared a caliphate, a majority of ISIS recruits are adherents to violent extremist behaviours where the group wants to militantly rule (eventually the world) through sharia law. Not only is there an intersection of politics and religion but Huntington’s (1993) *Clash of Civilisations* between modernity and traditional culture is brought to the fore where ISIS challenges the west at every turn. ISIS recruitment however is far more ubiquitous given its cosmopolitan reach. The case of ISIS is one way of approaching and looking at terrorism whereas groups such as Al-Qaeda approach their terrorist and recruitment style far more differently and though extreme, not as extreme in comparison to ISIS. The idea of an Islamic government resonates highly amongst many a Muslim who are part of a terrorist organisation as ideology (usually religious) is a core guiding factor for the group.

The nexus of this research is that of terrorist recruitment strategies and how they are employed by various terrorist and extremist organisations with ISIS (currently referred to as the Islamic State (IS)) being the relevant case study given their continuous growth despite challenges that have been

faced along their journey. There is still no telling, with accuracy, the typology of an individual who decides to partake in terrorism let alone, why and how people decide to give up their lives and choose violence and in some cases, ultimately death. Terrorism is said to stem from various disparate factors and this differs from group to group as each one engages in violence in an attempt to achieve group ideology and goals which can be religious, political, economic and social or any combination thereof if not all. With the continuous *Clash of Civilisations*, as each civilisation attempts to be the dominant one, terrorism is seemingly far from over.

## **1.2 Outline of Research Problem**

For centuries terrorism has attracted the attention of the world and increasingly continues to do so to this day. This dissertation sets out to explore various recruitment strategies that have and are currently being employed by terrorist organisation, Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) which associates itself largely with extremist militant Islam. It is important to stress that this in no way implies that terrorist groups of other faiths (or non-faiths) are irrelevant. In an attempt to combat modernisation by advocating for non-secular Islamic states, militant Islamic resurgence has been accompanied, in some instances, by extremist terror attacks. Bruce Lawrence (1989) asserts that this religious violence within militant Islam should be understood as part of a worldwide rejection to modernity. These attacks have dominated media headlines and have become increasingly difficult to ignore. The motivation behind this project is to identify the various strategies that have been sought and undertaken in successfully recruiting individuals that carry out these attacks and those who join terrorist organisations to plan these attacks and in the process lure in more recruits. Therefore it is imperative to acknowledge that terrorism is more of a cosmopolitan problem than what “conventional wisdom prior 9/11 would have many of us believe, that terrorists and potential terrorist recruits reside in some remote location,” (Forest 2006:1). Whilst some organisations may have a base location, their terrorist activities are more widespread with others having branches outside of their base location.

There are fundamental questions that surface during an attempt to establish various recruitment strategies of terrorist groups. Perhaps the most fundamental one is to quote Dana Dillon, “why do people join?” terrorist groups (Dillon cited in Forest 2006:2). This question should then help in answering the when, the why and the how of why terrorist recruitment takes place. Furthermore,

the Modernisation Theory as well as the Relative Deprivation Theory will prove central in responding to these fundamental questions pertaining to terrorist recruitment. Torok (2010) further adds that, “since 9/11 jihad groups have been very adept and skilled in evolving due to many attacks on their bases. This has restricted them from operating openly...” Therefore terrorist groups have had to adapt to the internet, human trafficking, Islamist ideology, centres of worship, prisons, academic institutions, criminal networks, etc... as centres for recruitment, (Forest 2006, Hamm 2007, Torok 2010). The internet however has situated itself as the most popular hub for online discussions with a concentration of a variety of people the world over being lured as potential recruits. As such, terrorism as is understood, takes a global dimension. While the researcher aims to identify as many terrorist recruitment strategies as possible, they may not be able to cover all known strategies and will therefore be selective. Thus the researcher aims to unpack the findings of how each identifiable strategy is approached and the degree of its effectiveness (or even ineffectiveness) in attracting potential recruits for terrorist groups such as ISIS.

### **1.3 Preliminary Literature Study and Reasons for Choosing Topic**

Religion, as an important source of identity for millions of people, especially in the developing world has been on a constant rise. In some instances however, this rise has been accompanied by growing religious conflicts. While terrorism is a result of various disparate factors, religion and politics are cited as some of its most prominent features (Tayob 1995). According to media headlines, the most prominent religious conflicts are those depicting instances of Islamic extremism carried out by prominent terrorist groups. It has been said that:

For some the Islamic uprisings have been symptomatic of the profound legitimacy crisis faced by Muslim countries. In response to the inability of secular ideologies to deliver on political and social promises, militant Islamic options have emerged. (Tayob 1995:3).

When organisations employ extremist means in a bid to create and/or advocate for non-secular states which often are devoid of western influence, Samuel Huntington’s (1993) *Clash of Civilisations* provides much needed relevance. He makes reference to the attempts of dominant civilisations to secure, imprint and diffuse their values on other societies which in turn leads to these societies retaliating against this dominance through extremist means, i.e. terrorism.

According to Danjibo (2009:2) other social thinkers such as Hume, Marx, Lenin, Nietzsche believe that included in Huntington's view is the belief that these conflicts arise from a need beyond outside threats. These thinkers go on to hypothesise that in times of human strife, religion manifests its relevance by providing what they term an illusory happiness. Furthermore, despite liberal critics pointing out the flaws in Huntington's predictions of a *Clash of Civilisations* between the West and Islam, it would appear that according to Desai (2007:19) "the blunt truth in his (Huntington) prophecy is being affirmed by the terrorists themselves." It is important to note from this that most people in the developing world signify religion as a key source of identity hence why it has been said to be a central contributing source to many developing world conflicts. Terrorists, specifically those affiliated with Islam, see this *clash* as "a battle – a jihad- against the Crusaders - the very terminology drawing attention to the medieval battles between Christians and Muslims for Jerusalem," (Desai 2007:19). In most instances these conflicts are referred to as extremist acts of terror/terrorism.

This project therefore aims to highlight the various recruitment strategies that are employed by extremist/terrorist organisations making it a very critical and necessary area of study especially in the era of increasing global insecurity and the proliferation of multiple terrorist groupings who threaten political stability. A study of this nature becomes necessary in order to understand the strategies that are used to recruit adherents of certain ideologies and sustain the operations of such groups. The work therefore makes an important contribution to the scholarship which attempts to map the modus operandi of terrorist entities around the world. It is of essence to note that there is still difficulty in establishing the reasons that push an individual towards partaking in violent and extremist acts in the name of religion as violence is defied by religion in its entirety. Dana Dillon (cited in Forest 2006:1) therefore offers a great starting point where the fundamental question of 'why do people join' (terrorist organisations) serves as a guide to addressing further fundamental questions surrounding terrorist recruitment. It forces one to ponder on perhaps the appeal that extremist organisations have and perhaps the perceived benefits that arise for the individual from being part of a terrorist organisation and how they communicate with their potential recruits. Desai (2007) offers valuable insight by making reference to the ideology of Global Islamism as being a crucial factor as he believes it feeds in to terrorism.

#### **1.4 Research Problems and Objectives: Key questions to be asked**

The main problems to be identified in the research are that of terrorist recruitment among terrorist organisations and how members go about enticing potential recruits to join and become members of a terrorist organisation. Furthermore it will look at 'who' are the most likely individuals to join the group, as well as the appealing features that encourage the individual to join. The central role of religious extremism in fostering the on-going recruitment of terrorists will also be explored as the dissertation aims to ascertain the claim that religion is perceived to be central to the many conflicts in the developing world. However religious extremism is not the only recruitment strategy that will be looked into

#### **1.5 Key questions to be asked:**

- a) Who joins or who is likely to become a terrorist?
- b) On an individual level, what incentives encourage people to join a terrorist group?
- c) What are the various recruitment strategies used by terrorist organisations to lure recruits?
- d) What role do religion and politics contribute to terrorist recruitment?
- e) As a fairly new terrorist organisation, how has ISIS managed to maintain its growth?

#### **1.6 Research Problems and Objectives: Broader issues to be discussed**

##### **Research Problems:**

- The research investigates various terrorist recruitment strategies in general also looking closely at extremist organisations that are associated with religion, more specifically Islam. This in no way implies that Islam is the only religion associated with extremism but the research will highlight how it is the ideology and not the religion that feeds in to terrorism.

Issues pertaining to religion have attracted extremist measures in various instances as means of preserving or maintaining its sacred value when one feels that their religious beliefs are being diluted or tampered with.

- The research addresses issues that may attract various ideological standpoints, this requires extensive consideration of variations in the religious perspectives in order to capture the core essence of the research meaning.

### **Research Objectives:**

- To explore the decline of religious community in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the ramparts that permit for the breakthrough of extremist tendencies.
- To capture the most fundamental reason for terrorist recruitment.
- To establish the ideological faculties that motivate individuals to engage with religious extremist groups and terrorist recruitment.
- To clarify how terrorist organisations recruit; where and how the recruitment takes place and the various facets that encompass recruitment.
- To explore why individuals commit acts of terrorism.

### **1.7 Limitations of Study**

Provided that this is a desktop study, the inclination and reliance on interpretivist methods of data collection far outweigh that of a more positivist approach. As such, one can never fully comprehend some experiences and opinions that individuals hold concerning terrorism and/or

terrorist recruitment. It is always preferable to engage both individual perceptions as well as the literature available in the field.

## **1.8 Overview of Research**

There are six chapters which correlate with one another and are broken down as follows:

### ***Chapter 1: Research Introduction***

This chapter introduces the research study by offering a general background of the research that is being conducted by not only asking pertinent questions pertaining to the study but by highlighting the objectives that this research aims to achieve. Similar to most introductory chapters, this paper lays out the research that will be uncovered in the rest of the study.

### ***Chapter 2: Literature Review***

This chapter deliberates on defining the concept of terrorism and how it is and has been interpreted generally in this research in relation to recruitment. It will review the literature currently available on terrorist recruitment and look at various terrorist organisations that are more inclined towards religious extremism especially in the Muslim world. It will moreover deeply look at various strategies employed by these terrorist organisations as well as attempt to deduce the typology of the individuals that are likely to engage in violence by becoming terrorists.

### ***Chapter 3: Conceptual and Theoretical Framework***

This chapter delves into the key theories relevant to this study and unpacks the thinking that guides terrorist recruitment and individual drivers towards violence. It unpacks the blue print of how the argument of the research unfolds by critically engaging the theories that can be considered in terrorist research and their reasons for being considered. It further sheds clarity as to why particular theoretical stances are adopted in justifying some debates on terrorist recruitment.

#### ***Chapter 4: Research Methodology and Study Design***

Chapter four offers a comprehensive understanding of the research methodology which will allow a clearer understanding of the process of presentation, collection and an analysis of the research findings. Furthermore, this chapter explores not only the design of the study but the research tools and instruments that were utilised.

#### ***Chapter 5: Case Study and Data Analysis***

Chapter five offers detailed understanding of the chosen case study and will further offer a critical assessment of the data that has already been explored in the second chapter including the theories investigated in chapter three. The chapter will seek to respond to the research questions as well as offer recommendations on how to counter terrorism which in turn is likely to deter effective terrorist recruitment.

#### ***Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations for Further Research***

This chapter will look at causes that motivate terrorist recruitment and offer recommendations for further study. Moreover, the greater aim is to provide an illustrative summary of the study with recommendations and concluding remarks.

### **1.9 Conclusion**

Chapter one has offered a detailed introduction clarifying what is to be anticipated in this research study. Of essence are the research questions and objectives that have been highlighted and are to be responded to in the chapters to come. Finally this chapter has contributed a framework that will guide the study towards understanding the drivers towards violence in the context of terrorism and ultimately terrorist recruitment. The following chapter is a literature review which explores, essentially, terrorism and why people become terrorists in order to better understand the various dimensions of terrorist recruitment.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

To understand terrorist recruitment, one needs to unpack firstly what terrorism is and its use of extreme measures of violence. Literature from various authors (Laquer 1989, Hoffman 1995, Reich 1998, Whittaker 2001, Goodwin 2006 amongst others) present terrorism as somewhat of a promiscuous term where it can mean different things to different people that it risks meaning nothing at all. Goodwin (2006:2029) emphasises this by stating, "Like "democracy," "power," "class," "revolution" and so many other "essentially contested concepts," there is no commonly accepted definition of "terrorism." However given the various definitions which will be unpacked, there are similarities in each which relate to the same phenomenon. "The most common forms of terrorist action include assassinations, bombings, hostage seizures and plane hijacks, although the advent of terrorism with a global reach, as demonstrated by September 11, has threatened to redefine the phenomenon," (Heywood 2014:291). Laquer's (1989) definition of terrorism as the "illegitimate or extranormal use of violence against non-combatants to achieve political ends," presents itself as most precise and encompassing to the numerous definitions of terrorism supplied by various authors across the field. Definitions by Taylor (1988), Hoffmann (1995), Reich (1998), Whittaker (2001) and various other authors make mention of terms such as *violence, fear and political ends* as the key parts of their definitions of the phenomenon. This clearly highlights the undoubtedly violent nature of terrorism both from a historical and modern perspective as well as alludes to the fact that there is a rich school of thought on the phenomenon.

It is however evident that with similar, though varying definitions, terrorism has over the decades become somewhat of a 'promiscuous' term used to perhaps suit the conditions under which it takes place. It is therefore safe to conclude that there is no one accurate nor precise definition of the phenomenon but most definitions used within the necessary contexts find themselves relevant. The media has also convincingly led masses to believe that most 21<sup>st</sup> century terrorism is largely religious by portraying Islam as the religion most responsible for the various attacks carried out especially in the West and by covering numerous attacks in the Middle East. "When terror attacks

take place much focus is often placed on Islam as a religion and Muslims as a community when in actual fact these are not the causes of terrorism but an ideology, global Islamism,” (Desai 2007:15). Although the ideology of global Islamism will be used to attempt to address the religious conundrum in reference to Islam, this does not imply that Islam is the only faith (or non-faith) associated with some form of extremism. But, for purposes of this research, Islamist ideology more than any other will be put under the spotlight. Bongar et.al... (2007:97) go on to liken terrorism to marketing and advertising as the way that it works. The reason why terrorism continues to grow is due to the effective and well executed social influence which allows for the luring of more recruits through receipt of money and a wide variety of logistical support from its constituencies.

## **2.2 Defining Terrorism**

Due to the promiscuous use of the term over centuries, terrorism has not always been easy to define however various definitions, over time, seem to share various similarities amongst them. In order for terrorism to be understood, both a modern and historical perspective of the phenomenon would prove useful, however more modern instances of terrorism would prove more suitable to this research. More modern terrorism is considered far more radical and bears a Muslim identity, “One distinguishing feature of the new wave of terrorism is the religious rhetoric which has been at the heart of terrorist propaganda and it wears Islamic garments,” (Desai 2007:19). Arguably however is that this new wave of terrorism has various other defining features other than religion. It is far more catastrophic with its own organisational structure as well as boasts different motivations from what is considered more traditional terrorism.

As aforementioned, Lacquer (1989:87) defines terrorism as “the illegitimate or extranormal use of violence against non-combatants to achieve political ends.” Upon the exploration of various other definitions it will be notable how Lacquers definition is mostly all encompassing by bearing similarities to the various available definitions of terrorism. It is arguable that the use of violence on civilians is in most instances designed to instil fear and prompt some kind of political change. “Terrorism can therefore be seen as a form of social influence, employing acts of extranormal violence to influence a target populations emotions, motives, objective reasoning, perceptions and ultimately behaviour,” (Bongar *et.al.* 2007:87). Noteworthy, are the psychological effects that can be far reaching as alluded to by Hoffmann (1998). He argues that the effects of terrorism go beyond

the immediate victim(s) of the attack ensuring the proliferation of the intended message/motive by the terrorists to audiences that in some instances, transcend national borders. “There is often more than one audience for terrorist action, that is; terrorists usually attempt to influence more than one group at a time with a single violent action,” (Bongar *et.al.* 2007:94). Arguably however, these intended influences affect the various populations affected, differently. For instance a direct immediate victim and a victim who was not necessarily directly affected are likely to be affected differently be it psychologically, emotionally, physically and/or mentally. Technology has played a highly influential role in the proliferation of such messages to audiences beyond where the attack took place as the 21<sup>st</sup> century is the era of the information age. It consists of various platforms such as social media, websites, magazines, and newspapers amongst others to ensure that numerous people are aware of terrorist activity with the hope that this prompts some kind of political change or drives home the intended message to wider audiences, through the attack.

Whether ancient or more recent, terrorism is highly synonymous with violence which aims to achieve some kind of political end goal. This is supported by Goodwin (2006) when he affirms that, “the central feature of terrorism is that it is a form of political violence that aims to achieve its objectives through creating a climate of fear and apprehension.” Arguably, due to advancements in technology over the years, the manner in which these violent acts are carried out improves regularly as new improved weapons are designed, however, the fundamental nature of terrorism has remained more or less consistent.

Taylor (1988:2) further emphasises the promiscuous use of the term by stating that it is “characterized by a multitude of hypocritical, hidden or implicit meanings. Very often it is used as a term of abuse, or a term to distance the observer from the act- *other people* commit acts of terrorism, *our side* fights legitimately.” Arguably a significant amount of public opinion on terrorism to the lay person in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is informed by mainstream media further informing various opinions on what terrorism is. Others conclude that what media terms terrorists are actually at times freedom fighters fighting for a cause hence giving relevance to the term, ‘one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter.’ Such connotations were highly popular during the anticolonial period post 1945 where terrorism bore a more nationalist orientation. “It was associated with Third World anticolonial struggles in Africa, Asia and the Middle East, later being

taken up by national liberation movements such as the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and groups such as Black September,” (Heywood 2014:290). In their fight for independence, freedom fighters/terrorists used violence to achieve political change in the hope of gaining independence from the colonial regime during the early 1950’s. Thus one can conclude that there was clearly an end goal that these liberation groups, as they referred themselves as, wanted to achieve which saw a rise in terrorism/terrorist activity during that particular period which others termed freedom fighting. This brings into question the legitimacy of such acts especially if in most instances, innocent civilians end up as collateral. This also highlights that in most instances, most if not all acts of terrorism have an end goal that the perpetrator or the terrorist cell/group want to achieve. A look at 21<sup>st</sup> century terrorism through a case study of ISIS will also highlight the end goal that they as a terrorist organisation want to achieve through the acts of terrorism that they account for through various media around the world.

Heywood (2014) before defining terrorism offers the reader a clearer understanding of the concept, its origins and various contexts under which it has taken place. Historically, he argues that terrorism can be traced as far back as the first century highlighting that it is not a modern phenomenon. “Early examples include the Sicarri (dagger men) usually seen as an extreme splinter wing of the Jewish Zealots who, in the first Century, used killings and kidnappings in their campaign against the Romans in Judea and against Jews who collaborated with the Romans,” (Heywood 2014:290). Other examples include the Thugee (thugs) cult in India which attracted popularity around the 19<sup>th</sup> century but may have been formed as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. However the term terrorism, he argues derives from the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror during 1793-1794. Anarchist violence/terrorism was also widespread in western societies of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries using propaganda to stimulate political change against exploitation and oppression. The anticolonial struggles were also termed terrorist as violence was used to achieve political ends though in most instances fighters tried their best to avoid attacks which would leave many innocent civilians harmed though some still wound up as collateral The history on the origins of terrorism is rich and perhaps that is the reason why scholars do not readily agree on one set definition of the phenomenon. For purposes of this research however, it would be useful to look at more modern terrorism and the formation of more modern terrorist groups such as ISIS and how they have

garnered recurring support of individuals into their organisations through their various recruitment strategies.

Terrorist activity in most if not all instances goes against authority of any government in any country and is considered illegal however when it is governments themselves that carry out violence unto their own or other populations, the condemnation is not always outright. These actions by governments are termed state terrorism (Heywood 2014) and force one to ponder, to what extent are governments justified, if at all, to employ terror and should or can they be held accountable for their violent actions? Desai (2007:17) argues that, “State terrorism is older and more systematic and less criticised.” Evidently, governments who commit acts of terror are less likely to face the condemnation that would be faced by terrorist groups or individuals who commit similar acts. This is because they are seen to uphold some kind of authority and their actions are usually deemed to be in the best interest of their citizens. This however remains highly questionable and rightly so as the very actions they condemn, brings unto the spotlight their own morality when they carry them out.

In finality, it is evident that whether one speaks of traditional, new or state terrorism, the common denominator is always violence which is often aimed at communicating a particular message, through fear, in the attainment of some political end. Moreover more recent instances of terrorism are perceived of as mostly Islamic and wrongly so as the world needs to understand that Muslims themselves, with the advent of globalisation, are as much victims of these attacks like any other non-Muslim.

### **2.3 Who becomes a Terrorist?**

In order to understand terrorist recruitment and how and why it takes place, one needs to answer the fundamental question of ‘who becomes a terrorist?’ because in order for recruitment to take place there needs to be recruits available to carry out these heinous acts. People are often motivated by various individual factors to decide to be part of an organisation, group, society or club. These

entities that individuals decide to be part of may share similar goals in line with an individual's personal beliefs but the motivators to join differ from person to person. Be that as it may, it is still difficult to, on an individual level, explain what the motivators are and what the general appeal is that makes an individual want to be part of, let alone devote themselves to a terrorist organisation.

Whilst there is no one accurate and universally accepted definition for terrorism, there is also no telling what exactly the individual traits are that push an individual to break with society and resort to violent acts. There is also no one accurate response as to exactly what kind of individuals become terrorists hence research has cited various indicators and motivators that inform individual choices. "Although an understanding of the terrorist mind-set would be key to understanding how and why an individual becomes a terrorist, numerous psychologists have been unable to adequately define it," (Hudson 2005:22). Whilst terrorists may share similar characteristic traits it is important to note that there is no one terrorist mind-set and as such, the motivators to join a terrorist group are likely to differ from person to person despite the goals of the organisation being one. A useful example would be to look at people who are interested in joining a political organisation or party. They tend to look for and research the motivators that would encourage them to join that organisation based on its goals and fulfilment of its mandates or any other traits that motivate association and resonate with their own personal preferences. "Terrorism is a form of political activism, one that most terrorists choose freely. Participants in political processes are said to be wealthier and better educated than the populations from which they come. This is caused by differing levels of social and economic resources," (Lee 2005:2008). Poor individuals may be more motivated to join terrorism due to the economic gains that one may accrue from partaking in such activities ruling grievance or ideology as sole motivators aside. Also depending on socio-economic status, ones hierarchy in a terrorist group may be determined by how much they are able to contribute, again much like politics, wealth in finance and/or knowledge is advantageous. Hence one can conclusively deduce that these individuals often are from different walks of life, economically, educationally and even socially and are often united by one common goal- that of the organisation they choose to associate with. Individuals that devote themselves to terrorist activity often share a common belief in the ideology of the terrorist organisation whilst exhibiting different personal character traits and socio-economic status.

Arguably however, the closest one can get to determine a terrorist personality or mind-set is to gather vast amounts of biographical data on terrorists through a series of psychometric analyses, (Hudson 2005). Earliest attempts of research of this kind, where terrorist personalities were profiled can be traced back to Charles A. Russel and Bowman Miller (1977). This profiling clearly indicates that terrorists are not drawn out from random samples within a population. Lee (2005) notes that often, terrorists are individuals that would have taken the liberty to acquire the necessary knowledge concerning the group and are willing to adhere to the groups' rules, regulations and demands. The unfortunate part however is that large quantities of biographical data is not easily accessible and that even if it were, it would still not be sufficient in deducing accurately what a terrorist mind-set is nor a particular set of motivators that is uniform for all terrorists. Research has however indicated that terrorists can share similar backgrounds but still even that too does not explain involvement on an individual level. "Individually, terrorists must exhibit certain character traits that enable them to carry out terrorist actions," (Krieger & Meierrieks 2011:4). These actions can be carried out by anyone from doctors, lawyers, university students, uneducated and economically deprived individuals, and people from wealthy backgrounds provided they subscribe to group ideology.

Twenty first century terrorism has seen various individuals, especially world leaders, cite varying opinions on what they believe the kind of individuals that resort to terrorism are like and the causes of terrorism in general. World leaders such as George Bush (2002) and Tony Blair (2005) have cited "poverty, disenfranchisement and economic deprivation" as the root causes of terror and have called for the roll out of aid and poverty eradication as hope for a solution to terrorism. The prevailing arguments however are that while terrorism is used as a common justification to increase foreign aid, it is often unrelated to poverty either among nations or persons, (Lee 2005). Historically, Raper (2003) also made a correlation between deprivation and aggression insinuating that during poor economic times, people take out their frustrations on each other but Krueger (2007) refutes this notion stating it lacks a strong empirical basis. The Great Depression of 1929 meant Raper's research had to come to a stop as there was no longer a correlation between lynching's and deteriorating economic conditions. This research however asserts that even though terrorists are not solely economically deprived individuals, it doesn't rule out that some may be

but that is not definitive of a terrorist in general, nor is it a sole motivator, though it could be, to become a terrorist.

Terrorist groups comprise of a variety of individuals as aforementioned some being wealthier and more educated. A prime example would be Osama Bin Laden who hails from a wealthy background thus disputing the notion that it is poor individuals that become terrorists. This also evidently highlights that terrorism does not occur in a vacuum but comprises of various factors which resonate in individuals. These may be similar from person to person but do not hold accurate for defining who becomes a terrorist or what a terrorist mind-set actually is. Kristof (2002) on the other hand states that people who resort to terrorism are mostly from those countries that are economically disenfranchised from organisations such as the World Trade Organisation such as Syria, North Korea and Iraq amongst others. Other reasons include humiliation, as mentioned by Harvard scholar, Jessica Stern (2012) that certain security arrangements by Americans often humiliate some countries, which in any case are already dissatisfied with American foreign policy. This line of argument by Stern and Kristof points out that individuals who resort to terror are not only disenfranchised but are possibly also disgruntled with the people they unleash their terror on. Hudson (2005) tries to draw a more balanced conclusion that a potential terrorist can be either poor and educated or uneducated or they can be rich but perhaps uneducated or educated. He also alludes to disenfranchisement and disgruntlement through research done on mainly uneducated Algerian youths whose resort to terrorism was based on dissatisfaction. But he also further argues that even intellectuals in the West can resort to terrorism by wanting to show off particular skills such as bomb making which may make them appealing to potential recruiters.

From the literature gathered above, it is evident that even someone with a Mother Theresa kind of personality and Mark Zuckerberg's wealth has the potential to resort to terrorism, provided they have the motivation, willingness and want to join. Therefore it is clear that there is no one terrorist personality or mind-set that is uniform across all terrorists and potential terrorists, though some may exhibit similar personality characteristic traits. It is noteworthy that not everyone expressing

interest in becoming a terrorist will become one, especially if it is part of a group. Terrorist groups often take potential recruits through a series of tasks making association highly selective but terrorists may also choose to act alone, this too does not determine the kind of person that becomes a terrorist. In finality anyone, from any background, with any personality trait or mind-set possesses the potential to become a terrorist should they wish to devote themselves to violence for whatever justification they choose.

## **2.4 Unpacking Terrorist Recruitment and its Various Strategies**

“The terrorist threat is imminent and will persist over the long term as terrorism is an increasingly global threat from which no region is immune,” (Gunatra 2006:66). It is worthy to note that terrorism stems from numerous disparate factors ranging from ideology (either political or religious), social motivators (grievances or disgruntlement), or economic benefits, amongst others. As such, the issue of recruitment is one that cannot be divorced from the phenomenon as its continued growth and persistence depends largely on its recruits to carry out violence. Terrorist recruitment is much about supply and demand, and whether these two can balance each other out. Is supply always readily available to meet demand? Are both supply and demand always constant? As has already been discussed that anyone, showing willingness and motivation, can become a terrorist, how then does terrorist recruitment take place and what various recruitment strategies are in place to ensure successful recruitment? Moreover recruitment is also about constant sharing and dissemination of information, and Forest (2006) distinguishes between two types that would be useful in developing a potential terrorist; motivational and operational. Motivational is often ideological in nature and appeals to the would-be terrorist to take up arms for what is perceived to be a worthy cause whereas operational provides strategic and tactical capabilities. Armed with this information, potential recruits then know where to look to find their next terrorist cell or group which they can be devout to but moreover it also assists terrorists in knowing all there is to know before carrying out an attack. The process proves itself to be a lengthy one as not all attacks can be carried out in the same manner, i.e. weapons may differ from one attack to the next making the planning stages different and at times trying to varying degrees. Potential terrorists also need to know how to operate the weapons they will use for their attacks on their perceived enemy as well as learning to be as discreet as possible when launching the attack. Seemingly knowledge is power

if a terrorist is to be successful in their mission which is why Hudson (2005) argues that becoming part of a terrorist group is a rather lengthy process as one has to go through numerous assessments before being admitted/accepted into a cell or group. In his research on terrorist recruitment in Saudi Arabia, Hegghammer (2006) notes that some terrorists are self-made before being recruited as part of a group. They are then put through training camps and indoctrinated with ideology so as to operate along group lines and requirements, however he notes that it is not all self-made terrorists that end up being recruited into a group/cell. The recruits and other potential terrorists all possess different varying reasons as to why they want to partake in violence and there is no one common denominator which serves as a solid reason as to why people join.

Due to terrorism's cosmopolitan nature and the proliferation of technology, terrorist recruitment can take place just about anywhere in the world denouncing the notion that terrorists are usually found in one remote location. "The global proliferation of information technology provides new tools for influencing the perceptions of a population, emboldening terrorists and insurgents like never before," (Forest 2009:82). Terrorists are now able to disseminate loads of information and share it across borders to as many potential recruits as possible with just the click of a button, given the continuous daily advancements in technology. However dissemination of information does not only take place on online platforms but it can be orally disseminated by gathering potential recruits as well as on print. This information is designed as such that it develops the individual mentally, intellectually, psychologically as well as emotionally, so as to nurture their will to kill particularly in the service of their organisation, according to (Forest 2006:2). Apart from the internet this information can be shared within various institutions such as churches, mosques, schools, universities and prisons as these are all places in which people gather and form interest groups if there aren't already any existing ones. Torok (2010) further adds that, "Since 9/11 jihad groups have been very adept and skilled in evolving due to many attacks on their bases. This has restricted them from operating openly..." Therefore terrorist groups have had to adapt to the internet, human trafficking, Islamist ideology, centres of worship, prisons, academic institutions, criminal networks, etc... as centres for recruitment, (Hamm 2007, Forest 2006, Torok 2010, Cinar 2010). The internet however has situated itself as the most popular hub for online discussions with a concentration of a variety of people the world over being lured as potential recruits. As such, terrorism as is understood, takes a global dimension.

## **2.5 Ideology (Religious and Political) as a Recruitment Strategy**

It has been increasingly difficult to successfully separate violence from religion especially in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and as such religious violence has become highly politicised. As such, religion serves as a notable starting point, when exploring recruitment strategies, as most terrorist violence, especially in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, has been linked to religion, whether correctly or incorrectly so. Religion, as an important source of identity for millions of people, especially in the developing world, has been on a constant rise. In some instances however, this rise has been accompanied by growing religious conflicts. While terrorism is a result of various disparate factors, religion and politics are cited as some of its most prominent features (Tayob 1995). According to media headlines, the most prominent religious conflicts are those depicting instances of Islamic extremism carried out by prominent terrorist groups. It has been said that:

For some the Islamic uprisings have been symptomatic of the profound legitimacy crisis faced by Muslim countries. In response to the inability of secular ideologies to deliver on political and social promises, militant Islamic options have emerged, (Tayob 1995:3).

This has been evident with the case of Nigeria's Boko Haram (to be discussed later on) where religion is used to promote a non-secular state in response to the rejection of modernity. However Boko Haram's disgruntlement stems from government incompetence to deliver on 'political and social promises' as stated above where the country experiences gross economic inequalities. The belief that an Islamic state, where everyone in the state lives according to the teachings and ways of the Qur'an, is best suited in fulfilling what secular ideologies have failed, has led to the adoption of political violence to fulfil such claims. This observation by Tayob (1995) can also be observed through one of the largest terrorist organisations, Al-Qaeda where paraphrased, the movements key ideologues are: "The world around us is a mess because of infidels and apostates, so join our global jihad and help us create a world in which our interpretation of Islam dominates all spheres of human endeavour," (Forest 2009:82). The organisation therefore embraces violence towards the achievement of their utopian ideals of an Islamic state as they strongly believe in the need to constantly defend what their ideology entails. When organisations employ extremist means in a bid to create and/or advocate for non-secular states which often are devoid of western influence, Samuel Huntington's (1993) *Clash of Civilisations* provides much needed relevance. He makes reference to the attempts of dominant civilisations to secure, imprint and diffuse their values on

other societies which in turn leads to these societies retaliating against this dominance through extremist means, i.e. terrorism. According to Danjibo (2009:2) other social thinkers such as Hume, Marx, Lenin, Nietzsche believe that included in Huntington's view is the belief that these conflicts arise from a need beyond outside threats. These thinkers go on to hypothesise that in times of human strife, religion manifests its relevance by providing what they term an illusory happiness. Furthermore, despite liberal critics pointing out the flaws in Huntington's predictions of a *Clash of Civilisations* between the West and Islam, it would appear that according to Desai (2007:19) "the blunt truth in his [Huntington] prophecy is being affirmed by the terrorists themselves." It is important to note from this that most people in the developing world signify religion as a key source of identity hence why it has been said to be a central contributing source to many developing world conflicts. Terrorists, specifically those affiliated with Islam, see this *clash* as "a battle – a jihad- against the Crusaders - the very terminology drawing attention to the medieval battles between Christians and Muslims for Jerusalem," (Desai 2007:19). Salafi-jihadist ideology illustrates jihad as, "a perpetual war between Muslims and non-Muslims," (Forest 2009:82) but more-over the term jihad is considered as a core concept in Islam depicting struggle. However these instances of conflict, termed terrorism or rather extremist acts of terror is uncommon and unwelcome amongst most Muslims as violence is denounced by the most sacred text, the Qur'an.

However a fundamental question arises, is it really religion that is responsible for these conflicts or is religion and sacred religious text and teachings the net that recruiters use to lure potential recruits into terrorism through religious ideology? It is safe to presume that recruiters are already aware of the central role religion plays in most individual's daily lives, and to present that as something worth defending is in some instances sufficient to lure in potential recruits. Thus the concept of ideology proves central to this argument as Forest (2006) asserts that religious ideology is considered by many as being a powerful motivating force behind contemporary terrorism. As previously alluded, this research argues that though Islam is not the only faith (or non-faith) associated with violence, it will however choose to explore the extremism associated with the religion. Media headlines have not done much to divorce terrorism from Islam and as such have in most instances misinformed masses by portraying Islam as violent and to some degree inciting conflicts (minor and major) through misinformed minds. "When terror attacks take place much focus is often placed on Islam as a religion and Muslims as a community when in actual fact these

are not the causes of terrorism but an ideology, global Islamism whose nature is to be grasped if terrorism is to be fought,” (Desai 2007:16). Recruiters thus use the ideology to lure in recruits by quoting from the Qur’an to motivate why the course they are advocating for is worth taking up arms for. Like most other religions, Islam also preaches love and tolerance, condemns violence and as such global Islamism, the ideology is what feeds into terrorism and not necessarily Islam the religion. Like Desai, activists such as Bhutto (2008) also defended Islam highlighting it as a religion that is about non-violence to those who viewed it as such by quoting verses in the Qur’an and denouncing those who justified extremism for jihad.

Various authors (Desai 2007, Esposito 2003, Lawrence 1989, Lee 2007, Rapoport 1990) who have written extensively on the subject have expressed how something as sacred as religion has seen many innocents ending up as collateral in these wars of faith. Thus terrorism in the name of religion has become common justification for violence which often is political in nature. In his book, *Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt against the Modern Age*, Bruce Lawrence (1989) makes reference to religious fundamentalism as an ideology formed more out of a conflict with modernism. He further speaks of how modernism as an ideology values change over continuity, quality over quantity and commercial efficiency over traditional values. In this sense modernisation tends to serve more of a reductionist role when it comes to others cultural and religious beliefs leading to culture clashes thus leading to cultural pluralism. With the interruption and interference of modernisation to traditional systems, a struggle is created where each culture wants to remain relevant and dominant and this in some instances leads to extreme acts of violence towards ideological preservation. Thus a more contextual definition of religious fundamentalism is supplied by Almond et.al (2003:17) as “a discernible pattern of religious militance by which self-styled 'true believers' attempt to arrest the erosion of religious identity, fortify the borders of the religious community, and create viable alternatives to secular institutions and behaviours.” Later authors such as Emerson and Hartman (2006) have argued that the term (fundamentalism) has become so loosely used in politics that it risks meaning nothing at all. Noteworthy is that the characteristics of fundamentalism are not restricted to a singular religion whilst the Iranian revolution is said to be one of the first indicators of growing religious fundamentalism. Salzman (2008) states that:

Although the term “fundamentalist” was first used to describe a particular movement within American Protestantism in the early part of the 20th century, a period characterized by the dislocating power of industrialization and urbanization, it is now most commonly applied to Islam.

However authors such as Desai (2007) have become more relevant when instead of making reference to the ideology of Islamic fundamentalism, they unpack global Islamism which shares similar characteristics, to certain extents, with religious fundamentalism. Desai (2007:96) enlightens that, “Global Islamism is the ideology that has waged a terrorist war on a global scale since the early 1990s. Al-Qaeda is its principal agency and Osama Bin Laden its leading figure.” He goes on to highlight that the ideology is more cosmopolitan in nature and makes reference to countries such as Egypt, Kenya, United States of America (USA), Saudi Arabia, Spain, Jordan amongst others where its terrorist activities have been felt. Like most ideologies, Global Islamism is political in nature and most politics is about winning people over likening it to nationalism, communism, and anarchism amongst others. Ideologies have taken over different manifestations over the years and Islamism has taken on a more terrorist and extremist nature. However, the conversion to an ideology, though voluntary does not just occur from nothing, often it occurs from a system threat, in this instance from a perception that Islamic values are under attack. For many Islamists such as Osama Bin Laden, the threat to Islam is liberal democracy as it creates and advocates more for secularisation which does not leave much room for the promotion of Islamic values. There are six human problems which Becker (1971) cites from Kluckhohn (1950) which help provide a clearer understanding of the ideology of Global Islamism in response to a world that is constantly modernising. These ways include firstly the relation of humans to nature, the innate, the types of personalities most valued, the way humans should relate to each other, concepts of space and time, and the hierarchy of power in society and nature. As is common with the need for identity and meaning, and how they are addressed through religion and culture, so are these human needs. Religion and culture helps individuals to carry and portray themselves in accordance to these needs, thus some adherents to Islam constantly seek to find relevance and preservation of their traditional beliefs in a constantly modernising world. Kluckhohn’s human problems are thus addressed through deep belief in ideology where the teachings of the ideology are viewed as sacred and divine. “The text of the tradition (The Qur’an) are for example of divine (inspired) origin and true and accurate in all particulars,” (Almond et al. 2003:96). Monroe & Kreidie (1997) also concur that the Koran among fundamentalists is perceived to be omniscient and accurate and as a result

the Koran and sharia law are heeded with utmost submission. It is arguably the sole source of presenting its followers with meaning, making the word of God a guiding force whose sacred text should be lived by. Whilst modernisation advocates for democracy, liberal values and globalisation as world systems that should be adhered to, similarly adherents of religious ideology hold similar views and feel their views should be universal.

The Osama Bin Laden narrative is also an important one, within recruitment but also contemporary terrorism as a whole as he is considered highly influential and his association with the phenomenon has contributed largely towards dissemination of the ideology of Global Islamism and recruitment of terrorists. Desai (2007:94) relates that,

Osama had transformed himself from a rich man, volunteering to fight against the Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan, into a central figure in recruiting, training and deploying young Muslim volunteers- mujahideen – to fight in wars around the world where Muslims were involved as victims.

Instead of dismissing Bin Laden, as crazy and sinister, it is advisable that one attempts to understand the message he is trying to decipher and why as he has inspired many a terrorist the world over. Bin Laden, who is now late, was considered not only important to Al-Qaeda but to the larger ideological movement, which Desai (2007) now terms global Islamism which uses to a significant degree, religious indoctrination. Bin Laden was truly significant to Al-Qaeda and remains crucial to the larger ideological movement for two reasons according to Bergen (2006): firstly he notes that he was key in the spread of propaganda that is terrorism. Secondly he notes that though Bin Laden and his deputy Ayman al Zawahiri did not exert day-to-day control over Al-Qaeda, they are key in providing strategic guidance for the group's actions and its affiliates. Authors such as Bergen (2006), Bhutto (2008) and Desai (2007) amongst many others have made mention that Bin Laden has made public videos, interviews and audiotapes. These have had the ability to reach scores of people in the millions as some have been broadcast on global news channels such as the BBC and CNN amongst others. This makes it evident that through his propaganda he is then able to inspire potential terrorists and in turn leading to the recruitment of potentials to take up arms and 'defend Islam,' as per his propaganda. Moreover, earlier it was identified that terrorist recruitment deals largely with the exchange of information, and that centres of worship, universities' and prisons amongst others are used as breeding grounds for terrorists.

Part of the propaganda fed to potential recruits, especially those within Al-Qaeda borrows largely from Bin Laden to disseminate the ideology of Global Islamism and in turn convincing recruits to devote themselves to the belief of what it stands for.

Desai (2007) makes use of Osama's various speeches to construct the anatomy of the ideology of Global Islamism and its fashioning. Technology, in its various forms and the advent of globalisation have been key in ensuring the dissemination of information the world over from one central location. Therefore reaching out to potential terrorist recruits in some instances relies on the mere click of a button. On Bin Laden, Desai (2007:95) argues, "calling him a terrorist is not the end of the matter. His achievement has been to take a number of themes which have been around in the Muslim discourse about modernity for a century and more and weave them into a global ideology," and a highly influential one at that. Often Bin Laden's addresses are directed to the west though it is the Muslim world he tries most to influence and this is deduced by his use of quotes from the Qur'an. His appeal is for the Muslim world to view the west as a negative force that cares only for the well-being of its own whilst destroying other nations, norms, traditions and values especially in the Muslim world. Because Muslims are such devout people to their faith Osama's propaganda thus has a grave influence and impact on the many Muslims the world over. Important to note is that, "Bin Laden's purpose is not to write a factual history but to construct an ideology taking such facts as to suit his purpose," (Desai 2007:102). Islam and the west, largely due to modernisation, have been portrayed as being neck-on-neck with each other, where Islam wants to maintain traditional values by means of a non-secular society and modernity wants to interfere with these through promotion of more secular societies. This has in some instances led to deadly conflicts the world over, where some Muslims have taken up arms to preserve the ideology that singles out the west as a negative force.

Osama has uttered statements such as; "terrorising the American occupiers is a religious and logical obligation," Australian Muslim Magazine (1996:39), already defenders of God, of Islam, would heed this as a call to defend Islam to varying degrees. As such, this denunciation of the west at times breeds terrorists in that individuals in some instances embark on religious violence which has come to be termed, radical/militant Islam in the case of Muslims. However this religious

violence is not specific to only Islam as there have been numerous holy wars amongst the three monotheistic religions as well. Asked about American civilians, Bin Laden responds:

As for what you asked regarding the American people, they are not exonerated from responsibility, because they chose this government and voted for it despite their knowledge of its crime in Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq and in other places, and its support of its client regimes who filled their prisons with our best children and scholars, (Desai 2007:105)

This kind of talk undoubtedly evokes emotion in many a Muslim and their reaction to receipt of such information differs. As earlier alluded, this kind of influential talk then presents the west (in this case America) as a system threat attacking Muslim core values which are held in high esteem by its believers. Defenders of Islam argue that preservation of such core Islamic values should not be solved by violence as it taints the perception of Islam and use the Qur'an to defend Islam as a peaceful, non-violent religion which promotes peaceful values. However many radicals and disgruntled beings who perceive the west, largely America, in a negative light are then lured and recruited into terrorism and they likely feed into the belief of the ideology that in turn motivates and heightens their will to kill.

Other terrorist groups such as Boko Haram preach a mantra along similar lines as even the meaning of the name of their group states so, Boko Haram translates to, 'western education is sinful,' which highlights growing rejection towards modernisation and a search for identity and meaning. The group also advocates for and promotes non-secular rhetoric and have committed heinous acts in the belief towards promotion of an Islamic state in part of Nigeria which is what their philosophy is centred around. Boko Haram was formed around the year 2002 by a Muslim cleric, Mohammed Yusuf (Danjibo 2009, Agbibo 2013, Onuoha (2012), whose beliefs, similarly as in the case of Osama, have been able to inform and influence individual behaviours and actions. Authors such as Onapajo & Uzodike (2012:28) note that an individual's personal beliefs when proliferated to other audiences tend to inform individual behaviours and actions and such individuals may choose to partake in violence. There is no one explanation as to why individuals partake in terrorist activities and as earlier alluded there are numerous explanations and they differ from person to person though some may be similar. There is no telling the exact membership of Boko Haram but if membership is estimated at over 40 000 members not only in Nigeria but in neighbouring states (Aghedo & Osumah 2012; Onuoha 2012) then clearly there is some kind of recruitment taking

place. The reach of Boko Haram outside of Nigeria is in countries such as Chad, Sudan, Niger, Benin Somalia and Mauritania. Membership in the case of Boko Haram is made up of mainly poor individuals as well as some officers and commissioners of Nigeria's Borno state and all share a common goal, the establishment of an Islamic state by overthrowing the current liberal government. Boko Haram, despite using religious ideology, their disgruntlement stems from the poor economic conditions that stem from the inadequacy of the federal government to provide for its citizenry. Like other terrorist groups, numerous attempts to curb Boko Haram's violence have not been fruitful and such groups have continued to cause chaos the world over as terrorism is regularly reported on. Boko Haram uses mainly intimidation tactics as well as trafficking of children and young women who they then indoctrinate with their philosophy into conversion. Victims are either taken from their homes, Christian schools or from Christian or rather non-Islamic centres of worship and are indoctrinated into conversion, conversion to Islam using various tactics. Of course not all victims convert, some die whilst in captivity and others convert to ease the torture they endure whilst in captivity. All in all, this highlights how religious ideology is weaved into propaganda to promote violence and attract individuals into believing it's for a worthy cause.

As earlier mentioned people partake in violence for varying individual reasons. For most members of Boko Haram, who are poor as earlier mentioned, it is arguable that partaking in violence comes with economic benefits. Factors such as envy, poverty, youth unemployment, economic disequilibrium/inequality are considered as motivators towards joining the Islamic sect, (Bagaji et al 2009, HRW 2005, Sulaiman 2008). These factors make it increasingly viable to lure recruits, especially youths through means of some kind of monetary reward. This results in many youths agreeing to become trained suicide bombers which at comes at a price and that is an exchange for a monetary reward which will in turn be used to take care of their families in their absence. Onapajo & Uzodike (2012:35) reveal that this information is usually revealed when bombers are detained by authorities. Banks within Maidiguru's metropolis, in the Borno state where Boko Haram is largely based, are bombed as the group believes that this is where corrupt officials store their money. Moreover, funders from outside of the country who are associated with Al Qaeda and preach similar doctrines against modernity and operating under similar ideologies assist the group.

In both the cases of Osama Bin Laden and Boko Haram, religion which is weaved into an ideology to suit the groups cause is seemingly central in the recruitment of luring potential recruits. Boko Haram fought against what they perceived and believed to be a corrupt government due to the gross economic disequilibrium experienced unevenly in the country. Moreover, Boko Haram preaches the importance of an Islamic state by denouncing western modernity, and as aforementioned, religion plays a highly central role in people's lives and some individuals are even prepared to die in the name of it. As such they take up arms in its defence and are indoctrinated into believing that they are fighting for a worthy cause. This also adequately responds to the question of religion and politics as to whether violence is central to the two. Osama for instance uses religious ideology (Global Islamism) to fight a political war as he seeks to avenge the attacks of the west on countries considered Islamic such as Iraq and Lebanon and Chechnya. He disseminates information (propaganda) of how God would want Muslim people to fight the west (America) for what they did to Islamic countries. People in general, who are devout to religion or an ideology, are likely and are prepared to go through many lengths to defend their belief even if it means engaging in violence. It is highly clear that religion has over the years become highly politicised. Other uprisings such as the Arab Spring saw countries such as Egypt having Christian centres of worship being burnt to ashes all in the promotion of Islam through the violence. Other reasons for the Arab Spring was a cry for a change in leadership and improved economic conditions. Once more it is important to note that this should not in any way portray or convince people that Islam is a violent religion but rather leaders who are aware of its influence weave it into propaganda to convince individuals to partake in violence because of it. All this violence in the name of religion brings to the fore Huntington's (1993) relevance when he spoke of a *Clash of Civilisations* against modernity and religion. But more over it enlightens on how religious ideology is weaved into luring recruits to fight for what they believe is a worthy course. Others are convinced into partaking in terrorism because of their deep belief in ideological propaganda and others due to the economic benefits that arise from being part of a terrorist cell and others, for both or more reasons than the ones mentioned. Also very important to note is that *religious ideology* and not *religion* is responsible for the many religious conflicts the world over as a response to the rejection of modernity but reference to religion is made in the indoctrination and luring of potential recruits.

It is evident that the proliferation and continuation of global Islamism is characterised to a large degree by radical elements which seek to restore cultural corruption and perceived interference by western governments with their stringent policies. As such terrorist organisations are able to convince numerous Muslims to adopt terrorism by fighting a fight against the west to restore and avoid corruption of values most meaningful to these particular individuals. Arguably, even though there are various other methods of recruitment, which will be explored below, this paper argues that most are to some degree underpinned by ideology. Others adopt the ideology due to deep belief and resonating with the ideals upheld by the organisation, others are trafficked and end up adopting the ideology for either survival or genuine conversion and others for a myriad of other reasons.

## **2.6 The Internet and Various Media**

The advent of globalisation post-cold war era has meant even greater advancements in technology and borderless connectivity among scores of people, of different parts of the world through the World Wide Web. Terrorists have also hopped onto this bandwagon called the internet to advance their own agenda and further their own goals. “Growing use of the Internet as a major means of communication has led to the formation of cyber-communities, which have become increasingly appealing to terrorist groups due to the unregulated nature of Internet communication,” (Scanlon & Gerber 2014:1). Apart from the internet, there are various other media forms, visual (videos, be they on television, cell-phones, CCTV footages etc...), print media such as newspapers and magazines where information can be shared with different audiences. These various media platforms have become increasingly popular especially within the 21<sup>st</sup> century as they have become the easiest way for information transfer and communication not just amongst terrorists but various other individuals with a range of interests. Nonetheless these various media platforms have become powerful tools which are manipulated for the accomplishment of the users’ goals and objectives which often are to influence and create perceptions across populations. Whilst there are numerous uses of the internet such as shopping, entertainment, education, engaging and keeping in contact with individuals the world over, the focus here is tracking terrorists’ use of the internet. This will highlight how this use fosters recruitment of individuals the world over into terrorism. Conway (2007:6) refers to recruitment as the efforts that are made by a group to gather and recruit sympathisers who will be more active in supporting violent acts or causes and states that the

internet enables various ways of achieving this. Successful terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda seek to mainly influence and shape the perceptions of populations the world over and the best way to reach a large number of these individuals, more particularly at the same time is through the internet. Most successful terrorist groups have a website under which they operate to further their reach and influence. Another manner of furthering the reach is through various other media publications such as magazines and news channels which will make mention of terrorist activities and as such influencing behavioural patterns and perceptions. The internet however is often unregulated and this has become useful for many who want to get away with cyber-crimes. Literature highlights the value of online communities to jihadist and radical terrorist groups, that the internet is used largely for recruitment by such groups. For instance Torok (2010:54) notes:

As a consequence of the war on terror, al-Qaeda and associated jihad groups have evolved and made increasing use of internet technologies for cyber recruitment. Recently, there has been an increasing focus on recruiting home grown terrorists who can more easily escape the scrutiny of cross border entries.

Scanlon and Gerber (2014:1) also echo on a similar note that, “In the last decade, the modern landscape of extremism has expanded to encompass the Internet and online social media. In particular, extremist organizations have increasingly used these technologies to recruit new members.” In fact vast literature on cyber-terrorism by authors such as Nye (2010), Archer (2014), Shukla (2006), Conway (2007) all present the growing use of the internet by jihadist groups as a challenge to governments and as a new way for terrorists to conduct their activities more discreetly. Because the internet has a global reach, it thus aids terrorisms cosmopolitan nature rather well. Through the internet, groups are able to publicise their events more vastly and in turn this allows for more interaction amongst groups of people. A prime example of this global reach is supplied by Torok (2010:55) when he concurs with Anderson (2003) and Conway (2006) that:

Strategically, al-Qaeda is forming a vast series of internet networks (inter(N)etworks). They provide a platform to reach a worldwide audience while giving leaders much greater control over their message compared to other more traditional media (print, television).

Much like advertising, terrorist organisations have to make an appeal to their target audience in how they convey their message and what the potential punchlines are that would attract the members they seek to recruit. Thus as McNeal (2007) notes, key aspects of attempts to reach potential target audiences, terrorist groups employ ‘the use of colour, latest multimedia

technologies, professional finish and interactivity.’ These enticing efforts by recruiters appeal to a diverse pool of individuals stroking various individual preferences which may enable consideration to join or joining altogether. Moreover, recruitment by terrorists on the internet is rather ubiquitous as it aims to garner as much support as possible. Harris et al (2004) and Desai (2007) make reference to websites that lure potential recruits with the promise of ‘seven hundred virgins when they enter heaven’ or the promise of ‘taking seventy relatives into heaven.’ Other manners of recruitment use the economic opportunity cost benefit, that if a recruit takes their life (through suicide bombing for instance), their family will be well taken care of. Most recruitment is underpinned by ideology and recruitment on the web is no different as ideology shapes perceptions and behaviours which is largely what is sought after by terrorist groups. Brass, et al (2004:23) affirms this by noting that “actors are part of an interconnected social network that has the potential to both constrain and create new behaviours.” Noteworthy is that it is not everyone that shows interest who is accepted and recruited to be part of a terrorist group in fact Hudson (2005) mentions that it is not everyone that shows an interest who expresses interest in terrorism who is accepted. The process is strenuous in all avenues of recruitment, be it on the web, in mosques, prisons, universities, wherever recruitment is said to take place. In support, Conway (2007:7) states that, “If the recruit is unsure about joining, or if the group is unsure about the recruit, he is directed to a chat room where he is ‘virtually’ vetted. If he passes, he will be directed to another chat room for further vetting, and finally contacted personally by a group member.” This rigorous selection process allows the group to thoroughly vet out potentials and assess which members are fit for recruitment and those that are not. To support this claim, Matusitz (2008) refers to the ‘Chain of Trust,’ this is whereby individuals are introduced and in some instances are required to portray certain attitudes and behaviours. This is said to be rather common on particular chatrooms and various social networking sites. This also allows the recruiter to assess readiness of the potential recruit into the terrorist group. However terrorist groups are more likely to be the ones who pursue potential recruits rather than waiting on them to declare interests. Weimann (2006) also weighs in on the use of ‘electronic bulletin boards’ as a way of broadening the reach to potential recruits. The internet is vast and so are its uses.

Of course when recruiting, terrorist groups are not looking to recruit only people who will carry out their violence but they also seek potential donors who will donate towards their cause and

infrastructure as well individuals who will advance the ideology of the group through various platforms. Therefore it is likely that terrorists become involved in online illegal activity so as to scam individuals and sometimes governments off their money to enable them to finance their own terrorist activities. This stresses the point, (as aforementioned) that the web has many uses and another manner of recruitment and communication among terrorists is email. For instance, terrorists who were indicted in Oregon in 2002 were said to have been communicating via email (Conway 2007). Moreover other ways to broaden the reach, especially amongst young individuals is to attract them with the availability of information on things such as bomb-making at home. Torok (2010) has an article titled “Making a Bomb in your mom’s Kitchen,” and these are the type of headlines that would attract mostly young radicals and spike their curiosity. Through his (Torok) article he further notes the growing increase towards the recruitment of home grown terrorists as they are more able to escape borders and the requirements to entry. This can be achieved through the internet and also does not compromise on the invisibility of these potential terrorists. Physical visibility requires that one is vetted and undergoes border searches when entering into another country given sovereign jurisdiction and the rules that come with it. What the internet allows, through online recruitment, is that an attack can be carried out anywhere in the world without travel from one place to the next by an individual who has been recruited in that particular area. As one of the largest and most spoken of terrorist groups in the world, Al-Qaeda has really embraced the multifaceted use of the web and explores as many avenues to enable recruitment and the spread of their propaganda as possible. The group is said to make use of popular networking sites such as Facebook, MySpace and Yahoo which furthers their propaganda to audiences the world over. Shaidle (2009) alerts how terrorist groups have shown that their use for social media is directed more toward the cause of jihad. In South Africa, twin brothers Brandon-Lee and Tony-Lee Thulsie were apprehended by a law enforcement agency called the Hawks for their suspected role in terrorism in July of 2016. News reports stated that the two were working with prominent terrorist group ISIS and were planning on blowing up Jewish and American embassies in South Africa and were intending to travel to Syria, (Eye Witness News, ENCA, News 24, Times Live). Furthermore is that funds were being deposited into an account opened by one of the brothers by a particular “Simba” whom upon investigation was found to have strong ties with the Islamic State. Authorities were also able to retrieve manuals which guided on how to carry out terrorist attacks, build explosives, and make poisons as well as how to avoid being detected by authorities.

Unfortunately for the Thulsie twins, they have since been arrested and have an ongoing court case and over and above that, the United States has dubbed the twins Specially Designated Global Terrorists (SDGTs) and placed them on their terrorism list. Another recruit on social media is who Hamill (2010) refers to as Anwar al-Awlaki who is said to have been raised as an ‘all American boy’ but fled to Yemen. He had a huge following on Facebook which consisted mainly of disaffected youth. However besides Facebook Anwar is said to have posted numerous videos on Youtube to aid the cause of terrorism and attracting potential recruits. His account was eventually shut down but before that he was able to make the intended impact even if it was not his intended target, assuming he had one which usually is, ‘as many people as possible.’ The potential to attract potential recruits on Facebook is rather high as the social networking site boasts over one billion downloads with at least 50% of those users logging in on any one day making the site highly active. These are just a few of numerous examples of individuals who exploit the many uses of the web and many are able to elude governments and never be caught even if their accounts are apprehended. On the web it is easier to change your identity and continue on the same path as a different user should you be apprehended or to prevent being detected.

A longitudinal study by Weimann (2008) alerts that Yahoo is used by Al-Qaeda as one of its key operational and recruitment tools and is central to their strategy. The group also boasts an online magazine called inspire. This magazine also contains amongst other things, bomb-making techniques, (Torok 2010). However information on bomb-making is now freely available even in library books and on other print media and is not exclusive to the internet. However though, books if not edited do not always evolve and at times contain only traditional methods particular to the time of writing. The internet as an ever evolving tool can always update information and offer new improved methods which may be even quicker on how to go about making this crucial terrorist ingredient. Another added advantage is that the internet is often unregulated and as such not many views can be censored and moreover one can have numerous online personalities. By the time authorities catch on, the individual has already achieved their purpose of spreading their propaganda to the intended audience. What this implies is that the internet allows for well-documented insights due to its effectiveness in reach and in protecting (in most instances) identities of individual persons. One cannot overlook the events of 9/11 in the United States of America (USA) as they have spurred various terrorist networks to increase their numbers but also to

improve their technological infrastructure even more. Before the events of 9/11 the role of technology in terrorism, though present, was not as advanced as it is now. This advancement however is due to various factors apart from just accumulating the numbers. With improvements in technology more regularly, actors have to constantly catch up if they are to be successful in their endeavours.

Most literature (Desai 2007, Torok 2010, Taylor 2014 etc...) that refers to Islamic terrorist groups note that these groups perceive themselves to be defenders of their faith and more particularly against the west. The internet assists in the proliferation of this propaganda to audiences that recruiters hope to acquire. Another prime example of internet usage for recruitment is Al-Qaeda's latest cyber tool in the form of a professionally produced and colourful online magazine called Inspire. It contains quotations from various individuals such as:

*"The times have changed, and we must design a method of confrontation, which is in accordance with the standards of the present time."* (Al- Suri, Inspire Magazine 2010:53)

*"If you have the right to slander the Messenger of Allāh, we have the right to defend him. If it is part of your freedom of speech to defame Muhammad, it is part of our religion to fight you."* (Shaykh Anwar Al-Awlaki, Inspire Magazine 2010:26)

Torok (2010) however does state that the overall message in the magazine is not limited to a nature of quotes such as the above only but includes varied content such as news, strategic advice, challenging Western capitalism, campaigns and giving to the poor. Undoubtedly the times have evolved, however the messages in most of Al-Qaeda's propaganda is still similar over the years and is still centred around convincing members and potential members that the fight is a worthy one. Desai (2007) also extensively makes reference to propaganda by Osama Bin Laden and his supposed right hand man and former leader of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, Ayman al Zawahiri, where they preach the defence of Islam. They believe that violence is the only manner in which to protect this sacred entity which they hold so dear as well as to achieve their goal of a non-secular nation. This shows that for terrorist's violence is not necessarily the end goal but rather achievement of their political views being instilled in place.

Given the numerous uses of the internet, it is evident that web recruitment is fast growing and will remain a crucial part of terrorist recruitment for decades to come. It is also evident that terrorists do not necessarily use the web extensively for cyber terrorism as it does not quite produce the same results as terrorism itself. Cyber-terrorism targets hacking and disruption of systems and at worst can affect the economy of the country where the cyber-attack took place and not many people may feel the wrath and viciousness of the attack except maybe in their pockets. Therefore all the other reasons mentioned for the many uses of the web by terrorists do not necessarily contribute towards the advancement of cyber-terrorism but this is not to say it doesn't exist. Virtual acts of terrorism are not as widespread as violent physical acts themselves. Whilst the focus of terrorists is committing physical violence which they hope will in turn alter behaviours, cyber-terrorism does not readily achieve that goal and so more traditional terrorism with the aid of modern evolving technologies prevails. Terrorists are more concerned with instigating violence which they hope will in turn instil fear and finally allow for the change they seek. Another notable point is that terrorists are not always tech-savvy when it comes to things such as hacking and Lachow (2009) notes that at times terrorist groups tend to work with cyber-criminals such as hackers as hackers have a more diverse skill-set when it comes to the web. This however does not occur often as hackers may compromise group identity and operations as they have a tendency to gloat about their works and accomplishments. Criminal organisations however may represent themselves as a more viable alternative for hackers and be even more willing to carry out attacks on behalf of terrorist groups but usually at a price. Criminal organisations often agree to this at times for their own reputation being boosted. Recruitment of hackers and criminal organisations is evidently not always permanent unless an individual chooses to be part of the group permanently making them more useful because of their skill-set. Therefore whilst cyber-terrorism exists, cyber criminals are often more equipped and inclined to take on cyber-attacks more than terrorists but the mention of cyber-terrorism was to show that terrorist recruitment extends to hackers and cyber-criminals who can do a better job (not always but when required to) than terrorists, on the web. However it is clearly evident that web recruitment by terrorists is so vast that it probably requires an entire paper on its own.

## **2.7 Human Trafficking for Recruitment**

Considered as the illegal trade of persons, human trafficking is rather rife within the 21<sup>st</sup> century and continues to be an issue that requires and has attracted much international attention. Whilst there has been no international consensus on the correct definition of human trafficking, Lee (2007:51) asserts that four elements need to be evident in order for a behaviour to constitute trafficking from a legal standpoint. These are: “(a) recruitment; (b) movement/receipt; (c) deception, abuse of power, or a position vulnerability; (d) purpose of exploitation, which may take place in sex markets, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs.” Cinar (2010) goes on to refer to Human Trafficking as the exploitation of people through force, coercion, threat or deception inclusive of human rights violations, deprivation of liberty etc. Similarly the definitions include the taking away of individual freedom, however the focus is on the recruitment aspect that Lee (2007) mentions in her definition, the recruitment of terrorists through human trafficking. Granted, terrorist recruitment is a forgotten aspect of human trafficking as not sufficient literature covers the area but it is a recruitment strategy nonetheless. It is evident that terrorist recruitment thrives more through other means such as web recruitment and the spread of ideology through various media, training centres and places of worship. There is no telling whether or not all terrorist groups make use of human trafficking for recruitment purposes but it can be confirmed that the phenomenon does not play a role as huge as the internet in the recruitment of terrorists but it does play some role. Nigeria’s Boko Haram as earlier mentioned has been involved in the abduction and trafficking of women and children in Nigeria mostly from Christian communities and indoctrinate them with Islamic dogma in the hope of conversion. Whilst the women are not indoctrinated into terrorists they are coerced into fulfilling the terrorists end goal which is conversion into Islam towards the creation of an Islamic state.

Cinar (2010) conducted research on the Kurdish Worker Party (PKK) and their use of human trafficking for the recruitment of terrorists. He states that these activities are conducted in Turkey and parts of Western Europe in which membership to the party, he argues, is through coercion, which forms part of the definition for human trafficking. Whilst the organisation makes use of children and grooms them as part of their military force, this is not the party’s only strategy as they also manipulate the economic situation of their recruits. Authors such as Desai (2007), Torok (2010), Kristoff (2002) and numerous others who write on the phenomenon make mention of how it is easier to lure recruits with the promise of taking care of their loved ones should they fulfil

terrorist goals. These youth are already economically deprived and have a low sense of self-worth and are easily manipulable and so this becomes an opportunity cost benefit which in some instances is hard to bypass. Cinar's research however highlights that most of these demands were not fulfilled for 80% of the recruits he interviewed but this is not to say that this is reflective of all terrorist groups that use this as a strategy. As this is not a common recruitment technique, the research could not be explored as not much was readily available to make reference to. This is likely because most research on terrorist recruitment dwells more on various other methods which are more common amongst most groups. Though unpopular, terrorist recruitment through human trafficking does take place and serves well as part of the exploration of recruitment strategies for this paper.

## **2.8 Summary and Conclusion**

It has been evident that an understanding of terrorist recruitment requires an understanding of terrorism as well as attempting to understand why it is, that people resort to committing violent acts that not only harm others but themselves as well. Though not particularly easy to define, due to lack of a universally accepted definition, it is concluded that terrorisms' defining features, after gleaning over various literature, are instigation of violence to achieve political ends. Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has escalated to greater proportions and is being fought largely in the media battlefield and wears a Muslim garment. The association of terrorism to Islam within this contemporary period has resulted in this paper focusing on terrorism mainly from a Muslim perspective but also acknowledges that Islam is not the only faith (or non-faith) associated with violence. An almost timeline of the history of terrorism all the way to the current landscape of the phenomenon has been useful in tracing the roots and the different phases of why and how terrorism (especially Islamic terrorism) has shook the world and gained such stronghold. The factors that have led to its growth and its continuing growth are crucial to explore especially for those (mainly authorities) who wish to combat the phenomenon. For terrorism to be continuous the belief then is, it therefore operates on a demand and supply basis requiring individuals with a wide variety of skills and potential that can best serve the organisations they have been recruited into.

Literature highlights the difficulty and complexity in establishing the kind of individuals that resort to terrorism as there is no one set of uniform characteristics that could be found in all terrorists

despite some sharing similar reasons and characteristics for partaking in violence. There is also no one detectable terrorist mind-set that could show the main reason why people become terrorists. Moreover gathering terrorist profiles for researchers proves to be an arduous task and biographical information on people who have chosen the path of extremism is not readily available. It is mostly authorities who have biographical data on terrorists and they too are not often willing to readily share such sensitive information but over and above that there are also terrorists who have never been caught and they too are not generous with information. This they believe will compromise group identity and activity and even those willing to share are not always going to be honest as group integrity is paramount even if they are being compensated in one way or the other. Various authors state varying reasons for individuals joining terrorism such as, but not limited to, economic deprivation, deep rooted belief in ideology, coercion, politics and many others. This also means that the terrorist pool consists of diverse individuals from wealthy businessmen, university educated individuals, doctors, computer geeks all the way down to disgruntled and economically deprived youth. These factors thus imply that anyone who shows interest and willingness has the potential to become a terrorist regardless of social status or background.

Furthermore literature enlightens that much of terrorist recruitment involves to a large degree the exchange of information on various mediums and that this information serves as part of the recruitment process. Ideology more especially religious ideology in the form of Global Islamism and aspects of religious fundamentalism have been deeply explored and are discovered to underlie much of terrorist recruitment. It is concluded that religion is often the net that recruiters use to lure in recruits in defence of Islam and that terrorists believe that the only way to achieve their ideal of global Islamism is through violence. The reason behind defence of Islamic ideals stemmed from a *Clash of Civilisations* between the west and Islam where one wants to maintain traditional values and the other (the west) promotes modernity. However it is discovered that terrorism stems from various other disparate factors such as disgruntlement of the interference of the west which resulted in bloodshed in countries with a strong Muslim stronghold. Religion is then manipulated by recruiters to influence and alter behaviours towards the advancement of their ideals. This ideology is spread to individuals in centres of worship, universities and even prisons and in front of your television screen as recruitment relies largely on the exchange of information.

Web recruitment on the other hand is rather vast and has become popular within terrorism as most terrorists are using networking the internet vastly for their operations. The web proves to be highly ideal as it does away with the red tape of border and security controls that individuals have to undergo when needing to travel to a different country with the intent to plot or implement an attack. On the internet an individual can have multiple identities and with the snag of governments in improving security to combat irregular activities, the internet is the terrorist's gold mine. From Facebook, MySpace, Yahoo, Youtube, to name a few there are various ways to spread the ideology and lure recruits into joining terrorism. Moreover should an individual or a group suspect their activities are being compromised, they can always abort their mission or continue as a different user or alternatively tighten security around their mission. Whilst cyberterrorism was not a key focus for terrorists they were said to have recruited cyber criminals and hackers at times to carry out hits on their behalf though terrorists are not always keen on outsiders. Some groups boast a following of individuals with a diverse set of skills and so most activity happens within the group. The internet also allows for groups to have members outside the base country who can carry out attacks on the groups' behalf. However despite the web are other domains such as the media both digital and print which also serve as a catalyst toward recruitment by influencing behaviours based on perceptions created by exposure to the media. Again, recruitment on the web is the fastest form of growing membership and would require a paper on its own. Human trafficking as a recruitment strategy, though unpopular is said to be used by some terrorist groups and involves much coercion into partaking and following group ideals and could use further exploration.

Undoubtedly these are probably not all the known strategies of terrorist recruitment but this research had prior indicated that it may not succeed in exploring them all but hopes it explored as much as was possible. Terrorist recruitment is a crucial step in the maintenance of growing terrorism and pursuing terrorist ideals.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 3.1 Introduction

Terrorism has proven to be a cancerous challenge that cannot be addressed easily. It is a global crisis that is argued to be influenced by various factors and issues. Terrorism is a topical issue that has increasingly attracted attention from several academic disciplines such as psychology, international relations, religion, and political studies. Clearly, there are diverse perspectives and analysis across literature that seeks to give meaning to why terrorism exists and is increasingly problematic. This research seeks to give a clear understanding of how terrorist and extremist organisations recruit members despite the perceived brutal nature and violence they are associated with.

This chapter presents the theoretical framework, meaning it engages the key theories that were used to reflect and guide the thinking of this study. Various theories have been engaged to explore and explain reasons that lead to terrorism or acts of extremism in states around the world. These theories have been utilized to mirror the thinking, politico-socio-economic environment, geopolitical divide, cultural and ethnic divide, and religious views that influence extremist or terrorist behaviours. According to Grant and Onsanloo (2014:12) a theoretical framework, “is the foundation from which all knowledge is constructed (metaphorically and literally) for a research study.” In other words, it provides the key guiding analytical patterns that make up the rationale or arguments, helps identify the problems and directs the key questions of the study. Eisenhart (1991) establishes that theories are blueprints that outline the thinking and perspectives that guide a research. This study utilized Modernisation Theory and Relative Deprivation (RD) Theory to clearly capture the recruitment strategies that are used by terrorist or extremist groups in attracting individuals. This chapter unpacks how theory is used in politics to interpret issues, it then explores the theoretical debate that exists in engaging terrorism and then explores the key theories of the study.

### **3.2 Understanding Theory in Politics**

Theories are a combination of logically synonymous perspectives that seek to express and analyse a certain body of knowledge. The study of politics presents various broad perspectives that are drawn from various discourses of the subject that include political thought, political ideologies, political philosophy, international relations and political theory etc. These attract various theoretical positions that seek to establish and explain the relationships that exist between states, state institutions (judiciary, executive or legislature etc.), organisations, individuals, groups and classes. Gurr (1971) explains that there is always need for hypotheses and concepts that help outline and analyse the psychological and social factors that drive members of various collectives to commit to political violence. Thus, theories seek to define behaviours and attitudes that influence one's interpretation of a situation, values towards a circumstance and reasons for their chosen action. Therefore, engaging a theory in political science helps to establish a link between generalisations and concepts of political life, and the ideas or assumptions that explain the political issues that exist in government, state, society or groups that affect human beings. This means a political theory seeks to clarify and interpret why a decision was made in that manner, and what factors might have influenced such thinking or action.

To explore terrorism or extremist practices, this study utilized modernization theory and relative deprivation theories. Terrorism is an act that one rationally chooses to engage in. Therefore, the engagement of these two theories is based on the reason that those who chose to join a terrorist or extremist group consciously decide based on their reasons. These could range from deep seated beliefs in ideology to incentives that are derived from partaking in violent acts or just a pure preference for violence, the motivations are endless. Unlike psychology which seeks to understand the mind of a terrorist, political science qualifies facts that are monitored from the demands and actions of a terrorist in defining their political, economic, social, cultural or religious interest etc. This is because terrorists or extremists utilise symbolic gestures of their acclaimed identity which can be traced in history, scripture, culture or tradition to express their view and justify their cause. The use of modernisation theory seeks to reflect on the increasing dominance of westernised identities all over the world and how infiltration of the western norm in some cultures has been regarded as a direct and hostile invasion of their beliefs and values which must be defended at all cost. Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilizations" is engaged to reflect on the realities of identity fault lines and conflicts that are manifesting in the form of extremism and terrorist acts. The

relative deprivation theory seeks to provide a clear conceptualisation of dissatisfaction that drives one to join the collective extremist or terrorist groups to engage in violent acts. It helps outline the value humanity places on their identity and seeks to protect that value at all cost even if it means through extremist measures that are harmful to other human beings.

### **3.3 Understanding the Theoretical Debate of Terrorism**

Terrorism has proven to be a challenging aspect to interpret or deal with for both states and academics alike. This is because terrorist or extremist behaviors are often an outcome of one's personal interpretation of their own social, political, cultural, traditional or religious values. Meaning that the actions that lead to one's indulgence in extremist violent behaviour are clearly not inclusive of diversity and considerate of the other. Thus, theories that seek to interpret terrorism consistently seek to understand the psyche and behavior of terrorists. On the other hand, this study explores the value factors that attract individuals to join or sympathise with terrorists or extremist groups. The new wave of terrorism or extremism that has dominantly taken the centre stage in the past decades is driven by religious rhetoric (Desai, 2007). As predicted by Samuel Huntington (1991), identity has become the major fault-line driving forth terrorism and conflicts in different parts of the world today. This means various waves of terrorism are mostly related with issues do with identity. For example, terrorist groups such as Boko Haram, Al Qaeda and ISIS all claim to be grounded on the values of Islam in which they fight to protect the traditions of their identity from the infiltration of secularism and western values and identities.

There are a wide range of theories, such as conflict theory, anarchism, religious theories, anti-colonial theories and orthodox terrorism theories just to mention a few. These theories capture a variety of perspectives that seek to explain why terrorism occurs. The theories in terrorism seek to engage individuals, group and societal levels of analysis to explore the socio-political and the socio-economic factors that influence extremism and terrorism. Skjøberg and Lia (2004) explain that literature on terrorism increasingly became more dominant after 1968, but has continuously fallen into traps of ideological bias, been driven by pure psychological standing, relying more on speculative assessments and build from dubious information. It is important to carefully consider theories in tackling terrorism to avoid engaging mere definitional or conceptual challenges in debating the challenges that surround the subject thereof, and in this case the recruitment strategies

by terrorist groups. Scholars warn that most of the theories that have been engaged in addressing subjects of terrorism lack rigorous test and empirical proof (Gurr 1988; Schmid and Jongman 1988; Silke 2004; Skjølberg and Lia 2004). In exploring literature on political violence and terrorism, there remains some weak points in clarifying the causes of terrorism as they consist of controversial issues (Skjølberg and Lia, 2004). This study engages two theories, to provide a solid basis of argument that is derived from sound theoretical positions that have been tested. Modernisation theory and Relative Deprivation theory are not new theories, their relevance in political science and development related studies is evident across literature in Social Sciences. Thus, the reasons for engaging these theories are clearly explored in the next sections of this chapter.

### **3.4 Modernisation Theory and Terrorism**

Modernization refers to the change of society from a traditional state to a state of being modern. According to Walt Whitman Rostow (1960) modernization theory is a theory that states how development unfolds in a developing world by following through processes of development that have been used and are being used by developed nations. Huntington (1968) regards modernization as a process that is multidimensionally inclusive of various activities and human views. More so, Halpern (1967) views it as a direct response to change through focusing on building institutional capacity that can effectively manage the ongoing changes. Eisenstadt (1968) combines these two views and argues that modernization is a twofold process which seeks to advance change whilst at the same time emphasizing on building the capacity of institutions that can effectively ensure adjustments and control to changes. According to Li (2009) various scholars conclude that modernization is a functional process of change where traditional arrangements of society are gradually transitioned from pre-modern state (agricultural, pastoral and traditional) to a more modern state (urban, industrialized and secular).

Talcot Parsons (1971) reflects that in his studies of western Europe, development had effectively taken place witnessing societies evolving from traditional conditions into modern ones. Modernisation theory links various social transformations and economic advancements or development with the emerging political system. This means the transitions and changes that take

place in the process of modernization have various economic effects, societal changes and demands certain political engagements. Rostow (1960) explains that the economic modernization of a country witnesses transition from agriculture based societies to industrial ones. The industrial developments then promote urbanization, meaning people migrate to live in cities and promote innovation of technologies, information access and education increases. This in return promotes the increase of economic wealth, helping to advance industrialization and advancing the growth of middle class citizens who are more active in driving political interactions and shaping effective governance through their consistent demands for more interactive governments. It is this emergence of active political participation which promotes democratic values as key driving factors of modernisation. Modernisation theories, therefore play a significant role in advancing not only economic development but also social and political developments in societies. It is interesting to note that proponents of modernisation theory, argue that societies that are undemocratic are still stuck in traditional societies and are resistant to change. It is this thinking that this study seeks to elaborate on in outlining the factors that are helping to guide terrorist recruitments.

Modernization theory is widely understood as a development theory. However, there is a strong relationship between modernisation theory and socio-political development of any community or society. A country's social and political development in modernisation theory is regarded as successfully modernised when it fully recognises and embraces democratic principles. The proponents of modernisation theory have empirically traced and supported that political development of democracies have flourished bringing with them successful changes in societal norms, beliefs and cultures. This is because the survival of democracy depends on certain qualifications that are deemed to be modernised such as human rights and liberal norms. It is important to note that the influence of socio-economic changes that are driven by modernization theory have an end goal of altering the norms, culture and beliefs of citizens to promote further modernization and create room for complete and successful democracy. This understanding paints a clear picture of how various western countries have sought to advance modernisation in different parts of the world even through brutal measures such as colonialism. One can argue that the emergence of terrorism or extremism is a counteractive measure against the infiltration of societal norms, cultures and beliefs through modernisation. For instance, terrorist groups such as Boko

Haram labels western education as a taboo, and display an utter detest of western norms and beliefs. Most extremist and terrorist groups blame the increase of western cultures and quest for democratization as demeaning and erosive to their cultures. Thus, the use of modernisation theory in this study serves to help trace the various societal, economic and political developments that have witnessed the transition and development of changes in society. It seeks to identify how the developmental transitions that take place in society influence change in identities in various ways that might be positive or negative to cultural, traditional or religious views of people in various communities. This means the transition from the traditional state into a state of modernity affects people's identities. This theory helps unpack the identity crisis and challenges that confront societies when the process of modernity is being advanced. Considering that the laboratory of social science is the society where various activities and behaviours are portrayed, modernity changes affect politics, culture and socioeconomic activities and views. This can either attract positive or negative attitudes and in this case the focus is on the latter. The effects of modernisation have attracted various negative attitudes which, within non-secular societies, often manifest in the form of extremism and terrorism. It is important to understand and interpret how individuals, groups, classes and the state relate with various social, cultural, political and economic challenges that influence their norms and beliefs of their society. It is these changes and the clash that emerges following the infiltration of one's culture that have become the most endemic challenges affecting the world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, hence the importance of engaging Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations." It helps to explore how modernisation theory best explains how terrorist or extremist groups have consistently blamed the spreading of secular and liberal views that often or consistently contradict with the values, norms, beliefs and identity of their societies. In other words, some individuals, groups and societies feel infringed and thus are driven with the edge to defend or protect identities by any means necessary.

### **3.5 'Clash of Civilizations' and the Critique of Modernisation**

Samuel Huntington's (1993) thesis on the "Clash of Civilizations" presents a clear critique of the effects of modernization to various societies. In his thesis, Huntington emphasizes on identity as the most valuable phenomenon to one's civilization or way of life. With identity he refers to the various ways in which one is represented through a societal group (ethnicity, religious, race) or

represented through certain societal values (culture, traditions, religion). He clarifies that people can assume various identities, but however, there is always a dominant one that they can choose to relate with more than the others. Modernization has played a significant role in shaping various identities and cultures through spreading liberal views and democracy in various societies across the world. It allows to explain the change in communication across cultures, how modernity has led to the competing supremacy of identities. For example, the identity that appeals the most to the person becomes the creed of belief system. Thus, it is the need for belonging and sense of identity which has been increasingly lost through modernity that terrorist recruitment has capitalized on to recruit individuals.

In the past two decades terrorist and extremist activities that are religiously influenced have dominated the world. Instances of Islamic extremism are argued to have become the drive for most terrorist groups across the media fraternity. With the change of times and increase of secularism, modernization has spread its wings to influence various societies politically and socially affecting various identities along the way. Huntington (1993) clarifies that such changes in society infiltrate civilizations which is a cultural entity that might be expressed through one's love for his/her nationality or religious culture. For example, Tayob (1995) notes that various Islamic uprisings and militant options in some Muslim countries have been influenced by the failure of secular ideologies to deliver promised social and political changes. Modernization theory, thus expresses how its various components are deemed neglecting to the satisfaction of various cultural wants or needs. The interest protecting cultural values drives the emergence of various extremist groups into terrorism. According to Gray (2016) the roots that feed into violent jihadism are clearly witnessed in the contemporary life situations which are dominantly a manifest of modernization elements that have been utilized by West to dangerously infiltrate Muslim-majority countries. Therefore, modernization theories justify that:

Islamic societies are engaged in a struggle to catch up with the West. The journey may be long and arduous but there is no alternative. To modernise means to replicate the course of development that culminated in the liberal-democratic nation state. Once this process has been repeated in Islamic societies, the jihadist threat will diminish and eventually disappear, (Gray 2016).

However, this is not true of most non-secular societies, just as modernization forges forward to be the dominant civilization, secular societies are fighting back refusing to be incorporated in the modernist agenda. The fundamental views of terrorists have been guided to justify their actions as a jihad to protect and defend the purity of their religion, traditions and values which are being tainted and eroded by liberal and secular views advanced in the name of modernity by the west. Thus, extremist groups view themselves as saviours who are challenging the status quo of modernization elements that seek to elevate western ideological views, faith and societal standing. Modernization theory helps to unpack this phenomenon by zooming on the various linear stages of development it presents. It argues that societies that do not adapt to a way of economic standing, adhere to social perspectives (human rights) and political rhetoric (democracy) are traditional and therefore rendered uncivilized. With this picture and understanding, various extremists have regarded the advancement and dominance of western cultures in different parts of the world as a brutal invasion of their privacy and a war against their way of life that cannot be eliminated or dealt with except through radicalized approaches which can be regarded as unorthodox. For the radicals the extreme keen justifies their actions to protect and defend their creed. Utilizing modernization theory in this study serves to present the critical perspectives of how terrorism has been advanced as a war against the various changes that seek to eliminate the identity of various cultures.

In addition, the influence of modernization theory has clearly manifested in a ‘Clash of Civilizations’ as radicalization and jihadist groups have increased over the years. There are various factors raised by scholars to explain how people join and why. Clark (2016) explains that the general conclusion and analysis on the recruitment and joining of people into different extremist groups such as ISIS are an outcome of brainwashing and indoctrination of people into extremist beliefs. Some Modernization theorists, advance the notion that once the modern world has emerged in these countries terrorism will end (Clark, 2016). It is important to acknowledge that terrorist recruitment whether through brainwashing or not, the fact remains that the aspect of identity and culture is the major attraction. This means Huntington’s thesis clearly captures how modernization triggered and ushered in conflict fault lines that are anchored on the key societal sentiments of culture and identity which makes up the pride and civilization of human beings. Therefore,

modernization theory helps to identify these various values which in this study are Islamic extremist values that have been utilized by ISIS in recruiting new members.

### **3.6 Understanding Relative Deprivation Theory**

Relative Deprivation theory became a popular theory in the 1960s to understand and explain the reasons driving the social activist movements that were increasingly rising in the era. Relative deprivation has been utilized in various studies to analyze terrorism because it provides a deep insight of influencing factors to human political violence. According to Gurr (1971) the outcomes of political violence can be traced back to unresolved social, economic, or political issues that leads to dissatisfaction which eventually turns into a collective value of frustration if it remains unattended. Gurr (1971: 23), clarifies that relative deprivation refers to “the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the ‘ought’ and the ‘is’ of collective value satisfaction, and this disposes men to violence.” This gives an understanding that frustration is the necessary and key driving factor for violence. Scholars agree that political violence since time immemorial has always been driven by frustration (Agbibo, 2013; Džuverovic, 2013). Gurr (1971:24) explains relative deprivation as the perception of one’s value, he articulates that it is the:

Discrepancy between their value expectations and their value capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are goods and conditions they think are capable of getting and keeping.”

With this understanding, it is important to outline that Relative Deprivation as a theory seeks to unpack the perceptions that people conceive concerning political, social and economic situations and how they choose to act towards or against it. This means relative deprivation theory can help identify the key factors that are identified by ISIS and utilized to recruit people into joining the extremist group to participate in terrorism.

### **3.7 Relative Deprivation & Terrorist Recruitment**

Terrorist and extremist groups utilize a wide range of strategies to recruit ordinary citizens to join their cause. Various debates on what influences individuals to join extremist or terrorist groups have been engaged on various platforms including academic presentations. It is telling to note that

despite the widespread engagements in psychology, politics, governments, and various social science platforms, it remains uncertain on the real factors that influence individuals to join terrorist groups. In understanding that terrorist groups take time to advertise and market for their recruitments, some scholars have suggested that individuals are brainwashed, or lured by money and in some instances, young men are lured by women into joining the cause of extremism. However, despite all these interpretations, this study argues that despite tactics utilized, it remains one's choice to participate and such choices may emanate from various dissatisfactions. Graham (2017) explains in the Huffpost online news platform that,

ISIS recruiting pitches on the Internet are warm and welcoming, with stirring imagery and professionally produced videos. Most are reasonable in tone and content. They are expertly targeted to address real or imagined ambitions and grievances, to appeal to a potential recruit's sense of adventure, and to offer an attractive cause worth fighting for.

This outlines how extremist groups carefully appeal to various rational circumstances that might be affecting political, social, economic, cultural and above all, religious identities of people to consider joining their cause and take a stand in correcting the assumed wrongs of society. Utilizing Relative Deprivation helps analyse these societal facets to properly discern between reality and fiction. This is because there are different analyses and explanations in literature that have sought to explain how terrorism works and how terrorists recruit without or with little qualification of facts and theoretical analysis.

Richardson (2011) explains that in most cases, there has been an assumption that terrorists or individuals who chose to join them are underprivileged people who are uneducated and live in the fringes of society. He emphasizes that this assessment is a false interpretation of the empirical research findings by "Alan Krueger and Jitka Malecková (2003), as well as a later study by Alan Krueger and David Laitin (2008), terrorists tend to be more highly educated and from wealthier families than the average population," (Richardson 2011:3). This means various governments and scholars might have found it easier and logical to conclude that people engage in terrorism because they are desperate yet they are driven by other goals of expectations and demands of their assumed value. However, Gurr (1970) notes that it is the gap that exists between an expected end and the actual outcomes in every situation that influences political violence. Meaning in any environment, if individuals are content with even the poorest of conditions, they can never engage in any form

of protest or violence against the status. Thus, for Gurr when expectations and demands are not met by the reality of what people think they are entitled to, measures are taken to challenge such prevalent conditions of things. Therefore, the use of Relative Deprivation theory in this study is to help explain and capture that various Islamic extremist groups such as ISIS have placed much value in their religious identity and clearly emphasize that their expectations and demands cannot be met in any secular environment that dilutes their culture and way of life. Meaning political violence or terrorism alike can be understood as an outcome of collective discontent influenced by a feeling or sense of being relatively deprived.

Saleh (2013) posits that Relative Deprivation explores on issues pertaining to societal security. This is because when one feels that their social status or identity is threatened it results in societal insecurity (Buzan 1993). Saleh (2013:166) argues that, “societal insecurity occurs when people within a certain geographically defined state assume that their identity is threatened. This perceived threat could be triggered and bolstered by a collective feeling of Relative Deprivation, be it social, economic, political or cultural.” This means when one feels that their cultural or societal values are facing Relative Deprivation within a community or society they will be consequentially frustrated and that will eventually lead to some form of violence as Gurr (1971) explains it. There are various societal values that appeal to one’s identity and influences human behaviour. For example, religion, which is one of the primary key focuses in this study, significantly represents most people’s identities, and if its values are frustrated, people are bound to rise in defence of their belief. Islamic extremist groups such as Boko Haram, Al Qaeda and ISIS have consistently expressed their urge to satisfy the expectations of their religious values. Their extremist practices are derived from their perceived value of what their model Islamic affairs and systems should be like. They validate the Muslim religion as the ultimate religion and appeal to all “true Muslims” to follow their cause to protect their identity from infidels. To them, westernization and modernisation has robbed them of their social, political and economic values and above all it has infiltrated and diluted their cultural values and faith. Relative Deprivation theory provides an understanding of the perceived value potential that ISIS presents to people to justify their extremist behaviour as a measure to attain their acclaimed “true value.” Thus, it is a sense of potential value that one might have always aspired for in society that can be capitalised

on to recruit one to be part of their cause despite their person's social, political or economic status. Therefore, it becomes clear why Lai's (2004) findings conclude that terrorism within a state has always been influenced by political inequality of minority groups. Meaning strong dissatisfaction of people socially and politically is most likely to advance terrorism than economic dissatisfaction [though it remains importantly significant in examining terrorism] (Lai, 2004).

This understanding of relative deprivation theory plays a critical role in this study, to provide critical lenses in understanding societal, political, cultural, economic and identity values that influences individuals to join extremist groups in conducting acts of terrorism. It is important to note that, terrorism is a complex subject that various scholars and governments have attempted and are still attempting to tackle. Henceforth, it is important to clarify the variables and values that appeal to the ordinary person to join such as cause. Understanding the recruitment strategies utilized by a terrorist group requires a comprehensive and analytical tool which Relative Deprivation provides. It is a flexible theory to engage multiple explanations and perspectives.

### **3.8 The Importance of Modernisation Theory & Relative Deprivation Theory**

The use of Modernisation and Relative Deprivation theories is complementary to this study. This is because, these theories provide a historical analytical advantage and inclusive perspectives to approach challenging issues pertaining to identity, economy, society, culture and politics that appeal to human values and expectations in day to day lives.

Modernization theory provides a critical perspective of how development changes have ushered in various political, social, economic and cultural erosion of different world societies by western ideologies, cultures and norms. Whilst at the same time, Relative Deprivation theory unpacks how these development changes have left most societies dissatisfied with a demand for their own societal, cultural, political and economic security and value. Considering that this study is focusing on understanding the recruitment strategies utilised by ISIS, it seeks to unpack the social makers that influences one to relate to this cause of extremism and terrorism.

Modernisation theory and Relative deprivation theory explores the various social dynamics that influences conflict in society. Relative deprivation gives a clear picture that if there is persistent dissatisfaction in a society it leads to frustration and in turn result in violent behaviour. Huntington (1993) explains how the increase of modernisation creates a competitive platform for recognition in which civilizations must fight for recognition, space and identity. These factors highlight how the utilisation of these theories in this study provides an insightful understanding of how societies relate, seek to uphold their own identities and instil a sense of belonging to various individuals. Terrorist groups, are societies that seek to uphold their religious values through extremist measures and to achieve their goals, they recruit members by appealing to people's religious or cultural values and the dissatisfaction they might relate with.

It is also important to note that various debates on the causes of terrorism have consistently vacillated between the clash of civilizations and socio-economic dissatisfaction. It is no gainsaying that both aspects are equally important. They both capture the major driving factors that have attract many young men and women into joining extremist Islamic jihadists. According to Omer Taspinar (2017), there are wide range explanations and realities as to what influences people to join terrorist groups such as ISIS, and it should be noted that it is limiting to conclude that the reasons are just socio-economic. He further clarifies that Relative Deprivation plays a crucial role in zooming on different political, social, cultural and identity issues that challenge aspirations and expectations of societies. Therefore, in understanding that modernisation is premised on the platforms of vast opportunities that come through societal changes, it is the uncertainty and competition it brings to the identity and culture of new societies which attracts dissatisfaction. In acknowledging that society is dynamic, it remains important to understanding that unfamiliar changes are argued to be frustrating to one's civilization. For instance, the western civilization is the primary target of ISIS because it has been suffocating and frustrating Islamic civilization, (Taspinar, 2017).

There is a special relationship between Modernisation theory and Relative Deprivation theory in unpacking the factors that influence individuals that join extremist groups or terrorists. They are not only influenced by a single event, brainwashing or indoctrination is widely justified. Rather

there are a combination of factors that can be traced historically, socially, politically, economically, culturally and even geographically. This is because the changes that have been advanced through modernity have advanced secularism and democracy which has challenged the values of Islam.

### **3.9 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter explored the key theories that were utilised in analysing this study. It first sought to clarify the importance of a theoretical framework in research. It then outlined the understanding of political theory and its relevance in grounding the understanding of any politics related issues or subjects. Then modernisation theory was unpacked to trace its roots and outlines its importance to this study. More so, the importance of a 'Clash of Civilizations' as a reflection of the effects of modernization was well reflected upon. Relative Deprivation theory was reflected on to understand how societal value plays a significant role in understanding how one's disaffection and frustration might attract one to violent behaviour. There is clear understanding that Relative Deprivation is not just driven by socio-economic factors but by various issues that include identity, culture, political and social values that appeal to one's expectations. The chapter finally explored the relationship and relevance of utilizing these two theories in the study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **4. METHODOLOGY**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter will give a detailed understanding of the research methodology, which is key in outlining the collection, the process of presentation and the analysis of the research findings. Research can be defined as a systematic enquiry of information to understand pertinent issues concerning a particular/ specific topic (Goddard & Melville, 2004). There are several reasons that explain why research is conducted. Pandey and Pandey (2015:9) explains that the “main aim of research is to find out the truth which is hidden and which has not been discovered as yet”. To discover and establish the truth concerning a specific topic, each research is guided by a particular methodology or approach.

Research methodology is one of the key important aspects of research as it provides the systematic way in which the research problem of the study in question is being solved (Kothari, 2004). It provides the various steps in which the research is being conducted and outlines how the researcher engages particular research methods/techniques in addressing a problem under study (Kothari, 2004). These steps include research design, data collection methods, data analysis, population, samples and the variables of measuring the outcomes of the study. This is a social science research which seeks to explore and articulate on the various recruitment strategies that have and are currently being employed by terrorist organisation, ISIS. There are two main approaches to research which are qualitative and quantitative approaches. This research utilizes a qualitative approach. From such a standpoint, one is able to explore and interpret the implementation of certain theories and approaches. Therefore, the chapter outlines how this research study has been conducted.

## **4.2 Qualitative Research.**

The research study utilizes qualitative methodology and different research methods that are complementary to the study. This is a social research methodology which is holistic and inductive in approach, and gives an elaborate (insider perspective) exploration, understanding and description of a specific social phenomenon rather than explanations and predictions of human behaviour (Babbie & Mouton 2001:53). Qualitative research seeks to enquire details of human activities which cannot be measured or calculated in a certain way. Hancock (2002) explains that the main concern for qualitative research is to develop and give detailed explanations of the social phenomena. This means that a qualitative study seeks to provide answers to, why people engage in particular activities; understand the factors that influence the formation of certain opinions and attitudes; understanding the effects of certain events on people; exploring how cultures develop/ have developed in the way they have; and outlining the differences that exists amongst social groups (Hancock 2002).

Unlike quantitative research, which aims to provide measurements of specific characteristics and instruments under study, qualitative research seeks to provide an understanding various social phenomena. For instance it seeks to explore and understand factors that influence specific human behavior. This study seeks understand the various terrorist recruitment strategies of religious extremist groups which are mostly associated with Islam. Thus, the use of a qualitative approach allows for clear exploration of various factors surrounding the religious community particular to this study without any intention of manipulating the environment or facts. Scholars agree that, qualitative research is developed from natural setting and utilizes facts without any manipulation from the environment (Savenye & Robinson, 1996; Hancock, 2002; Walliman, 2011). This means that the conclusions reached in this study are based on data which is carefully considered through a thorough exploration and enquiry of facts. This is because qualitative research, “depends on careful definition of the meaning of words, the development of concepts and variables, and the plotting of interrelationships between these,” (Walliman, 2011:73).

The relevance of qualitative study in this research is to ensure a coherent discussion of issues that influence extremist/terrorist behaviours. Qualitative research provides the necessary mechanisms

for representation of social experiences, events, actions encountered and reactions of people to the different lived situations (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012). This means various variables can be looked into and enable the researcher to reach a conclusion which is not biased by personal feelings or opinions on the subject under study. Thus the research is able to explore on the various beliefs and opinions surrounding the role of religious ideology (particularly Islam) in influencing extremist/ terrorist activities. Considering that this research engages a case of ISIS, it allows the researcher multiple perspectives of engaging academic perceptions and the practical interests of the organisations. The factors particular to this exist in the social laboratory and cannot be understood or solved by a certain scientific formula, hence the importance of research is social sciences.

#### **4.3 Research Design**

According to Kothari (2004:31), “the research design is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data.” There are several types of research designs, which can be applied in research depending on the type of study. These types include case study design, descriptive/phenomenology, ethnography, grounded theory, experimental and comparative design etc. This means each research presents a unique problem and specific aims which helps in choosing and deciding the type of research design that is suitable to the study. In every study, a research design is a map that guides how the data is collected, measured and analysed (Pandey and Pandey, 2015). This research aims to ascertain the claim that religion is perceived to be central to the many conflicts in the developing world. It seeks to explore and outline the key driving factors that encourages one to join a terrorist group, establish how recruitment takes place and understand the ramparts that permits the breakthrough of terrorist tendencies. This means the study requires for a design, which minimises biased information, provides alternative understanding and maximise on reliable sources in reaching conclusions.

Bless & Kathuria (1993) articulate that a research design helps the researcher to establish an argument and draw conclusions on the given hypothesis. This study engages phenomenology and

case study analysis as research designs. This is because the researcher seeks to give an understanding on recruitment strategies by terrorists and extremist organisations. This is because issues pertaining to religion have attracted extremist measures in various instances as means of preserving or maintaining its sacred value when one feels a threat of dilution or tampering of their religious beliefs. Therefore, engaging both phenomenology and case study analysis to ensure an effective exploratory case study research that looks at issues and theories through critical lenses to provide a comprehensive analysis of facts.

### ***Phenomenology Research Design***

Phenomenology is also referred to as interpretive approach or exploratory study. Phenomenology refers to a philosophical term which expresses a method which inspires research investigation or inquiry in understanding the meanings of social experiences, everyday happenings, and social structures that we live in (Babbie, 2010; Collis & Hussey, 2009). Thus, a phenomenological study seeks to explore and interpret the various lived experiences of people (Babbie & Mouton, 2010). Phenomenology or interpretivism seeks to explore and provide an understanding of various complexities that exist in the social phenomena. This means phenomenology helps the mind to provide to interpret and provide meanings to event and experiences. Gephart (1999) posits that interpretivism establishes a platform for understanding social meanings that interpreted from human social interactions.

This research aims to bring to attention the issue of recruitment strategies that are engaged by extremist/terrorist organisations. This is a sensitive issue; it explores different political, social, economic and most importantly religious experiences of people that might influence them to engage in extremist/terrorist activities. Therefore, this demands extensive consideration of facts and articulate interpretation and expression of language to capture the meanings and factors that influence people's behaviour in their world of life. Considering the basic rules of interpretivism that are identified by Wisker (2008) and Blumberg *et al.* (2011); firstly, a social world is basically constructed by human beings and given meaning, whilst human beings depend on their conscience (mind), and human behaviour is governed (directed) by knowledge subjected the human mind in

the social world they exist in. Secondly, a researcher is part of the observed (since they interpret and conclude as part of the social world). Thirdly, interests drive research.

This study acknowledges that there is still difficulty in establishing the exact reasons that push an individual towards partaking in violent and extremist acts in the name of religion as violence is defied by religion in its entirety. From a phenomenological perspective, the researcher acknowledges that a social world is produced and reproduced everyday by people, therefore, meanings and values of societies can change depending with time and knowledge exposed to people. This study observes and interprets social constructions that feed into extremism and terrorism, in order to develop ideas, theorise, provide understanding of subjective realities and give explanations. Scholars agree these are the advantages of phenomenology/ interpretivism in generating findings that are beyond scientific hold of knowledge (Rubin & Babbie 2010, Blumberg *et al* 2011). The use of phenomenology in this study allows the researcher to give a deeper understanding of social experiences of people.

### ***Case Study Analysis***

Given the understanding that this study is an investigation of recruitment strategies by terrorist and extremist groups, it utilizes a case study analysis to give a detailed exploration of the religious and social situation that has sustained the growth and recruitment of ISIS. According to UNB Writing center, “a case study analysis is not merely a descriptive but, as the term itself suggests, a critical exercise, typically an examination of a situation or institution with view towards making recommendations” (www.unb.ca). The use of case studies in research is dominant in various social science studies and organizational studies. Yin (2003) clarifies that case studies are important in research to help explain complex social phenomena. Case studies help the research to interrogate some theoretical orientations and discern various factors that influence interest in individual cases (Hartley 2004, Stake 2000).

This study acknowledges that there are fundamental questions that surface during an attempt to establish various recruitment strategies of terrorist groups. Dana Dillon (cited in Forest, 2006:2)

poses a question, “why do people join terror groups?” This clearly outlines that various people in society have many unanswered questions in which they always try to understand why, when and how terrorist recruitment takes place. Considering that this study engages two theories to meet the objectives of the study, a case study design can help validate various patterns, concepts and themes which are key in understanding the social settings which inspire certain behaviour or events. With this understanding Patton and Appelbaum (2003:67) conclude that, “the ultimate goal of the case study is to uncover patterns, determine meanings, construct conclusions and build theory.”

Hartley (2004:332) regards case study analysis as ‘heterogeneous’, which means it allows the engagement of various methods which may include levels of analysis (e.g. individuals, groups, organizations and social policies etc.); covers a wide range of research techniques and methods; and involves organizational functions at different levels. This means a case study allows for a deep inquiry of issues being researched on, to reach a conclusion. Yin (2003) outlines that a case study analysis relies on three principles to provide a solid exploration, description or explanation. These principles include, “use of multiple sources of evidence; creation of a case study database; and maintaining a chain of evidence” (Yin 2003:83, 95-105). This research therefore, engages a wide range of documents, archival records, texts, newspapers (news reports), and documentaries to answer the fundamental questions on recruitment strategies of extremist/ terrorists groups.

#### **4.4 Data Collection**

A qualitative research study can be conducted through ‘field research’ or ‘library/desktop research’. The former refers to a situation in which the researcher engages with the people to conduct a research through observation, interaction, questionnaires or participation. The latter refers to a situation where the researcher analyses historical documents and records, books and various materials concerning a particular subject under study. Walliman (2011: 73) explains that qualitative research relies more on data collected through “observation notes, interview transcripts, literary texts, minutes of meetings, historical records, memos and recollections, documentary films, are all typical examples of qualitative data”. More so, it is important to note that sources of qualitative data also depend more on human interpretation, insights and impressions (Kothari,

2004; Walliman, 2011). The experiences in this research study were conducted through library research/ desktop research study.

Babbie (2010) outlines that, the manner in which research data is gathered determines the value of the study. Therefore, Descombe (2002) articulates that researchers have to either engage the people or access key documents concerning the subject of study to avoid speculation. This study relied on both primary and secondary sources in exploring and fulfilling the objectives of the study. The researcher utilized the UKZN library resources, online libraries that are accessed through the UKZN library website, newspaper articles, relevant documentaries and reports.

### ***Primary Sources***

Persaud (2010) defines primary sources as a broad embodiment of all document sources that are considered original, as they provide firsthand information from eyewitnesses or first account of the object of study. The Tennessee Government (2015) refers to primary sources as, “first-hand accounts of an event, a life, a moment in time. They are in their original form (diaries, letters, photos, etc.) usually without explanation or interpretation.” Historical primary sources are essential in that they provide insight into the past. “They provide unfiltered access to the record of artistic, social, scientific and political thought and achievement during the specific period under study...” (Library of Congress, 2017).

### ***Secondary Sources***

Secondary sources refers to documents that are produced at a later stage of the event under study, with individuals who did not participate or experience the event under study (Concordia Library, 2015). Vogt (2005:291) posits that a, “Secondary source is a source that provides non-original or secondhand data or information.” Examples of secondary sources include textbooks, newspapers and journal articles. It is important to note that “secondary information offers relatively quick and inexpensive answers to many questions and is almost always the point of departure for primary research” (Stewart and Kamis, 1984 in Blaikie, 2003: 18).

This research explored reliable sources such as newspapers, relevant websites, textbooks, peer-reviewed journal articles, and existing literature that is already published and unpublished on the subject under study to provide relevant interpretation. In every study, there are normative and rational patterns that highlight how specific events occur. Therefore, it is apparent to engage relevant sources to understand these patterns, and explore theories and concepts that can help in reaching conclusions and recommendations on factors that drive certain outcomes. This library research allowed for critical enquiry on theory, histories and concepts that guide terrorist recruitments and religious extremist behaviors. This helped in outlining various factors that have been key in sustaining the recruitment of terrorist and extremist organizations.

#### **4.5 Data Analysis**

This research utilizes qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis in analyzing and presenting the data. Since this is a library/desktop research, it requires use of authentic sources and credible assessments to ensure valid conclusions (Denscombe, 2010). The use of these two methods of analyzing data is a way of ensuring that the research is authentic, credible and valid. In the study of social phenomena, the use of more than one/multiple methods of analyzing data as a measure of ensuring credible research study is referred to as triangulation (Bryman, 2012).

#### **Qualitative Content Analysis**

Content analysis is used in this study as an analyzing tool. It is commonly referred as qualitative content analysis (QCA). Zhang & Wildermuth (2005:1) outlines that QCA, “pays attention to unique themes that illustrate the range of the meanings of the phenomenon rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts.” It describes spoken or visual communication and involves various media (print, television, and the internet amongst others) which are amongst avenues where information for this research will be extracted. Content analysis is a suitable tool for understanding various themes that are important in social change, events and activities. This research engages different types of texts and documents to provide an understanding of the key research question under investigation in this study. Elo & Kyngas (2007)

clarify how content analysis provides a platform for the researcher to engage theoretical issues, test them and give an understanding of the found data. This means the researcher should be able to supply a more critical analysis through reflections from various other media such as news articles, interviews, government documents and where necessary graphs may be included allowing all the more for content analysis to be the most suited methodological approach.

### **Discourse analysis**

Discourse analysis refers to analytical approach that seeks to discern language across cultures and translation to determine the urgency of a subject and understand the challenges that are faced by scholars in outlining the fragmented issues and events in the world (Chilton, 2004). Wodak (1996, cited in Chilton, 2004:45) defines discourse analysis as, “an instrument for exposing inequality and domination and for providing the means for more equitable and emancipatory discourse”. In the study of politics, discourse plays a critical role as it establishes language that is critical in understanding the constitution of social groups (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997; Dunmire, 2012). This means that language establishes the discursive that grounds political phenomena. The research zeros in on one of the critical subjects which has dominated the political language of world politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The subject of terrorism. It requires a broad exploration of facts before reaching a conclusion. The research has to demystify the various religious and social factors that are regarded as factors that influence and encourage individuals particularly in the Islamic community to participate in extremist/ terrorist activities. In understanding the sensitivity of the matter, the use of discourse analysis helps the researcher in exploring ways in which social power (religious power) is used to exercise dominance (extremist/terrorist behaviours) in the society (in this case Islam society). Therefore, discourse analysis is used in this study to solicit the necessary sources and develop relevant arguments that are purely dependent on factual texts and documents.

### **4.6 Validity**

Validity in research refers to the proper representation of research facts in the given study (Fox & Bayat, 2013). Thus validity means that there is accuracy in the sources provided and given explanations (Denscombe, 2002). In this research, validity is established through the use of two

methods of analyzing which is referred to as triangulation to verify the authenticity of claims provided in texts and documents used. The researcher also relied on credible research library facilities that are provided by the University of KwaZulu-Natal, various Government reports, verified documentaries, and organizational websites and recognized news agencies to verify and authenticate information.

#### **4.7 Ethical Considerations**

The researcher conducted and pursued this research study after approval by the UKZN research ethics committee through granting an ethical clearance form. More so, every source that is used in this study is clearly acknowledged in the study and reference list.

#### **4.8 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter explores methodology utilized in this research study. It outlines on qualitative research approach and its importance in a social science research. This study explores a challenge that exists in the social setting and has much impact in the study of politics as it touches on aspects that are important to human identity. Therefore, the use of qualitative research methodology enables the research to explore on multiple perspectives in understanding the factors that influence human behavior to act and participate in extremist/terrorist activities. Qualitative research seeks to provide as platform for societal experiences and stories to be formed and expressed through words. The use of phenomenology and case study research designed are key grounding societal experiences and exploring the experiences that have guided and influenced the recruitment strategies of ISIS. The use of QCA and discourse analysis in data analysis meant to ensure the authentic research outcomes. This research explores sensitive aspects to human society as it adheres on aspects that touches on fundamental values of human life, therefore a relevant methodology which allows the researcher to build arguments based on credible and verified sources to avoid a biased representation of a certain identity or issues.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5. CASE STUDY AND DATA ANALYSIS

*“No one has tried harder to implement strict Sharia by violence. This is what it looks like”*

#### 5.1 Introduction

One recurrent concept behind the conception of many prominent Islamist terrorist/extremist organizations is that of religious ideology which seeks to establish an Islamic state and make that a global ideology for all to live under as advised by the prophet Muhammad. Having literally “changed the game” in terms of how they operate in comparison to other terrorist and insurgent jihadi groups, ISIS now just IS (Islamic State) has had many wondering who they are, where they come from and what do they aim to achieve with their extreme, nefarious acts. Known to be operating largely in the Middle East especially in Iraq and Syria, terrorist group ISIS has not only attracted global attention but has for most part successfully asserted their dominance and caused instability in the region under which they operate. Despite backlash and rejection from other terrorist and insurgent jihadi groups, the list of monstrosities committed by ISIS continue to develop and are more heinous at each turn as the group forges forward towards asserting their dominance. Undoubtedly this alerts that terrorism as we know it, has to some degree been transformed and the international community may have an even harder time having to develop counterterrorism strategies suited to fighting ISIS’s brutality. Kronin (2015) makes comparison to counterterrorism strategies that have been developed for major terrorist group Al-Qaeda and argues that a uniform approach towards both groups is unlikely to be successful. This is due largely to the difference in operation of both groups, ISIS differs from al-Qaeda in its superior abilities to articulate an effective vision and a military strategy for implementing it.

ISIS’s money making strategies are also to be acknowledged, though distasteful, as they include holding foreign nationals as hostages and demanding ransoms as well as human trafficking for the

sale of Yazidi women. Other methods include the alleged smuggling and sale of oil which rakes in no less than one million dollars on a daily basis.

ISIS has made its name on the marketing of savagery evolving its message to sell a strong but potent new blend of utopianism and appalling carnage to a worldwide audience, documenting a carefully manipulated version of its military campaigns including its bloody 2014 rampage across much of Iraq and Syria, ( Stern & Berger 2016:3).

However, available research by various players highlights that there has been some struggle when it comes to comprehending the ISIS wonder and this brings about an abundance of unsubstantiated and opposing data. Amidst all the uncertainty and rejection, this has not stopped ISIS from wreaking havoc and further destabilizing the parts of the Middle East in which they are situated in their hope to achieve their goal of re-establishing an Islamic State. The organisation's most defining feature is the establishment of an Islamic State, through the spread of religious ideology, despite backlash from other organisations due to the insane theatrics adopted towards achieving it.

The Islamic State as we know it today has a rather rich history tracing its origins to the 2003 USA invasion of Iraq but was not referred to as Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) nor the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or the Islamic State (IS) back then. It has gone through various evolutions, from Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) to ISIL/ISIS and then currently the Islamic State as it prefers being addressed and all for various reasons. This chapter, will use, ISI or ISIS interchangeably where necessary but literature highlights that ISIS and IS are terms mostly used by media and other sources to refer to the group. A few other individuals still refer to the group as ISIL, however, important to note is that the group prefers to be referred to as IS after its reconstitution of an Islamic State in 2014. This chapter borrows from a myriad of sources and attempts to be as concise as can be in providing an overview of the origins, operations, ideology and goals of ISIS. The major focus however will be to unpack the various recruitment strategies employed by ISIS and how there is a marked difference in comparison to other groups when recruiting. It will further highlight why the group has become unpopular with other terrorist jihadi groups as well as highlight how the group has managed to grow significantly over a significantly small period of time. ISIS has undoubtedly changed the scope of terrorism internationally and it will be interesting to observe whether they will endure and continually emerge victorious in their endeavours.

## 5.2 Who is ISIS?

Despite the image of ISIS terrorists being portrayed as men dressed in all black with their faces usually covered, the history of the Islamic State, that on 29 June 2014 declared its reinstatement of a caliphate, is rather complex. Whilst the aim here is to look at how the group has managed to grow significantly in numbers in terms of their recruits, it is also important to establish a background that allows one to know and understand the group and its origins better. "IS has become an impressively versatile organization, operating simultaneously as a terrorist, insurgent, and light infantry force. Backed by extreme ideological determination, IS militants have exploited local dynamics and an environment of instability to serve their own ends," (Lister 2014:2). The continuing instability in the Middle East proves itself to be a major threat to the west and ISIS is at the fore of that instability as the west is unable to effectively counter their tactful strategies. How is it that a group has emerged so powerful in such a short space of time? This question is relevant as many believe the rise of ISIS to have begun in 2014, however the group has experienced its significant share of triumphs and challenges as ISI and ISIS and even now as the Islamic State.

The constant warring in Syria spurred by the Arab Spring uprisings means that the region has been in constant turmoil and has created an environment conducive for radical and jihadi groups to thrive. Iraq on the other hand had also been experiencing its own turmoil especially since the 2003 US invasion. One such terrorist insurgency group that has been able to come to the fore through this constant turmoil is the Islamic State. The group has constantly rebranded itself according to Stern & Berger (2016:8) despite currently being known as the Islamic State. It has been referred to as the Islamic State in Iraq and Levant (ISIL) or the Islamic State of Iraq and al Sham (ISIS) or as Daesh which is a derogatory term extracted from its Arabic acronym. Before its proliferation into Syria it was referred to only as the Islamic State in Iraq (ISI) highlighting that it did not emerge outright as the Islamic State or ISIS but it was a growth process involving much conflict, exploitation and insurgency to get to where it is today. At the end of June 2014, the group dropped IS or IL as it had now declared itself as a caliphate leaving them to be just the Islamic State which is the name still used today although some people still know them better as and refer to them as ISIS. "The caliphate represents the onset of a new era of "might and dignity" for the Muslims," (Hashim 2014:73). The caliphate is "... a historical empire with vast resonance for Muslims around

the world but especially for Salafi jihadists, whose efforts were all nominally in the service of that goal,” (Stern & Berger 2016:46). The declaration of a caliphate concerned reviving the religion in which sharia law would pose as most supreme above all other laws, and this feeds largely into the ideology of global Islamism. ISIS’s aim is more concerned on influencing mind-sets through the spread of Islamist ideology which would eventually lead to a non- secular state with a far more global reach, however the tactics used in attempting to achieve this goal have been nothing short of detestable.

The evolution of ISIS can be traced as far back as 1999 before it was declared a caliphate in the year 2014. Hashim (2014) traces the origins of ISIS to as far back as the year 2000 when a Jordanian who converted to Islam by the name of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi (AMZ) was set on fighting the Jordanian government but was unsuccessful as he didn’t gain any momentum in achieving his aims. He then, after some back and forth travels, ended up retiring in Afghanistan where near Herat he ran an Islamic military training camp after acquiring a \$200 000 loan (Lister 2014) where his group Jama‘at al-Tawhid wa al-Jihad (JTWJ) was established. Some authors abbreviate the name as JTJ which boils down to just technicalities in wording as we have also seen with Al-Qaeda sometimes being spelt Al-Qaida and the technicalities with ISIS and ISIL but it does not alter who or what the organisation is in many instances. Despite no known interaction with Bin Laden or Al-Qaeda, Zarqawi claimed to be influenced by Abdullah Azzam, who himself was an Islamist thinker of Palestinian Jordanian descent, mainly through audio cassettes. As we have already touched on and will later learn, influence through Islamist ideology plays a huge role in partaking in extremist activities especially for jihadist groups who believe they are fighting for a cause.

Fast forward, Zarqawi then moved to Iraq after the 2003 invasion by the Bush administration whose aims were to stabilise and democratise Iraq. This led to the toppling of the Sunni minority which opened way for the establishment of insurgent groups which were counted at five with four being mainly Iraqis, nationalists and tribal fighters. The fifth was AMZ’s Jamaat al Tawahid wal-Jihad (JTJ) which had many Iraqis and foreign fighters. Lister (2014) however argues that these groups fought alongside each other against a common enemy: the USA while others portray them

individually. Either way the strategies employed by JTJ were unwelcome to the insurgency groups and they were viewed as sowing division. This was however Zaraqawi's plan as he was taking advantage of the chaos towards establishment of an Islamic State. So the IS that declared itself a caliphate in June of 2014 has its ideological roots centred somewhat around Zaraqawi's ideas as their tactics towards goal achievement are also unpopular amongst other Jihadi groups. For insurgency and terrorist groups to have foreign fighters' shows that recruitment is a common concept among insurgent groups especially for group survival as this is common amongst groups such as Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda and ISIS amongst many others. These groups are known to attract fighters from various locations the world over other than their base location and technology has played a huge role in this regard.

AMZ is a crucial starting point as their ideology resonates highly with that of the Islamic State in terms of the crucial steps to be taken in declaring a caliphate and we will later see that the IS followed a similar path. Perhaps where AMZ failed, IS emerged victorious in comparison. AMZ ideology according to Hashim (2014:70) included getting rid of the enemy so as to establish the state of Islam where more lands would be conquered towards restoration of the Muslim nation displaying an intersection of both politics and religion. Whilst this ideology is centred more towards divide and conquer, the great aim is to proliferate sharia globally and these are more or less IS guidelines. Therefore the establishment of IS and its aims did not arise from thin air but rather from a belief in an ideology that is religious in nature and resonates highly with the teachings of the holy texts. Any insurgent group in pursuit of these goals usually does so through the use of excessive force and JTJ was no different as we will later see with ISIS as well, in fact in pursuit of ideological goals, most terrorist and insurgent groups have employed violence. JTJ instead of using tactics that were less destructive, but still got the point across, relied heavily on suicide bombers in their fight not only against US forces but humanitarian aid workers and Iraqi's themselves. AMZ was also instrumental in securing recruits through extensive usage of the internet, all strategies very similar to IS as we will later learn. In 2004, JTJ pledged allegiance to Al Qaeda which was under the leadership of Osama Bin Laden and this meant Zaraqawi was now part of a renowned brand.

Similarly both groups shared a similar ideology of promoting *tawhid* (monotheism) and doing away with other religions and as such referred to the *takfir* (exclusion) of those who refused to conform to Islamist ideology, (Hashim 2014). Due to his unconventional strategies of beheadings, hostages from foreign lands, suspected factionalism and suicide bombers, Zarqawi started becoming less popular in that other groups did not agree with his strategies and felt he was sowing division. On the other hand however, this made him gain momentum and a popularity for his impressive recruitment networks and he, in 2004, after months of negotiations pledged allegiance to Al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden, (Lister 2014). JTI was now referred to as Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) but it wasn't long before they lost their popularity with Al-Qaeda Central (AQC) who constantly had to warn them to tone down on their unbecoming tactics. "While AQI wanted fast results through dramatic and unforgiving brutality, al-Qaeda, at least following the U.S. invasions, was adopting a more patient strategy. Nonetheless, Zawahiri's 2005 letter did encourage AQI to prepare to establish an Islamic state in Iraq," (Lister 2014:8). And after this extensive history, herein lies the crux of the conceptions of the Islamic State which has its origins in Iraq and was termed the Islamic State in Iraq (ISI) but a blow after its conception was the killing of Zarqawi on 7 June 2006 by the US military. Stern & Berger (2016) note the difficulties that ISI underwent after Zarqawi's death depicting more or less the rise and fall of the organisation but it later resurrected. The rise and fall of AQI, ISI, ISIS and the Islamic State, which is essentially one group that keeps rebranding, is something that has been written about extensively. Various reasons have been cited such as unpopularity amongst other jihadi groups due to strategies employed and in general just the overt nature of brutality that encourages dissociation from other players. However the changes in leadership within ISIS has also plagued the group as each leader has to attempt to rebuild the organisation which is usually riddled with challenges as leaders are not always replaced immediately. There is no saying with certainty whether ISIS will continue to always rise from its falls as they have in the past or whether their growing unpopularity will lead to their eventual downfall.

### **5.3 Baghdadi, a Caliph and a Caliphate**

ISI, like AQI had no intentions of deviating from its absolutist ideology which involved despicable brutality and the Islamic State as it is today, is, according to Berger & Stern (2016) practicing a

very, *very* Islamic version of Islam, which they refer to as more medieval Islam. When the Islamic State, according to Wood (2015) engages in gross acts of brutality, such as beheadings, slavery and crucifixions, they are not just being selective on which traditions or acts to carry out. They are in fact engaging, at its very core, the medieval tradition of Islam in the modern era. The establishment of the Islamic state was intended such that the state that was in question had the ability to govern a territory. “By late 2006, it had reached financial self-sufficiency, raising \$70-200 million per year through a combination of ransoms, extortion, and oil smuggling,” (Lister 2014:9). This growth symbolizes how ungovernable ISI must have been to have accumulated such wealth and this continued to make them even more unpopular with other insurgent groups but this however did not slow them down. After Zarqawi was killed, a new head of the ISI was appointed, by the name Abu Omar al Baghdadi but it was not longer after he too was killed in 2010. Now enter the current, leader who was announced as Abu Bakr al Baghdadi in 2010 whose family is said to be direct descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Whilst Baghdadi is said to hail from an academic background as his family, immediate and extended, boast the relevant qualifications, he too is said to hold a doctoral degree in Islamic Culture and Sharia Law, (Stern & Berger 2016:33/34). This clearly tells of a man well versed and well read on the vision he attempts to proliferate through creation of an Islamic State portraying him as a conservative individual with immense devotion for his religion as seen by his actions. Baghdadi was in a US led raid, captured and detained at Camp Bucca prison in southern Iraq for half a year in 2004 for being a violent rebel disgruntled by the west. Baghdadi built a strong network of followers for ISI whilst he was still in prison, many of which he later broke out to come and fight for ISI. Given the academic background as well as a practical background of spreading ideology and recruiting whilst in prison presents an all-rounder individual; a street-smart conservative rebel, suited for ISIS leadership.

Zarqawi had done most of the groundwork, establishing the ideology which all others after him operated under and never deviated from in terms of operation. However Abu Bakr al Baghdadi has steered the organisation into what it is today as per the guidelines provided by those before him and has so far done a sterling job according to followers and believers of what the group stands for. Some followers however are not content with the brutality but concede that as believers of what the Islamic State stands for, they are obliged to endorse these actions, (Gulmohamad 2014).

Ideology and revival of the religion are rather core to IS goals hence why some jihadi thinkers were very much in support of the establishment of an Islamic State, because religion dictates and it should not be defied. Al Baghdadi's main concern after his release from prison and taking on the reigns from the former Baghdadi was securing his own safety. With two leaders dead in roughly a four year gap, the organisation was undoubtedly in shambles and needed rebuilding and that is exactly what Baghdadi set out to do. He went on a restructuring path according to (Stern & Berger 2016) whereby he did away with critics within the organisation and replaced them with trusted allies. Many of these individuals he had spent time with at Camp Bucca.

It would appear that territory plays much a crucial role in the establishment of an Islamic state and Baghdadi set out to expand the reach of ISI, whereby in July 2012 he had crossed over, into Syria. With the Arab Spring that had sparked off in 2010 in Tunisia, most of the Middle East was engulfed in conflict of one kind or another which resulted in leadership and/or regime changes in countries such as Egypt and Yemen amongst others. Syria was more of a conflict zone which had seen the formation of local insurgent and opposition groups formed against the Assad regime. Hashim (2014:73) notes four key variables that contributed to the re-development of ISIS between 2010 and 2013 and they include:

Organizational restructuring coupled with the rebuilding of its military and administrative capacities; the dysfunctional nature of the Iraqi state and its growing conflict with the Sunni population; the fading away of al-Qaeda under the leadership of Ayman al-Zawahiri; and the outbreak of the Syrian civil war.

The Syrian civil war was more advantageous than not especially for the growth of ISIS in that the Syrian border was porous and so smuggling routes used for moving fighters and supplies were easily penetrable. Because Baghdadi now had a stronghold in Iraq, fighters were moved back into Syria from Iraq as they had before from Syria to Iraq during the war, (Stern & Berger 2016:14).

No doubt Baghdadi's decision to cross over into Syria was denounced by Al-Qaeda's Zawahiri due to disagreement in operation of the organisation. "While the eruption of the civil war in Syria and ISI's expansion of operations into that country [Syria] undoubtedly energized the organization's base, its recovery and expansion was clearly well underway prior to 2011," (Lister

2014:11). Baghdadi sent operatives into Syria with the instruction of establishing a jihadist group which was led by a Syrian born AQI member by the name Abu Mohammed al Jawlani. The group was known as Jabhat al-Nusra (JN) and emerged as a leading Syrian insurgent group of which Baghdadi wanted to establish ties. Initially the group had affiliations with neither Al Qaeda nor ISI but Baghdadi went ahead and announced a merger of the two groups, ISI and JN, of which he saw himself as the central leader as he then in 2013 rebranded and renamed the groups as one: ISIL/ISIS (Gulmohamad 2014, Hashim 2014, Lister 2014, Stern & Berger 2016). The confusion that some encounter in understanding the differences between ISIL and ISIS has already been explained as a matter of technicality whereby the organisation in English communications uses ISIS. But since their declaration as the Islamic State they are now simply referred to as IS despite others referring to them as ISIS stating that reference to the organisation as IS would simply imply giving in to their demands. This denial by JN of any unification with ISI did not stop Baghdadi from continuing the pursuance of his organisational goals towards establishing an Islamic State. “This clearly showed the impairment of ISIS leadership and emergence of radical autonomous groups within the outfit. ISIS is not an ordinary *jihadi* group controlled or influenced by al-Qaida. It has its own conception and position, and has disobeyed the AQC and Zawahiri in several instances,” (Bunzel 2013). This shows that allegiances are more toward Baghdadi and his leadership style and suffice to say, Baghdadi has worked hard toward securing this kind of loyalty from growing IS followers. Exploiting Syria’s civil war and revolution have served IS well in terms of their ability to expand outside of Iraq.

Karouny (2014) further adds that besides Iraq, ISIS’s affiliations are also to be found in Syria, and as of 2014, Lebanon with a group that follows extreme ideology. In June 2014, ISIS seized Mosul, a city in Iraq and already rules an area larger than the United Kingdom with a population of 1.5 million people and is also known to be home to Iraq’s largest dam, (Wood 2015, Stern & Berger 2016). This was an area in which the US invested billions of dollars training an Iraqi army over a period of eight years and that investment seemed to have just dwindled due to this capture.

From ISI to ISIL/ISIS after the move to Syria, it was on 29 June 2014 that ISIS declared its reconstitution of a caliphate with Abu Bakr al Baghdadi as the new Caliph Ibrahim where he showed his face for the first time, delivering a video message at a mosque in Mosul. This new

caliphate was referred to as the Islamic State and all Muslims are in principle required to immigrate to the territory where the sharia laws are being applied by the caliph. However in order for an Islamic state to be *finally* declared, this required a vast amount of man power and funding and this is to be explored in this next section.

#### **5.4 Recruitment**

The core and essence of this research is to look mainly at recruitment strategies that are employed by terrorist and insurgent groups with ISIS as the relevant case study. Gleaning over the literature has given the impression that ISIS recruitment strategies, though similar in some instances, are rather extreme in comparison to those of other jihadi groups which has made the group rather unpopular. So unpopular that they were denounced by umbrella body AQC when they had made allegiances and ties as well as by Syria's JN when they claimed allegiance to them. Ideology lies at the core of many insurgent and jihadi groups and they use it to appeal to many a potential recruit to be part of the terrorist organisation and the Islamic State is no different as it, to a large degree uses ideology to lure recruits. It has been established earlier that ideological propaganda is spread on various platforms such as social media, universities, prisons, training camps and even mosques, (Hudson 2005, Forest 2006).

Stern & Berger (2016:36-36) for instance give a detailed account of the ideological recruitment that took place in prisons and detention camps in Iraq which were in turn used as training and recruitment centres. The authors make detailed reference to Camp Bucca where current IS leader and now caliph of the caliphate was held. Here, much of the recruitment for ISIS took place as recruits were later broken out and were already indoctrinated with sufficient ideology to opt to fight for the Islamic State. In an interview with General Stone, deputy commanding general of Multi-National Forces in Iraq who was responsible for detainees at US prison camps in Iraq, he makes some admissions of how some of the recruitment could have been significantly minimised. The argument he puts forth was that some of the detainees should not have been in the prisons in the first place or there could have been a separation of more hardened criminals (those filled with religious indoctrination and were already rebels) and those that were first time detainees. He notes

that an astonishing 80% of these individuals were largely ignorant about Islam making them more susceptible to recruitment. Despite this oversight there is no saying with certainty as to whether or not ISI would have weakened without the numbers had authorities paid more attention to this recruitment that was taking place as 80% represents a significantly large number. The Islamic State is however in essence ideologically rooted in the proliferation of sharia for, eventually, the global village to live under hence why their recruitment efforts transcend borders.

Martin Chulov (2014) in an article in the Guardian writes of an interview he had with a young jihadist about his time in Camp Bucca. The young man speaks of how afraid he was when he was approaching the prison however when he got inside he felt a sense of relief over him as he was familiar with his fellow inmates. This young man having spent ten years at Camp Bucca is said to have risen up the ranks and like many others who were with him, holds a reputable position at ISIS. Under the nom de guerre, Abu Ahmed, Chulov (2014) quotes him as saying: "We could never have all got together like this in Baghdad, or anywhere else, it would have been impossibly dangerous. Here, we were not only safe, but we were only a few hundred metres away from the entire al-Qaida leadership." This further highlights one of many cases in which US prison camps were fertile grounds for jihadi groups to gather and spread destructive ideology amongst inmates and in turn recruiting them into ISIS. How US officials overlooked the possibility of aiding such vast recruitment is still a wonder and even if they did heed this process, there is no saying with certainty how it would have affected ISIS as we know it today.

It is alleged that IS online magazine *Dabiq* is intended largely for, amongst others, western audiences towards the spread of Islamic State propaganda which is mostly ideological in the hope that individuals resonate with its contents and then hopefully immigrate to the Islamic state. The online magazine is seemingly used for the justification of all IS's actions and plans that they have executed and those still in the planning phases due for execution to outside audiences that they attempt to lure in. Wood (2015) notes the significance the city of Dabiq, which is near Aleppo, holds for the Islamic State as it is mainly farmland that many a jihadist of the Islamic State foresee future wars taking place on its terrains. Gambhir (2014:1) of the Institute for Study of War shares the following:

ISIS's reports and magazines reveal how ISIS frames and justifies its activities to particular audiences. The intended audiences are noteworthy: a number of ISIS's new periodicals are published and promoted primarily in English, with translations into other languages, such as French, German, Russian, and Arabic, released alongside.

This highlights the skill and cunning of ISIS in knowing how to reach intended audiences differently given that publications are printed in different languages to accommodate various audiences though they communicate the same message. This also speaks to the global impact that ISIS aims to achieve through reaching numerous audiences in the hope that they all perform *bayat* which is a pledge of allegiance. ISIS is rather devout to their ideological claims as they go as far as stating that anyone who does not pledge allegiance is going against the prophet Muhammad himself. This is the kind of propaganda that would appeal to devout Muslims as sacred messages especially from sacred texts are interpreted with heightened levels of supremacy and this is also the kind of propaganda used to justify heinous atrocities. There is also an interesting play and intersection of religion and politics where ISIS is concerned as ISIS seeks to achieve political control through use of religious authority and as such ISIS seeks military control over its territories. Much like any sovereign state would, ISIS's claim to exercising what they believe to be military control is not farfetched as a good defence for one's state is a must. The problem however is that ISIS doesn't seem to be upholding the rules that pertain to sovereignty as per the 1648 Peace of Westphalia as they have claimed territorial jurisdiction over territories that were never theirs to begin with. Operating on the grounds of sovereignty would result, for ISIS, in what Wood (2015) terms ideological suicide. A strong base of followers is necessary if ISIS is to achieve its vision of being an Islamic State, and it is through various platforms that it seeks to create conducive conditions that would allow for that growth to be a reality. ISIS aims to recruit across various demographics as their recruits include young children and the logic behind this, according to the UN (2014) is to ensure stability that stretches over the long term through ideological indoctrination as well as devout soldiers. It is safe to say ideology lies at the core of ISIS affiliation as part of being a member requires that one is familiar with core Islamic State concepts to prove true allegiance.

## 5.5 The World Wide Web

The internet lies at the heart of terrorist recruitment for a majority of terrorist and insurgent groups; it is the fastest medium that provides rapid spread of group ideology to a worldwide audience at any time of day or night. Since the rise of ISIS there have been numerous reports of suspects who have been apprehended or spotted at airports flying to Syria to join the Islamic State. These suspects have been said to be using social media to communicate with recruiters until such time they take the decision to flee into war ridden territory to be part of a 'promised land' they know not much about except the online propaganda they are fed. Various authors (Hannigan 2014, Binetti 2015, Stern & Berger 2016 etc...) have all noted how the internet has afforded ISIS rapid growth as it is able to break frontiers through various media platforms and reach wider audiences globally.

When making reference to the World Wide Web, social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Whatsapp and sometimes even Skype are at the fore of ISIS recruitment especially due to their ability to transcend borders and given their many subscribers. Recruiters make sure to use a language that would appeal to their potential recruits on these sites to make the process easier on them. YouTube is seemingly a 'hit' with those who are looking to learn more about ISIS, at times at length, and particular ideology as well as the spread of information on various topics pertaining to ISIS especially sharia. Whilst ISIS has appealed to numerous individuals on social media, it would appear that they have made groundbreaking appeal to mostly youths below thirty-five especially in countries outside of the Middle East. This pool comprises of the majority of social network users and most 'tech-savvy' individuals are found around this age category, this is not to say individuals above this age group are not as savvy, however perhaps just not in the majority. In his article, Hannigan (2014) makes a comparison of terrorist use of the internet especially in approach. He notes that, "Where al-Qaeda and its affiliates saw the internet as a place to disseminate material anonymously or meet in "dark spaces", ISIS has embraced the web as a noisy channel in which to promote itself, intimidate people, and radicalise new recruits." This is seen in the way that ISIS is seemingly always willing to associate itself with an attack, especially ones that make international headlines whether or not any of their fighters were present and in some instances even if they were not responsible. It is rather striking and is cause for concern that there

are youths who would still flock to an organisation that is not shy to expressively detail its brutality for the world to see, however various interviews highlight why it's not as striking. ISIS has a knack for appealing to recruits in various manners thus ensuring the avoidance of a blanket approach of their strategies, this ensures that they attract an even larger pool through different strategies.

There are numerous examples to cite; in 2015 a young girl in South Africa sent shockwaves through the country when she was pulled off a Cape Town flight bound for Johannesburg on her way to join the Islamic State. This was retold in an interview on Espresso (2015) by Crime Line's Yusuf Abramjee who related how the parents of the young lady called him after suspicions arose after the young girl's family found documents in her room. It was alleged that the young lady was lured through social media. Martin Ewi a researcher at the Institute for Security Studies notes the usage of social media in attracting cross border individuals to join ISIS. He takes the listener on a step by step process where he starts off by stating that contact between the potential recruit(s) and the recruiter(s) has to take place. In turn he states the recruit(s) must then express an interest in wanting to join and thereafter must demonstrate a commitment of sorts so that the recruiter(s) can deduce their level of commitment. This convinces the recruiter(s) that the potential recruit(s) will not betray them. Hudson (2005) similarly makes mention of how it is not everyone that expresses interest that is able to gain entry into a terrorist organisation. Potentials go through, at times, rigorous testing for recruiters to ascertain suitability to be part of the group or not. At times potentials are given Islamic or ISIS related topics to further deduce whether or not they are the kind of person the group needs or they need to undergo further indoctrination. Given that attaining membership is an arduous process, some people realise that they were not as competent to join as they initially believed they were when they expressed interest. In terms of online recruitment, as a further show of commitment, Ewi states that the group will give a person money asking them to buy their own ticket. Often when luring youngsters they promise them that they will be well taken care of through provision of all their needs and they will find a sense of belonging as "one of us." Often these communications take place through Twitter as it is easier to hide one's identity on this social networking platform but this is not to say other aforementioned mediums are not used.

In a CNN interview in March 2015, James Comey, FBI Director is featured echoing similar sentiments to Ewi when speaking of 'ISIL,' as he repeatedly referred to the group. He strongly asserted that ISIL woos people by saying, "troubled soul come to the caliphate you will find a life of glory, these are the apocalyptic end times you will find a life of meaning here fighting for our so called caliphate and if you can't come kill somebody where you are." (CNN 2015). According to Comey, people join ISIS because they seek meaning in what he terms a "horrible, misguided way" and this mantra he states, has been preached in every state in the United States. As has been discussed, this propaganda does not stop only in the US but goes beyond that. Other terror groups (Al Qaeda, the Taliban and Boko Haram) employ the same ideological narrative when recruiting but somehow ISIS is in comparison evidently more successful.

When referring to three young girls from the UK who were caught on video travelling from the UK to Syria, Dr Qanta Ahmed, author of, 'In the land of Invisible Women' notes after observing these youngsters that ISIS recruitment knows no boundaries. She notes that it cuts through all sectors from gender, nationality, demographics and origins as she believes one of the girls appears to be Bangladeshi. She refers to the individuals as people who are electing to pursue what they think and believe to be some kind of adventure, a kind of ideal purpose, (CNN 2015). Others are not as lucky to successfully make it across the border and into Syria as they are apprehended by authorities' enroute, and one such case is of a Muhammad Dakhlalla, a Federal Prison Inmate- 'who fell in love.' According to a CNN interview in 2016, this young man fell in love with a Jaylin Young whilst he was still in university in Mississippi. He was convinced by Jaylin to convert and to secretly marry. Muhammad speaks of how it was the online propaganda videos shown to him by his girlfriend that convinced him to go off to a war zone and desert his entire American life. Muhammad was so indoctrinated that he believed that this was a chance for him to help Muslims rebuild their towns as well as feed the needy. It was on 08<sup>th</sup> August 2015 that Muhammad was, bags packed, on a one way ticket to Istanbul leaving behind a letter to his parents. Unfortunately for the couple, the recruiter was said to be an FBI agent where Muhammad was sentenced to eight years in prison and Jaylin twelve.

These are all accounts of youngsters who have been lured through the use of social media highlighting just how possible a global reach is thus creating the impression of the internet as a haven for terrorist recruitment. These are just a select few cases from three continents, Europe, Africa and North America. There is no saying with certainty just how many potential recruits have managed to cross over into war torn IS territory and how many have been apprehended. Even though areas such as Africa have their own terrorist and/or insurgent groups, this has not stopped ISIS from broadening its reach into the continent. According to Na'eem Jeenah Executive Director, Afro Middle East Centre on an interview on CNBC Africa, in February 2017, he notes that even though links with African groups such as Boko Haram and ISIS are unclear, ISIS does have a wing in Libya. Most of these groups have emerged in times of strife and instability and have endured even though some may have weakened along the way. Instability is thus a conducive condition for opposition or splinter groups to emerge and in the case of ISIS thrive. ISIS exploited the US invasion of Iraq and so began their roots and later trod into war torn Syria to exploit the instability taking place with many opposition groups forming against the Assad regime. Stern & Berger (2016) note how nonchalant ISIS was in displaying their brutality by carelessly posting videos of beheadings of journalists on social networking site Twitter. They note along with Binetti (2015) how this prompted Twitter to react and this resulted in the closure of 10 000 Twitter ISIS related accounts. Unfortunately, despite such a large number this is not always as helpful as large audiences are usually already reached by the time this suspension of accounts take place as individuals are constantly in most instances mostly on social media. While Stern & Berger note the use of beheadings by ISIS as a marketing gimmick towards manipulation and recruitment, Hannigan (2014) notes ISIS's realisation that "too much graphic violence can be counterproductive in their target audience." With the advancements in technology, it becomes increasingly difficult for authorities to keep up with online propagandists and by the time they do catch up, much of the damage is already done.

## **5.6 The Role of Human Trafficking in Terrorist Organisations**

The literature on human trafficking for terrorism, though available is not vast showing that it is not many insurgent groups that employ this tactic. However, in contrast groups such as Boko Haram and ISIS have brought terrorism and human trafficking to the fore with their extreme brutality

highlighting it as a key recruitment strategy for their groups. The role of human trafficking for terrorist organizations serves many purposes. The abovementioned cases of women and the young man can be considered as human trafficking over social media as they are lured to join ISIS and are said to be enslaved once on ISIS territory. This highlights that initial promises made over social media whilst being lured are broken and recruits are often treated differently than what they believed they would. It is mostly women however, who face all kinds of inhumane injustices in these instances. According to Ajiri (2015) abducted teenage girls are sold at slave markets as part of IS's recruitment plan and for at times as little as a packet of cigarettes or a couple of dollars in the hundreds and sometimes in the thousands. Professor Louise Shelley (2015) author of *Entanglements: Corruption, Crime and Terrorism* further shares that Yazidi women are IS's main targets and are sold for as little as \$25 or are enslaved. UN envoy on sexual violence, Zainab Bangura noted in The Guardian (2015) that the IS war is one that is being fought on the bodies of women. Bangura is said to have spoken to girls who had escaped from captivity who mentioned being sexually violated by men they were sold to and she too notes that most were from the minority Yazidi religion. Because ISIS seeks control over territory, most of their territories are illegally claimed and occupied and often the women in those captured territories become kidnap or trafficking victims.

Binetti (2015) is of the view that whilst many note the trafficking and enslavement of Yazidi women by ISIS, insufficient attention has been paid to women from the West. They are said to average eighteen years of age and because of techniques used to lure them and the exploitation they face once they arrive on ISIS territory they too can be considered victims of trafficking and entrapment. When women trek over to the Middle East they tend to be viewed by researchers mainly as victims overlooking that women too can play the role of instigator and Bloom (2014) considers this noteworthy so as to minimize the knowledge gap. It would then be fair to not dub every woman who partakes in terrorism as a victim just because they were lured through the internet. Some make the choice knowingly and are treated right and some are unfortunately exploited and enslaved and that mistreatment can be constituted as trafficking despite the victim consenting to travel to be part of the terrorist organization. Trafficking of persons in the UN Trafficking Protocol (2003) is defined as:

Recruitment, or receipt of persons, by means of threat or use of force or fraud, deception, the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability for the purpose of exploitation Under the Protocol, exploitation includes, “sexual exploitation, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude.” If threat, force, coercion, abduction, fraud or deception is used to obtain consent, then the consent of the victim is irrelevant.

However the definition of trafficking in persons it seems has continuously evolved over time with various authors and lobby groups adopting technicalities on what does or doesn't constitute trafficking in persons. Part of the argument is that trafficking includes situations where an individual both consented to travel and to do sex work even if no force or deception was used, Doezema (2002). The likelihood that any one individual could consent to forced labour is highly improbable, in fact unlikely, as trafficked individuals are often forced to perform various labours against their will. The Human Rights Caucus (1999:5) argues that,

The Protocol should distinguish between adults, especially women, and children. It should also avoid adopting a patronizing stance that reduces women to the level of children, in the name of 'protecting' women. Such a stance historically has 'protected' women from the ability to exercise their rights.

This becomes relevant when one looks at the case of ISIS and its recruitment of, amongst others, women and children. It raises a pertinent question as to whether the online romanticizing and the promise to take care of these women once they are on ISIS territory cannot be considered as trafficking despite no force or coercion being involved. Online recruitment involves largely persuasion by making many promises and preying on the vulnerabilities of these young women and children. As per the definition, once the women have agreed to travel to Syria and often are mistreated in various ways once they are there, it then constitutes trafficking despite their consent to travel though arguably they were consenting to travel for different reasons. Mia Bloom (2016) at the DU Centre for Middle East Studies gives a talk speaking on the appeal of ISIS for different recruits and how each potential is made to feel very important through exploitation of their vulnerabilities. Therefore ISIS will have potential recruits either being recruited through graphics or they will appeal to the recruits human side and have them believe that this is an opportunity to fill their life with meaning through helping others as was the case above with Muhammad Dakhllalla.

It has been established that some but not all instances of recruitment result in the exploitation of recruits. Binetti (2015:3) shares a harrowing account of how, “Women recruited by the Islamic State... are being used to solve the fighters’ “marriage crisis” and are largely confined to domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning and childrearing.” Trafficking of women is said to help in the retention of male jihadists. Desai (2007) speaks of the promise made to young jihadists of the promise of a thousand virgins waiting for them in heaven should they choose to risk their lives in the service of the organisation. This is a similar tactic to ISIS where recruits are promised young girls not only in heaven but on a ‘heaven on earth’ and these are girls that have either been abducted or lured over the internet. Some girls marry jihadists, some are passed around from one man to another then sold to make money for the organisation and some are kept as sex slaves. It is seemingly evident that women especially outside the Middle East who still opt to travel to Syria to join ISIS are not well informed of the luring tactics and the danger that awaits them. Chesler (2014) notes the dilemma of how women and girls from ISIS “may find [themselves] passed from one Holy Warrior to the other with absolutely no say in the matter.” Binetti (2015:4) notes other realities such as, “wife-beating, domestic violence, honour killings, stonings, beheadings, female genital mutilation, and a life of being pregnant all the time and giving birth under primitive conditions.” With numerous women flocking to the Islamic State perhaps it’s time they are schooled on the lived realities of other women as a deterrent from joining or wanting to join. Shelley (2015) provides a broader view when she states that:

Human trafficking now serves three main purposes for terrorist groups: generating revenue, providing fighting power, and vanquishing the enemy. For terrorists, human trafficking is a dual-use crime like drug trafficking and kidnapping. It not only generates revenue, but it decimates communities. As we see in Nigeria and Iraq today, trafficking intimidates populations and reduces resistance just as enslavement and rape of women were used as tools of war in the past.

Whilst trafficking can be said to serve the purpose of, amongst others, generating revenue, this appears to not be its main purpose for ISIS as girls are exchanged for as little as a pack of cigarettes or as little as \$25. Moreover it creates the assumption that females are not a scarce ‘commodity’ if their value to terrorists is very minimal as seen by the exchanges in cash and kind. However journalists and other activists (mainly from the west) held as hostages are usually higher income generators for terrorists as ransoms, in the millions, are demanded from their governments. Whether these ransoms should be paid or not is cause for much debate as paying terrorists would

imply feeding in to terrorist's demands and this will create a situation in which terrorists make this a regular occurrence. Not paying on the other hand leaves hostages endangered and facing death, through beheadings as it is one of ISIS's major execution strategies as their way of sending a message. Governments, especially western are faced with tough choices when it comes to protecting their citizens held as hostages by terrorists.

### **5.7 The Death of a Caliphate?**

Numerous headlines have indicated that, ISIS's centre of gravity and stronghold, Mosul, in Iraq, had been recaptured towards the end of 2017 from the rebels and is now in the control of the Iraqi government, (CBS 2017, New York Daily News 2017, BBC 2018, The Associated Press 2018). Raqqa, in Syria, another ISIS stronghold had also been recaptured from the organisation implying that ISIS has steadily been losing strength on the ground. Though key, these are not the only territories that have been recaptured from the extremist group. Numerous other ISIS strongholds except for Mosul and Raqqa have been captured and all that is left of ISIS are patches of rural land which do not have the same appeal making the group appear weaker. As earlier alluded to, central to ISIS is the concept of territory as that is a core characteristic to naming oneself a caliphate and without it, the caliphate may very well cease to exist. The US National Counterterrorism Centre (2016) makes note of ISIS's reach in 18 countries across the world including Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Centre also reported signs of 'aspiring' branches in places like Mali, Egypt, Philippines, Indonesia and Somalia. This highlights the reach and impact that ISIS had made globally which is now likely to dwindle given the successful recapture of most of its strongholds of which it migrated its recruits to. ISIS had also claimed to have launched a myriad of attacks in mainly Europe and parts of Asia and Africa and as such the magnitude of their reach cannot be underestimated. With no territory to bring recruits into, recruitment is seemingly difficult however their media arm remains intact implying that the group is still able to influence supporters in the hope of inspiring new attacks, (CBS 2017).

For recruitment, this new development in the loss of territory could mean that, except for a strong online presence, recruitment could come to a halt, but ISIS still remains a potent threat and more has to be done by various actors to eradicate it. This is further enunciated by an article in The Associated Press (2018) that ISIS is still an extremist threat as they are still able to inspire attacks in the West based on their ideology and are also trying to establish strongholds in places like Libya

and Afghanistan. Aside from territorial losses, ISIS may no longer be able to carry out their recruitment as they have suffered significant losses in revenue. Their oil sales have been on a decline as territory has been recaptured, affecting operations of the group. There is anticipated conflict that may arise in Iraq and Syria creating opportunities for violent competition, once ISIS is defeated but this is not entirely central to this paper but is noteworthy, (Mironova & Mohammed 2016). Tensions could be exacerbated amongst competing groups and with an increase in weapons, those mostly used to fight ISIS, groups will be more armed implying continued instability in the region. Essentially, recruitment in Iraq and Syria will not be easy for the group to carry out given current conditions but this does not imply that ISIS is not trying to rebuild itself. It is important that whatever the factors allowed for conducive mass recruitment especially in Iraq and Syria are, are well contained so as to prevent the spread of the terrorist threat that is ISIS. Currently it appears that the Caliphate is on its deathbed but has no intentions of succumbing to its current fate.

### **5.8 Analysis and Concluding Remarks**

It is evident that no terrorist organization has been able to achieve and thus far maintain what ISIS has achieved in a short space of time as the group has seized territory, though illegally, and has managed to recruit more than any other terrorist group in a short space of time and boasts a growing revenue. Granted their growth and popularity has made them somewhat unpopular with other jihadi and extremist groups because it is viewed as not only factionalist but at times un-Islamic as their methods are extremely brutal, even to their own. Stemming roughly from the 2003 US invasion of Iraq, the history of ISIS is rather detailed and takes us on a timeline of the events that have led ISIS to being the Islamic State, as it would like to be referred to today. It has been established that instability (which the US invasion contributed to) creates a condition conducive for extremist or insurgent groups to rise and ISIS managed to exploit both Iraqi and Syrian instabilities as a stepping stone that led to their emergence.

Given the many rises and falls of ISIS and the constant rebranding, as an organization, these challenges have not completely hindered the group from striving to reach their potential of becoming an Islamic State, of which they already refer to themselves as. Part of this journey has

seen ISIS grow into a multi-faceted organization with the intersection of religion and politics, as well as militarily. Economically the organization has shown much promise and has managed to make the necessary noises that have kept them popular, though infamously. At the heart of ISIS's recruitment strategy is ideology and they use this to make the necessary appeals to their target audiences through various platforms. Prisons, mosques, universities, have all been identified as areas where this propaganda is spread with the internet providing more effective platforms as they are able to reach worldwide audiences. ISIS has, through the internet, managed to effectively recruit from various countries mainly in Europe, North America and some in Africa, when looking at their recruitment outside of the Middle East. But over and above the numbers recruited the group has managed to spread its propaganda to an even larger audience. This implies that there are various demographics to consider in terms of race, gender, age and even ethnicity and this speaks to their perceived goal of every human being pledging allegiance to the Islamic State. One of the Islamic State's main goals is to not only secure Muslims as being part of the Islamic State but to invite non-Muslims in the hope of converting them and this explains the global recruitment that they have embarked on. It is part of a global strategy to eventually have the global village living according to sharia law, a goal that at this moment seems highly impossible as it will require more territory especially if recruits increase. Even if recruits do increase it appears highly improbable that they will increase in excessively large numbers to make the global impact that ISIS is seeking to achieve. However this assertion does not rule out that ISIS has made a global impact as they have ruffled up mainly western authorities by holding hostage and killing their citizens as well as luring them through the internet. The lack of effective restrictions on social networking sites, in fact the internet in its entirety is what provides ISIS leeway in reaching out to wider audiences and perhaps authorities who seek to minimize and/or altogether diminish ISIS's reach should heed this gap. Apart from luring potentials through social media to travel to the Islamic State, other platforms such as online magazines and YouTube channels are used to spread further Islamic State propaganda so as to garner a larger following for those who cannot travel to IS territory. This demonstrates the remarkable acumen and foresight of ISIS where the group shows understanding in that there are many ways to skin (recruit) a cat (individuals). This further implies that ISIS has taken the time to 'study' their target groups or at the very least deduce which strategies are best suited to which individuals if they are recruiting at a group or an individual level.

It becomes evident that with ISIS bringing human trafficking to the fore, authorities need to not necessarily shift their focus from other kinds of human trafficking but also need to explore the role of trafficking to terrorism. It's been established through the literature as well that deceptively luring individuals on the internet to take up travel and then failing to uphold the promises made and instead mistreating them upon arrival constitutes trafficking. ISIS is allegedly guilty of this as they are said to mistreat individuals who have been lured to travel once they are on IS soil and moreover ISIS trafficks in large numbers as does Nigeria's Boko Haram. Though this tactic is not common to most terrorist groups, the growing volumes in which these groups execute this tactic, is cause for concern. If the ISIS threat is as detrimental as it is portrayed then the international community needs to put more effort towards minimizing the threat by employing research efforts that will guide on how best to tackle the problem. Despite the challenges ISIS faces, this has not stopped them from forging forward towards their goal of achieving their ideal of an Islamic State and recruitment is crucial to their perceived growth. Lastly, with the recapture of key ISIS held territories by Iraqi and western forces, ISIS is now losing its stronghold and its ability to recruit further. Without territory, ISIS may as well be non-existent but their online presence and spread of propaganda has not yet been extinguished. While the possibility of further potential recruitment in Iraq and Syria is currently contained, there is no telling what, if any, are ISIS's future plans and as such various actors need to ensure that ISIS doesn't rise again.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The war on terror is seemingly far from its end as terrorism continues to unfold and this chapter will offer an overall summary, correlating terrorism and its linkages with terrorist recruitment. Other relationships that stem from this study are those of the intersection between religion and politics when investigating religious political violence which takes shape in the form of terrorism or extremism. These were all factors discussed in the literature chapter and they draw particular attention to the aim and objectives that were discussed. Noteworthy, this chapter will offer a summary which gathers the data investigated throughout the entire study to enable enhanced understanding of the connection between terrorism and terrorist recruitment within extremist and terrorist organisations.

All key questions and the broader issues outlined in the first chapter were responded to in this research as these guided the manner in which the research was approached and carried out.

#### **6.2 Who Becomes a Terrorist?**

Perhaps the most fundamental ideal for this research was to establish the kinds of individuals that opt for terrorism thus making Dana Dillon's, "who becomes a terrorist?" question, one of the most central for this research project. Psychology, politics, sociology and various other sciences still cannot determine with certainty the mind-set of an individual who opts for violence but does cite various factors that can lead an individual to make violent choices. Hudson (2005) distinctly noted that despite similarities in individual mind-sets of individuals who opt for violence, there is no one set mind-set that is uniform across all terrorists that is guaranteed to lead to terrorism or dub one a terrorist. The drivers towards terrorism are said to be numerous stemming from various

ideological, social and even economic factors and understanding these might enable for approaches that may lead to successful curbing of individuals joining terrorism as well as the phenomenon in general.

### **6.3 Incentives to partake in Terrorism**

The incentives to partake in violent activity differ across individuals and it is in understanding this diversity that counterterrorism strategies can be devised to more effectively counter terrorism and curb recruitment of terrorists. Appeals to potential recruits are either operational or motivational as each individual believes they are partaking in what they deem and perceive to be a worthy cause. Ideologically individuals are motivated by certain goals in line with personal belief and are recruited on those grounds, and terrorism allows for what they believe to be the defence of those ideological beliefs. In other instances economic motivators have oft been cited as motivators for partaking in violence, whilst others join to exhibit their capabilities. Gurr (1970) places himself as most relevant through his use of Relative Deprivation when he posits that individuals are more prone to violence stemming from a dissatisfaction which after time eventually leads to rebellion against the perceived source of deprivation. Due to this research being Islamic-centric, the major issue that brings about discontent is the aspect of being secular which is forced upon those who would prefer non-secular rule (sharia law). Whilst this creates fertile ground for recruiters to recruit on the basis of religion, it also allows recruiters to identify vulnerabilities of potential recruits and capitalise on those weaknesses. Because individuals who partake in terrorism can be from both extremes, either extremely wealthy or extremely poor and sometimes somewhere in-between including different mind-sets, then undoubtedly the incentives differ. Undoubtedly, there are those recruits who are aware of available potential incentives, be they ideological, economic or social and are readily expressive of their want/need to be part of an extremist or terrorist organisation. Terrorist organisations are continually improving ways of luring in potential recruits into terrorism making it impossible for authorities to catch up. However, authorities could advise populations susceptible to recruitment that the incentives do not always materialise and that terrorists are just preying on individual weaknesses. However this too is insufficient as it does not account for those disgruntled individuals who want to partake of their own free will and in this instance devising strategies to curb the act of violence itself would prove useful.

#### **6.4. Terrorist Recruitment Strategies**

A large part of understanding terrorist recruitment requires a decent understanding of terrorism and what it entails as over the decades terrorism has taken on many different dimensions and can take place just about anywhere in the world. The strategies explored by terrorists to recruit potential members are numerous and this research may not have successfully covered all known strategies but has done a decent task in highlighting those most common and in use by these groups. Recruiters have become very adept and skilled in devising recruitment models most suited to each individual recruit or group and this is evident on the various platforms that recruiters recruit from. Islamist ideology is at the heart of terrorist recruitment especially in Muslim territory as religion is at the heart of the ideological goals that terrorists seek to achieve. Moreover the internet, for more widespread, cross border recruitment, has become a rather popular hub amongst groups that want to attract recruits from the global village. It is almost unfathomable what the mere click of a button can do in aiding recruitment considering how easily accessible the internet is with almost free wireless internet within reach especially in the west where potentials are often targeted the most. This highlights the exchange of information that takes place as to a large degree recruitment requires this exchange to take place in order to attract potentials. Authorities and any anti-terror networks need to constantly be aware of the many strategies of terrorism and as such devise counterterrorism strategies that will combat the phenomenon. It is noteworthy that even if authorities keep up with the strategies of terrorists, it is not easy to do so and in turn making it difficult to combat any potential threats or attacks. In fact it is impossible to keep up with the strategies altogether as terrorists are constantly finding various ways to promote propaganda and carrying out attacks.

#### **6.5. The Role of Religion and Politics in Terrorist Recruitment**

Whilst the debate concerning separation of church and state is as old as time and is at times still blurry, when it comes to Islamist ideology the two are like a well-oiled machine. As earlier mentioned global Islamism seeks to assert political rule through sharia law which is religious in nature. In the case of the Islamic State, the group seeks to create a state that encompasses both the religious and political as religious ideology is the main driving factor that explains their existence. It is not only terrorist groups however that seek to use non-secular rule as some Muslim countries

still stress the importance of living a holy life within the realms of democracy making it, in some instances, hard to draw the line. Whilst some states seek to embrace democracy and its ideals, others do not want to forego their traditional (religious) values in adoption of the political and perhaps states should be granted their sovereignty in choosing which rule suits them best. With most terrorist groups of Muslim origin being of the belief that western dominance is imposing its liberal ideals on their societies and as such seek to fight back, perhaps the west could be more accommodating to traditional values. The belief that democracy will suit each society similarly should be denounced and could probably limit Huntington's (1993) *Clash of Civilisations* especially at the lengths that it has escalated to largely between the west and Islam.

### **6.6. The Rise and Fall of ISIS**

Whilst the growth of ISIS has seemingly surpassed that of most terrorist groups that were established before it, it has also had its fair share of failures that accompany it but this has not deterred it from its goals of continuously rising by increasing the number of its recruits. The unpopular strategies of ISIS are the main reason behind its growth as the group has managed to explore a 'no matter what it takes' approach towards their growth strategy. Often this involves amongst others the excessive use of brutal force and coercion as well as effective use of the internet in maintaining their growth. Unfortunately, curbing the growth of ISIS is not as cut and dry as one would hope, in fact curbing the attacks of any terror group could prove rather trying. Due to exploring strategies that have been denounced by major terrorist group Al-Qaeda, ISIS continues to explore strategies that focus on maintaining their growth both economically and in numbers. Their strategies are vast and their cunning acumen in recruiting members to their side will probably manage to continue their growth however the denunciation from other groups may result in their unpopularity. Towards the end of the year 2017, most of ISIS held territories which are central to the group had been recaptured with many calling it the death of a caliphate but one thing is certain, the move has drastically weakened the group and its ability to carry out recruitment operations. As it stands there is no telling whether ISIS will rise or fall drastically further than where they already are however it is important not to allow for similar conducive conditions that allowed them to thrive in the first place. The future of ISIS and terrorism as a whole appears interesting and ISIS

is definitely one to look out for in the hope that they tone down their desperate need for an Islamic State which is near impossible considering they seek the entire world to conform.

### **6.7. Recommendations to Curb Terrorist Recruitment**

Terrorism as a whole is a rather tricky phenomenon to deal with and any counterterrorism strategies towards combating ISIS will require at least an understanding of the political and religious and how these two operations intersect. There is no telling with certainty whether ISIS will in fact retain their *state*, however in the event that they do then the international community will need to gather its resources and work towards a more effective understanding of this terrorist giant. Furthermore the international community needs to take into consideration that ISIS is not solely an American problem and as such need to gather its resources, however this does not necessarily imply that ‘many hands make light work’ when faced with such a threat. One cannot recommend [over] reliance on one strategy over others for instance web recruitment is very advanced and directing focus on stricter controls over web use doesn’t solve the problem. But undoubtedly it does minimise access except it is not simple to control internet activity and resources cannot simply be focused on that avenue alone. This research noted how during the US invasion in Iraq detainees of different demographics were all put together in one camp and this led to indoctrination and recruitment within prisons which could have been avoided. It is thus recommendable that prisoners in camps are separated according to their profiles so as to minimise the susceptibility to recruitment that takes place in prisons. However these recommendations alone will not curb terrorist recruitment however they are worth attempting. Moreover, it has been evidently stated that blanket counterterrorism approaches are unlikely to materialise as approaches used by different terrorist organisations also differ and as such cannot be countered in a similar manner. As long as the secular and non-secular clash, terrorism is seemingly far from its end but ways in which to minimise it are most welcome.

### **6.8. Summary**

This research has delved into understanding terrorism through various definitions due to lack of a universally accepted one highlighting once more that the threat stems from various disparate

factors. Though the bigger focus was on terrorist recruitment through a case study of ISIS, it was important to look at various other factors that could help explain terrorist recruitment better. Offering an understanding of terrorism was very central to this research as it helped respond to pertinent questions such as Dana Dillon's (1996) *who*, are the individuals that join, where the '*who*' was very loaded. The '*who*' enabled the researcher to look at the typology of the individual who chooses to join, biographical information if any (which was very hard to attain), economic background, ideological beliefs and a whole variety of other factors. The conclusion reached was that, anybody, provided they display the willingness to join [a terrorist organisation] can become a terrorist regardless of their social, economic, political or ideological beliefs. In essence there is no one terrorist mind-set which dubs someone a terrorist though some terrorists may share similar character traits. This was proven with the case of ISIS where recruits are either disgruntled, economically deprived or vulnerable and susceptible to recruitment through various platforms and are mostly of the belief that they are fighting towards a worthwhile cause.

Whilst terrorism is a global threat, this research paper chose to observe it through a Muslim lens out of preference and also considering the fact that according to the media, terrorism wears what Desai (2007) refers to as an Islamic garment. This was not to exclude terrorism or religious extremist violence that takes place outside of a Muslim setting and outside of the eye of the media. It was able to clarify that Islam the religion is not one that is violent despite its associations highlighting that Muslims themselves are often victims in these attacks. Instead it was clarified that the ideology of global Islamism is what feeds in to terrorism and individuals are recruited and lured in to terrorism on this basis. Moreover other platforms such as the internet which includes social media, news blogs and sites as well as the many other uses of the internet were identified as areas in which more recruitment that encompasses the global reach took place. Human trafficking was also identified as a recruitment strategy along with hostage taking in return for ransoms and these are common amongst ISIS and were denounced by Al-Qaeda. The denunciation of one Muslim terrorist group by another was considered as fundamental as the disagreement highlights that perhaps there is something problematic with some of the approaches taken to achieve the same ideological goals. ISIS has managed to intertwine politics and religion and convincing its followers that non-secularism is the path to follow.

Lastly, ISIS has successfully (so far currently) established itself as a force to be reckoned with, within the international community despite its moments of failure which it has managed to rise from. Their insane brutality has kept the group in the spotlight and are a huge cause of concern, mainly for certain western governments but also the global village as a whole as no region is immune given the reaches of technology. Terrorism has become so advanced that recruits need not be in the base territory to carry out their attacks on targets identified by their extremist organisation of choice. The *Clash of Civilisations* highlights the consequences of intolerance between the modern and the traditional and terrorism under an Islamic lens in the context of this research highlights the magnitude of the resistance from both sides as none are willing to back down. Ongoing terrorism signifies ongoing recruitment and in the case of ISIS where a caliphate has been declared and an Islamic State is being forged, the demand for recruits from all walks of life is undoubtedly high and recurring regardless of demographic. Whether different tactics to recruit will be explored either than the current ones is hard to tell, in fact there is no telling with certainty whether there are more strategies to explore than the ones already discussed.

## **6.9. Conclusion**

Given the extensive media coverage that terrorist organisations receive, it alerts the entire world that the terrorist threat is unpredictable and can strike anywhere, anytime painting terrorists as rather slick. Whilst terrorism is an international problem, it requires other governments to invest more on counterterrorism strategies than others due to the frequency of the attacks on their bases. What this chapter has done is offer a research summary that highlighted the broader issues and key questions which were discussed in this study. It has further managed to look at not only the theoretical considerations when examining terrorist recruitment but the methodology and study design used to further analyse the data provided. This research has extensively explored terrorist recruitment and the importance of factors such as religion and politics where these intersect. It has highlighted that there will always be clashes where the secular and non-secular both push forward to be the dominant civilisation within a single territory. Liberal societies are considered to be more tolerant towards other societies however their fight to be dominant has resulted in some of the worst clashes for mankind, i.e. terrorism. However it would be unfair to blame liberal societies for

the causes of terrorism as often pursuers of non-secular societies force conformity on to every individual within their chosen bases. This at times forces the international community to intervene implying that with rights or liberties come certain responsibilities, therefore the lines are often blurred as to when imposition happens and when protection of basic rights needs to take place. Recruitment is much about supply and demand and as long as groups such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda are of the view that they have not fulfilled their ideological goals, demand (for recruits) will always be on the cards but may not always be readily met by supply. This will then create a conducive environment for supply to be demanded and this is how recruitment strategies are explored in order to meet the demands of supply. However, as ISIS has made recruitment more of a global campaign, vulnerables should be made aware of the dangers that are lurking on the various recruitment platforms. It can therefore be concluded that the terrorist threat is one that nobody is immune from.

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