The Transference of Neojihadism: Towards a Process Theory of Transnational Radicalisation

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Abstract

> Identifying the causes of terrorism and radicalisation continues to be a contentious issue within the social and policy sciences. However, most scholars' attempts to understand how people become radicalised to commit terrorism tend to fall exclusively into single factor explanations: political, economic, religious and individual motivations, as well as particular individuals', or groups' and networks' influence and contributions. Richard A. Peterson's production of culture perspective argues that while it is important to identify the importance of individuals and unique antecedents in generating social and cultural changes, that it is equally, if not more important, to acknowledge that significant movements and cultural innovations result from a confluence of multiple, over-lapping components or 'constraints', ranging from new technologies, legal developments, occupational careers, organizational and other factors. This paper will adapt and apply Peterson's perspective to Neojihadism—a distinct late twentieth-century and early-twenty-first-century form of ideological expression, subculture, and militancy that combines novel understandings and interpretations of Islamic theology and jurisprudence, with other non-Islamic forms of social organization and interaction. Its aim is to generate an understanding on how Neojihadism's participants and adherents create this new culture and subculture, but most importantly, how they embrace and enact its principles and become radicalised as active agents through a global transference of ideology, theology, images and narratives.

Introduction

Most existing studies of the emergence of Al Qaeda, the movement[1] associated with it, and the wave of terrorism that has seemingly become its eponym, correctly draw attention to the importance of the individuals who fought against the Soviets in Afghanistan and how they built and sustained a global terrorist network's and movement's growth and activities (Bergen 2001; Gunaratna 2002). Possessing many

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[1] For the purposes of this paper, I refer to Al Qaeda and other organizations which seek to establish sharia through the use of violence as a movement. Their goals conform to definitions of social movements and religious movements. David and Julia Jary define social movements as '…any broad social alliance of people who are associated in seeking to effect or block an aspect of social change…' (Jary and Jary 1995: 615). According to William Sims Bainbridge,

> A religious movement is a relatively organized attempt by a number of people to cause or prevent change in a religious organization or in religious aspects of life. Religious movements have some similarities with political, cultural and social movements, in that they are collective human attempts to create or block change. But their religious character is a decisive part of their definition, and we cannot understand them unless we recognize their connection to human feelings about the divine. Such movements are special expressions that motivate religion of all kinds (Bainbridge 1997: 3).

merits, such accounts tend to suggest that this movement evolved as a result of individuals who rose to prominence at a particular time, and developed plans for, and executed terrorist attacks. In short, they suggest that the movement emerged as a result of the links between groups of individuals or individuals 'taking the initiative'—albeit for very sinister purposes.

In other studies authors correctly identify the networked nature of this movement. Essentially, however, they too largely focus on individuals. In particular, they concentrate on inter-personal relationships and how they facilitate and perpetuate the movement and its activities. The commentators have correctly noted that there are personal ties between the adherents as comrades, and in some cases they are either blood relatives or have become members of each others' families through marriage. Notwithstanding the importance of explaining the manner in which those familiar with each other maintain contact, these personality-focused studies do not address what social and other forces may have contributed to the movement's emergence or how the movement reproduces itself and generates ties that bind its adherents across borders. They accurately and appropriately acknowledge that groups that constitute the movement have more martial assets than a single individual and do not solely rely on rigid hierarchies to generate command-and-control (Sageman 2004; International Crisis Group 2002). However, while they correctly note that the elimination of one person or several key individuals will not eradicate the movement, they still imply that human agency—rather than other social variables—are the key factors that maintain the movement's existence and potential to reproduce.

Therefore, it is possible to suggest that despite all their merits, these personality-focused studies underplay the distinct culture that binds these (mostly) men together. This culture complicates counter-terrorism stakeholders' abilities to confront, displace and defeat the movement. Moreover, this culture transcends those already in the movement; it is shared by those who sympathize with their causes, but do not engage in violence. Hence, counter-terrorism stakeholders must confront not only those who engage in violence, but a broader culture with far greater numbers of supporters. Furthermore, this culture has the

potential to survive and reproduce after those currently committing violence are neutralized or withdraw from their activities. Countering such terrorism and extremism therefore, requires more than kinetic approaches. Counter-terrorism stakeholders have rightly acknowledged the ideology that they must confront—in addition to the movement's martial assets. However, their job is much more complex because the ideology is part of a much larger culture, subculture and counterculture which maintains the movement, and has the potential to facilitate its further development.

For present purposes, I refer to culture in accordance with Raymond Williams' understanding that culture manifests itself in diverse ways, including, '"a general process of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development"'; '"a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group—a way of life that is informed by a "common spirit"'; and '"the signifying system through which…a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored"' (cited in Jordan and Weedon 1995: 6-8). Hence, this suggests that the movement is far more important than a series of inter-personal links and individuals' 'achievements' in orchestrating attacks which attain their objectives, and generate the fear through violence or threat of violence that is central to any definition of terrorism.[2]

Neojihadism, the movement under scrutiny, is a multifaceted entity. The following is a brief overview of its core characteristics:

- Neojihadism is a diverse, syncretic form of global organisation and interaction that emerged from within Islam, is unique to the late-twentieth and (at present) early-twenty-first-centuries, and through its advocacy of violence and selectively literal interpretations of sacred texts, radically differentiates itself from the faith's mainstream, and constitutes a new body of thought and actions.

- Neojihadism is simultaneously a religious, political, paramilitary and terrorist global movement, subculture, counterculture and ideology that seeks through enacting violence, the realisation of states governed by laws according to the dictates of a selectively literal interpretation of the Qur'an, sunnah and ahadith, with the ultimate goal of establishing a unified khilafa that straddles countries that have been dominated traditionally by the Islamic faith.

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[2] For the purposes of this paper terrorism is defined as non-state actors '"…using or threatening to use violence against innocent people and non-combatants and property in order to effect political change to achieve political goals" by establishing a state of fear' (Lentini 2003; Nagtzaam and Lentini 2008: 111).

- Neojihadism is predicated upon a re-interpretation of jihad that emphasizes and elevates violent, offensive military actions over other forms of struggle which have been established in nearly a millennium-and-a-half of Islamic theology and jurisprudence. However, in so doing, Neojihadists claim that all their actions are defensive.
- To justify their actions Neojihadists (or Nejis) are more apt to cite reasons for revenge than theology.
- Neojihadism's most significant contribution to Muslim thought is rejecting distinctions between guilt and complicity: to be a citizen of a designated enemy country is to be a potential target.
    - Neojihadism re-interprets, and in the process, demeans theologically grounded conventions of martyrdom. However, in their approach to martyrdom Nejis paradoxically circumvent many of the duties of (mostly) Muslim males, abandoning their roles as fathers, husbands, caretakers of their parents and siblings, citizens, friends, and co-workers. Martyrdom becomes a quick fix. Such actions reflect the worst elements of so-called materialist Western culture: sloth, ignorance, and the desire to bypass hard work for some form of gain. It is possible to argue that this is the Neojihadist version of buying indulgences. In effect, it can constitute the antithesis of jihad. (Lentini 2008: 181-182)

Neojihadism is also a cultural formation. Moreover, Neojihadists (or Nejis) are bound together by a common culture. However, cultural entities do not just occur because key people emerged at the right place at the right time. There are other social, institutional, technological and sometimes even legal factors that produce cultural phenomena.

Identifying these broader social, political, technological and other trends that facilitated this cultural movement, to complement—not discount or devalue previous studies' findings—is this paper's major objective. To achieve this aim, I will attempt to address a series of research questions, including: How has Neojihadism developed? How do its adherents maintain and facilitate it to transcend borders? How do these practices help develop understandings on radicalization? How may understanding Neojihadism's subcultural and countercultural properties help counter-terrorism stakeholders develop strategies to counter Neojihadist radicalization, and include it in multi-pronged counter- and anti-terrorism strategies that includes military, law-enforcement, diplomatic, legislative and other components?   In particular, I am concerned with how Neojihadism constitutes both a subculture and counterculture. As will be demonstrated the subculture of Neojihadism harbours and propagates radical ideas and values, and offers its

participants radical identities. Moreover, this subculture and counterculture constitutes a global movement with the potential to radicalise by transcending borders, making this a dangerous and significant political, religious, terrorist, and subcultural and countercultural entity.

Before proceeding further it may be helpful to make some qualifications. First, it is necessary to reiterate that *Neojihadism is not solely a counterculture or a subculture*. As indicated previously, counterculture and subculture constitute two properties of what is a very diverse phenomenon. Second, identifying Neojihadism's countercultural and subcultural components in no way diminishes the fact that the movement is a violent threat to Islam, to democracies, and to the international system. These are not just kids involved in youthful shenanigans or trying to assert their individuality vis-à-vis their parents or through spending surplus income. Neojihadism's participants and adherents are violent and the subculture helps to facilitate the violence. Third, not all subcultures are inherently concerned with consumption and leisure. The vast amount of literature on racialist subcultures stands as evidence to support that there are indeed malevolent and politically threatening subcultures with whom law enforcement and other counter-terrorism stakeholders must become familiar and take very seriously (see Anahita 2006; Black et al. 1998; Cotter 1999; Jensen 1993; Lööw 1998; and Simi and Futrell 2006). That there were at least two alleged white supremacist assassination plots against President Barack Obama during the election campaign and before he took office, and a rise in hate crimes against African Americans during 2008, demonstrates the significance and threat of such subcultures and countercultures ('Amerikanskaya politisiya predotvratila ubiitstvo Baraka Obamy' 2008; AP 2008). Accordingly, Neojihadism is another violent subculture and counterculture which requires a significant degree of attention. Fourth, there is an overlap between the realms of the subcultural and the arenas in which radicalisation occur: the personal, the group and the global. Therefore, addressing these same elements in Neojihadism may help us to understand—to paraphrase Teodor Adorno—some of the '"social cement"' which helps Nejis construct, and comprehend and reproduce their world view (cited in Strinati 1995: 68-69), binds

them together as a distinct culture, subculture and counterculture, and how they are able to radicalize individuals and groups across borders.

To achieve the aforementioned objectives, the paper addresses several themes. First, I establish working definitions of subculture, counterculture, radicalisation, counter-radicalization and de-radicalization. The second section consists of an overview of Richard A. Peterson's production of culture perspective. Third, I introduce a modified version of Peterson's framework that is applicable for Neojihadism and evaluate the factors that contributed to Neojihadism's emergence and transference. Fourth, drawing on various social science approaches, I interpret how these factors help to produce a subculture of Neojihadism and how these factors interact to play a role in radicalisation and in some cases, terrorist operationalisation. Finally, I provide some ways in which an understanding of the movement's subcultural elements can assist counter-terrorism stakeholders to develop means to disrupt Neojihadist activities and potential avenues for counter-radicalization and de-radicalization.

Definitions

For the purpose of this paper, I draw on Birmingham School studies to understand subcultures. John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson and Brian Roberts contend that,

> …subcultures are subsets—smaller, more localized and differentiated structures, within one or other of the larger cultural networks….
>
> Subcultures must exhibit a distinctive enough shape and structure to make them identifiably different from their "parent culture". They must be focused around certain activities, values, certain uses of material artifacts, territorial spaces, etc. which significantly differentiate them from the wider culture. But, since they are subsets, there must also be significant things which bind and articulate them with the "parent culture" (Clarke et al. 1980: 9-74, 13, 14).

Dick Hebdige argues that, 'Each subcultural "instance" represents a "solution" to a specific set of circumstances, particular problems and contradictions'(Hebdige 1995: 81).

Although somewhat related, subcultures are not the same as countercultures. Theodore Roszak argues that a '"counter culture" [is]…a culture so radically disaffiliated from the mainstream assumptions of [a] society that it scarcely looks to many as a culture at all, but takes the alarming appearance of a barbaric intrusion.' He argues further that the counter culture is concerned with '…altering the total cultural context within which our daily politics takes place.' Moreover, he stresses that there is often little structure and formal membership within counter-cultural formations. Rather, he contends that they constitute 'a variegated procession constantly in flux, acquiring and losing members along the way' (Roszak 1995: 5, 42, 48).

Scholars and counter-terrorism professionals have attempted to define radicalization. Silber and Bhatt, the authors of the NYPD's report on radicalization, tend to describe, rather than define the term. Moreover, their definition is too narrow, focusing only on those groups who claim to be conducting or preparing for attacks in the name of Islam. They argue that this process involves '…a point where…the potential terrorist or group of terrorists begin and progress….The culmination of the process is a terrorist attack.' They also contend that the process involves 4 stages: pre-radicalization, self-identification, indoctrination and jihadization (Silber and Bhatt 2007: 5, 6-7). Marc Sageman offers a minimalist definition: the 'process of transforming individuals from rather unexceptional and ordinary beginnings into terrorists with the willingness to use violence for political ends (Sageman 2007: viii).' McCauley and Moskalenko contend that,

> Functionally, political radicalization is increased preparation for and commitment to intergroup conflict. Descriptively, radicalization means change in beliefs, feelings, and behaviours in directions that increasingly justify intergroup violence and demand sacrifice in defence of the ingroup (McCauley and Moskalenko 2008: 416).

While these scholars correctly identify conflict and personal transformation and the willingness to engage in violence, they fail to acknowledge significantly the desire to transform social, cultural and political orders. We are therefore, in need of a definition

that addresses these items, as well as the existential elements which radicalisation presupposes.

Since this paper was originally presented, the National Security Criminal Investigation section of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (hereafter RCMP) produced a report on radicalisation which moves closer to that objective. In their definition radicalisation constitutes '…the process by which individuals—usually young people—are introduced to an overtly ideological message and belief system that encourages movement from moderate, mainstream beliefs towards extreme views.' They also note that '…a radical is a person who wishes to effect fundamental political, economic or social change or change from the ground up.' In addition, they argue that being radical can often lead to positive change, as in the case of Nelson Mandela's activities, and that within the context of political violence and political change there have been many types of violent radicals, including left wing political figures such as Russian revolutionary leader and theorist V. I. Lenin and the Argentine-born participant and later leader of the Cuban revolution Che Guevara. Radicalisation and violence are not simply confined to contemporary manifestations of attacks perpetrated by those claiming to justify their activities in the name of Islam (RCMP 2009: 1-2). Such a diverse understanding of radicalisation and radicals is important. Nonetheless, for our purposes it is imperative to utilize a working definition that appreciates radicalisation's nuances and the significance of change, and the departures from conventionally accepted and legally mandated forms of political behaviour and expression.[3] Therefore, I have proposed the following, somewhat lengthy definition.

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[3] The RCMP report also considers Reverend Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. to be a radical (RCMP 2009: 1, 2). While I agree that he and other Civil Rights Movement participants should be revered, praised, and congratulated, and that people of all nations should be appreciative of their work, I feel that radical is not an appropriate term in this instance. It is true that his tactics and the broader Civil Rights Movement's activities challenged the status quo *as it existed in parts of the United States*. However, he and other members of this movement did not advocate violence or other measures that were outside conventionally accepted practices of political protest in a US context. Moreover, the rights they were seeking were already enshrined in US legislation. At the time, African-Americans in many parts of the US were exercising the rights that King and other members of the Civil Rights Movement were attempting to get realized for all African-Americans. Rather than attempting to overthrow an existing order, they were attempting to get the political status quo to implement what was already codified. In effect, they were striving for status quo performance and enhancement, not status quo replacement. This, however, should not be taken to diminish the importance of their work, and the hardships that Civil Rights Movement participants endured—

Radicalisation is a process in which individuals develop, adopt and embrace political attitudes and modes of behaviour which diverge substantially from those of any or all of the established and legitimate political, social, economic, cultural, and religious values, attitudes, institutions and behaviours which exist in a given society. Radicalisation also involves advocating either replacing and/or attempting to replace the status quo by transgressing legitimate or accepted modes of political pursuits (electoral means, civil society organizations, sanctioned protests and strikes, and non-violent civil disobedience), and in its most threatening forms, using or condoning the use of violence against property or persons—whether private citizens or state employees—in order to implement new structures, values, leaders and elites which will usher in a new order or new society. Regardless whether they personally use, condone or encourage the use of violence by those other than themselves—or even disavow using violence entirely—radicals advocate significantly disrupting, dislocating and ultimately destroying existing political, economic, social and cultural norms and structures. The result of this process is an eponymous radical departure from that which they seek to overturn.

Accordingly, counter-radicalisation involves those measures and strategies that divergent counter-terrorism stakeholders develop or advocate to pre-empt potential radicals emerging, to challenge existing radicals' efforts to generate broader support and legitimacy for their ideas and actions, or to recruit or indoctrinate others. De-radicalisation includes strategies that counter-terrorism stakeholders develop and implement to transform existing radicals' thoughts and behaviour with the objective of enabling them either to re-integrate with society (regardless of whether they exclude themselves willfully from social life or are incarcerated), or to moderate their views and actions to such a degree that they reject systemic overthrow and/or violence against persons and property so as to eliminate them as threats to a society, polity and its citizens.

The Production of Culture Perspective

The production of culture framework acknowledges that specific cultural phenomena occur as a result of a combination of factors, referred to as 'constraints'. Scholars who have adopted this approach have explained how and why rock music emerged at a particular juncture in history and why crime fiction became the most popular genre of

including the loss of their lives—to get these rights realized, and the difficulties they faced in attempting to change attitudes and prejudices that were deeply embedded in some people's minds to permit African-Americans to exercise their civil rights as established in the US Constitution. As King and his colleagues were seeking in effect to improve an existing system so that it could deliver rights which had been granted nearly a century before, it is probably more appropriate to consider the Civil Rights Movement more reformist than radical. Alternately, given the Southern US States' political contexts and status quo, perhaps the Movement was reformist in some areas, radical in others.

literature in post-Soviet Russia, to indicate just two applications of the perspective (Peterson 1990; Dwyer 2006).

Richard A. Peterson's research challenged what were then the conventional notions that cultural movements, in this case rock music, emerged solely due to the efforts of specific creative individuals who were in 'the right place at the right time'. Although, he paid adequate acknowledgement to individuals' talents, he placed more emphasis on combinations of social factors or 'constraints' which facilitated cultural breakthroughs. These involve technology, market developments, legal developments, career structures, industry structures, and organisational structures.   While space precludes an in-depth discussion of all the components of Peterson's framework, it is possible to provide some examples to illustrate how the production of culture perspective's constraints provided opportunities for rock to emerge in 1955.

Among the legal constraints, Peterson notes that changes to copyright laws permitted songs that were not owned under the ASCAP provisions to be played on radio stations. This increased the opportunities for new songwriters, particularly from those genres which were not mainstream at the time—jazz, country and western, and rhythm and blues, all of which were seminal sources of rock music—to have their music played over the airwaves. Additionally, through changes in patent laws, recorded music, formerly played on 78 rpm discs, shifted to 45 rpm discs. The latter because it was cheaper to produce, ended up becoming the primary conveyor of early rock's music. Changes in radio station licensing regulation also permitted the emergence of the genre. During World War II, the Federal Communications Commission which is empowered to issue licenses received many applications from individuals and companies to open up radio stations. However, due to security reasons, they were unable to grant these licenses. Shortly, after the war, however it began to process these applications and issue licenses. This resulted in the emergence of many more new stations, some of which catered to new genres that new songwriters and artists were generating and the mass of 45 rpm records that were now produced (Peterson 1990: 99-101). In addition, Peterson notes that technological advances, such as the previously mentioned 45 rpm record, and the

development of the transistor receiver and television helped to convey and market the genre and permit new means of broadcast, reception and consumption.

Industrial and organizational structure developments include the emergence of independent radio stations that challenged the established networks, and independent record companies. Occupational changes included the role of the disc jockey, originally employed to keep records playing and speaking in between songs to maintain an audience, into a celebrity, entrepreneur, and gatekeeper who helped to promote rock as a genre. Additionally, the combination of new songs being played, and new radio stations', independent radio and record companies' emerging and operating, all broke down what was previously a predominantly unified national market into a segmented market that catered for a range of tastes. Young people who were becoming economically empowered through post-war affluence and their own employment were able to consume the products of this integrated cultural process (Peterson 1990: 102-12). However, it is acknowledged that while it is plausible that a number of the aforementioned factors contributed to the emergence of Neojihadist culture, there may need to be some adaptation because of the movement's previously acknowledged diverse nature.

The Emergence of Neojihadism: A Production of Culture Perspective Interpretation

Many factors contributed to Neojihadism's genesis, besides the emergence of key individuals and networks of associated individuals at specific moments in time. However, it is arguable that at least 5 major sources are noteworthy. These sources constitute a combination of structures (pre-existing processes, ideologies, institutions, organizations) and agencies (human initiated actions) which Nejis utilized or enacted themselves to develop the movement and enhance its growth and transformation into a global entity. It is possible to categorize the sources as either 'initiating' or 'facilitating'. Nonetheless, these categories should not be considered rigid dividers. There is indeed overlap between them and it is difficult to acknowledge where human agency began and a pre-existing institutions, ideologies, etc. ended. Indeed, in many instances, they mutually reinforce each other. For example, drawing upon the diverse body of established Islamic sacred

texts and exegesis (structure), clerics and ideologues generated theological and jurisprudential interpretations (agency) which generated a worldview that became a mobilizational tool and legitimating discourse (structure) for those who internalized this thought, and who then, in turn took steps to act in accordance with its tenets, including engaging in terrorist violence (agency). Similarly, as will be discussed below, those who fought against the Soviets in Afghanistan and other areas to implement sharia created networks of association, political and military organizations, training facilities, and businesses (agency) to establish the movement. These entities constituted an infrastructure (structure) that enhanced the movement's development by enabling others to join, and benefit from their resources. Political Developments and Combat as a Life Choice constitute the Initiating Sources. The Facilitating Sources include Theological/Jurisprudential Issues; Mobility and Demographics; and Technological Developments.

Initiating Sources

Political Developments[4]

A series of political developments helped to pave the way for the growth of a global movement that seeks to establish sharia through violent means, and it has its roots largely in the political developments of the past 30 years. First, although most of the movement's participants are violently opposed to the Shiite minority, they had an example of a Muslim-majority state organized along theocratic principles after Iranian revolutionaries established the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979. Second, various mujahideen groups' involvement—especially those from outside of Afghanistan—in defeating the Soviets in Afghanistan provided those with aspirations of establishing sharia with a psychology of success and invincibility, and how 'enemies of Islam' had to be dealt with first and foremost by force. It also paved the way for the establishment of a form of Islamic rule under the Taliban. The establishment of a Sunni organized Islamic regime boosted the participants' morale and enhanced the movement's appeal. Moreover, fighting in

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[4] Lentini and Bakashmar raise some of these points in an earlier paper (see Lentini and Bakashmar 2007).

Afghanistan against the Soviets, and in other areas where they perceived Muslims to be oppressed—Kashmir, Chechnya, Somalia, Bosnia, the Philippines—gave them further training and facilitated broader networks. In many of these areas, especially where government broke down and it was difficult for states to maintain control over their territory, the movement's participants established training camps which enabled them to reproduce the movement. However, it is to be acknowledged that participants of many different 'localized' struggles with divergent attitudes and goals passed through these camps.

Third, during the 1970s the Saudis reaped a windfall as a result of increased petroleum prices. Subsequently, elements within the Saudi ruling elite and some private donors contributed huge amounts of money overseas to develop charities, construct mosques and hospitals and to fund the salaries for clerics working abroad. In many cases, this charitable work was due to sincere religious and humanitarian commitment. However, in other circumstances, it is possible to argue that these activities enhanced the spread of a conservative Wahhabist interpretation of Islam, which challenged local customary practices or, where there had been little Islamic presence before, established the presence of a value system that conflicted with that which existed in the host societies and inserted a confrontational ideology in these new locations.

Combat as a Life Choice

Following the anti-Soviet war in Afghanistan, many veterans, whether out of ideological zeal or inability to adapt to post-conflict life without glory and excitement continued to participate in a series of religious and ethno-religious separatist struggles within either Muslim-majority states to establish sharia, or states in which Muslims constituted a minority and the participants viewed them as oppressed, and/or had their land taken from them. This included Kashmir, Afghanistan, Bosnia, Chechnya, Somalia, the Philippines and Indonesia. Additionally, training camps that were established there helped to sustain the men fighting on these fronts or to develop skills that men could take elsewhere either to initiate combat to establish sharia or to contribute to campaigns where this was already

in progress. Participants also developed further ties amongst themselves. This is not to suggest that all operations emerged from a central hub. However, these participants established a commonality of general cause, identified common enemies and importantly, began to share a common narrative regarding their objectives, history and destiny. Finally, because of their contribution to military successes and their personal sacrifices, some of these men, particularly those who fought in multiple campaigns, became the role models for future generations of like-minded individuals to follow (see Bergen 2001; Gunaratna 2002; Kepel 2002).

Facilitating Sources

Theological/Jurisprudential Issues

Categorizing theological/jurisprudential issues as a facilitating (structural) factor may seem paradoxical given how I noted earlier that clerics and ideologues' interpretations of sacred texts—clearly human initiatives (agency)—contributed to the movement's growth and enhancement. However, I include this category as a facilitating factor largely because the movement's key proponents view their religion as divinely revealed and this includes what they interpret as the divine command to engage in combat. Nonetheless, when one considers the conciliatory ahadith, and Qur'anic ayat which emphasize striving for peace and laying out rules of engagement, especially in regards to non-combatants and what a mujahid must do to attain martyrdom, it is obvious that the only manner in which Neojihadism's ruthless violence could be considered to have religious sanction is through a distinctively distorted and modern interpretation of how Muslims are directed by Allah and The Prophet on how to confront their enemies.[5] Such interpretations also stand in

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[5] Within the Qur'an it should be noted that the military form of jihad, *jihad al-sayyaf*, is not just random killing: 'Strive in the way of God with a service worthy of Him' (2:78). The Qur'an also includes that it is important for Muslims to establish treaties and to abide by them, and fight to deter, not to annihilate (8: 56-58; 8: 60-61). Unless otherwise noted, my references to the Qur'an are derived from *Al-Qur'ān: A Contemporary Translation by Ahmed Ali* (1994). See the narrations of Abdullah bin Amir in Bukhari volume 7, book 71 , no. 729 (hereafter references to Bukhari are presented in the volume: book: no.: format) and Bukhari 4:53:342; 7:71:630; 8:77:616; 3:43:660; 4:53:342;7:71:628 and in Muslim book 20, no. 4705. (hereafter references to Muslim are presented in book: no.: format). Unless otherwise indicated all references to the hadith collections of Bukhari and Muslim have been taken from Center for Muslim-

stark contradiction to how most mainstream Muslims and mainstream Muslim clerics understand how Allah and Muhammad instructed them how to resolve disputes (Al-Askar et al. 2007; 'Open Letter to His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI' (2006: 2-3). Indeed, as some commentators have indicated, some of the movement's participants—leaders and rank-and-file—believe that they are commanded to inflict harm on the exact same number of non-Muslim (or those whom they consider apostate) civilians as a means of retribution for innocent Muslims that non-Muslims or apostates have allegedly killed.[6]

As numerous scholars have noted (Kepel 2002; Khosrokhavar 2005; Esposito 1999; Wiktorowicz 2005), the movement under consideration developed its ideology about jihad over the better part of a century, and this departs from traditional and contemporary mainstream Muslims' understandings of jihad and martyrdom. It progressed (or regressed) from one in which jihad was considered to be mainly a personal matter, that emphasized individuals could transform society through their good will (al-Banna).[7] Thereafter, jihad developed a more revolutionary form to establish a new society (Mawdudi). For Qutb, offensive jihad, rather than a purely defensive struggle, was acceptable and necessary. Farraj posited that jihad was an individual duty that all Muslims must perform (Fard Ayn). However, he noted further that Muslims had abandoned this duty, and that their withdrawal from struggle was the main cause of Muslim downfall. Therefore, Muslims had to perform this 'Neglected Duty' within their own countries to establish sharia and to re-establish Muslim prominence. For Abdullah

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Jewish Engagement, University of Southern California (nd). Sulaiman bin Yasar narrated that Muhammad stated that when a martyr faces Allah upon his death for judgment:

> "Allah will make him recount his blessings (i.e. the blessings which He had bestowed upon him) and he will recount them (and admit having enjoyed them in his life). (Then) will Allah say: What did you do (to requite these blessings?) He will say: 'I fought for Thee until I died as a martyr.' Allah will say: 'You have told a lie. You fought that you might be called a "brave warrior". And you were called so.' (Then) orders will be passed against him and he will be dragged with his face downward and cast into Hell."

See Muslim 20:4688.

[6] Khosrokhavar (2005: 27-28) has noted the 'statistical legitimacy' he discovered when he interviewed incarcerated terrorists. Waleed Aly (2007: 175-76) notes the case of Al Qaeda spokesman Sulayman Abu Ghaith in justifying the excessive carnage of the 9/11 attacks.

[7] Nonetheless, Hasan al-Banna is known to have organized the Muslim Brotherhood along the lines of totalitarian movements and was willing to collaborate with the Nazis in order to expel the British from Egypt (Soage 2008).

Azzam jihad became incumbent upon all able bodied Muslims to engage in combat to establish sharia wherever Muslims were being oppressed (especially in relation to Afghanistan), and once that struggle was completed, to continue engaging militarily until sharia was established in all Muslim countries.

At this point, it is necessary to stress that these ideologues were largely concerned with establishing sharia within Muslim-majority states. They engaged in combat with agents of the state. Moreover, they advocated that achieving martyrdom came after dying confronting agents of the state, not civilians. Terrorism was not the main form of political violence that *Sunni-oriented* groups implemented during the Cold War period, although they utilized it sporadically. Rather, they mainly engaged in insurgent violence against state security forces. It is possible to identify the theological/jurisprudential/ideological current and movement discussed above as jihadism. Jihadism's ideologues certainly emphasized and even encouraged using violence to effect the political change that sharia would usher in. However, jihadism's theorists did not *generally* advocate terrorism, nor was terrorism among jihadism's central or distinguishing features.

Shiite groups committed most of the terrorist acts claimed by groups supposedly acting in the name of Islam during the Cold War period. Indeed, a survey of terrorist acts that Sunni and Shiite groups perpetrated from 1968 until 15 February 1989, the day the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan, demonstrates that the former utilized terrorism infrequently.[8] During this period groups which claimed some Islamic orientation conducted 167 attacks. However, there were nearly twice the number of Shiite groups (11) compared to Sunni groups (6) that perpetrated the attacks. Additionally, the former conducted 146 of these operations (87.4 per cent), compared to the latter's 21 attacks (12.6 per cent). Hence, during the Cold War period, Sunni oriented groups carried out, on average, one attack per year.

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[8] Data for this section were derived from Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism, 'Terrorism Knowledge Base' Located at http://www.tkb.org. Last accessed 26 February 2008. I am grateful to Jeremy Dwyer, John Cooney and Ela Ogru for assisting in data compilation.

This pattern changed within a very short time frame. In the period immediately after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan until immediately before the first attack on the World Trade Center (1993), Sunni and Shiite oriented groups conducted about an even amount of attacks, although the Sunni conducted one more (29 and 28 respectively). However, during this same interval, the number of Sunni groups who perpetrated attacks increased to 7, while the number of Shiite groups executing terrorist acts declined to 2. Additionally, if we extend the analytical timeframe to include the period immediately from the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan until Al Qaeda's first attack (1995) some 16 Sunni groups perpetrated 144 terrorist actions and 5 Shiite groups initiated 46 operations.

To an extent, some of the points raised earlier on political developments, and choosing combat as a life path, explain the increase in Sunni groups' use of terrorism. However, they do not address the theological/jurisprudential factors which may have influenced Sunni groups using terrorist tactics more regularly after the Cold War. In the late 1990s, Osama bin Laden wrote or co-authored documents declaring war on the United States in response to its intervention in the Middle East, support for Israel, causing deaths in Iraq and having troops stationed in Saudi Arabia. In his 1996 Declaration of War against the US, bin Laden hoped to encourage Muslims that it was their duty to kill American service personnel (bin Laden 2005a: 23-30). In an interview with Peter Arnett, bin Laden stated, "'…we have focused our declaration on striking the soldiers in Saudi Arabia….Even though they are not targeted in our plan, [civilians] must leave. We do not guarantee their safety…'" (bin Laden 2005b: 47). In 1998, bin Laden was a co-signatory of the World Islamic Front's declaration of war against the US and its allies. In this document bin Laden and his co-authors expressly sanctioned and encouraged killing civilians, in addition to military personnel:

> …in accordance with God's will, we pronounce to all Muslims the following judgment:
> To kill the American and their allies—civilians and military—is an individual duty incumbent upon every Muslim in all countries….

> …We call on everyone who believes in God and wants reward to comply with His will to kill the Americans and seize their money wherever and whenever they find them (bin Laden et al 2005: 61).

The authors justified their ruling based on the following reasons:

> …the American people…choose their Government by their own free will….[and] pay the taxes which fund the planes that bomb us….The American army is part of the American people….The American people employ both men and women in the American armed forces which attack us. This is why the American people cannot be innocent… (bin Laden et al. 2005).

Bin Laden and most of the other signatories were not qualified to make such religious judgments in this declaration. Nonetheless, their document constituted a major theological/jurisprudential development. The Qur'an states explicitly that *individuals are responsible for their own transgressions*:

- "No one who carries a burden bears another's load; and even if the burdened soul cry out for help none will carry the least of its burden, however close a relative it may be."(35:18)
- "For no one who carries a burden bears another's load; and your returning is to your Lord, when He will tell you what you used to do. Surely he knows what is in the hearts."(39:7)

However, the World Islamic Front's declaration had the end result of conflating guilt and complicity. This constitutes a major theological/jurisprudential and ideological development within Islamist and jihadist thought. Indeed, I see this as a departure from the latter. Moreover, it is plausible that this document, despite not having proper religious authority, still served as a means to legitimate terrorist violence.

Attack statistics covering the period before and after the 1998 declaration provide some support for this claim. In the period from Al Qaeda's first attack (1995) and immediately before the 1998 declaration's release, 4 Shiite groups conducted 13 attacks, and 14 Sunni

groups executed 48. However, in the interval between the declaration's release and 9/11, 32 Sunni groups perpetrated 125 attacks, whereas 2 Shiite groups committed 5.

There are further increases in Sunni groups' terrorism and Shiite groups' decline in comparison to the Cold War period after 9/11. For instance, from 12 September 2001 until the US-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, 37 Sunni groups conducted 179 attacks. However, only a single Shiite group perpetrated an attack. After the invasion of Iraq until 31 December 2007, some 103 Sunni groups conducted 1,982 terrorist attacks, while 8 Shiite groups executed 18 operations. Hence, the amount of Sunni-oriented groups conducting terrorist attacks increased from 6 in 1989 to over 130 in 2003-2007. The frequency of Sunni-oriented groups' terrorist attacks jumped from an average of one incident per year during 1968-89, to nearly one per day for 2003-2007.

Similar trends are also apparent in relation to suicide bombings. Within the spectrum of Islamic-oriented terrorist organizations, only Shiite groups conducted suicide bombings (10) from the early 1980s until the first World Trade Center attack. Since then, Shiite groups have ceased using them.[9] However, from the mid-1990s, Sunni groups have used them more frequently. Over 30 such groups conducted over 330 suicide attacks from 1995 until 31 December 2007.

As stated previously, Sunni groups conducted sporadic acts of terrorism during the Cold War period. However, by and large, most of the Sunni groups' violence was directed against agents of the state, not civilians or non-combatants. Additionally, Sunni groups' use of terrorism was increasing during most of the post-Cold War period. Nevertheless, the World Islamic Front's declaration of war on the US and its allies, constituted a major theological/jurisprudential departure from traditional forms of jihad and even jihadism. It is reasonable to suggest that some individuals or groups could use the reasoning in this document to legitimate their terrorism. Moreover, the document's conflating of

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[9] It is possible to explain Shiite groups' declining use of suicide bombing based on three factors. First, Iranian President Khatami sought to have better relations with the outside world and terrorism declined during his period in office. Second, Hizbollah began participating more actively in parliamentary politics. Third, Israel withdrew from Southern Lebanon in 2000.

complicity and guilt help to establish grounds for arguing that what I have identified as Neojihadism is qualitatively different from the body of thought and record of actions that ideologues and insurgents utilized to establish sharia during the Cold War period.

Mobility and Demographic Changes

There have been unprecedented advances in transportation and opportunities (and other human-generated and natural catastrophes which provided reasons) for people to transcend borders in the late 20th Century and early 21st Century. These have included various factors such as European countries experiencing labour shortages that encouraged migrants from Muslim-majority states to change their residence. In other circumstances, there was increased migration from the former colonial countries to the former colonizing countries in the post-war period. As a result, over the past half century there have been expanding Muslim diasporas within for instance, the UK, France and Spain. Accordingly, the UK's diasporas have included very high numbers of Muslims from the former sub-continent, France's Muslim populations are largely from the Maghreb and parts of sub-Saharan Africa that it previously colonized and there are substantial Moroccan migrant populations in Spain (see Nielsen 2004). Other sources of migration, largely through various catastrophes have resulted in countries taking large amounts of refugees for humanitarian reasons or granting political asylum for those deemed to be at risk of harm or incarceration for their viewpoints in their home countries. Hence, countries such as Australia have welcomed refugees from former war zones such as Lebanon, Somalia, Sudan, and former Yugoslav areas such as Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo.

Within and between Muslim-majority states there has also been increased mobility. From the 1970s, many Muslims left parts of Asia to work in the Gulf as a result of the oil boom. Additionally, due to advances in transportation, declining costs of air fares and the social mobility of Muslims, millions of believers travel each year to Saudi Arabia to fulfill their religious obligations to perform the hajj, or to make a minor pilgrimage to perform umrah.

Such mobility has had an overwhelmingly positive impact on the development of host communities in the case of migration, and individuals bringing back income and employment experience to contribute back to the communities they left to work overseas. Nonetheless, it is regrettable that there have been terrorist cells that have emerged from the diaspora communities or from those who have traveled to the Gulf to work. For instance, in the case of the UK, the 7/7 attackers all had post-colonial links: three were of Pakistani descent and one was from Jamaica. It has been alleged that some were radicalized when they returned to Pakistan on visits and began to harbour anti-Western grievances during their time there. Additionally, the perpetrators of the unsuccessful 21/7 attempted bombing were refugees from the Horn of Africa. Throughout much of the 1990s and beyond, France has had to contend with radical elements within its Maghreb community, particularly violence related to matters linked to Algerian developments. The perpetrators of the M11 attacks in Madrid included Moroccan migrants, and had links to Moroccan crime networks. Nonetheless, there were many Algerian migrants connected with that attack. Australia's convicted and alleged Neojihadists have also come from the ranks of their former refugees and political asylum seekers. Abdul Nacer Benbrika, the leader of the cells broken up by Operation Pendennis in 2005 was granted political asylum in the country after he successfully petitioned to remain in Australia because of fear of persecution if he returned to his native Algeria. Included among his jemaah's convicted and alleged members were descendents of or actual refugees from the Civil War in Lebanon and Bosnia (Silber and Bhatt 2007; Lentini 2008). Those alleged to have been conspiring to conduct a terrorist attack against Sydney's Holdsworthy Barracks in Operation Neath (2009) include several refugees from Somalia. Additionally, it is alleged that over three dozen young Australians of Somali descent have either returned to Somalia to fight there, or became radicalized when they spent time back in Somalia and returned to Australia with anti-Western political views (Kerbaj 2007; Warne-Smith 2009). There is also evidence that those who worked in Gulf countries (Muslim and non-Muslim alike) became radicalized there and brought their new found politics to countries like Indonesia and the Philippines (International Crisis Group 2005).

Such examples should not be interpreted as implying that diasporas or international travel is directly related to terrorism and radicalization.[10] However, the current wave of Neojihadist violence, itself a product of globalization, has moved from areas in the Middle East, South Asia and Southeast Asia to places in Europe and the Anglo-sphere, where its ideas and practices have been adopted and reproduced by a very small minority within the Muslim diasporas. Indeed, in the Australian cases most of the information that led to counter-terrorist raids from 2002 came from within the Muslim communities themselves (Lentini 2008; Lentini 2007; Munro and Silvester 2009).

Finally, this increased movement has also facilitated radicalization and terrorism through the transfer of finances. There is now an emerging literature that some migrants, particularly in the sub-continent and parts of the Middle East and North Africa, utilize hawala to transfer funds. The process is very difficult to regulate, relies on the personal relationships between the brokers, or hawaladars, and does not generate a paper trail. In addition, there have been documented cases in which money is used through the selaam system. In this manner, someone arrives at someone's door on another's behalf and requests money. Finally, it has been well-documented that the spread of globalization and sophisticated electronic money-transfer techniques have prompted some to distribute money through bogus Islamic charities, which often defraud Muslims who believe they are contributing money to bone fide charitable institutions so that they may perform their duties of zakat (Raphaeli 2003; Basie 2006; Aydinli 2006).

Technological

Terrorism has always been linked to developments in technology, particularly advancements in weapons and communications (Duyvestan 2004). Indeed, some scholars note that terrorism is in fact a violent means of political communication (Crelinsten 2008). During the 19th Century, terrorists geared their actions to grab the headlines of the period's largest medium of the time, the daily newspaper. In the 1960s through to the

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[10] Indeed this was implied in an op-ed piece written by Victoria's Chief Commissioner of Police (see Overland 2009).

mid-1990s, terrorists sought to command the television airwaves to broadcast their political demands as well as to demonstrate the consequences of governments not complying with them (Nacos 1995). In these circumstances, terrorists were largely dependent on privately and government-run networks to get their messages out. Hence, in some circumstances, such as Margaret Thatcher's government banning the IRA from speaking on British airwaves (Wilkinson 1997) and the US prohibiting the broadcasting of bin Laden's videos derived from the Al Jazeera television network on US channels (Shovelan 2001), states have occasionally sought to eliminate terrorists' abilities to generate their messages.

In order to control their own messages and to distribute their propaganda and other materials, including instructions for developing and using weapons and how to conduct attacks, terrorists have taken advantage of the latest technological developments to produce their own media artifacts. These include videos, CD-ROMS, DVDs as well as use of information and communications technologies (ICT) such as the internet. Whether on their own as DVDs or videocassettes, or broadcast on the web, Neojihadist and other Islamist-oriented videos, especially those which depict Muslims suffering in other countries, have had a profound effect on radicalising participants.[11] The impact of these videos and other media will be discussed in greater detail below.

However, developments within ICT have greatly facilitated the movement's emergence and enhancement. The universe of Neojihadist websites, chatsites, on-line videos, etc., or Nejiverse, constitutes a source of propaganda, inter-movement communication and provision of instructional and educational materials. In approximately 15 years, the Neojihadist web presence has increased exponentially. Where there were a few hundred such sites in the mid-1990s, there are now well over 5,000 (Weimann 2006). Naturally, the amount of these sites and their contents alone is a genuine concern for counter-terrorism stakeholders. However, the Nejiverse is a space where individuals who have specific grievances can make contacts and consume media which can harden their

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[11] On these matters see some personal accounts (i.e., Collins 2002; Hussein 2007), and Bernard-Henri Lévy also notes that videos played an important role in radicalizing Omar Sheikh, who is accused of being involved with abducting and murdering Daniel Pearl (Lévy 2003).

positions, strengthen their political and religious resolve, and gain instructions on terrorist tactics and operations.[12]

This last point, however, requires further elaboration, as to date there is no evidence that any successful attacks have been executed by individuals or groups who have only had access to on-line instruction materials, particularly bomb making videos or manuals. Anne Sternersen suggests that to develop a competency in explosives making that an individual needs at least an undergraduate degree in chemistry. Moreover, most of the collections of bomb making videos and other related materials that are on-line are incomplete. Both she and Petter Nesser argue that while prospective terrorists can gain some background information on religious, political and even some technical matters, they must still travel to camps and train in order to gain operational proficiency (Stenersen 2008; Nesser 2008).

However, web-based and video and other materials often have direct connections in the physical world. Lentini and Bakashmar apply Arquilla and Ronfeldt's netwars framework in their analysis of videos' roles within Neojihadist culture and operations. They write that Arquilla and Ronfeldt,

> contend that netwars comprise five main levels [and] these include: 'organisational levels (the organisation's design), narrative levels (the story being told), doctrinal levels (strategy and methods), technological levels (information systems) and social levels (personal ties that assure loyalty and trust).'
>
> By broadcasting terrorist acts live, be they beheadings or the wills of suicide bombers, terrorists utilise a variety of technologies and media formats that are available to their potential supporters and opponents (technological level). Often they indicate which organisations are perpetrating the act (organisational level). Reading wills, witnessing or murdering a victim by beheading or another form of violence helps to demonstrate the members' commitments to their broader organisations, members within their cell, and the broader group in whose name they claim to be acting (social level). These recorded activities help to add to the expanding myths and histories of particular groups and individuals and they can be passed on (narrative level). Declaring that a victim is being executed for specific

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[12] Marc Sageman (2007: 114) notes that net users only go to these websites if they harbour distinct grievances or ideological dispositions. Hence, he suggests that those who are inclined to be radicalized will use these resources to reaffirm their commitments, and that radicalization is an active, not passive process that one can absorb through the osmosis of simply viewing web content.

reasons in these circumstances, in the name of Allah, identifies the organisation's objectives and orientations (doctrinal level) (Lentini and Bakashmar 2007: 314) .

Former US Army Ranger and academic Lt Col. Dave Grossman's research into the factors necessary to train US military and police personnel to fire in combat situations may help us to understand how Neojihadists utilize video material. Grossman's central contention is that even in life threatening circumstances human beings are reluctant to take the lives of their fellow human beings. Therefore, security forces need to train their personnel how kill. His analysis demonstrates that less than a quarter of US personnel returned fire upon their enemies during World War II. However, through changes in training as well as broader developments in culture (i.e., more violence on television), US soldiers' rates of return fire were well above 90 per cent during the Vietnam War. Hence, when coupled with specific training, media artifacts that portray violence can desensitize individuals and dehumanize adversaries, and can help to break down barriers that inhibit most individuals' natural instincts not to kill (Grossman 1996). That so many young men travel overseas to fight in so-called open front jihads or conduct terrorist acts in their home countries following extensive viewing of these images lends credence to applying Grossman's research to Neojihadist use of videos.

Victorian Police counter-terrorism specialist and academic Gaetano Joe Ilardi's research on how Neojihadists use video and other materials, suggests that the aforementioned assertions have some validity. Ilardi's work demonstrates how Neojihadist material can transcend from the virtual to the physical worlds. Moreover, from a counter-terrorism perspective, it also provides examples of how subcultural practices are transferred and applied into the operational realm. Ilardi argues that radical materials help to generate outrage, and induce shame within the viewers, suggesting that they are complicit in further Muslim oppression by not taking an active (read martial) stance in seeking to redress the injustice. By viewing these materials, and then subsequently making a conscious decision to begin training with the goal of eventually participating in violent means to redress what in their minds is a significant grievance, the men develop a sense of empowerment by believing that they are taking active measures and exercising agency.

This also enhances their sense of self-esteem and generates a form of existential transcendence within them as they are able to have an escape from their day-to-day pressures and the mundane aspects of their everyday lives. However, the commitment to training also enhances a group's operational potential, increases their abilities to develop skills to conduct attacks and binds them together more closely as they feel that they are unlike others within their communities, because they are taking a stance. Moreover, they consider related activities such as camping, engaging in paintball competitions, etc., as steps contributing to their developing skills they may eventually have to utilize in actual combat. In their minds, they are on the path of their jihads (Ilardi 2009). Watching the videos is often among the first steps that they take along this road.

Summary and Importance for Counter-Terrorism

Based on the previous discussion, it is possible to argue that various facilitating and initiating factors contributed to Neojihadism's emergence, and that Neojihadists have utilized existing institutions, networks, media and theological/jurisprudential and other ideological resources to generate a movement. Neojihadism's common ideals, media artefacts and narratives, make it a culture in the manner in which Williams established. This includes a process of intellectual development (although perverse), as well as a way of life informed by a common spirit and a means to communicate visions of a particular social order.

That Neojihadism is derived from several parent cultures means that it is possible to argue that it constitutes a subculture. Its parent cultures include Islam, various national cultures where Neojihadists live or from which they have migrated, even global consumer culture. Indeed, the RCMP's radicalisation report draws attention to the fact that several of the conversations between and observations of the Toronto 18 revolved around their consumption of Tim Horton's donuts (RCMP 2009: 6). In further accordance with the definition of subculture that Clark, Hall, Jefferson and Roberts identify, Neojihadism is perpetuated and strengthens its cohesiveness through media artifacts, such as the videos and websites discussed above. Moreover, that Nejis seek to

engage in violence to redress what they perceive as oppression of Muslims or to impose sharia-based rule, would suggest that they are proposing some form of 'solutions' which Hebdige suggests is inherent in subcultures.

Finally, the discussion presented above suggest that Neojihadism also constitutes a counterculture, as defined by Roszak. Neojihadism's violence against non-combatants, and its participants' desire to implement sharia by force are 'radically disaffiliated from the mainstream assumptions' of states where Muslims comprise either majorities and minorities. Additionally, Neojihadism's philosophies and practices threaten these countries and constitute actual and potential 'barbaric intrusions' which would have the effect of 'altering the total cultural context within which …daily politics takes place.' As such Neojihadism is a dangerous global counterculture that is continually radicalizing potential adherents across borders.

Based on the assertions that Neojihadism constitutes a culture, counterculture and subculture, there are means that counter-terrorism stakeholders can use to combat and interdict Neojihadist radicalisation with the goals of generating counter-radicalisation and/or de-radicalisation materials and programs. Subcultures revolve around artifacts of media and consumer culture. As such, it is possible to identify the physical sources from which Neojihadists gain their knowledge and develop their worldview. These include videos, websites and publications. First, individuals possessing such materials or having visited virtual locations which contain such information may be considered to be potentially at risk of becoming radicalised. It is by no means the only reason why such individuals may be utilizing or viewing such materials (such as study), but it could be an indicator of potential radicalisation. Second, by familiarizing themselves with this knowledge counter-terrorism practitioners can develop the appropriate subcultural capital (see Thornton 1995), which subcultural participants use to develop inner knowledge about the subculture which can generate status and upward mobility within subcultures. Counter-terrorism stakeholders can utilize such knowledge either to develop further intelligence on prospective Neojihadists or to develop means to engage in dialogue with them, or to identify those who may be able to do so. Hence, subcultural knowledge may

enable counter-terrorism stakeholders to produce counter-radicalisation and de-radicalisation strategies and tactics by using Nejihadist culture to undermine, subvert or disrupt actual or potentially radical thinking.

Conclusions

This paper yields several conclusions. First, Neojihadism is a new and diverse entity, which includes subcultural and counter-cultural components. Second, Neojihadism emerged and is transferred into a means to radicalise as a result of many factors that emerged independently of significant individuals. These include various political developments, theological/jurisprudential developments, movements of people, the development of a subculture of individuals who committed their lives to combat and seeking to enhance their membership, and the transfer of ideology, information and important movement narratives through various forms of technology to assist in radicalising others and to increase their pool of participants. Third, that Neojihadism is not just a collection of individuals, but a broader set of ideologies, narratives and a culture that transcends its combatants makes the tasks of combating it much more difficult for counter-terrorism stakeholders. However, developing a more nuanced understanding of Neojihadism's cultural, subcultural and counter-cultural dynamics will generate additional information on the enemy. Fourth, such knowledge increases the range of strategies that counter-terrorism stakeholders can utilize to confront and defuse terrorism and radicalisation. Fifth, these approaches need to be incorporated into a much broader counter-terrorism strategy.

Regardless, the best the aforementioned approaches—or any other approaches for that matter—can do is to manage terrorism. As politically motivated groups have used terrorism for nearly two thousand years, it is doubtful that any magical elixir can emerge in the near future to make terrorism, and radicalisation that leads to violence purely objects of historical interest. Terrorism and radicalisation leading to terrorism will remain, unfortunately, serious contemporary security concerns that will require counter-terrorism stakeholders to develop their means to combat radicalisation through constant

updating and strategic and tactical flexibility. Understanding Neojihadism's subcultural and countercultural elements, how Nejis transmit Neojihadism across borders, and how they use various media and technologically generated artifacts to spread their culture can help counter-terrorism stakeholders develop processes to counter Neojihadist radicalisation and terrorism in order to manage it more effectively.

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