

**CHARLES UNIVERSITY**  
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**The Changing Subjectivity of Female  
Terrorists: The Case of the Islamic State's  
Recruitment**

*Master's thesis*

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## **Abstract**

This thesis discusses women and their changing subjectivity in connection to their participation within terrorist movements. Work emphasizes on the case of the Islamic State, currently the most influential terrorist movement; and the role of women within it. For the purpose of introduction into the topic- as well acquaintance with the current state of knowledge- work discusses historical examples of women's participation within terrorist groups. Concerning theoretical framework, this thesis is based on constructivist feminism and gender theory, which examines how thoughts about gender influence global politics. Empirical part of this thesis is devoted to the method of CDA, namely three-dimensional model of CDA implemented by Fairclough as well as additional conceptual framework - grammar of visual design introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen. The main purpose is to examine what the role of women within the Islamic state is, why they are so crucial and the most importantly how the Islamic State affects women's emancipation. Various propaganda materials of IS are analyzed in order to address these issues.

## **Keywords**

Terrorism, subjectivity, gender, Islamic State, propaganda

## **Scope of work**

200 884 characters (incl. spaces)

## **Abstrakt**

Tato práce se zabývá ženami a jejich měnící se subjektivitou v souvislosti s jejich účastí v teroristických hnutích. Práce se konkrétně zaměřuje na případ Islámského státu- který je v současnosti považován za jedno z nejvlivnějších teroristických hnutí- a role žen v tomto státu. Za účelem obeznámení se s daným tématem i se znalostí současného stavu poznání, práce uvádí historické příklady účastí žen v teroristických skupinách. Pokud jde o teoretický rámec, tato práce je založena na konstruktivistickém feminizmu a genderové teorii, která zkoumá, jak myšlenky o genderu ovlivňují globální politiku. Empirická část této práce je věnována metodě kritické diskursivní analýzy, konkrétně trojdimenzionálnímu modelu kritické diskursivní analýzy představeném Faircloughem, jakož i dalšímu konceptuálnímu rámci- gramatice vizuálního designu, který zavedl Kress a van Leeuwen. Hlavním účelem analýzy je prozkoumat, jaká je úloha žen v Islámském Státu, proč jsou ženy důležité a především to, jak Islámský stát ovlivňuje emancipaci žen. Pro zmíněný účel jsou v práci analyzovány různé propagační materiály publikované v rámci Islámského státu.

## **Klíčová slova**

Terorismus, subjektivita, gender, Islámský stát, propaganda

## **Affirmation**

I declare that the following diploma thesis is my own work for which I used only the sources and literature indicated. This thesis was not used for the purpose to charge another university degree.

I give my consent to Charles University to make this diploma thesis available for study purposes pursuant to the Copyright Act.

Prague, 1. 5. 2017

Bc. Adriána Oboňová

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## **Institute of Political Studies – Master's thesis project**

### **Problem**

The main issue this dissertation addresses concerns the changing subjectivity of female terrorism. According to the fact that the phenomenon of female terrorism is contemporary connected mostly with the empowerment of IS, those days one of the most global security challenges, in this work the changing subjectivity of female terrorism would be explained due to the case of the Islamic State's recruitment.

### **Hypothesis**

1. In the last decade, perception of females in terrorism has shifted from being the victims towards being the warriors.
2. The rise of the Islamic State caused an emancipation of the role of female terrorists.
3. An establishment of purely women terrorist organization represents one of the possible outcomes of woman's changing subjectivity.

### **Research questions**

- 1.1 What presents the main reasons for this shift?
- 1.2 Where we can find the roots of this shift?
- 1.3 How women have become radicalized during the last decades?
- 1.4 What inspires woman to radicalize?
2. 1 What are the main motives for the recruitment of women into the Islamic State?
2. 2 What is the role of the ISIS propaganda?
2. 3 How the online recruitment of young (western) women into this organization works in practice?
2. 4 What role female terrorists play in ISIS?
2. 5 Why the responsibilities and activities of women are crucial in these terrorist groups?

- 3.1 What can be the outcome of contemporary massive increase of women involved in terrorism?
- 3.2 How is the current status of women in society, connected with the emancipation of woman and gender equality, interacting with the empowerment of female terrorism?

### **Theory**

The main theoretical approach used in this dissertation would be a social constructivism, claims that all cognitive functions originate in, and must therefore be explained as products of social interactions and that learning was not simply the assimilation and accommodation of new knowledge by learners; it was the process by which learners were integrated into a knowledge community. In this dissertation would be used mostly the sub discipline of social constructivism, the theory of social construction of gender differences and gender role in a society. (ISIS in its propaganda highlights the role of women and gender equality such as the basic human right) Another appropriate theory for this dissertation, which builds upon the theory of constructivism, is a feminist constructivism which focuses upon the study of how ideas about gender influence global politics.

### **Methodology**

This dissertation would adopts case study design, from the perspective of the critical discourse analysis. In the first and second chapter would be use rather more descriptive techniques. Historical and discourse analysis and also descriptive methods would be utilise where necessary for explaining the history and the development of female terrorism. Some of analysed information would be achieve from secondary sources such as the social networks, journal articles, newspaper report's, textbooks and various propaganda materials. The changing subjectivity of female terrorists applied on a case of the Islamic State's recruitment, justifies the use of historical, exploratory, discourse, descriptive and explanatory techniques for the analysis and consequent sets of conclusion with one of the future possible outcomes.



### **Subject significance**

Problem of a changing subjectivity of female terrorists presents really current and relevant issue. Shift from the perception of women from being a victims towards being a warriors is contemporary considered as a significant threat for the global audience. This phenomena has become more serious and stronger mostly because of the empowerment of the ISIS, which provides the higher level of emancipation for the female terrorist. This thesis focuses mostly on a recruitment of the western women into the Islamic State. One possible outcome of the changing subjectivity of female terrorists presents an establishment of the women terrorist organization.

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- Special Section for Women: "To Our Sisters", *Dabiq*. Available at: <https://www.clarionproject.org/docs/Issue%2011%20%20From%20the%20battle%20of%20Al-Ahzaab%20to%20the%20war%20of%20coalitions.pdf>

## **List of abbreviations**

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

ETA – Euskadi Ta Askatasuna – “Basque homeland and liberty”

FARC – Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – “People’s Party”

ID – Identification (card)

IR – International Relations

IRA – Provisional Irish Republican Army

IRA – Provisional Irish Republican Army

IS/ISIS – The Islamic State

LTTE – Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

PKK – Kurdistan Workers’ Party

U.S. – the United States of America

## **Glossary**

**Dunya** – temporal world,

**Fiqh** - Islamic jurisprudence and the understanding of the Shariah,

**Hadith** - Prophetic traditions such as sayings, deeds and teachings of Muhammad,

**Hijrah** – refers on emigration, the journey of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina,

**Jihad** - literally translates as “to struggle”, but is often used to refer to armed struggle,

**Kufr/kafir** – person who rejects the total religion of the Prophet,

**Mujaahirah** - literally means immigrant and is used to refer to women who have travelled to the lands controlled by Islamic State,

**Mujahid/ mujahiddin** – fighter engaged in jihad, especially guerilla warrior,

**Shariah** - the moral code and religious law within Islam, based on an understanding derived from the Islamic scriptures, according to the opinion of the one making the interpretation,

**Shirk** – one form of kufr, evil one,

**Umm** – gender notion which means mother,

**Ummah** - often used to mean global community of Muslims, though the term has been used to refer of smaller political communities too.

## **List of visual materials**

**Figure 1** Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse and discourse analysis

**Figure 2** Tweet from 19<sup>th</sup> February published on Twitter by @UmmYaqiin

**Figure 3** Tweet from 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015 published on Twitter by Umm Qayyim/@UmmQuayyeem

**Figure 4** Tweet from 25<sup>th</sup> January 2015 published on Twitter by muhajira umm hamza/@muhajirahfilah

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## Introduction

*“The best predictor of a woman’s involvement in terrorism, whether it’s a secular or religious group, is a relationship with a terrorist: her father, brother, husband or even her son. Terrorism becomes a bit of a family business.”*

*Mia Bloom*

Primary issue this dissertation addresses concerns the changing subjectivity of female terrorists as well as their emancipation. The main reason for selection of this topic is that terrorism is nowadays considered as the most serious international security issue. However, there is still considerable lack of research dedicated to female participation within terrorist movements, despite the fact that women play the crucial role within them.

On the ground of the fact that phenomenon of female terrorism is nowadays connected mostly with the empowerment of the Islamic State, currently one of the most global security challenges, in this work the changing subjectivity of female terrorists would be explained based on the methodology of critical discourse analysis of the Islamic State’s propaganda material devoted to female audience. This thesis aspires to present systematic research conducted through the introduction into the topic based on mapping of female participation within previous terrorists groups and consequent critical discourse analysis aimed for the analysis of women’s position within the Islamic State.

First chapter of the thesis discusses the theoretical base, namely the feminist constructivism and gender theory, from which this whole thesis stems. Additionally, methodological framework devoted to the critical discourse analysis is also part of this chapter. From the methodological point of view, chapter discusses conceptual framework of three-dimensional model of CDA introduced by Fairclough, which is employed in our analysis. Furthermore, chapter introduces the grammar of visual design established by Kress and van Leeuwen for the purpose to critically analyze visual discourse. Chapter also introduces research materials used for our analysis and describes them.



Second chapter is devoted to the introduction into the women's participation within terrorist groups, based on historical examples of women within particular terrorist movements, as well as explanation of their motives for actual participation. This part of the research deals with specific set of research questions, which are supposed to be answered: *"Where we can find the roots of female participation within terrorist groups?" "How women have become radicalized during the last decades and what inspires them?" "What presents their roles within these groups?"* This chapter is dedicated to introduce our topic and to clarify the current state of knowledge with regard on the female participation within terrorist groups.

The main objective of the third – empirical chapter – is to analyse four propaganda materials: articles from propaganda magazines *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah* devoted to women, visual discourses posted by women on the social network Twitter and directed messaging between young Muslim girl and one of the leaders of the Islamic State. For this purpose Fairclough's three-dimensional method of CDA as well as the grammar of visual design by Kress and van Leeuwen is employed. There are several research questions associated with this empirical research: *"How the online recruitment of young (Western) women into this organization works in practice?" "How is the identity of women created through propaganda discourse?" "What role female terrorists play in IS?" "Why the responsibilities and activities of women are crucial for this terrorist group?"* This leads to the main hypothesis of this work which is: *"The subjectivity of women is constantly changing and the Islamic State caused emancipation of women within terrorism."*

Regarding project of this thesis proposed before the start of this work and this final version, there are some inconsequential variations. Concerning structure, thesis composed from three chapters instead of four due to the reason that this structure appears to be more suitable. When it comes to the theoretical and methodological framework it is preserved. However, method of CDA is more specific and employs three-dimensional analysis introduced by Fairclough, as well as grammar of visual design implemented by Kress and van Leeuwen. It provides more detailed and more transparent analysis. Sources which serve to our analysis were also changed a little due to the more actual and appropriate sources available, such as propaganda magazine *Rumiyah*. Changes in comparison with initial project are not considered as essential because the main idea of this work is preserved.

## Literature review

Due to the fact that this thesis is composed by various parts, conceptual framework, historical introduction to the topic as well as empirical analysis, different types of literature are used. Thesis is based on in-depth study of book publications, academic journals as well as propaganda materials available online. According to the evidence that the objective of this thesis presents some new phenomenon, there are not so many available and at the same time an appropriate sources discuss women as a part of terrorist organization, particularly the Islamic State. Thus, many proper publications for our research are available only in form of internet order from abroad, which means that buyer often has to wait one or two months for its delivery. It explains the main reason why plenty internet sources were used for the main purpose of this thesis.

First chapter of this work is devoted to the theoretical and methodological part. With regards on theoretical base, several publications from Tickner, one of the most influential feminist scholars, were crucial for purpose of this thesis among others. Concerning methodology, namely CDA we have found very helpful publications by Wodak and Meyer: *Critical Discourse Analysis* as well as van Dijk's publication *Critical Discourse Analysis*, which provide broader and basic explanations of the method of CDA and its purposes. For more specific information connected with process of analysis based on three-dimensional method of CDA, publication of Fairclough: *Analyzing discourse - Textual Analysis for social research* and at the same time *Reading Images: The grammar of visual design* written by Kress and van Leeuwen was used.

Second chapter, dedicated to the introduction to the topic as well as the current state of knowledge about women and their participation within terrorism, required different type of literature. There are plenty of academic articles, mostly of those which were published in well-known foreign periodic journals. I would like to highlight very helpful articles: *Cross-regional Trends in Female Terrorism* by Cunningham, *Fem Fatales: The Evolution and Significance of Female Involvement in Terrorist Networks and Suicide Bombing Unfortunately* written by Rush and Schafluetzel-Iles, or *In the Name of the Cause: Women's Work in Secular and Religious Terrorism* published by Ness. However, there are still not so much monographs concerning women and their

participation within particular international terrorist movement, which are available and easily accessible in our country.

Last and at the same time the most extensive part of this thesis, which is devoted to the empirical critical discourse analysis, is predominantly based on online propaganda material especially selected articles from IS's magazine *Rumiyah* and *Dabiq*. This material is accessible due to the web page *Clarion Project*, which is really useful for academic research. Additionally, I would like to emphasize on the difficulties regarding access to the tweets published by the women from the Islamic State. Many Twitter accounts were prohibited and canceled and there are almost no available sources where we can find them archived.

To sum up, this work uses many various materials for its main purpose – to bring some new research devoted to the women and their current place within terrorist movements, especially in the Islamic State. Selection of literature and other employed materials attempts to convey the most appropriate and faithful picture with regards on examined issue.

# 1 Theoretical and methodological framework

The main purpose of this chapter is to initiate theoretical as well as methodological base from which all of this work stems. Chapter starts with explanation of the main ideas of gender theory and constructivist feminism, while emphasizes on thoughts directly connected with women. Method of CDA, not only general ideas but also specific conceptual framework based on Fairclough's three-dimensional model is discussed on the next pages of this chapter. This part briefly analyzes specific concept of CDA, called grammar of visual designed introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen. Moreover, this part of thesis also contains an introduction and brief characteristic of selected sources of our research material as well as material itself, namely magazines *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*, publication written by *Anna Erelle – In the Skin of a Jihadist: Inside Islamic State's Recruitment Network*, and finally the social platform *Twitter*.

## 1.1 Constructivist feminism and gender

As a theoretical base for this chapter, feminist constructivism and gender perspective are used. Feminist constructivism is international relations theory, which builds upon the theory of constructivism. This theory works on thoughts how gender influences global politics. (Baylis, Smith, Owens, 2008, p. 267) Locher and Prügl argue that constructivism and feminism share ontological grounds- ontology of becoming- and due to this fact, their combination provides better theoretical and empirical understanding of the world. (Locher, Prügl, 2001, p. 111) Constructivism besteds to feminism in theory of agency, and equally feminism contributes to constructivism an understanding of power as an integral element of processes of construction. (Locher, Prügl, 2001, p. 113) In regards to ontology of becoming, constructivists put emphasis on three aspects, which they are able to explain: constitution of international agents, explanation of shift in strategies due to their construction of interests and identities and ability to develop rich understanding of social change. Furthermore, feminist attitudes mixed with constructivist approaches can bring more objective picture of social reality.

Feminists suggest that critical perspective, and consequently critical examination is necessary, because exposing and questioning the gender biases on the field presents presuppose for the ability to build feminist research agendas. (Tickner, 1997, p. 623)

### **1.1.1 Gender**

Feminist theory- contrary to the majority of classical international theories- provides us the bottom-up explanations of our world. (Tickner, 1997, p. 627) Feminists in IR argue that gender, as the most important analytical category, as well as women, is a social construct. They identify gender as a set of variables but socially and culturally constructed characteristics – such as power, autonomy, rationality, and public, stereotypically associated with masculinity. Weakness, dependence, emotion, and private, conversely present their opposites and are associated with femininity. (Tickner, 1997, p. 622) Peterson refers to gender as “a systematic social construction that dichotomizes identities, behaviors and expectations as masculine and feminine”. (Peterson, 1992, p. 194) Tickner in this context introduces the notion of “hegemonic masculinity” as a definition of “cultural ideal, based on courage, power, toughness, physical strength and independence”. (Tickner, 1992, p. 6) Hegemonic masculinity such as opposition to femininity perpetuates structures, including those that frame international field.

Also Enloe argues that relationship between governments depends on the construction and reconstruction of gender and that such relationship produces certain notions of femininity and masculinity. She defines gender as constitutive of international relations and vice versa global politics creates gender. (Menon, 2013, np.) According to Enloe, a systematic subjugation of women and the role they play in social reproduction form the founding pillars of international politics. She goes beyond the state and inherently masculine conception of what is the “ir canon” to bring out the inherently gendered nature of the international political system. (Menon, 2013, np.) Enloe introduced well-known claim that not only personal is political but also personal is international, which reflects that international politics is permanently (re)constructed by hierarchical dichotomies of masculinity femininity. She also frequently claims in our works that racial, national, ethnic and class identities shape constructions of femininity, masculinity and gender relations and the other way around. (Engels, 2006, np.) To

conclude, feminist constructivism insists that agents make world politics but also understands masculinities and femininities as an effect of such politics.

### **1.1.2 Knowledge**

Feminists argue that knowledge, as well as gender, are socially constructed, contingent and shaped by context, culture, and history. In connection with this claim, they argue that broader base, which includes women's experience from knowledge is constructed and it can augment objectivity. (Tickner, 1997, p.622) Feminists have affirmed diverse and unusual bodies of knowledge about political and international life as well as their uncover presence of gender in all aspects of international affairs, that it is structural feature of international life. (Locher, Prügl, 2001, p.124).

### **1.1.3 Power**

In connection with power, many IR feminists, particularly Tickner adopted Scott's definition of gender as composition of two elements: social construction and power. From the Scott's perspective, gender is a constitutive element of social relationship based on perceived differences between the sexes and gender is a primary way of signifying relationship of power. (Scott, 1986, p.1067) We can distinguish between two main approaches of feminism regarding to power. Feminists with the focus on global political economy conceive of gender constructions as a part of larger system of subordination, typically capitalism, patriarchy or its overlap. They claim that gender constructions emerge as an ideology, revealed in ideas, beliefs and institutions, which stabilize the system. According to Ridgeway, women with rather low social status tend to have troubles with achieving compliance for the use of their powers, if they are given the opportunity to hold a position of power in society. She argues that the reason of this attitude is that gender is believed to be an institutionalized system of social practices that distinguish social roles of males and females within society and attributes organizing inequality to people based on their gender affiliation. (Ridgeway, 2001, p. 637) Power, located in these ideologies is external to identities. States, firms and international organizations have direct impact on the construction of gender, as well as

they are responsible for creation and diffuse of hegemonic ideology that facilitates certain forms of capitalism and gender constructs are part of this ideology.

Differently, according to the second attitude, power is not identified as ideology but as located in the formation of identities. Due to the understanding of gender dichotomies as an underlying element of subject formation, IR feminists have argued that such dichotomies map onto the pervasive oppositions that organize modern science, politics, and international relations: subject/object, fact/value, public/private, protector/protected (Tickner, 1992, p. 6-8; Peterson, 1992a, p. 202).

#### **1.1.4 Security and insecurity**

Security presents one of the most important aspects articulated by feminists. According to Sylvester (Sylvester, 1994), security is elusive and partial and involves struggle and contention, it is a process rather than an ideal in which women must act as agents in the provision of their own security. They argue that “different role, based on gender, supports and legitimates the international security-seeking behavior of the state”. (Tickner, 1997, p. 627) They claim that Western modern capitalistic state, which divided spheres into private and public, caused insecurity. In other words structural inequalities are central contributors to the insecurity of individuals. The problem is that women were not included as citizens but incorporated into the private sphere of the household, which means that they were removed from public sphere of politics as well as the economic sphere of production. (Peterson, 1992b, p. 40-44) Regarding this, women lost much of their agency, which caused their dependence on men for their economic security. (Tickner, 1997, p. 627) In context with security, feminists put emphasis on military activities of state. They are not interesting in the cause of wars, but they rather emphasis on what happens during them. (Pettman, 1996, p. 87-103) They explain that perception of an importance of men to fight wars for protection of vulnerable (women and children), presents an influential motivator for the recruitment of military forces and support for wars. Feminists argue that women’s protectors often impose the great threat and cause civilian casualties. Women, in times of war are often sexually abused and raped by soldiers, which is usually dismissed as a natural outcome of the right of young soldiers to enjoy themselves. To conclude, feminists argue than

inequalities between men and women, contribute to all forms of insecurity, can only be understood and explained within framework of a system shaped by patriarchal structures and extend from the household of global economy. (Tickner, 1997, p. 623-626).

### **1.1.5 Women's oppression and violence**

Additionally, the second wave of the feminist movement in Europe and Northern America linked these insights to an analysis of women's subordination, suggesting that gender also created women's oppression. Tickner's remarks about the role of discrimination that women face in many societies in terms of women rights, political rights, treatment, health-care etc., can lead to the connection of females with the use of violence and realization of their potential throughout the terrorism. She argues that discrimination of women caused the shift in terms of women participation in creating social movements, in our case terrorist movements. All of these mentioned aspects of feminism and gender perspectives of international relations can be considered such as invisible on a first sight, but we can apply it on our case and with the use of historical cases of female participation in terrorist movements, we can find out strong connections with the gender approach and changing of female subjectivity.

Enloe does not view only men as perpetrators of violence, despite the fact that violence is fundamentally masculine. She also introduced militarization in sense how governments utilized women labor in the process of preparing for and fighting wars. This can be really sufficiently applicable on our case of women participation in terrorist organizations. In her influential work, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, she examines the phenomenon of colonialism, highly connected with the exploitation of women. (Enloe, 1989) Here we can find the roots of the fight against the Western oppression in the form of fighting to keep out Westernization, one of the reasons for women participation in terrorist groups, for instance the Baader-Meinhof Gang. Enloe argues that global institutions rely on worldwide portraying of women as mothers, wives and daughters, while these roles are defined as traditional and natural. Connected with this, Enloe accuses international relations as to be male centered. She explains this claim through a



recognized sovereignty of state despite the fact that women lack basic political freedoms. (Menon, 2013, p. 3).

## 1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

For the main purpose of our research, critical discourse analysis as a quantitative method is employed. Through the method of critical discourse analysis (later CDA), this thesis examines hypothesis, which claims that *the rise of an Islamic State caused an emancipation of female terrorists*. The main purpose of this thesis is to explain *how is the identity of women in Islamic State creates through propaganda discourse*.

CDA is not considered as a single method but it is rather perceived as an approach, which consists of various perspectives as well as different methods for studying the relationship between the use of language and social context. (Wang, 2008) First, it is necessary to introduce methodology of CDA, its main purposes and functions. In the words of Fairclough, the main purpose of Critical Discourse Analysis is:

“to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) wider social structures, relations and processes, to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power, and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.” (Fairclough, 1995, 132)

CDA not only investigates a linguistic per se but also studies social phenomena, which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodological approach. (Wodak, Meyer, 2008, p. 2) The main purpose of CDA is to study social phenomena and political issues. It is reflected by Theo van Dijk, who claims that CDA always focuses on social problems and political issues and its function is to explain discourse structures in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure. (van Dijk, 2008) Additionally, discourse always includes society and culture. Every case of language use “makes own contributions to reproducing and transforming society, culture, consisting of relations of power”. (Mirzaee, Hamidi, 2012, p. 183)

There are eight main tenets of CDA, which were summarized by Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 271-280) as follows: (1) CDA addresses social problems, (2) power

relations are discursive, (3) discourses constitutes society and culture, (4) discourse does ideological work, (5) discourse is historical, (6) the link between discourse and society is mediated, (7) discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, and (8) discourse is a form of social practice.

In CDA, context of language use is crucial and it is considered as a social practice, which is simultaneously determined by social structure. According to Wodak (Wodak, Meyer, 2008), discourse is based on stable uses of language serving the organization and structuring social life. CDA also wants to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection.

The share perspective and program of CDA is based on the relation with the term “critical”. Through the lenses of the Frankfurt School it means that social theory should be oriented towards critiquing and changing society as a whole, in contrast to the traditional theory oriented solely to understanding and explaining it. (Wodak, Meyer, 2008, p. 6) Based on Fairclough, “critical social analysis is normative and explanatory critique; it criticizes existing reality on normative grounds and seeks to explain it in terms of the effects of posited structures, mechanisms and forces”. (Fairclough, 2012, p. 1)

We can distinguish between two levels of CDA – macro and micro level. According to Van Dijk, micro-level is composed by language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication. Conversely, power, dominance and inequality between social groups are usually connected with a macro-level of analysis. (Wodak, Meyer, 2008) Stemming from this division, CDA provides special method - the bridge, connecting macro and micro-level, which in real interactions and experiences creates one united whole. (Mirzaee, Hamidi, 2012, p. 186).

### **1.2.1 Discourse, Identity, Ideology and Power**

Four terms are generally included in CDA: discourse, identity, ideology and power. These aspects are mutually interrelated and essential in CDA. Primary aim of CDA is to explore how groups of people use language within discourse to gain or preserve power, as well as to explore power relations and social inequity incorporated in

discourse. Ideology and power are mutually connected due to the fact that ideology is the transporter of power and power is build upon ideology. Additionally, discourse in form of language, considered as a social practice, is perceived as an ideological.

Researches of CDA frequently define the language by the notion of *discourse*. According to Fairclough, discourse is commonly use in various senses as: meaning-making as an element of the social process, the language associated with a particular social practice or field, or as a way of constructing aspects of the word associated with a particular social perspective. (Fairclough, 2012, p. 3) Discourse presents some kind of political or social issue and is also related to power relations.

The role of *identity* is crucial in every CDA. CDA constitutes situations, object of knowledge and social identities of the relationship between people and groups of people. (Wodak, Meyer, 2008) The study of identity becomes the study of different representations that compete with others to provide realistic account of who a particular group is and how that group should act. (McDonald, 2008, p. 62)

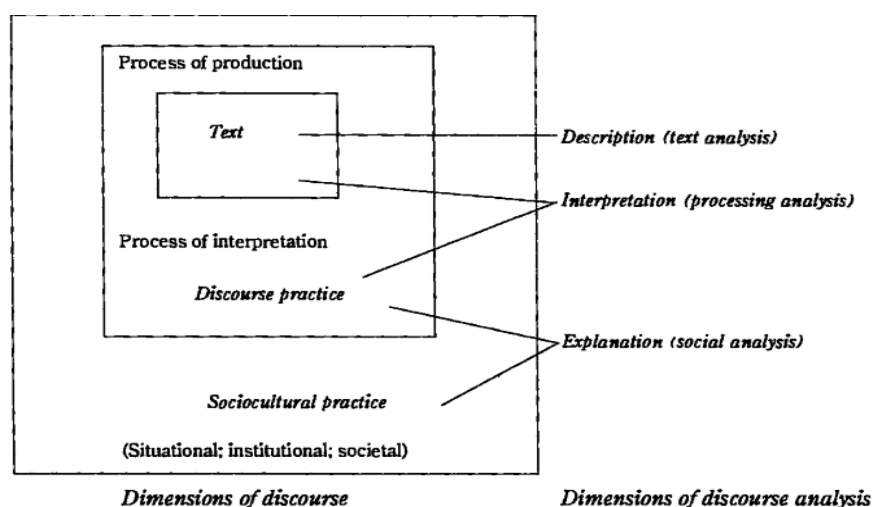
For CDA, *ideology* is also an important factor, but more appropriate is the notion that ideology presents mostly an effective tool for achievement of power, due to the fact that ideology provide guidance through actions, it is capable of guiding individuals evaluations and also is logically coherent. In this context, Van Dijk sees ideologies as the worldviews that constitute social cognition: “schematically organized complexes of representations and attitudes with regard to certain aspects of the social world.” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 258) Fairclough sees ideologies as “representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. They may be enacted in ways of interaction (and therefore in genres) and inculcated in ways of being identities (and therefore styles). Analysis of texts ... is an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique ...” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 117)

*Power* is another central term of CDA, especially the social power of groups or institutions. Power in the discourse is mostly invisible for the targeted people. Theo van Leeuwen states that discourses are often multimodally realized, not only through text and talk but also through other modes of communications called transmedia such as images, books, films, websites, games, songs or personal stories. (Wodak, Meyer, 2008, p. 16) Dijk also mentions power as a control, that groups have power if they are able to control the acts and minds of other groups, with the use of persuasion and manipulation. In other words, recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge, opinions through discourse

from what they see authorities. As Neumann (2008) adds, language becomes institutionalized and normalized over times. Power is closely related with the CDA due to its aim to examine how powerful group control public discourse and consequently how these discourses control mind and actions of usually less powerful groups and what are the social consequences of such control. (van Dijk, 2008, p. 355)

### 1.3 Conceptual Framework: Fairclough's three-dimensional model

Fairclough perceives language as a social practice as well as he defines CDA as the critique with the main purpose not simply to describe existing realities, but to explain them in a broader context, for instance by presenting them as effects of structures or mechanisms or forces which the analyst tests out. (Fairclough, 2012, p. 1) Fairclough assumes (Fairclough, 1989) that analysts- working in critical tradition- should not focus only on the text itself, process of its creation and interpretation, but also on intertextuality between texts, production processes and their social context.



**Figure 1** Fairclough's free-dimensional conception of discourse and discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995, p. 98)

In regard to previously mentioned postulation, Fairclough set up three-dimensional conception of discourse. (Fairclough, 1995, p. 97) He supposes that every discourse consists of three dimensions: a text, discursive practice and social practice. First dimension presents *social conditions of production and interpretation*, in other words social aspects, which contributed or led to the origination of text and at the same

time how the same factors effect interpretation. The *process of production and interpretation* presents the second level of discourse explained in what way the text was produced and this effects interpretation. Last level of discourse presents the *text* (written text, speech, images or combination of them) itself as a product of two previous stages.

Consequently, Fairclough introduced three stages of CDA, which are in accordance to dimensions: description, interpretation and explanation. These methods correspond and contribute to three different kinds of analysis: *text analysis* (description), *processing analysis* (interpretation) and *social analysis* (explanation). Description as a first stage is concerned with linguistic, formal properties of the text, while interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction, which means that the text is perceived as a product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation. Third stage of explanation is concerned with relationship between interaction and social context, with the social determination of the processes of production, and interpretation and their social effects. (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26) These stages should be perceived as a tool for complex analysis of discourse, which provides us with new perspective and possibility how to examine meaning and purposes of particular text and their connection with broader social phenomena.

### **Stage 1: Description**

Description- as a first stage of CDA introduced by Fairclough- focuses on systematical analysis of particular text. Explaining by Fairclough, description “is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text”. (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26) This stage focuses on analysis of linguistic features such as the structure of text, vocabulary and grammar. More specifically, this phase put emphasis on word groups, grammar features, rhetorical and literally features, direct and indirect speech, modalities, etc.

In context with this part, it is necessary to mention Halliday’s sociologically oriented functional semiotic approach to language, known as Systemic Functional Grammar as a part of his broader concept called Systemic Functional Linguistics. The term systemic submits to the view of language as a “network of systems, or interrelated sets of options for making meaning”. (Halliday, 1978) The main reason is that Halliday’s approach significantly influenced Fairclough’s conception of three dimensions, particularly the textual dimension. Halliday argues: “Discourse is a multidimensional

process and text as its product not only embodies the same kind of polyphonic structuring as is found in grammar, (in the structure of the clause, as message, exchanges and representation), but also since it is functioning at a higher level of the code, as the realization of semiotic orders 'above' language, may contain in itself all the inconsistencies, contradictions and conflicts that can exist within and between such high order semiotic systems." (Halliday, 1978, p. 96) Halliday introduced three interconnected metafunctions: ideational metafunction (transitivity), interpersonal metafunction (mood) and textual metafunction (theme). (Halliday, 1978) The ideational function expressing the experiential and the logical content of the text explains our experience of the outer world in the environment; the textual function is language-oriented and deals with cohesive and coherent text production by organizing and structuring the linguistic information in the clause; and interpersonal function deals with the social and power relations among language users, It relates to participant's situational roles to the discourse produced. (Halliday, Martin, 1981, p. 328) These metafunctions serve as an analytical tool to CDA and their aim is to seek ideologies, hidden behind the text.

## **Stage 2: Interpretation**

The main objective of this phase is to analyze the processes of production and reaction. According to Fairclough, in process of interpretation situational context and intertextual context are central. (Janks, 1997, p. 10) In this stage it is necessary to examine questions about time and place, about producer of the discourse, and what factors influenced its production. In other words, interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction. In this stage, when discourse should be seen as discursive practice not only as linguistic adaptation, intertextuality and speech are essential. Fairclough emphasizes on intertextuality, which refers to the fact that no text exists independently of other texts, conversely that texts are in mutual relation in complex ways.

Intertextuality highlights the connections, assumptions, and multi-vocality of the discourse. Intertextuality refers on the process of shaping of one text by another one. In other words it presents some kind of the discursive strategy. It means that intertextuality causes creation of some relationship between texts. Consequently, texts are aimed to

influence minds of reader with connection on her prior knowledge. For this purpose most often citing and references on other sources are used. Quotation from other sources is employed for the purpose to generate sense of reality and objectivity in the view of reader.

Utterance of text serves not only for the description of reality, but its main rationale is also to change given social reality, which is described by the discourse. Authors of the discourse are looking for a direct action response from the recipient's side.

### **Stage 3: Explanation**

Last stage of explanation centers relationship between interaction and broader social context. The main aim is to focus on social determination of the processes of production and interpretation and consequently their effects on society. Explanative part of analysis always refers to historical, social and cultural contexts. According to Fairclough (1995), in this stage analysis focuses on explanation of hidden information of ideology, power and language. There are two frameworks aimed for this explanation: societal and institutional context. This stage considers elements of power and ideology to explain relations between production and consumption of text and socio-cultural perspective.

To sum up, Fairclough's dimensions as well as stages are central and also in relation to each other. Fairclough's model provides new perspective to the analysis of particular discourse through successful uncovering of hidden knowledge of linguistic, and intertextuality.

## **1.4 Conceptual Framework: Grammar of visual design by Kress and van Leeuwen**

Regarding the fact that in our CDA also visual material is analyzed, it is necessary to mention some additional definitions introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996). They classify two components of the visual discourse: represented participants and interactive participants, which are in mutual relation to each other. Represented

participants are defined as people or things which we can see on an image. By interactive participants they mean producers and viewers of the discourse. They claim:

“Interactive participants are [...] real people who produce and make sense of images in the context of social institutions which, to different degrees and in different ways, regulate what may be „said“ with images, and how it should be said and how it should be interpreted.” (Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 119).

They also define four different relationships present in the visual discourse, which overlap and are not entirely divisible. First relation presents relationship between images (otherwise between the represented recipients), and the next two are in connection to the position of producer and then the position of the recipient towards the image. Last relation is associated with these processes as a whole in social sphere.

The image composed by signs, which are in relation to construct the structure of the image. The main intention of the image is to constitute the relation between producer and receiver. An important stimulus for producer is the social sphere and environment. By the stimulation from environment, the producer intends to publish certain message to formulate the intention. The receiver by using her/his codes and knowledge interprets the message. If her/his codes are shared with the producer, the communication has taken place. And the effect of the message will return to the social sphere as a reaction of the receiver, for instance a change of behavior or taking of some actions. (Kress, van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 122)

## **1.5 CDA and the Islamic State**

Main aim of this thesis is to explore the changing identity of women and their emancipation as a result of an empowerment of the Islamic State. Through Fairclough's three-dimensional model we focus on exploration of hidden features within discourses produced by members of the Islamic State, devoted to the women.

In our case, discursive techniques are frequently used in IS propaganda targeted to the female audience. According to Wodak (Wodak, Meyer, 2008), discourse is based on stable uses of language serving the organization and structuring social life, which we can see in the case of the Islamic State. Cole characterizes propaganda as "any systematic attempt to influence opinion on a wide scale. It is a form of communication that seeks to promote or discourage attitudes as a means of advancing or injuring an



organization, an individual or a cause. Propaganda proceeds by deliberate plan for calculated effects. It usually addresses a mass audience through mass media or is targeted at special audience and media that provide access to mass opinion.” (Cole, 1998) It means that IS by various propaganda material produces images about wonderful live and purpose of Caliphate as well as an opposite image of Western oppressors, aimed at women emancipation from Western domination in form of oppression, and underrating of Muslims through their participation within the Islamic State.

The case of an Islamic State can be used as practical example of an aspiration of organization to gain power through an attempt to influence an ideology of a society. Islamic State is considered as a movement with one of the most sophisticated propaganda. In our research female-targeted materials are most important. This is the key aspect also for an Islamic State, which through the power of propaganda materials controls the acts and minds of women, who consequently accept its believes and opinions and act according to it.

### **1.5.1 Identity and its role**

As it was mentioned before, identity plays an important role in every discourse. Behind the discourse of various Islamic State’s propaganda, we can find two concepts of identities. First there we can seek broader and more general construction of identities based on dichotomy – “They” versus “Us”. “They” presents kuffirs - Western oppressors, nonbelievers, particularly United States and conversely, “Us” represents people of the Islamic States, creators of Caliphate, fighting against “them” in the name of Prophet.

Second concept of identities, in comparison with first one is more tangible, gender based as well as crucial for our research. There we can find an identity of Western women (Muslim as well as non-Muslim females living in Western countries) and on the other side Women of the Caliphate. Western women are portrayed as they are facing oppression, depression, lack of belonging and feeling like members of second-class society. Conversely, Women of Caliphate are presented as an irreplaceable and important for the raise of an Islamic State, due to its predestined role of wives, mothers

and teachers. Their crucial role is examined within propaganda materials through supportive political, historical and ideological evidences. According to Gowrinathan, identity issues are not merely the province of men living in regions dominated by conflict and violence, but also women feel angry due to mistreatment, particularly sexual abuse, and continual restrictions to their ethnic, religious or political identities. This explains the reason why they decided to join a terrorist group, which give them an ability to fight for their rights and consequently a rare sense of empowerment. (Gowrinathan, 2014).

## **1.6 Research material**

For the aim of the examination of our claims through the methods of CDA, specifically three-dimensional model introduced by Fairclough, various propaganda materials are employed. Selection of our material is based on the “propaganda package” of the Islamic State, which was defined by Wood. The propaganda package by Wood (Wood, 2015) includes:

- (a) articles condemning the West,
- (b) biographies of terrorists killed in battle or suicide bombers,
- (c) biased accounts to the current war,
- (d) religious justifications,
- (e) transcript of speeches,
- (f) songs celebrating jihad,
- (g) public statements from group members,
- (h) motivational films or videos,
- (i) recruiter as a part of a larger ideological movement.

All of these propaganda package’s components are contained in the Islamic State’s propaganda materials. For the main purposes of our research, based on the examination of the meaning of appropriate discourses we use excerpts of propaganda

materials written by IS members or supporters, which are aimed to target the female soil. It is necessary to understand that changing subjectivity of female terrorism as well as its continual transformation influencing by the raise of the Islamic State presents current and relatively new phenomenon. This is the reason why the oldest origin of our sources dates back to the 2014. This also explains the rationale why despite the huge number of propaganda materials of the Islamic States, there is still lack of enough sufficient, vital and available sources address to women for the purpose of an establishment of broader and general conclusions. Despite of these limitations, this critical discourse analysis tries to examine various kinds of available sources for the most faithful picture related to an explanation of our issue.

For our analysis with emphasis on changing subjectivity of female terrorists, three types of propaganda material are selected. The selection of our resources divides the analysis into the four parts, the task of which is to create a coherent picture dedicated to our issue.

First and second parts are the most extensive ones, created by the analysis of the articles bestow to women, from two glossy propaganda magazines of the Islamic State, available in English language - *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*.

Second type of propaganda material, employed in our analysis presents the book with title *In the skin of a Jihadist: Inside Islamic State's Recruitment Networks*, written by *Anna Erelle* according to her real story. This novel contains real conversation between French journalist identifies as young Muslim Mélodie and leader of the Islamic State called himself Abu Bilel. This source is chosen due to the fact that presents targeted messaging, one of the most effective and frequently used techniques of recruitment of Western women into the Islamic State. This case presents only one among thousands similar, based on pattern regularly implemented by the Islamic State's recruiters.

The last type of research material, aimed for our analysis, presents tweets in form of visual discourses from the social network *Twitter*, published by women representing the Islamic State. The reason for inclusion of this material into our analysis is that it refers on another role of women in the Islamic State, women as professional recruiters.

### 1.6.1 Source 1: Magazine *Dabiq* - sections “*To our Sisters*” and “*From our Sisters*”.

The IS creates their own publication, periodical magazine called *Dabiq*, published by Al Hayat Media Center, as a tool to ensure narrative which is presented in a way that increases its power and influence. This magazine affords IS the opportunity to deflect criticism of its brutality and to justify its use through self-serving statements and selective interpretation of Quran. (Neer, O’Toole, 2014, p. 149) First issue was published in July 2014, after the establishment of the Caliphate. Magazine is published in a number of different languages. The name of this propaganda magazine *Dabiq* is symbolic and refers a town in northern Syria where IS believes Armageddon – final battle between forces of the Islam and “non-believers”- will begin. It is reflected by words of Prophet, who reportedly said that “the armies of Rome will set up their camp. The armies of Islam will meet them, and *Dabiq* will be Rome’s Waterloo or its Antietam.” (Maneos, np.) It reflects on final victory of the Islamic State and defeat of the West, which presents the main goal of the Caliphate.

The focus of this magazine is recruitment of new members, state-building and legitimizing IS’s claims of sovereignty. It is supported by words of Peter Naumman, Director of the London-based International Centre for the Study of Radicalization, who claimed that “the aim is not to get young radicalized Western Muslims to carry out attacks but to come to Syria”. (Muscara, 2014, np.) This magazine is made really sophisticatedly and looks like many other Western magazines. Every issue focuses on five key objectives: *tawhid* (unity), *manhaj* (truth-seeking), *hijrah* (migration), *jihad* (holy war) and *jama’ah* (community). (Harris, 2014, np.) It includes well structured articles written by perfect English with the purpose to inform on matters relating to the Islamic State, professional images, photo reports, current events and information about territorial gains of the Caliphate. The Islamic State produced during two years fifteen issues of *Dabiq*. Since July 2016 *Dabiq* was replaced by new shorter magazine *Rumiyah*, which will be discussed later in this thesis.

For our examination of changing subjectivity of women, particularly their emancipation, we have chosen for our analysis based on tree-dimensional model of Fairclough, three articles from section of *Dabiq* dedicated to women with heading “To

our Sisters” or “From Our Sisters”. This part is written by women of the Islamic State and provides information about everyday life of women in the Islamic State, which are strongly supported by interpretation of Quran. Every issue of *Dabiq* is committed to one particular topic. Articles discuss many practical issues, and also advise women how to make a *hijrah*, how to bear children, take care of family, help others by providing the financial aid as well as what to do when women lost her husband.

### 1.6.2 Source 2: Magazine *Rumiyah* – section for women

*Rumiyah* presents another and actual propaganda magazine published by the Islamic State. Similarly then *Dabiq*, it was translated to several languages, included English, Russian, French and German. In comparison with previous *Dabiq*, this magazine is shorter. However, the form, textual as well as visual, is very similar as in *Dabiq*. The title of this magazine has also symbolic meaning. It refers to the main political goal - Rome, and its conquest by the Islamic State. Symbolically, the Western civilization is seen as a continuation of the ancient Rome Empire, the early enemy of the Muslims. (Harris, 2014, np.) First issue of *Rumiyah* was published in September 2016, after the death of the IS’s spokesman Abu Mohammad al-Adnani. (In new magazine..., 2016, np.) There are some speculations, that due to territorial losses and occupation of the Caliphate’s opposition capturing nearby towns and villages of Dabiq, the main propaganda magazine of the IS was replaced by the new one. By publishing the propaganda magazine under the new name, the Islamic State shifted from focus on the Syrian town Dabiq to Rome. Each issue of *Rumiyah* starts with the stroke attributed to Abu Hamza al-Muhajir, who cofounded the direct predecessor of contemporary Islamic State, the Islamic State of Iraq in 2006. The phrase following: “O muwahhidin, rejoice, for by Allah, we will not rest from our jihad except beneath the olive trees of Rumiyah (Rome).” (Joscelin, 2016, np.) The main purpose of this magazine is to recruit new members and to urge jihadist to perpetrate attacks as lone-wolves. Issues contain detailed description of how to carry out the terrorist attacks.

Similarly to *Dabiq*, *Rumiyah* also included articles dedicated to women. There is no separate section referring to women as “*To Our Sisters*” in *Dabiq*, but titles of articles are noticeably dedicated to women. Selection of articles in every issue is thematic, discusses particular issue, for instance charity or *hijrah*.

### **1.6.3 Source 3: The novel written by Anna Erelle – In the Skin of a Jihadist: Inside Islamic State’s Recruitment Network**

For an examination and analysis of one of the most often method for recruiting of women used by IS – targeted messaging - we use several parts from personal communication between young girl “Mélodie” and one of the most influential IS leaders Abu Bilel. We focus mostly on methods employed by Abu Bilel through online communication for the purpose to create persuasive identity of women from the Islamic State. The main purpose of this analysis is to examine how the narrative of an identity of women in Islamic State is articulated and created by Islamic State’s members and their recruitment techniques as well as a part of their broader sophisticated and well-prepared propaganda. Consequently, this research aims to analyze and explain broader social phenomena, how people from Islamic State creates narratives which in general encourage many young girls and women to take actions, which has enormous and global impact on social as well as a political environment.

Firstly, it is necessary to introduce the main characters playing role in our research material. Mélodie presents young converted nineteen years old Muslim girl from Toulouse - fake identity as well as her account on *Facebook*, created by French journalist, investigating roots of digital jihadism and European teenagers tempted by Islamic State, publicly known as Anna Erelle. She creates an identity of Mélodie several years before and she decided to use it as an instrument for execution of her investigation of how young women become radicalized, and consequently how they are recruited into the Islamic State. In her book, she published all communication between Mélodie and IS military leader who called himself Abu Bilel. Their communication started in the spring of 2014, two months before the Islamic State occupied Mosul and its leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi declared a worldwide Caliphate. They directly communicated on daily basis for one month via *Facebook* and then via *Skype*, video contact included. Everything started one Friday night when “Mélodie” shared video in which Bilel participated and called for hijrah. Shortly after, Abu Bilel sent three messages to Mélodie’s private inbox.

#### 1.6.4 Source 4: Twitter – Tweets by the women of the Islamic State

Social networks present an important technological instrument for spreading ideologically based propaganda, resulting radicalization of individuals. In case of the Islamic State, the use of social networks for the purposes of the group becomes a part of well-prepared strategy. *Twitter* became the most often social network providing online communication, used by recruiters, for recruitment of mostly Western Muslims. Stern and Berger (2015) claim that IS had a few thousands of active online supporters who were more enthusiastic and organized than their counterparts and predecessors. Moreover, IS had a special name for these users –*mujtahidun*, refers as industrious. Their role is to use specific tactic aimed for the boost of organization's reach and exposure online. (Stern, Berger, 2015, p. 155)

For our hypothesis of changing subjectivity of women in terrorism, the women's performance on this social network is crucial. We can observe that women are really active on this site, with the main purpose to recruit new members, especially women. It refers to another essential role of women in the Islamic State, as recruiters. Many academics argue that women acted as a far stronger "glue" than man in holding network together. (Johnson, 2016, np.) This is the main reason why discourse find on *Twitter* is included in our analysis based on method of Fairclough's three-dimensional model. According to the report from 2015, completed by J.M. Berger and J. Morgan, there are around 46,000 Twitter accounts operated by supporters of the Islamic State. (Alfred, 2015, np.) Regarding research material, we focus on tweets published in English language, which presents one fifth of all tweets posed by the Islamic State. Our analysis emphasizes on discourse in form of tweets distributed by female audience, for the main purpose to target Western women by creating an appealing identity.

Due to the fact that majority of *Twitter* accounts of people who propagated IS and share their ideas was deactivated, particular tweets for our analysis are obtained from one particular internet page.

## **2 The Rise of Female Activity as a Part of Terrorist Organizations**

If we want to understand the changing subjectivity of female terrorists and shift of their subjectivity, it is necessary to deeper analyze women empowerment within the key terrorist organizations associated with female contribution. Broader analysis of an evolution of women's emancipation as terrorists is vital for our later connection of this phenomenon to the rise of an Islamic State.

The main point of this chapter is to assess the subjectivity of female terrorists in constantly changing environment in connection with their participation within terrorist groups. To do so, this chapter briefly analyses the usage and activity of women in several terrorist organizations, mostly well-known religious as well as secular groups with strong representation of women, specifically The Baader-Meinhof Gang, LTTE, The Black Widows, Palestinian terrorist organizations and Al-Qaeda. The aim of this chapter is also to analyse and to explain how women have become radicalized during the last decade and what are the main reasons and motives of this process. Additionally, chapter explains roles of women in selected terrorist organizations, and the foremost purpose of their benefits for particular group. Last but not least, this chapter attempts to analyze women within various terrorist groups, and consequently summarizes identical as well as diverse characteristics, which are observable within such groups. As a consequence, chapter of this thesis concludes explanation of these reasons.

### **2.1 Roots of female participation in violent activities**

Firstly, it is essential to realize that in our case gender plays a very important role. From the gender perspective, socially constructed norms and roles are limiting and at the same time permitting the actions and expectations of men and women. (Zenn, Pearson, 2014) Throughout history, women were involved and acted in political as well as revolutionary violence. Women are usually portrayed as victims, which is wider acceptable in comparison with the female consideration such as perpetrators of violent acts.



Ortbals and Poloni-Staudinger argue that:

“Terrorism may be gendered by established, traditional gender norms, which emphasize women’s feminine traits as maternal, nurturing, emotional, domesticated, and/or as invisible or lacking agency in politics.”(Ortbals, Poloni-Staudinger, 2011, p.3)

They also claim that feminist frames might be defined as discourses about the women rights, their political agency as well as an attempt of emancipation from male societies or ways of thinking. (Ortbals, Poloni-Staudinger, 2011) Research examined by Harris and Milton (Harris, Milton, 2016) proved that variable of women rights is in negative relationship with the raise, mostly of domestic terrorism. In countries with greater women rights, where women fully participated in political processes, we can find less women involved in terrorist organizations.

Another aspect, the treatment of women also plays a significant role in this process. The poorer the treatment towards women is, the more prone they are to act violently. Another possible cause of terrorism presents countries where state apparatus is in position to use forces against its own people and to abuse their human rights. Due to the analysis of specific territories, conflicts and consequently rise of terrorist groups involving female participation, we would verify the importance of women rights and treatment and its possible impact on the female inclination to violence. Marginalization of women from social and political life is closely connected with oppression. As Sixta (2008, p. 261) defines, female terrorists face three types of oppression: a) societal gender inequalities, b) oppression within terrorist group, in which she is involved and c) Western oppression from imperialist nations. These triple bind constructs a violent form of feminism – militant feminism. (Sixta, 2008, p. 264) She explains that women are participating in political system through political violence, in other words they are fighting for equality within their own communities. As Sixta claims (Sixta, 2008), social construction of female as non-violent actor was implemented by Westerners, but conversely in some cultures violence can be an acceptable form of female participation.

## 2.2 Female motives and reasons to join terrorist group

Generally, political and ideological reasons together with variety of societal pressure present the most frequent motive for women's recruitment into terrorist or revolutionary groups. It is necessary to understand that every person has its own (personal) motives, whereby some usually overlap. Liberation, equality, respect and honor are often main reasons, but there are many others. The main purpose of this subchapter is not to describe motives for female participation in great details. Conversely, its aim is to map the most frequent ones, which can be examined by our research of selected groups as well as of the case of the Islamic state, discussed in the next chapter.

According to Mia Bloom, we can distinguish between five most frequent and important reasons, why women have decided to commit the suicide attack: *revenge, redemption, relationship, respect and raped*. (Bloom, 2011, p. 233-250) We can suppose that this distinction can be applied also on motives of committing violent actions in general, not only on suicide bombing, which is reflected in analysis of specific terrorist groups. The reason of revenge means that women can commit suicide attack as a response on a death of family member or loved one person. Personal tragedy and revenge is perceived such as the most prevalent motivation for women to conduct or support terrorist activities. As an example, this motive strongly influenced women in LTTE. The loss of loved ones is also associated with financial difficulties, which presents another driving reason to join terrorist group, regarding the fact that women are forced to provide welfare to their families. They decided to perpetrate suicide-bombing and make sacrifice because afterwards, their families receive substantial money reward, better social status and reputation. As an illustration, FARC offered salary of \$350 USD for female members. (Hudson, 1999, p. 106)

Additionally, suicide bombers receive recognition and fame linked with martyrdom. Other section of motives is represented by redemption for past sins or desire to achieve respect from community. These motives become really influential and strong throughout the history, mostly within religious organizations and we can find it in particular cases discussed later in this thesis. Martyrdom and its main purpose to achieve equality with the men as well as their respect, is closely related to this set of

motives. The importance of martyrdom is precisely defined by proclamation made by one of Palestinian suicide-bombers- Wafa-al-Bas:

“I love Allah, I love the land of Palestine and I am a member of Al-Aksa Brigades...my dream was to be a martyr. I believe in death...since I was a little girl I wanted to carry out an attack.” (Three lessons from..., 2005, np.)

She believed that her sacrifice would lead to the martyrdom, that she would help her religion and society to achieve social change. Grievance and personal frustration are often motives for decision to become a terrorist, namely violence, hunger, displacement and lack of opportunities. Women believe that within terrorist organization they would receive more rights in form of medical care, job opportunities or the ability for their children to attend school.

One of really durable reasons for perpetration of violence is also relationship with member of same group, which can play influencing and coercing role. There were many cases when women were coerced to become the terrorist. This aspect would be one of the key motives for women participation in violence in our next chapter dealing with the Islamic state. One important shift contrasting with the previous terrorist groups presents the fact, that within Islamic state, women want to be members voluntarily and they are not forced. When it comes to the coercion, forced recruitment and blackmail present another reason behind the increasing number of female suicide bombers. Women from LTTE as well as Palestinian women were reported to be coerced and blackmailed to perpetrate terrorists attack.

Last reason according to Bloom (Bloom, 2011) is realization of violent actions on women, particularly rape. As we know, women always were victims of sexual violence, abuse and rape, which stems from their gender perception. For instance as Danu states, she was sexually gang-raped by the Indian peacekeeping forces. To make a suicide bombing attack means to them that after sexual misconduct or assault they can be pure again. It is not exception that many of married women are raped by their husband's associates, which makes them unsuitable wives.

### **2.3 Female roles in terrorist organization**

Generally, it is known that women play an important role within terrorist organizations, regardless of their ideology. According to Haynes and Cahn, “women are important because they often create social and economic networks that support and enable violence to continue”. (Aolain, Haynes, Cahn, 2011, p.6) Women are considered to be crucial to the overall success and maintenance of the group and its activities. There are several terrorist groups which have strengthened by influx of women, namely Kurdistan Workers Party, The Shining Path, LTTE or FARC. There is range of roles perpetrated by women within these groups: soft or non-violent, such as gathering the information, counseling or disseminating propaganda to the community. These “supporting” activities were characterized for women participation in terrorist groups prior to 1980.

Later, it changed and women started actively participate into combat roles, violent ones, as suicide bombers, assassins and frontline fighters. We can consider that the role of women is some cases transforming from soft role of being logisticians to a more hardcore role of brutal killers. (Raghavan, Balasumramanyian 2014, p. 198) Women- as violent actors- started to be used mostly for suicide bombing. Four frequent factors explaining utilizing women as suicide bombers: their operational advantage, greater publicity, increased recruitment and competition among terrorist groups in the same space. (Raghavan, Balasumramanyian 2014, p. 198) The most important operational advantage presents women’s ability to escape detection more easily in comparison with men. Suicide bombing quickly became one of the most often and effective tactic of terrorist organization and it is a part of their new military strategy, based on the maximum damage. According to Bloom, between 1985 and 2006, approximately in 15% of suicide bombings cases perpetrators were women. (Bloom, 2012) Additionally, Cragin and Daly (Voegel et al., 2016) mentioned the suicide bombers, and the main argument for female participation in this activity, which is the fact that women as suicide bombers have significant media and academic attention.

In every terrorist organization with the female membership, we can find interplay of four conceptual roles: active, caring, ideological and supporting. We can apply Cragin’s and Daly’s (Cragin and Daly, 2009) model for a classification of the activities that women undertake in extremism. They distinguished between six

categories, based on the level of their involvement in the organization: logisticians, recruiters, martyrs, guerillas, operational leaders and political vanguards. According to this division, they have analyzed 22 terrorist groups worldwide and suggested that the role of political vanguard was the most frequent, with an outcome 12 groups of 22. (Voegel et al., 2016, p. 94)

Firstly, *logisticians*, including sympathizers and spies, can be additionally divided into three subcategories based on their activities: couriers, which transport resources, protectors, providing shelter and protection for other group members and decoys. These women provided basic duties such as cooking, nursing, sex or money. As an empirical example, in Africa's guerilla camps women, known as "bush wives", were providing food, medical aid and safe haven to militants. (Voegel et al. 2016, p. 93) In Northern Ireland, women were utilized as a smugglers and couriers.

Another important group creates *recruiters*, using three ways for accomplishment of their purpose: recruitment via personal contact, through the creation and distribution of propaganda and additionally by acting as historical conscience by passing along the story of the conflict to younger generations, which is necessary tool for ensuring future recruits and supporters. (Cragin, Daly, 2009) Due to the fact, that women also as mothers are responsible for transition of the nationalist culture to their children, they are irreplaceable teachers of ideology and extremism within the terrorist organization. Madrasa school, similarly to other schools in Kabul, Hera and Peshawar, target young girls for the purpose of continuing education of next generations. (von Knop, 2007, p. 409-410) Another strategic aspect, connected with the recruitment presents the role of marriage and creation of family, considered as equally important as ideology or training. Rhetoric of *martyrdom* represents collectively shared past, which is also an interesting and key factor for women's participation. Roles of recruiters, marriage and martyrdom are crucial also for jihadist terrorist groups, particularly Islamic state and its rise, which will be discussed in more details in next chapter of this thesis.

Activities connected to planning and leading of specific attacks – *political vanguarding*, composed by three types of an activity: strategic visionary, providing ideology and strategy, central committee member with the role of strategic guidance,

leadership and allocation of resources and finally political official, or in other words official representatives of terrorist group in political and public areas.

*Guerillas* define females who participate in urban or rural battles. The Baader-Meinhof Gang, the Shining Path and many African militant groups were identified in relation to this kind of female participation. As mentioned before, usually we can find an overlap between separate categories; women often play more than one role. For instance, in LTEE women produce and distribute propaganda and at the same time they are participating in the suicide division.

## **2.4 Women as a part of terrorist organizations**

Year 1968 presents the start of the new, widely accepted modern international terrorism. During the Cold War era, terrorist attacks were perpetrated mostly on high political actors, not primarily on civilians, and the main terrorist tool presents taking hostages. In the post-Cold War period terrorism was distinguished between two main streams: secular and religious. In 80s and 90s, females participated almost exclusively in the former due to intensive significance that religious extremism placed on females remaining in traditional roles. (Ness, 2005, p. 353) The number of ethno-separatists struggles- women and girls' participation included- increased sharply in this period of time. This era marks the beginning of the modern terrorism, terrorist was usually twenty years old male, but several left-wing terrorist groups had strong female presence. Cunningham explains (2003, p. 176) that except that the main reason is that this period was marked with the general period of social change, leftist organizations tend to attract more female recruits, according to the fact that the aim of this kind of group is a social change and those ideas influence leadership structures of the group. Women in left-wing terrorist groups played an active role and they were considered as conventional terrorists. (Spencer, 2016, p. 76) It provided leadership positions to women, which in comparison with right-wing groups, was conversely different. Communist groups or left-wing groups treated women similarly as men, as a clear example we can use Baader-Meinhof Gang or Japanese Red Army. In these terrorist groups women become the most important and influential leaders.

However, there are other groups with crucial female participation, driving path to women's emancipation such as FARC or Shining Path. In Shining Path, women are the main component of fighting forces, majority of them play actively donning frontline role. (Voegel et al., 2016) This shift and increasing of female participation within terrorist groups was caused mostly by the rise of women as suicide bombers. (Spencer, p. 76) Not only left-wing, but also nationalist groups utilize women, specifically ETA or LTTE. Female leadership in ETA started to increase sharply during 1970-1980, with the roles from collaboration to direct military activity. (Hamilton, 2007, p. 135) Similarly, since 1980s LTTE is recruiting women for direct operational roles, regularly suicide bombing. The Government of Sri Lanka estimates that almost half, 40% of LTTE, is created by women. (LTTE in Brief..., 2017, np.)

Nonetheless, roots of changing role of women can be found in religious groups. At the beginning phase, female role was supportive, comparable to secular terrorist groups. Since late 1990's and beyond women played greater role in fight or suicide bombing, namely the Chechen separatists or Islamic religious groups in Palestine. Due to this historical development of female participation within terrorist groups, regardless to their ideology, we can see gradually changing role and importance of women as a part of terrorist groups. This is exactly proved by Hulan, who claimed:

"The rise of women as suicide terrorists did not happen instantaneously, but women arrived onto the stage of conflict in successive waves." (Hulan, 2011)

Women's increased participation in operational roles, connected with introduction of the method of suicide-bombings, influenced almost each terrorist group. However, in Islamist extremist organizations, such as Al-Qaeda and Hamas, traditional responsibilities of women, according to fundamentalist Islamic principles, were just to provide moral and logistic support. These responsibilities included background positions such as to being a wife, mother, organizer, recruiter, proselytizer, teacher, translator and fund-raiser. Over the last two decades, employment of women in frontline positions has dramatically increased due to Holy War suicidal missions. It led to the bigger diversification of women's responsibilities, empowering women and making them key players in future attacks. (Spencer, 2016, p. 77-78)

In the next section, several terrorist groups, already mentioned before, are discussed. It is necessary to elaborate on female collaboration in more details, for precise evaluation of the changing subjectivity of women, from supporters and sympathizers to irreplaceable entities used not only for fighting but also for ideological and logistical purposes. Our analysis includes selection of most influential secular, as well as religious terrorist groups, from different parts of the world for the purpose to the most complex examination of our issue.

#### **2.4.1 The Baader-Meinhof gang**

As it was mentioned before, left-wing or communist terrorist groups were the first, which overcome traditional gender stereotypes, gave the women chance to become leaders and to fully participate in violent actions. The Baader-Meinhof gang, as a section of German Red Army presents one famous example of West German leftist anarchist terrorist group with the key roles of women. Ulrike Meinhof and Gundrun Ensslin as female leaders and at the same time brains of this group were actively engaged in anti-imperialistic protests turned to violence. (Ness, 2005, p. 355) Protests present part of a broader campaign aimed against members of the German elites and U.S. military personnel. Many women decided to join this group and perpetrated terrorist attacks for their anti-capitalistic cause. These women were ordinary ones, with basic everyday problems, relationships, families, moreover children. The main reasons for their decision to fight in the name of Baader-Meinhof gang were personal (relationship and personal ties) as well as political (fight against the oppression within society). Members of the gang went to the Lebanon, where they were military trained with Palestinian guerillas as well as later during the “second wave” to South Yemen. Most usual targets of these groups were banks, right-wing newspaper offices, American soldiers, police officers. Since the beginning of this group, a majority of this group was created by women. After 1970, since dissolution of group, women comprised almost half of its membership. In 1990, five of the eight most wanted German terrorists were women from Red Army Faction. (Rush, Schafluettel-Iles, 2001) For this group, women were crucial because they were responsible for activities that men could never have done. As a clear example, we can use year 1985 when female member of a group killed U.S. soldier in a bar and consequently took his ID card, which gave her ability to gain



access to Rhine-Main Air Base. In this air base the bomb was set off with the result of two casualties.

The Baader-Meinhof gang presents one of the terrorist groups, which broke the taboo and overcome gender stereotypes by recruitment of female fighters. Male leaders of The Baader-Meinhof understood that women have the same ability as men and are strong enough to act violently as a response to the Western oppression. Moreover, women in Baader-Meinhof gang received an opportunity to hold leader positions and they were trained and treated equally to their men counterparts.

#### **2.4.2 The Chechnya rebels - The Black Widows**

Another important terrorist group, which influenced the shift of female identity, presents the religion-based group known as The Black Widows. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Chechnya tried to achieve its independence. On December 1995, Russian troops invaded Chechnya for the aim to disarm illegal arms formations, including terrorist organizations. Chechen rebels were strong enough to compel Russian troops to sign a peace agreement, which recognized Chechnya's independence. Due to the race for power between Chechen warlords led to the series of bombings in Moscow and Vladivostok with the outcome of more than 200 casualties. Russia responded by heavy aerial bombardment of Chechnya. Since February 2000, rebel separatists transformed from separatists to rebels making terrorists attacks. One year later, first suicide bombing on Russian military commander Gaidar Gajiyev were perpetrated by two women, known as the first black widows, namely Khava Barayeva and Luisa Magomadova. The Black Widows has been formed as a women terrorist organization, providing support in the struggle for Chechen independence. They had really unique characteristic: they were completely dressed in black with a 'martyrs' belt filled with explosives, replacing accessories. (Chilcote, 2004) This explains the first term black, name widows came from the fact that these women represented widows of men killed by Russian military. This is closely connected with the key motive for their participation- grief and revenge for deaths of their family members. There is also another reason for female participation- and it is coercion. Many of these women were coerced, drugged, raped, or intimidated by Chechen rebels. The Black Widows were on average at the age of 25,

married with children. All women were indoctrinated into militant jihadist ideology prior to the bombing with minimal training and equipment. The Black Widows started to be internationally perceived such as the terrorist organization after two largest hostage incidents. In October 2002, nearly half of 41 terrorists with explosives on their bodies, who seized some 700 hostages in a Dubrovka theatre in Moscow and killed approximately 700 people, were women. Similarly, women were acting in another well-known terrorist take-over of the Beslan School in North Ossetia. (Rush, Schafluetzel-Illes, 2001) The reasons for the recruitment of women is really ordinary, they are being recruited because they, as females, are less suspicious than men. Additionally, female combatants have shocking influence on the Russian population and arouse more media attention. It is estimated that 42 percent of Chechen suicide bombers have been women. More interesting and crucial is the fact that Chechen women were the first Islamic females, engaged in military activities, and gave a clear way to the other Islamic female to fight in jihad. They were used very effectively as a front line in the Chechen struggle, for carrying out the suicide bombing, moreover they presented major presence in the Moscow theatre or Beslan School attacks with the result of hundreds of casualties. In 2003, six from seven suicide attacks were perpetrated by females. Character of Hawa Barayev, who blew herself in the name of Allah in 2000, and consequently caused great damage on the Russian targets, was important for the surge of the female radicalization, aimed for fighting for independence. (Ness, 2005, p. 361) Her fatwa and suicide were crucial for the female participation in religious terrorism and penetration of an idea of females seeking martyrdom to the traditional Islamic societies. Because martyrdom is one of the highest priorities of Islamic religion, it presents strong factor empowering radicalization.

“The young woman, who was— inshaa-Allah— martyred, Hawa Barayev, is one of the few women, whose name will be recorded in history. Undoubtedly, she has set the most marvelous example by her sacrifice. The Russians may well await death from every quarter now, and their hearts may appropriately be filled with terror on account of women like her. Let every jealous one perish in his rage! Let every sluggish individual bury his head in the dirt! She has done what few men have done.” (Ness, 2015, p. 361-362)

In this public statement, we can see that action of this women changed perspectives on violence perpetrated by females. Since Barayev’s action, number of female suicide bombers started to increase abruptly. The identity of women started to

change from oppressed victims who lost their loved ones or were raped, to the successful warriors fighting for social change and crucial for the fruitful fulfillment of the group's aims.

#### **2.4.3 Women's Front of the Liberation Tigers**

LTTE is another example of ethno-separatists group, which is relevant for our issue regarding the reason that historically, it is the terrorists group with the highest amount of female suicide bombers. The main purpose of LTTE is separation from Sri Lanka and an establishment of an independent Tamil state as well as a guarantee of the end of human rights violation, oppression perpetrated by Sri Lanka's government and equality for the Tamil people. In 2000, Tamil people elected LTTE as their governmental representation. Roots of the female participation in this group are dated back to 1983, when pure female division, called the Women's Front of the Liberation Tigers, was introduced. Female presence in this group was divided into the participation in army, naval forces (Sea Tigers) as well as suicide squad (Black Tigers). (Sutten, 2009, p. 13) Based on the concept of gender equality, women are treated and recruited likewise males; furthermore LTTE provides them the same training in military tactics. Interestingly, these women are often recruited as young girls, which is proved by numbers declaring that more than 50 % of LTEE members presents women or children. (Cunningham, 2003, p. 180) There are several motivations, which led women to the involvement into this group, same as their male opponents, as well as gender-based. According to interviews with LTEE female combatants, executed by Miranda Alison (Alison, 2003), main and the most frequent reasons for female participation are following: nationalist sentiment, educational disruptions and restrictions, women's emancipation and last but not least, suffering and oppression together with sexual violence against women. Nationalists' reasons primarily motivate women for their participation on group's actions. Majority of women were pushed into membership due to the vision of liberation, freedom and self-determination of Eelam. Another important motivation for female to enlist into the LTTE presents the discrimination of Tamils in the field of education, frequently happening in the 90s. Many women were not able to complete their study or go to university due to the repeated displacement. These women want better conditions, quality and freedom of education for next generations, hoping

that through their participation in LTEE would be able to change the situation. Women's emancipation, improvement of their opportunities for life and breaking the gender-based taboo has also had an impact on their decision to become the member of LTTE. Desire for emancipation overlaps with the achievement of independent state, because women believe that no equality is possible without the independence of Tamil Eelam. Sumathi, who was only 14 years old when she became a part of LTTE, explains that the society in which they live is patriarchal and women can't do many things which men can. She declared in an interview by the words:

“We are able to see that the boys have joined the LTTE so we thought, if they can, why can't we do these things? “ (Alison, 2003, p. 44)

Additionally, more gender-specific to women, personal and at the same time common reason why Tamil women decided to join LTTE is because they feel oppression, injustice and they are suffering. Factor of oppression has a great impact on the thinking and life of these women. The majority of woman is encouraged and motivated by their personal experiences, for instance the death of their loved ones, caused by Sri Lankan police and military apparatus. As a clear example, we can use case of Banuka, now the leader of Women's Political Wing for Batticaola -Amparai District. She was at the age of 16 when she decided to join LTEE in 1993, shortly after the killing of her father by Sri Lankan army. Many family members, classmates or friends of these women were daily killed or displaced. Thamilachi is only another woman with hounded ones with the similar destiny. She joined LTTE as 14 years old for the same reasons, mentioned before which explains:

“The time I joined, about 1990, was perhaps the worst in this ongoing war. We had seen with our own eyes children who had been orphaned, parents who had lost their children. And there was no question of these children getting minimum education. So what we saw, at the juncture, only convinced us that something must be done. “ (Alison, 2003, p. 42)

The most well-known and crucial suicide attack was perpetrated by 21 years old women Thenmuli Rajatman (publicly called as Dhanu), with the result of the assassination of Indian prime minister Rajiv Ghandi and another 27 people. There are two main reasons why this case of suicide bombing is relevant for our case. Firstly, this attack hides and explains unavoidable motive of suffering and oppression mixed with the sexual violence, highlighting the changing subjectivity of female terrorism from victims to warriors. It was proved that Dhanu was gang-raped by Indian peacekeeping

forces, also responsible for the death of her brother. The main reason why idea of sacrifice is crucial in this society is that Tamil rape victims are said to be socially prohibited from marriage and childbearing. Suicide bombing is considered such as an alternative, some kind of the “acceptable offer” for women, who can never be mothers. (Cunningham, 2003, p. 181) In addition, this process tends to be encouraged by women’s families. In this attack, the mechanisms for strapping bombs around the body, called suicide belts, were used. (Sixta, 2008, p. 299) Dhanu was chosen because she- as a women- looked less suspicious for Gandhi’s security and it was believed that she was pregnant. This led to the second reason of the importance of the Dhanu suicide bombing attack. Afterwards, Danu became a role-model for the women terrorist and as a consequence, female importance as suicide bombers started to raise, as well as an increase of general perception of them such as effective weapons.

This group is another vital example, how the subjectivity of women is changing. Tamils women were treated badly, they lived in disastrous conditions, without equal right in comparison to men, and they were underrepresented within strong patriarchal society. They lost their family members and additionally they were raped and sexually abused. Behind the empowerment of women in LTTE, we can see gradually changing subjectivity of women.

#### **2.4.4 Palestinian terrorist groups**

Roots of the women utilize within Palestinian terrorist groups dated back to the period of Intifada, when offshoot of Fatah - Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade began recruiting women to support men’s suicides attacks. The most notoriously-known Palestinian terrorist is Leila Khaled, as a part of Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, leader of the Black September faction. She commanded hijacking of four airliners with the result of the destruction of three of them, the near overthrown of Jordanian government and her own capture in 1970. (Rush, Schafluetzel-Illes, 2001) Khaled is considered to be a national hero for Palestine. She claimed that she had to face four kinds of oppression: national, social, class and sexual. Another problem for Palestinian young women is the fact that they are females. Women as terrorists are repressed by their own terrorist group, physically, sexually as well as emotionally. Martyrdom is key aspect

also for Palestinian women, because after the death, women become equal to men. The massive increase of women as a terrorist started in 2002 when Wafa Idris become the first Palestinian suicide bomber. Wafa Idris and Dalal el Mugharabi as martyrs become idols for young women and children. They appear on the posters, postcards and t-shirts which are sold. Idris was the first woman to blow herself up in the name of the Palestinian struggle. Another Palestinian terrorist group, operates since 2001 the Nasser Edin Brigades can be seen as another suitable example. Crucial is fact that women are not considered as equal to men, in every aspect of life. Women's role is really limited to raise children, serving her husband and keep their home clean. Palestinian woman face many restrictions: they are not permit to go to the beach alone, smoking a cigarette or be seen in public accompanied by men different from her husband. Furthermore, woman is forced to adhere to a strict Islamic dress code in public composed by veil and cloak, particularly at universities and work offices. Another option for women presents membership in terrorist organization. It provides a different kind of treatment and more rights for women. Female terrorists enjoy more of freedom; can be away from their families, also accompanied with another man. Women are undergoing training with various types of weapons including rifles and mortars as well as they are taught how to plant land mines and explosive devices. Hamas, Palestinian terrorist groups which utilize female terrorist, move to form a new army that consists approximately of 17 thousands of Palestinian teenagers at the age between 15 and 21. (Toameh, 2015, np.) Strong desire and motive to become the martyr is approved by statement made by one female future martyr from Palestine:

“My only dream and ambition is to become a martyr. I no longer dream of love and marriage. I dream of martyrdom every minute of life. “(Sixta, 2008, p. 268)

Clair Beyler from the International Policy Institute for Counter-terrorism in Israel, really precisely defined the point of our examination. He claims that when women become human bombs it is not only in the name of their country or religion, but also in the name of their gender. (Sixta, 2008) According to historical as well as recent cases of female terrorism in Palestine, we can sum up several trends. Firstly, women used to be more active within the secular context rather than Islamic. Secondly, after deepening and protracting of Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the role of women gradually extended to more active roles, including suicide bombing. Third, females participating

on terrorist attacks tend to be young, in connection with one or more politically active male family members and additionally experiencing some form of loss. Finally, security assessments, publicity and operational constraints affected willingness to interfere women in martyr operations. (Cunningham, 2003, p. 181) Coercion and blackmailing play an important role within Palestinian terrorist groups recruiters. It is reported that young women was coerced and blackmailed into suicide terrorism, after she was involved in an illicit affair. (Raghavan, Balasubramaniyan, 2014, p. 205)

To sum up, Palestinian terrorists groups such as Intifada, Hamas or Nasser Edin Brigade, historically being used women such as their asymmetric weapon. Palestine is famous for many successful suicide bombers attacks perpetrated by women. Attack made by Khaled or Idris presents kind of milestones for the gradual increase of female members of terrorists groups. Women's desire to be a part of these groups due to their social position stems from inequality with the men and strict rules, which when they are contravene, high restrictions are applied. Similarly, like in other Islamic group's cases, we can conclude that women decide to join terrorist groups because of the reason that it presents an acceptable alternative how to escape social inequality and restrictions in society ruled by men. As Khaled stated, there are several kinds of oppression women had to face, as well as repression within own terrorist group. This is also explanation why martyrdom is crucial for them. We can conclude that gender perspectives and changing subjectivity from victims- oppressed women within pure patriarchal society, treated unequal in comparison to men- toward warriors- successful suicide bombers, which became not only equal to men but also role-models for thousands of women, with enormous impact on their future recruitment and terrorist activity.

#### **2.4.5 Al-Qaeda**

Al-Qaeda, as the former platform for the future development of the Islamic State, presents another terrorist group, influential within the development of female terrorists. Umm Osama, who declared to be the leader of women's homicide division working with other terrorist affiliates, is considered such as an influential female within Al-Qaeda. The main purpose of female terrorist within this organization was to battle

U.S. forces in Afghanistan. Umm in her statement explains that according to the Islamic law, women should collaborate on in the holy war:

“Islamic law permits the woman to stand by the man and to support him in the holy war [and] warns the U.S. that members of her women warriors unit will be arriving very shortly to deliver its first blow, which has been ‘declared by their leader’ to be a strike that will knock the September 11th attacks into oblivion “(Rush, Schafluetzel-Iles, 2001, p. 11).

There were more than 30 suicide bombers in 2008 perpetrated by females. In 2008 double suicide bomb was conducted in a Baghdad petrol station, with the two young women responsible. (Sutton, 2009, p. 14) As an illustration of the demonstration that women participate in terrorism conducted in the name of Al-Qaeda, we can use the case of Belgian Muriel Degauque. She was a married wife of Belgian of Moroccan descent. She blew herself up in Mosul, near U.S. Army patrol, while she was accompanied by her husband. Strategy of the use of Al-Qaeda’s sympathizers from the different part of the world as a suicide bombers, presents the crucial point for our following research devoted to the Islamic State.

Interestingly, in Al-Qaeda in comparison to previously mentioned terrorist groups, not as much overt suicide attack was perpetrated by women. According to the Rush and Schafluetzel-Iles (Rush, Schafluetzel-Iles, 2001), Al-Qaeda implemented the tactic based on the using the threat of female warriors, which are seen as credible from the perspective of the targets of these potential threats and additionally, media pay more attention to the activity of female members, which provides increased attention to the political cause of Al-Qaeda.

#### **2.4.6 Other terrorist groups**

Additionally, there are other respected secular and religious terrorist groups from the different regions, with the significant number of female terrorists such as ETA, Los Macheteros, PKK, The Shining Path, FARC, Boko Haram etc. Through examination of these groups we can uncover an overlap of the same motives, which were found as a more frequent and crucial in our research.

North American terrorist groups, such as Los Macheteros, also use women, but their roles are highly influenced by their organizational target and also by distinction



between international or domestic group. According to Cunningham, women as a part of international organizations are more incorporated within structures, particularly in fund-raising and recruitment. Domestic groups are increasing targeting female for recruitment and are attracting a diverse occupational and generational group of women. (Cunningham, 2003, p. 179) In FARC, women were used mostly in intelligence roles. South Asian Sikh militias' women played supportive roles such as producing future fighters for the nation, taking care of their sons and husbands. However, they were expected to fight if it was necessary. Additionally, women participated also in politically violent organizations connected with conflict between India and Pakistan. Main reasons were financial motives and women played roles of couriers, which was effective due to the wearing of *burqa*. (Cunningham, 2003, p. 181)

## 2.5 Conclusion

Previous examinations lead to the conclusion that during last decades, women's participation within terrorist groups has been constantly increasing. We can observe that participation of women and fulfillment of their roles has become crucial for successful accomplishment of many terrorist groups. This process has had impact on increased level of women emancipation. Due to the uniqueness and specificity of each particular terrorist group, we are not able to make general conclusions regarding position and role of women within terrorist groups.

There are several structural limitations to conclusions such as different purposes of groups, distinctions between secular and religious groups or time period and events connected with their activity. Furthermore, there are other layers of meaning, connected with the gender perspective. Particularly, we can find drawbacks such as various aspirations of women to become members of particular group, often contradictory to such attributes as coercion or voluntariness. Additionally, we can observe that the main role of women is different within specific terrorist groups.

In spite of various limitations, we can argue that generally, the subjectivity of women is constantly changing, which is caused by their participation within various terrorist groups. However, due to the limitations mentioned before, we are not able to conclude that this subjectivity is changing necessarily from victims to warriors. Through

previous examination of female contribution in particular terrorist groups, we can find as many similarities as differences. Several variables are employed for explaining of identical aspects as well as discordant ones: *motivations* of women to participate, *process* of their recruitment (coercion vs. voluntariness), *roles* of women acting within group, *position* of women in group, *importance* of women for overall success of particular groups.

Firstly, in most of terrorist groups with female participation, we can observe similar reasons, leading to the membership of terrorist movement. There are mostly gender-based reasons such as oppression, exploitation and restrictions within patriarchal societies, when women have not equal rights in comparison to men. Many women, later terrorists, were victims of sexual abuses such as women in Palestine or LTTE. Participation on terrorist activities allowed them to be treated better and to obtain higher status within terrorist community. Another match, observable within the majority of terrorist groups, is an increasing number of female participants due to introduction of the method of suicide-bombing. This milestone influenced women's participation in almost all of previously mentioned terrorist groups.

When it comes to the roles of women within various terrorist groups, in context with perpetration of violent actions, religious groups like Al-Qaeda are considered to be more conservative. It means that responsibilities of women, such as motherhood, dissemination of propaganda, recruitment of new members, espionage and other supportive roles, called also "backstage" roles, are more traditional. On the contrary, in secular groups like The Baader-Meinhof gang or IRA, women played active and operational roles and participated on violent actions.

Furthermore, the position of woman within terrorist group varies in connection with ideology of group, the distinction between religious or secular one, as well as with the main purpose of particular group. While in left-wing terrorist groups, such as the Baader-Meinhof gang, women usually hold leading roles, in right-wing or religious groups it was rarely possible.

It was proved that in several terrorist groups such as Palestine terrorist groups or LTTE, women were often coerced or black-mailed to conduct terrorist attacks. Conversely, in other groups, for instance The Black Widows, women voluntarily decided to join terrorist group for the main purpose – revenge.

Additionally, another influential aspect which presents limitation to our historical research is technological development, sharply increasing in last decades. Terrorist groups with the higher participation of women, active in last decades, did not rely on social media and propaganda as the Islamic State does today. Due to this fact, we are not able to find propaganda material, which as another relevant source can reflect on roles and reasons of the importance of women for particular terrorist group.

Interestingly, when we compare women's participation within terrorist groups, which were established earlier with the Islamic State, we can explore two main strong and crucial findings. Firstly, women of the Islamic State, contrary to women in preceding terrorist groups, are usually not coerced or black-mailed to become members of this group. Their choice is based on voluntariness and their own will. Secondly, women in the Islamic State play not only supporting or additional roles. Their main roles of motherhood and recruitment of new female members are essential for increasing the size, power and overall success of the Islamic State, for obtaining of power as well as achievement of its broader political goals. This argument presents the main subject of the next chapter, and it is discussed in great details on following pages of this thesis.

With the use of gender perspectives and theory, together with constructivist's feminism, we can conclude that violence and oppression against women leads to the subsequent development of females within violent social movements.

Firstly, women were classified as victims, from various perspectives such as rape, loss of their loved ones, experience of suffering, underrepresentation and inequality within their own societies. Additionally, they historically had to face several kinds of oppression: gender oppression, Western oppression as well as oppression within their own terrorist groups. Lack of women's rights also empowered violent actions of women. All mentioned before pushed women to the construction of the role of warriors. Women become an irreplaceable part of terrorist groups, because they proved to be an efficient asymmetric weapon, regarding to their gender-based benefits, not only in form of supporting roles but also in fighting. We will attach on this research in the next section devoted to the Islamic state and its importance for an emancipation of female terrorists.

### **3 Empirical Part - Critical Discourse Analysis**

The main aim of this chapter is to provide an empirical research with an emphasis on the case of the most powerful contemporary terrorist movement - the Islamic State and its influence on changing subjectivity of female terrorist as well as their emancipation within terrorist organizations. The main aim of our research is to examine, how an identity of women is created by Islamic State's propaganda. Our main hypothesis is that the rise of Islamic State caused an emancipation of female terrorists.

Before our analysis, this chapter discusses the brief introduction into the issue of women within the Islamic State. The main focus of this part is put on same data about number of Western women in the Islamic State, their push and pulls factors, as well as roles.

Fairclough's three-dimensional model is used for the purpose of our analysis. It is composed by three stages of analysis: description, interpretation and explanation are gradually employed on selected propaganda material.

First stage of description focuses on the linguistic features, namely structure of the texts, use of religious terms, vocabulary (words connected with women such as: mother, wife, husband, children etc.), cohesion, modality and use of metaphors and contrasting. An importance of this phase stems from the fact that the method of writing and selection of linguistic features has an eminent impact on the perception of this text by recipients.

Following stage- interpretation- puts emphasis on intertextuality and utterance of texts as well as their coherence. It attempts to uncover how texts are connected and also that authors not only describe the reality, but also want to change given reality. Aim of this stage is to focus on relationship between authors and recipients and their interaction. In this phase we can observe intentions of authors as well as interaction of recipients.

Third and at the same time final stage is explanation, with the main objective to explain how the discourse influences readers and consequently how impact it has on the broader social environment. Through this stage we focus on explanation of the power

and ideology and their impact on women, who become radicalized and decided to join the Islamic State.

### **3.1 Limitations**

In this context it is necessary to mention essential limitations of this discursive analysis based on the Fairclough's three-dimensional model and grammar of visual design introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen, and consequently to take them into consideration. First limitation presents overlap of three separated stages. It is not possible to completely distinguish between individual phases due to their mutual interlocking.

Additionally, there is no common established practice in what way to do this analysis. Stemming from this fact, it is possible to choose the most appropriate ways and adapt it to the need of the author.

### **3.2 Women within the Islamic State**

The Islamic State, since its establishment in June 2014, built one of the most sophisticated propaganda in history. The Islamic State alone was able to manage most of social media, particularly *Twitter* and *Facebook*, both as specific tool for recruitment and as instruments that are coordinated with other media for the purpose of communication with audience and achievement of its broader goals. (Maggioni, Magri, 2015, p. 88) Social platforms are daily used by IS recruiters, because they provide effective and available instrument aimed for targeted messaging- one of the most important methods of online recruiting of women. Personal communication is the most effective way how to influence and persuade women knowledge. There is also plenty of the written material- easily accessible online for every woman interested in detailed information- including Manifesto for Women in Islamic State written by Al-Khansaa brigade or the *Dabiq* section "*To Our Sisters*". The aim of all of this propaganda material is to create identity of women, which would be ideal and attractive enough to follow the hijrah into the Islamic State.

It was estimated that in 2015, over 3,400 foreign fighters from the West joined the IS, while approximately 550 of these foreign fighters were women. (Binetti, 2015, p. 2) However, official number of Western women who joined this terrorist movement is not officially confirmed. Despite of approximate numbers, authorities of Western countries (European countries, U.S., Australia and Canada) continuously report new cases of women who are being arrested in airports due to the suspicion stemming from their attempts to travel to Syrian territory. Similarly, several women were arrested due to their expression of willingness to make a *hijrah* on their social media accounts. (Perešin, 2015, p. 22) There are several well-known successful cases of journey of Western women to Syria, for instance twins Salma and Zahra Halane from Manchester, Tara Nettleton, Zaynah Sharrouf and Zehra Duman from Australia or Amira Abase, Shamima Begum and Khadiza Sutana from England. (Saltman, Smith, 2015)

According to some scholars, in the process of radicalization, frame alignment is considered as a key. Frame alignment refers to the actual reconstruction of a recruit's mindset in accordance to the extremist's movement narrative. (Neumann, Rogers, 2007) This process can be realized by individuals themselves as a form of self-radicalization, often with the help of the Internet. Others draw attention to the role of recruiters who emphasize on the newcomers' problems and then offer them solution in form of romanticizing new life inside a radical brotherhood organization in possession of superior religious ideology. It is necessary to understand that process of radicalization presents a gradual and sequential process with a clear beginning as well as fix termination point. (De Bie, 2016, p. 23)

When it comes to motives of young women to become part of the IS movement, reasons may vary. We can find motives, similarly as in previous terrorist groups, which stem from same kind of crisis, often of personal character. In case of the Islamic State, first step necessary for understanding of female's aspirations to participate is gender-specific interpretation of jihad. It imposes different roles to men waging jihad and to women. According to empirical research made by Kneip (Kneip, 2016) the main pull-factors of females to become a part of an Islamic State are following:

- taking control of their lives realized by journey to Syria (parental restrictions, deprivation of choice through traditions, to be victims of Islam in the West versus search for identity, community and belonging, providing

- by sisterhoods, taking independent decisions about their future, to free themselves from Western restriction and oppression),
- gaining power and control (in form of power and control over husband and family),
- gaining respect from the community as female jihadists.

Additionally, Saltman and Smith identify main push as well as pull factors that are driving Western females to migrate into the Islamic State. They claim that main push factors of female attraction are very similar, if not the same, as the men factors. These factors include questions of identity and uncertainty of belonging within a Western culture, sentiments that the international Muslim community is violently persecuted and anger and frustration over perceived lack of international action regarding responds to their persecution. Regarding pull factors, they argue that these factors embrace positive incentives and motivations such as: idealistic goals of religious duty and building a utopian Caliphate State, belonging and sisterhood and romanticisation of the experience. (Saltman, Smith, 2015, p. 8-18)

As we can see in previous chapter of our thesis, the number of women in terrorism acquires increasing tendencies. The Islamic State is unique due to its successful recruitment process aiming at building of its own network of women, which then provides strategic advantage. Through romanticizing the life of women and their role in Caliphate, IS has manipulated more recruits than any of its terrorist predecessors. (Spencer, 2016, p. 74) Women in Islamic State play influential and irreplaceable roles, mostly for obtaining of their political or ideological objectives, assurance of power and future existence of the Caliphate. Importance of women for IS can be proved by precisely prepared recruitment practices and patterns, usually ending with success for the Islamic State.

Responsibilities of women in Islamic state, as well as in other Islamist extremist organizations, predominantly include to be a wife to IS soldier, to birth the next generation of jihad, to increase size of the Caliphate through online recruiting, to maintain order within IS network of women, to teach, to translate, to be a fund-raiser. Women's mission is to perform a myriad of activities in moral and logistical support state-building and tactical operations. (Spencer, 2016 p. 75) They are also used as an effective instrument for an ability to threat the local, regional and international

community through creating a media attention. Functions of women is primarily realised at home, but there are several circumstances when women can manage their roles outside of home. There are three common conditions such as performing of jihad, studying science or religion or fulfilling duties as teachers or doctors. The greater responsibility of women in the Islamic State is to be a good wife to her husband. It is also supported by the Prophetic scripture from Quran: “There is no better structure founded in Islam other than marriage.” (Muslim Marriage In..., 2016, np.) Interestingly, IS’ soldiers prefer foreign women, which are often married quicker than natives. They explain it by description of native women as undesirable due to its snobbish and uppity manners. (Spencer, 2016, p. 80)

Normally, women in IS are not allowed to fight, but in case that there are not enough men to fight or they are not able to fight against enemy, women are allowed to fight. However, regularly it is limited only on all-female security force called Al-Khansaa brigade. Al-Khansaa brigade was set up in Raqqa in February 2014, composed of 25-30 women. Women were mostly British, aged between 18 and 25 years, who receive monthly salary of 25, 000 Syrian lira, which is less than 200 USD. (Perešin, 2015, p. 31) These women are also called “moral police” and they are well-known for their brutality towards women who do not obey the strict moral regulations. This is the reason why women received shooting lessons, and weapon course.

All of these aspects and roles mentioned in this section are sought and analysed within the discourse of excerpts of various propaganda materials of IS, through methods of critical discourse analysis based on the three-dimensional model introduced by Norman Fairclough, as well as Kress’s and van Leeuwen’s grammar of visual design, on next pages of this thesis.

### **3.3 Analysis**

#### **3.3.1 Discourse 1 – Magazine *Dabiq***

Our analysis employed three-dimensional model of Fairclough for the purpose to examine the phenomenon of changing subjectivity of female terrorists connected with their emancipation, and the impact of the Islamic State on it. As a research material we have chosen three articles from various *Dabiq* issues, especially excerpts of parts



devoted to women recognized as “*To Our Sisters*”. We are interested mostly on a creation of an identity of women within discourse of the Islamic State’s propaganda.

- ***Source 1: Dabiq, Issue 11 - To Our Sisters - Hijrah without Fighting by Umm Summayah al-Muhajirah (p. 40-45),***
- ***Source 2: Dabiq, Issue 7 - To our Sisters - A Brief Interview with Umm Basir Al-Muhajirah (about her hijrah) (p. 50-51),***
- ***Source 3: Dabiq, Issue 10 - From our Sisters: There are not Lawful Spouses for One Another by Umm Summayah al-Muhajirah (p. 42-48).***

The main topic of all of these issues of Dabiq is call for hijrah and explanation of women’s importance for the Caliphate. From the reason that these articles discuss the same topic, they are analyzed together and perceived as one discourse.

### **Phase 1 – Description:**

#### **Structure of the text**

Regarding the structure of texts, it is quite comprehensive. First text is seven-pages long, second has only two pages and third is composed by five pages. All texts are written really sophisticatedly, with the use of proper English grammar and vocabulary, which are combined with Arabic words. When it comes to the structure of the text, text is appropriately structured, including introduction and familiarization with the topic, and then explaining contrasts between “Us” and “Others”. Then authors presents themselves as advisors. Authors argue about the main issue and all of their claims are supported by the use of Prophetic methodology. When the article is approaching the end, authors put emphasis on the persuasion and urging the recipients to take into actions.

#### **Religious Terms**

Due to the nature of texts and their strong ideological pattern, several key words in Arabic are used, particularly Ummah, Dunya (The Caliphate), mujahid (fighter of the IS), jihad or kufr. Introduction, as well as conclusion, is strongly ideological, devoted to the celebration and to giving a tribute to the Allah. In whole text author several times quotes Quran and the messages of Prophet, which is reflected by the frequency of the use of these words:

***Allah – 139 times / Lord – 16 times/ Him, His, He – 13 times,***

***Prophet – 14 times,***

***Messenger of Allah – 18 times.***

### **Vocabulary**

We can see that authors frequently use naming, which refers on an identity of women, especially they repeat words like ***mother, sister, wife and teacher.***

Number of these words used in text:

***sister – 26 times,***

***wife – 49 times,***

***mother – 9 times,***

***teacher – 2 times.***

These names are used with connection to very noble and important roles such as the mother of lion cubs, the teacher of generation, the producer of men, the builder of Ummah, the wife of a mujahid, which are used several times in this discourse.

Other words connected to females as recipients of these texts, aimed for emphasis on their role are frequently used in selected articles:

***Women – 23 times,***

***Children – 13 times / “the lion cubs” – 7 times,***

***Husband – 31 times.***

### **Cohesion**

Word sister is used many times with pronoun “my” – my sister, with addition of various adjectives: Muslim, precious, noble or bellowed, which all presents positive connotations. (“I write this article for ***my Muslim sister***...”) These words serve to the aim of an identification of recipients with authors of these texts. They were utilized several times in our texts:

***My sister – 4 times,***

***My precious/bellowed/ noble sister – 5 times,***

***My mujahirah/ Muslim/ sister of Islam/ - 6 times.***

Additionally, to the naming of recipients, authors use pronouns “you”, “we” and “they”. The main reason for this presents an attempt to help the recipients to identify with the subject of the discourse. Use of the “you” generates feeling of exclusivity and significance of every particular receiver and also sentiment that text is written especially for one concrete woman, reading particular text. Authors use “you” mostly in connection with questions they ask, which are aimed to force recipients to think about something and change their minds. (*“Will **you** then remain steadfast if **you** one day are informed that your husband was captured or will **you** hasten to seek separation?”*, *“... and what will make **you** know what the mother of lion cubs is?”*)

The adverb “we” is also used frequently in this text and it is aimed for identification of recipient not only with authors of the text, but whole community they are part of it, as well as with the idea, which is presented by the authors. (*“O Messenger of Allah, so what wealth should **we** seek to possess?”*, *“...that **we** must purify our intentions and take them to account in all of **our** deeds”*.)

### **Modality**

Regarding modalities, words “will”, “should”, “would”, “can” are frequently used in this discourse. They serve as tools for generation of the sense of urgency; they refer to the future tense and are connected with the meanings such as possibility, ability, permission (can), or with some moral obligation of doing something (should). Together, modal verbs were used more than 60 times, while the most frequent ones are “would” used 18 times (*“She **would** uphold his rights...”*) and “might” used 10 times. (*“And what kind of fear is this that **might** make you lose your Hereafter...?”*) Authors several times refer on future actions which reflects “will” used more than 30 times. (*“And He **will** return your children to you...”*)

### **Active vs. passive voice**

Concerning vocabulary, this text is written in really active voice and contains many active phrases symbolize such an encouragement to the activity such as *“**do not wait**”*, *“I call on you to **make** hijrah”*, *“**rush** to the state of honour”* or *“**be patient**”*, *“**follow** the example of Maryam”*.

## Metaphors and Contrasting

Authors use metaphors, as well as contrasting for the creation of two opposing identities “Us”, which refers on the people of the Islamic State and “They” as non-believers, Westerners who spread corruption and evil.

Author also uses contrasting: “*a corrupted generation, the enemies of our religion or land of kufr*”, which refers to the enemy, particularly the West vs. “*land where the law of Allah is implemented*”, which characterizes the Islamic State.

### “Us”

Naming included metaphors and comparisons, used for description of the people of the Islamic State or the Islamic State itself: “seekers of the truth”, “camp of iman”, “darul-islam”, “land of palaces and treasures”, “Paradise”, “Heaven”, “state of honour”, “lands of the blessed Islamic State”.

### “They”

The enemies of the Islamic State, especially the West are naming by phrases such as “Wrongdoing people”, “kaffir and sinner”, “camp of kufr” or “darul-kufr”. Really nice metaphor presents reference on the Obama as “*the dog of the white House*” and on his administration as “*his puppets*”. Various notions are used for characteristic of counterparts of the Islamic State: “*they who swimming in the ocean of apostasy*”, “*someone who removed the noose of Islam from his neck*”, “*enemies of the Allah*”, “*someone who sold his Hereafter for someone else’s dunya*”, “*they who pouring the lava of death upon Muslims*”, “*they who fight the mujahiddin and seeks to spread corruption*”.

Stemming from first stage of our analysis, we can observe that various thoughtful linguistic methods are employed for creation of these texts to give them meanings and to generate desired feeling in recipients. Structure of the text as well selection of vocabulary, metaphors and other linguistic features has an impact on the final appearance of the discourse. We can observe that in our case, authors put emphasis on the linguistic side, got the most out of it and use it for their own purposes and advantages.

## **Phase 2 - Interpretation**

The second phase of analysis is aimed to explore intertextuality and coherence of texts and force of utterances. Intertextuality means that texts are in connection, and they are written with the same purpose, which is also truth in our analysis. Texts are coherent, repeating same ideas. When it comes to the force of utterances, every analyzed material creates some new knowledge, based on prior known information, which is aimed to influence their recipients.

### **Coherence**

Stemming from the textual analysis, authors precisely choose the words to effect the female audience. Firstly, authors of these texts are women (Umm Summayah al-Muhajirah and Umm Basir Al-Muhajirah) which refers on the main aim- to better affect and connect with targeted audience with the help of use of the gender identity. They represent some kind of advisor to the recipients. This statement refers on the main objective this article and its author- to influence the female audience from the West. For the greater effectiveness and the success of this goal, the author of this text presents women as representatives of the Islamic State. It can serve as to a quicker identification of female recipients with the knowledge created by this discourse.

“**We** write this for the *wives of the secular-oriented Sahwāt* who have stated explicitly or implicitly their intent to rule with democracy, or according to what the people desire, or with division of powers.” (Source 3, p. 42)

“I write this article for my *Muslim sister*, the *wife* of a mujāhid and *the mother* of lion cubs” (Source 1, p. 41)

By the repeatedly use phrase “*my sister*” they want to identify the reader with them– women from the Caliphate. In the other words, their aim is to make the woman feel close to women of the Islamic State. With the connection of the word sister they choose noble adjectives as *bellowed, precious or noble*, which are aimed to refer on their importance, high-status and honor. Additionally, they use word sister connected with phrases mujahirah, Muslim or sister of Islam, which is aimed for recognizing of another crucial common sign– religion. Religious affiliation serves as another important aspect connecting the authors of these texts with their recipients.

In this section we can observe really clear demonization of the West.

“And it is known to every impartial person with vision that those *who fight as proxies on behalf of the dog of the White House and his puppets* as well as those who ally with the proxy factions against the Islamic State while falsely claiming that they are fighting for the cause of Allah and His Sharī’ah yet you don’t find them implementing this Sharī’ah in any span of territory over which Allah has given them control, *and their only concern is to please “the people” even at the expense of angering Allah*, as is the case with the Jawlānī front – it is known that all such groups are Sahwāt (may Allah destroy them)” (Source 3, p. 42)

Author uses metaphors and compares former president of the United States Obama to the dog of White House and their administration to his puppets. This text is aimed to condemn the people which are on the “bad side”, fighting against them who are fighting for the cause of Allah and supporting people who do not implement Shariah. These people and key ideas of this text are characterized by the words as “*their only concern is to please “the people” even at the expense of angering Allah*”. The broader aim of this text and its author is to manipulate minds of recipients, and to create an impression that these people are not good and oppressed their religion given by Allah and its people. Consequently it can lead to encouragement of women not to desire to be part of this kind of society, as well as in relationship with this kind of man.

The use of contrasting is aimed to portray the West, concretely the countries in which these women currently live, as the “bad” and the Caliphate as the “great”. Notions “*corrupted generation*”, “*land of the kufr*” and “*the enemies of our religion*” refers to the West. By this notions, author attempts to discourage women from living in the Western countries, contrary it can encourage them to make a *hijra* and move to the Caliphate. Caliphate is described as “*the land where the law of Allah is implemented*”. Here author as an instrument for persuasion uses statements from Quran and references on Allah for an ability to make the writer see this text as more credible and right. The tone of the text is really strong, by the sentence “*you are sinful if you leave the land of Islam and return to the land of kufr*” and, “*do not lose these traits by following certain individuals*”, authors try to make readers feel to doing wrong when they are not part of the Islamic State. It is supported by the words of only one right Allah.

### **Intertextuality**

Authors try to highlight the role of women and its importance in the Islamic State:

“As for you, O **mother** of lion cubs... And what will make you know what **the mother** of lion cubs is? She is **the teacher** of generations and **the producer** of men.” (Source 1, p. 44)

“... And the woman is a shepherd in her house and is responsible for her herd.” So have you understood, my Muslim **sister**, **the enormity of the responsibility that you carry?** O **sister** in religion, indeed, I see the Ummah of ours as a body made of many parts, but the part that works most towards and is most effective **in raising a Muslim generation** is the part of the nurturing mother. (Source 1, p. 44)

“So take advantage of that as much as you can **to give your children a righteous upbringing** upon clear tawhīd, a correct ‘aqīdah, kufr bit-tāghūt and worship of Allah alone, teaching them the heart-softeners, the remembrance of Allah, the Prophet’s biography, and the fiqh of jihād.” (Source 1, p. 44)

“My sisters, **be bases of support and safety for your husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons**. Be advisors to them. They should find comfort and peace with you. Be strong and brave. It is essential that you make all your deeds sincerely for Allah’s face and hope for His reward.” (Source 2, p. 51)

In these excerpts we can observe how an author highlights activities and responsibilities which are connected to and only to women such as “*the mother of lion cubs*”, “*the teacher of generation*”, “*the producer of men*”. Active voice is used for encouragement to take an action “*give your children a righteous upbringing*”, “*be bases of support and safety for husband, fathers and sons*”. It refers to the role of the women and the reason why they are so important to the Islamic State. It refers phrase “*my Muslim sister, the enormity of the responsibility that you carry?*” Through this discourse we can observe that identity of women is created with an emphasis on woman’s gender predispositions such as an ability to give children, taking care of her husband and teaching children.

“Still, **the absence of an obligation of jihād and war upon the Muslim woman** – except in defense against someone attacking her – does not overturn **her role in building the Ummah, producing men**, and sending them out to the fierceness of battle.” (Source 1, p. 41)

“ Indeed you are in jihād when you await the return of your husband patiently, anticipating Allah’s reward, and making du‘ā’ for him and those with him to attain

victory and consolidation. ***You are in jihād when you uphold your loyalty to him in his absence.*** You are in jihād when ***you teach his children*** the difference between the truth and falsehood, between right and wrong.” (Source 1, p. 41)

“My Muslim **sister**, indeed you are a mujāhidah, and if the weapon of the men is the assault rifle and the explosive belt, then know that ***the weapon of the women is good behavior and knowledge.***” (Source 1,)

These three excerpts discuss the jihad and the role of women in waging it. Authors explain that women are not obliged to fight and it is obligation for men. It refers to the fact that women in Caliphate primarily do not participate in violent actions, they do not fight. However, from the reason that jihad is among Muslims considered such as the highest mission, which can be seen as the women is lesser important than men, author tries to highlight the role of women in jihad. She focuses on the unique role of women – producing of future fighters, without who waging jihad is not possible. It gives readers the feeling of the highest importance of women. By the sentence “*the weapon of the women is good behavior and knowledge*”, we can observe author’s attempt to identify the readers with the role of teacher of the future generation. Additionally, it should create the feeling of the importance of women to behave appropriately, according to Allah’s desires.

“And this ***small Muslim home is the core of the Ummah***, and ***the parable of these two spouses and their children is like that of a plant that produces its off shoots and strengthens them, and then they stand upon their stalks.*** Its appearance is beautiful and its fruit is pleasant. If, however, *its soil is polluted with kufr and shirk, then how impossible, how impossible it is for the plant to stand straight and become pleasant!*” (Source 1, p. 43-44)

The main idea of this article is also really properly described in this metaphor. It reflects on the importance of every particular women and their family for the existence of the whole Caliphate which is reflected by the phrase “*this small Muslim home is the core of the Ummah*”. By “*the plant that produces its off shoots and strengthened them, which gives them an ability to stand upon their stalks*”, author means women and her husband who have a children which presents the future, strengths and power of the Islamic State. We can observe the indication of the presence of the enemy in the Islamic State’s territory by the words “*soil is polluted with the kufr and shirk*”. The most important reference from this metaphor is persuasion of female recipients that the right



way is to engage themselves with Muslim and their discouragement of their engagement with non-believers, refers by the words , *"how impossible it is for the plant to stand straight and become pleasant!"*.

We can observe that authors frequently use quotations of Quran, especially Allah. Authors used mythical figures from the Quran and their experiences for the justification of the main thought of the text. In this excerpt, the wife of Pharaoh Āsiyah (*"follow the example of Asiyah – the wife of Pharaon... She was tortured and killed because of this choice, but Allah kept her firm and raised her above many women."*) and Maryam (*"**Follow** the example of Maryam (‘alayhassalām) in her **chastity, modesty, obedience** of Allah, and truthfulness, which was one of her greatest traits, and so Allah chose her and raised her above many women."*) are used as role models for recipients of this text. By this text, based on Prophetic methodology, women are urged to follow the example of them, despite turbulences and problems, which they can meet on their ways to the Islamic State. Once again they repeat that when targeted women follow another women, who are part of the Caliphate, finally they will be reward by the Lord (*"there were many righteous women in history, so follow their example"*)

Quotation of Quran is used for the higher credibility of the author's claims. She refers on Allah and its strict prohibition for women to marry non-believer – *"someone who has removed the noose of Islam from his neck", "an enemy of Allah and His Messenger"* and someone *"who sold his Hereafter for someone else's dunyā"*. Once again, Umm Sulaym serves as a role model for women. She was in situation when she was proposed by the non-believer and as *"a Muslim women"*, she had to refuse his proposal for the reason explain by the words *"you are a kāfir man... it is not permissible for me to marry you"*. Main objective of this explanation supported by words of Allah is an adaptation of this Muslim stereotype by the Western women. It is strengthened by the spread of threat and punishment in case of non-compliance which reflects the phrase *"nothing will save you from Allah's punishment"*.

Author highlights the most important attribute of women– **patience** (*"the patient will be given their reward", "be patient while hoping for Allah's reward", "be patience, patience is the great virtue"*). She, with the use of Allah's quotations, encourages readers to be prepared for waiting for their husband's fighting for *"victory and consolidation*, or also for the loss of them. Women should be loyal and patient in

the face of her husband. When she will live in accordance with this advice, finally she will be rewarded by Allah.

Dabiq: “How was your hijrah? And how do you feel now in *the land of the Khilāfah*?”

Umm Basir: “All praise is due to Allah who facilitated the way for me. I did not find any difficulty. Living in a *land where the law of Allah is implemented* is something great. I feel at ease now that I have carried out this obligation. All praise is due to Allah. I ask Allah to keep me firm.” (Source 2, p. 50)

This passage of an interview is aimed for the portraying of the live in the Caliphate as something great. Author explains her personal experience of hijrah, which is describes really in positive connotations. It is aimed for influencing of recipients and their identification with successful Muslim women, which should serve as an ideal for them. In this excerpt we can observe that author uses many active phrases and verbs for encouragement of women to leave their homes and travel to the territory of the Islamic States. Active phase such “*I call on you to make hijrah*”, “*come, make your way to dārul-islām*”, “*do not wait* “ and “*rush to the State of honour*”, serves as an demonstration of urgency and necessity. Author supports recipients to be the first and become the first who do it, “*be the model and example for them all*”. It submits on the importance of these women.

By this interpretational stage we can observe relationship between women from the Islamic State– as recruiters, and its purpose to recruit other women– recipients of these texts. Intertextuality is observable in these articles due to the fact that they are employed for the same purpose; they discuss the same topic and claim same ideas. Authors use quotation of Quran and also prophetic methodology, especially examples of other women, for the purpose to make this text as credible as it possible. These texts have specific function given by authors. Their aim is not only to describe women and their roles within the Islamic State as well as everyday live here, but they try to change reality which is described, by encouraging them to take an action, namely to move to the Islamic State.

### **Phase 3 - Explanation**

Through two previous phrases aimed for examination of the textual side as well as the relationship between the author and recipients, we can make several explanations. This text is aimed for the main purpose to recruit women from the West into the Islamic State. For this purpose, strong ideological based is used. Women are portrayed as an important part of the Islamic State, irreplaceable for its existence and success. This text is aimed for their identification with the role such as wives, bearers of future generations, mothers and teachers. This text intends to influence their minds and persuades them to leave their corrupt Western countries and be the part of the Holy land, when Muslim religion is freely practicing. Contrasting is used for highlighting of the bad situation of Muslim women living in the Western countries, where they are oppressed and treated like a second-class society. Conversely, Ummah od Dunyah is seen as the great place when every woman lives happy life in the name of Allah.

This text as one of many other propaganda materials has direct impact on the broader social challenge. This text through the strong ideological base encourages many young women to make a *hijrah* into the Islamic State. Consequently, many women become radicalized and leave their countries to the Islamic State. It has a great impact on increasing power and credibility of this terrorist movement. Women and their identity based on their unique ability to produce children, is used for gaining of bigger political aims.

This part of our analysis can help to answer our research questions. From this point of view we can conclude that women and their subjectivity play an important role in broader social change. We can observe several motives for its recruitment, which present their radicalization through available propaganda material. They want to change their not so good social conditions in countries in which they live, and decide to leave their hometowns to follow the colorful picture of their future life portrayed through the discourse they are receiving. They perceive themselves as an important and irreplaceable due to their abilities connected with their gender. We can observe also shift and changing subjectivity of female terrorists. Despite the fact that in previous terrorist groups women play some roles, supportive as well as fighting, they were not considered as much important in comparison with the Islamic State. Islamic State significantly influenced female emancipation, despite the fact that this emancipation is not seen as

the one, who we recognize in our culture. It is based on opposite values, which is connected with ideology of this group and Islamic religion.

### **3.3.2 Discourse 2 – Magazine *Rumiyah***

In the same way as in previous analysis, Fairclough's three - dimensional model is utilized for the examination of the changing subjectivity of women in terrorism, concerning mostly female emancipation influenced by the raise of the Islamic State and its ideology. We are concerned primarily about the creation of identity of women throughout the propaganda discourse. Regarding research material, for our analysis we have chosen three issues of present-day propaganda magazine *Rumiyah*, specifically three articles dedicated to women. Articles are relatively short, two or three pages long, but they contain enough information for fulfillment of the main purpose of particular topic, which article discusses. Another set of research material selected for our analysis is following:

- **Source 1: *Rumiyah*, Issue 5 - I will Outnumber the Other Nations through You (p. 34-35),**
- **Source 2: *Rumiyah*, Issue 3 - Abide in Your Homes (p. 40-41),**
- **Source 3: *Rumiyah*, Issue 1 - O women, give charity (p. 18-20).**

Our analysis contains three dimensions analysis of the text, analysis of discursive practice as well as the final stage explanation. First part of our analysis – textual analysis, focuses mostly on the structure of the text, vocabulary, grammar and cohesion. Regarding analysis of discursive practice, this part of analysis emphasizes on force of utterance, coherence of the texts as well as their intertextuality. Final stage of our analysis is devoted to the explanation of the discourse and its impact on their recipients in the broader context, on the institutional as well as societal level.

#### **Phase 1 - Description**

This section puts emphasis on the use of linguistic features connected with *grammar*, *vocabulary* and *cohesion*, namely modality, naming, active or passive voice, metaphors and contrasting employed in our selected of discourses.

## Structure of the text

Concerning structure of the text, each of our three sources is well and logically structured. When it comes to the grammar, every article is written well in English with combination of Arabic. Texts are composed by the brief introduction to the topic; then followed by the core of the text full of supportive arguments and every article ends with the repetition of the main point and the most important features. Every article begins with some kind of justification for the main topic and its importance. An important factor in these texts presents the quotation of the Quran and Allah.

## Religious Terms

Specificity of these text stems from the strong presence of the ideology and Islamic religion in this discourse. Authors often quote excerpts from Quran, especially Allah, His Messenger or the Prophet with the aim to make their claims as credible as possible. This is reflected by the analysis of how many times selected ideologically and religiously-based terms were used:

*Allah – 72 times,*

*The Messenger of Allah/Allah's Messenger – 17 times,*

*The Prophet – 24 times,*

*Lord – 13 times,*

*Islam/Islamic – 8 times,*

*Muslim – 25 times → Muslim women – 7 times → Muslim sister – 2 times.*

We can also observe creation of the highest authority of Allah by authors. It is reflected by the introduction of His messages by passive and active verbs: (he) *said, permitted, forbidden, addressed, commanded, ordered, described* or conversely (he) *will bring, will raise. (As for the Shari'ah of Islam, then nothing is halal except what Allah has permitted, and nothing is haram except what Allah has forbidden.)* Past tense in connection with Allah's activity makes him the "highest", creator of the Muslim rules, which have to be respected. Conversely future tense creates feeling that he is ordering something to the recipients, he is observing them and finally he will reward or punish them in case of compliance and noncompliance. (*"And Allah will never delay a soul once its time has come. And Allah is Aware of what you do"*)

The use of religious and ideological terms is also aimed to build upon what connects authors and recipients, and conversely disconnect enemies and recipients, which is common religion.

### **Vocabulary**

First of all there are several words, directly connected with the women and creation of their identity, frequently used in texts:

***Women – 42 times,***

***Children – 10 times,***

***Home – 20 times,***

***Wife – 11 times,***

***Wealth – 13 times,***

***Charity – 12 times.***

### **Cohesion**

Authors also repeatedly use pronouns “you” (used 57 times) and “we” (used 14 times). The main objective is to help the recipients to identify with the subject of the discourse. Use of the “you” gives feeling of uniqueness and importance of every particular recipient and also sentiment that text is written especially for one concrete woman, reading this text. This personal naming of recipient is many times used in connection with questions, which authors ask. (*“Why do **you** go out, while **you** know that ‘Umar dislikes so and is jealous?’”*)

The pronoun “we” is also used frequently in this text and it is aimed for identification of recipient not only with authors of the text, but whole community they are part of it as well as with the idea, which is presented by authors. (*“When **we** reflect over the condition of some of the women today, **we** notice them spending extravagantly on transient worldly things of clothing, jewelry, feasts, and so forth.”*)

### **Modality**

Concerning modality, several modal verbs are frequently used throughout texts. In our texts these words are connected with notions aimed to target predominantly female audience. It includes following words: *will, can, could, should, would, must* and

*might/may*. Modal verbs are used in text together 61 times, with the most frequently used will (25 times) and should (13times). One possible meaning of this type of words is to identify some moral obligation of doing something –should (“*Muslim women **should** consider the hadith of the Prophet*”, “*women **should** stay home*”) Another purpose is to promote some kind of possibility, ability or permission – can (“*The believing woman in her own room is the closest she **can** be to her Lord in this life*”, “*My Lord! If only you delayed me for a short time, so that I **can** give charity and be among the righteous!*”). Word “will” is connected with the future which also refers on the fact that something will happen or will be done. (“*O you who believe! Shall I guide you to a deal that **will** save you from a painful torment?*”)

### **Active vs. passive voice**

Regarding use of verbs, this text is based on the *active voice*. It contains some passive sentences, but they present mostly the quotations of Allah and Quran. Verbs, particularly in form of an imperative such as *follow*, *abide/stay/remain* at home (“***Abide** in your homes*” (Al-Ahzab 33), meaning *stay*, *be settled*, and *remain* at home.”), wage jihad (“***Wage** jihad against the mushrikin with your wealth, your souls, and your tongues*”), give charity (“*O women, **give** charity*”) are used many times in these texts. These words are connected with the topics of our texts and their connection with female audience:

***Wage jihad with our wealth -7 times,***

***Follow the example/such policy - 7 times,***

***Remain/stay/abide at home – 10 times.***

### **Metaphors and contrasting**

In our discourse many metaphors are used to target female recipients. The most of them are used for the main purpose to create contrasting. The most interesting one is:

“With the birth of every newborn Muslim a ***thorn is planted into the throat of kufr*** and ***dagger is stabbed into the flank of shirk***”

By the word “*kufir*” and “*shirk*” author names the enemy of the Caliphate, particularly the West and the U.S. Phrases “*thorn is planted into the throat of kufir*” and “*dagger is stabbed into the flank of shirk*” refers to the destruction of the enemy. This metaphor refers to the importance, responsibility and ability of every woman to deliver children into the Islamic State. Consequently, it emphasizes on the strength of the children, which presents the future of the Caliphate and its fight against the enemy.

“We find that their priority in every war against Islam and its people is to target women and children, ***in order to destroy the “land” and its “crops,” as women are “arable land.”*** They were only called “a place for sowing seeds” (Al-Baqarah 223) because they produce progeny. Destroying the “land” and its “crops” is the policy of a spiteful enemy who seeks to eradicate “La ilaha illallah” from the earth.” (Source 1, p. 34)

We can observe that authors use word crops of the land, meaning women and children.

## **Phase 2: Interpretation**

Second Fairclough’s stage of the analysis is aimed to explain relationship between authors and recipients, and their interaction. Stemming from this fact, this section emphasizes on the force of utterances, coherence of texts and their intertextuality.

Our empirical material is used with intention to influence reader and change her minds. We can observe that an identity of women as a first step is created, which is intended to encourage her to take actions.

### **Intertextuality, Coherence and Force of utterances**

In our case, selected empirical material is used with intention to influence the minds of female readers. It is strengthened by quotations of Allah from Qur’an.

“By ***increasing the number of Muslims, kufir is terrified*** and the ***religion further triumphs.***” (Source 1, p. 34)

This quotation is aimed to generate in the mind of women their importance due to their ability to assure the increasing of the Caliphate and its power in form of delivery of children.



“However, some women might not comprehend the enemy’s policy in their war against the muwahhidin, nor *do they appreciate that with the birth of every newborn Muslim, a thorn is planted into the throat of kufr and a dagger is stabbed into the flank of shirk*. Nor do these women realize that *by increasing the number of Muslims*, the despicable are suffocated and the banners of the kuffar are lowered, just as the voices of the righteous are raised.” (Source 1, p. 35)

The endeavor of this quotation is to condemn the women who do not realize importance of the bringing children, conversely to encourage the reader to not do the same wrong things.

“Al-Ahnaf Ibn Qays entered upon Mu’awiyah, who was looking at his son Yazid in front of him admiringly and then said, “O Abu Bahr, *what do you say about children?*” He replied, “*They are the support for our backs, the fruit of our hearts, and the coolness of our eyes*. We attack our enemies with them and they are what is left of us after we die.” (Source 1, p. 35)

In this passage we can observe that excerpt of Quran, with the use of other religious examples are used for the manipulation with women’s minds. Children, who are naturally connected with the women, are highlighted and are compared to *the “support for our backs, the fruits of our hearts and the coolness of our eyes.”* It reflects on not only the importance of children, who are presented as the future of the Caliphate and weapon towards the enemy, but also the necessity of women.

“Likewise, *we will not miss this opportunity to warn every Muslim sister* of another evil policy of Islam’s enemies, which is *to delay marriage until a later age*. This is part of the kafir plot to turn Muslimat away from their true role in life, that they were created for the tawhid of Allah and worshiping only Him and no one else and then for serving the religion by *what Allah made easy for them, including marriage, bearing children, and raising them.*” (Source 1, p. 35)

Authors of the text also encourage women to marry as early as possible. They use demonization of the condition of women in countries where they live and the policy of the enemy, to support their claims, which is reflected by the “*...another evil policy of Islam’s enemies, which is to delay marriage until a later age*” or “*the part of the kafir plot*”. Similarly, we can see how authors attempt to create an identity of women, and

*“their true role in life, which is “serving the religion by what Allah made easy for them, including marriage, bearing children, and raising them.”*

The role of women in bearing of children, which are crucial to the Caliphate, is strengthened by the authority of Allah who claims: *“It is due to your child asking forgiveness for you.* It is employed for generating of feelings that when women will not act due to Allah’s will, they can be punished in the end.

Author references to the word of Allah and explains his order: *“Allah is saying Abide in your homes” (Al-Ahzab 33), meaning stay, be settled, and remain at home.”* This refers on another feature of women’s identity in the Islamic State.

Additionally, other examples of religious characters are used as a tool for influencing of recipient’s minds and their identification with them: *“Indeed, ‘Aishah said, ‘The Prophet married me when I was 6 years old’.”* It is aimed for the creation of the sense of urgency and encouragement of women to marry and bring children.

Another role of women in Islamic state is portrayed with the use of example of some religious characters. According to this quotation Quran the task of woman is not to physically fight against enemies with the weapons. However, she is important in jihad, and her obligation is to give charity and fight with their wealth.

“Shaykhul-Islam Ibn Taymiyyah said, “And whoever is unable to wage jihad with his body, but is capable of waging jihad with his wealth, then it is an obligation for him to wage jihad with his wealth. As such, ***it is an obligation for women to wage jihad with their wealth, if they have any surplus***” (Al-Fatawa al Kubra).“ (Source 3, p. 19)

In this excerpt we can see another sign creating the women’s identity and it is their soft and background roles. It refers on the fact that women supposed to stay at home, to be veiled, hidden and invisible while they hold responsibilities in form of support of their husbands and children.

*“The Muslim woman who is veiled in accordance with the Shari’ah should not assume that her veil distances her from this hadith* or that the woman is only ‘awrah when she is unveiled or adorned. Rather she is ‘awrah whenever she leaves her home, even if she is not revealing anything of herself.” (Source 2, p. 41)

### **Phase 3: Explanation**

Stemming from two previous stages of our analysis, the last phase is aimed to explain how interaction caused by the interpretation of the discourse influences broader social environment. Recipients, concretely women, are becoming affected by the text and try to identify themselves with created knowledge. It causes their emancipation in form of acceptance of given narratives which results to the decision to leave their homes and became part of the Islamic State. When it comes to the societal level, identity of women is constantly changing; they play an important and crucial role for the future of the terrorist movements, with regards to their properties stemming from their gender propositions. From the institutional perspective, female participation has an impact on increasing power of the Islamic State, which can affect international security.

#### **3.3.3 Discourse 3 - Anna Erelle: In the skin of a Jihadist: Inside Islamic State's Recruitment Networks (targeted messaging)**

### **Phase 1 - Description**

This part of our analysis is aimed to examine linguistic features of the discourse made by Bilel, as a direct representation of the Islamic State. This phase emphasizes on the vocabulary, grammar and cohesion, particularly on the use of metaphors, naming, modality and other linguistic features and how they influence the production of the text.

### **Structure of the text**

This source differs from previous texts from *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*. Due to the fact that it presents private conversation between young female and male leader, it is necessary to view this material differently. Analysis focuses on examination of selected excerpts, which were put together by the author of this book, but in reality it lasted approximately one month while this discourse was gradually created. Text is written very coherently and logically and does not use retrospective technique. Conversely it presents gradual process of the evolution of this mutual conversation.

### **Religious terms**

In this conversation between Bilel and “Mélodie”, similarly than in *Dabiq* or *Rumiyah*, we can see presence of an ideology as well as religious terms. Bilel

repeatedly refers on Allah and the Prophet and uses these persons for strengthening of his claims. (*“According to the **Prophet**, if you want to be a good Muslim, you must come to Al-Sham serve God’s cause.”*, *“I can tell you about everything going on in Syria – the only real truth – **Allah’s** truth.”*)

In comparison with propaganda magazines, this conversation do not use so huge amount of words from Arabic language, only the most well-known ones (*hijrah* or *kafirs*), but is full of simple words and their meanings which are easy to understand to young girl.

### **Vocabulary**

By the most frequent use of particular nouns we can observe the gender-biased of the discourse, and its devotion to the female audience.

***Women – 18 times,***

***Wife – 30 times,***

***Husband – 8 times,***

***Sister – 6 times.***

Bilel’s selection of vocabulary is aimed to help “Mélodie” to identify with the subject of the discourse.

### **Cohesion**

He uses *naming* for the purpose of easier identification of Mélodie with his claims. He use words with the noble meanings, when he talks about Mélodie, such as (you are) my *jewel*, my *darling*, *princess*, *queen*, *treasure*. (*“You are my **treasure** and the Islamic State is your home.”*) Also he several times names her as *sister* for the purpose to identify with people from the Islamic State, especially with other women. (*“Salaam alaikum, my **sister**.”* or *“ISIS **sisters** take care of them, they are remarkable women.”*)

Adverb “you” is used plenty times in this discourse, almost in every sentence. (***You** will establish your own little world here with your new friends.*” or *“I have a special surprise for **you**.”*)

It reflects on the fact that his discourse is produced especially by him for her. Also he uses adverb “we” when he talks about the people from the Islamic State (*“**We** represent God’s will”, “brick by brick **we’ll** build the better world and **we’ll** carve a name of ourselves in history.*”) and conversely “they” and “them” when he speaks about the enemy. (*“**they’re** all kafirs and deserve to die”, “We obliterated **them**”, “since **they** are trying to eradicate us”*). By the adverb “we” our “our” not only means the people from the Islamic State, but in this context he means him and Mélodie together (*“As soon as you came in Syria, **our** marriage will be valid.*”)

### **Modality**

Due to the fact, that whole analyzing text is written as a direct speech, very active voice is used. Many modal verbs are used for generating of possibility, ability or permission or some kind of moral obligation of doing something. Words like *should/shouldn’t* (used 10 times), *can/can’t/could* (used 26 times), *would* (4times), *must* (2 times) and *will* (71times) are repeatedly used by author. These words also refer to the future and encourage reader to do something. (*“You **should** see how happy women are here.*”) He also uses *will* for generation of some kind of promise such as (*“I promise you, **I’ll take** care of you.*”)

### **Metaphors and contrasting**

Bilel’s discourse is full of metaphors, mostly connected with the creation of the picture of Islamic State and people who live here (*“what a paradise me and my men are building”, “we are one big family”, “Raqqa is your palace”*), as well as the picture of their enemies (*“the corrupt country”, “the world’s evils”, “the wolfs transforming sheep”*), which is based on creating of contrasts.

This is used especially with the context of the women, and their identity. By phrases *“women in Europe are treated badly and used like objects”* and *“the enemy steals from and kill poor Syrians, he rapes women, too.”* He tries to emphasis on their bad conditions in countries in which they are living. He attempts to make contrast and

highlight the live of women in the Islamic State “*you will make a whole new life, a very happy one, for yourself*”.

## **Phase 2: Interpretation**

Through the next stage of Fairlough’s three-dimensional model, this part emphasizes on the relationship between author and recipient and the interaction of author due to this text. For this phase of analysis is based on intertextuality and coherence of texts together with force of utterance are crucial. This phase is aimed to uncover intentions of Bilel as well as desired response by Mélodie. This phase of our analysis uncovers the fact that this text is considered as the tool aimed for achieving of some social change.

Recruiting process is gradual and presents pattern, frequently repeated in majority of causes and propaganda materials. It is based on the creation of an important identity of women and its roles, material assurance, skidding, proposal for marriage and help with planning the journey to Syria.

“I can’t stand to think of you in that **corrupt country**. I’ll protect you. I’ll shelter you from the **world’s evils**. When you come to live with me, you’ll see what a **paradise** me and my men are building. You’ll be amazed. Here, people care about each other. They respect each other. We’re one big family, and we’ve already made a place for you – everyone is waiting for you!” (Erelle, 2015, p. 3)

“Women in Europe are **treated badly** and used like objects. Men show you off like trophies. I want lots of people to join ISIS, but I’m especially interested in recruiting those who are **treated the worst**.” (Erelle, 2015, p. 55)

Behind the meaning of this text we can see how he is attempting to create some kind of knowledge in which the Islamic State is amazing place for living, where people live in better conditions, care about each other and respect each other, also women, in comparison with the live in the Western countries, where high level of corruption is, people do not care about each other and Muslims are considered as a second class citizens. He puts emphasis especially on the bad treatment of women in Europe, compares them to the “*trophies*” and “*objects*”. He put himself into the position that he is one to save her, protect her and shelter her. His attempt to encourage her to leave

France and come to Syria is evident by the use of active phases such as “*everyone is waiting for you!*”.

In comparison with the previous text from *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*, in which religious terms and phases were frequently used for justification of author’s claims, it is different in this text. Despite the fact that Bilel several times uses references on the Islamic law and Allah, he presents an authority – the most important character and influencer of Mélodie’s mind. He tries to strengthen their mutual relationship.

“You’ll be really well taken care of here. You’ll be important. And if you agree to marry me, I’ll *treat you* like a **queen**.” (Erelle, 2015, p. 52)

He is the creator of some kind of knowledge, based on the better position of women within the Islamic State in comparison with the women living in the West. He compares actual position of Mélodie to the women from the Islamic State, before their arrival. It is aimed to persuade Mélodie to follow their example.

“You should see **how happy women are here**. They used to be like you – lost. One of my friend’s wives has arranged a program for your arrival. **After your shooting lessons, she’ll take you to a very beautiful store, the only one in the country that sells fine cloth**. I’ll pay for everything. **You’ll establish your own little world here with your new friends**. I’m so excited for you to be here. Melódie, my wife! Hurry up, I can’t wait.” (Erelle, 2015, p. 3)

His purpose to encourage her to make hijrah into the Islamic State is confirms by the use of Prophetic methodology: “*According to the Prophet you must come to Al-Sham and serve God’s cause*.” He is looking for direct active response from Mélodie, by the use of modalities and active voice with connection on religious references.

He references on Quran when he is explaining the role of women “*Women are supposed to get married when they turn fourteen*”. His personality strengthened Allah’s obligation and urge Mélodie to come to Syria and married him. He proposed her several times: “*I asked you to marry me*.”, “*I ask you again to be my wife*.” It reflects on the role of women as a wife.

Later on he identifies and connects her with him by frequent repetition of the phrase “*my wife*”. He generates the feeling that she is connected with him by the phrases “*you are mine now*”, “*you belong to me forever*”. Additionally, he justifies his

virtual marriage: “*as soon as you come to Syria our marriage will be valid*”, by which he tries to encourage her to come as soon as possible.

Following phases are aimed to persuade her about her importance for him, which reflects selection of noble phases in naming her. Also he uses active voice and modalities to encourage her to identify herself with people in Caliphate and consequently her following of him:

“Listen to me, you are my *jewel*, and the house where we’ll live with our children will be our *kingdom*.” (Erelle, 2015, p. 106)

“... I already told you: you’re my *jewel* and Raqqa is your *palace*. You’ll be *treated* like a *princess*.” (Erelle, 2015, p.140)

“You are my *treasure*, and the Islamic State is your *home*. (Erelle, 2015, p. 4)

Bilel operates with verb treat, which he repeats frequently in his discourse. He contrasts women from Europe, which are treated badly and compares them to the object, something which is not taking into account seriously and importantly. He uses opposites with gradually changing negative effect of meaning, threat (you) like a queen, well, badly and the worst treated, in context with the comparison of treatment of women within Europe and within the Islamic State. Bilel selects terms such as “*queen*”, “*princess*”, “*jewel*”, “*treasure*”, “*palace*” and “*kingdom*” – symbols of the highest importance, respect, superiority and high social status. This way he attempts to convince her to see the perfect picture of herself, in contrast with her real position within Western society, which can be real after her arrival to the Islamic State. These techniques are used mostly for the main aim, giving advantage to the Islamic State – hijrah and marriage with jihadi soldier. Notions of marriage and motherhood is repeated very frequently, which mean that these roles of women in IS are of high importance.

Other excerpts are used for creation of an identity of women and their role and responsibilities within the Caliphate.

“You like *children*? One day you’ll have some of your own, Insha’Allah. You know, we have many *orphans* here in need of *mothers*. ISIS *sisters* take care of them, they’re remarkable *women*. You have a lot in common with them. You would like them.” (Erelle, 2015, p. 30)



“...You’ll take care of *orphans* and the wounded during the day, while I’m fighting. We’ll spend our evenings together insha’Allah.” (Erelle, 2015, p. 4)

We can see that in these messages, similarly than in more others, he uses typically female centered notions such as children, orphans, sisters and mothers. He encourages her to feel the need to be the mother, to help innocent orphans and children to grow up. Through the children, especially the women’s desire to have their own children, he creates irreplaceable role of women living in the Islamic State. He again uses notion take care of orphans/children connected with positive honorable phases such as remarkable women, centered to the personality of Mélodie. As a clear example, he explains her that she “(you) *have a lot in common with them*” or “*you would like them*”, which means that he tries to persuade her that she is the same – remarkable equally as other women in Islamic State. Here we can see that the main role of women is at home – to serve her husband and growing up children.

The role of women in Islamic State is really a crucial part, which composes propaganda discourses. Bilel through his targeted messaging explains what is the role and duties of women in Islamic State, and why women are so important.

“During the day while I am off fighting, *you’ll spend your morning perfecting your Arabic and your afternoons doing whatever you want*. You can hang out with your girlfriends or visit children in hospital and orphanages.” (Erelle, 2015, p. 75)

“When you get here, you follow basic curriculum: *language classes in the morning and shooting classes in the afternoon*. You sleep in a *katiba* with other Francophones, and experienced fighters committed to guiding you in your spiritual journey. After two weeks, *either you are strong enough to fight and you join combat or secret operations, or you specialized in a specific field, like recruitment or counterespionage*. You can also *devote yourself to noble activities like visited wounded jihadists in hospitals or delivering medicine to those in need*. You can teach the *Koran* to the unenlightened. (Erelle, 2015, p. 100)

“There are *lots of French and Belgian women*. These days they are obsessed with explosive belts...to blow themselves up if need be...” (Erelle, 2015, p. 75-76)

“One last thing. It is really important. Really, really important! When you get there, *you have to cover yourself from head to toe - even your hands*. The sitar *is mandatory here*” (Erelle, 2015, p. 76)

We can find here many evidences about the main role of women in Islamic State. Through all of his discourse we can see that he precisely distinguishes men’s duties like fighting and women’s ones. In fourth selected message, he highlights vigorously the background positions of women, who suppose to be at home hidden and veiled, fulfilling its duties. In first message he puts emphasis on taking care of children in orphanages, one of the allowed out of home activities. In the second and third one, we can see that he mentions another Western women and the role of a sisterhood for providing a spiritual journey. This can give an impression of belonging to the broader community of women with same purposes. Through his discourse we can seek an importance of an education, spiritual as well as common knowledge such as language classes. We can see that he also encourages her to the “noble” activities like counterespionage and recruitment. In general, we can observe that he offers her to choose from various activities, while each of them is portrayed as an important role with sublime objectives. Additionally, we can observe that sometimes he mentions women in context with participating on the fight, through the shooting lessons or the use of explosive belts. However, he explains that women are allowed to do it only in some specific circumstances, which refers to the fact that the role of women in Islamic State is not to participate in fight.

By an analysis of all of their mutual communication, especially the discourse created by him, we can conclude that in terms of use of language as a social practice, he uses really active approach in his messages; he uses so many active verbs aimed for support of Mélodie’s hijra into the Islamic State. He uses oppositions, he selects negative connotations while he is talking about the West and conversely positive words while he is explaining mission of the Islamic State, role of its people, especially an importance and needs of women. He portrays himself in a position of strong men, which is able to assure Mélodie wealthy and happy life in Islamic State. His authoritative character is manifested through all of his speech.

We can see how he works with the words, uses naming as well as he creates oppositions. He puts emphasis on the notion – “corrupt country” and “world’s evils” meaning France full of nonbelievers as a part of European Union, more broadly part of

the “West”, which is considered such as the major adversary to the Islamic State. On the other hand, he selects positive notion of “paradise” or “big family” meaning the Islamic State. He repeatedly uses pronoun You connected with the positive future tens verbs, such as you will be amazed, you will see what a paradise we are building or everybody is waiting for you. Through these phrases he tries to induce feelings that she is really important for him as well as for the whole community of the Islamic State. Additionally, he employs in his communication active phrases and also he frequently uses modalities, for instance you should be here, can’t stand to think. He tries to create a sense of urgency, which serves as a call for action, in our case Melodie’s journey to the Islamic State. Particularly, the verbs he uses in connection with the Islamic State such as love, protect, shelter, care or respect have really encouraging connotation and at the same time present values, which are truly essential for women in general.

He puts emphasis on portraying of the women from the Islamic State as satisfied and happy. He creates two opposing identities of women and he encourages Melodie to feel desire to become a part of the Islamic State, which means for her that she would not be lost anymore, but she will find the truth and right path if she decides to go to the Islamic State. He uses words family, friends and my wife for the main purpose to the Melodie’s perception to be a part of the Islamic State. He uses active phases, such as hurry up, can’t wait as well as modalities, as you should see for the sense of urgency and taking of actions. He employs materialistic approach to pursue her that he will take care of her in terms of welfare and money.

### **Phase 3: Explanation**

According to the analysis of communication between “Mélodie” and IS leader Abu Bilel through methods of CDA, we can summarize several conclusions. It is necessary to add that this story is only one from thousands others with the same course, which also explains the reason why it was selected as one of our research materials. It can provide us a broader pattern, generally implemented by IS recruiters as well as a picture of how this process works in reality. We can see that Bilel really handily operates with words; his discursive methods are persuasive and it gives him an ability to create an identity of women, which is seen by a targeted woman as alluring and important. Consequently, identity and critical knowledge created by an agent, motivates women to leave their homes and become the part of the Caliphate.

This text had direct impact of one particular person, but presents only one example among thousand using same pattern. It was produced for the purpose to start some social change, with eminent impact on whole social context. Namely, it was create for the main rationale to encourage women to become the part of the Islamic State. We can distinguish between two levels of its impact - institutional and societal. From the institutional perspective, this discourse with help of ideology, tries to increase power of the Islamic State, by creating tempting picture of the women of the Islamic State and their consequent decision about the journey into Syria. Role of women is crucial for the future perspective of this terrorist movement, which is clearly reflected in previous stages of our analysis. In terms of societal level, we can observe increasing importance of women and its significance for the functionality of society. They interact with their decision to become part of this movement, which has an impact on society. Raising number of women in this terrorist movement has impact on the security.

#### **3.3.4 Discourse 4 – Social network Twitter**

According to Wodak, not only texts but also non-verbal aspects of interaction and communication such as gestures, images, films, the internet and multimedia can be the object of critical discourse analysis. He calls them transmedia, which “help to faster rates organized within the framework of are slowly changing features of social institutions and cultures”. (Wodak, Meyer, 2008, p. 2) Also another important scholar of CDA van Leeuwen claims that discourses are realized multimodally, not only through the talk or text but also through other channels of communication such as images. (Wodak, Meyer, 2008, p. 16)

In this last part of our CDA, three images from well-known social network Twitter, as a suitable variation to our textual discourses, are analyzed. The main purpose of these images, similarly as in previous sources, is to create an identity of women with the use of hidden power and ideology behind them.

This analysis is also based on Fairclough’s three-dimensional model, but since there are visual materials included in the analysis it is necessary to access these materials differently. For this purpose, the grammar of visual design introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen is used.

## Image 1



**Figure 2** Tweet from 19<sup>th</sup> February published on Twitter by @UmmYaqin (Hall, 2015, np.)

In this picture we can see two women walking with their children. We are not able to identify faces of children because they are deliberately blurred. Women are cloaked in their black veils, so it means that black color is dominant in this picture. Background of this image is also blurry which generates feeling that women are at the forefront. As there is no text included in the picture, it is necessary to assess the picture in the context of how it is used on Twitter. It means that we must consider also the caption which accompanies the picture. Depiction of this image says “*Our mothers raising the next #GenerationKhilafah*”.

Producer of this image (more exactly of this “*tweet*”) is a woman living in Islamic State, calling herself with nickname Umm Yaqin. She is in the picture, which means that she impersonates represented participant as well as interactive participant. She wants to show how her live in the Islamic State looks like. She emphasizes on the most important role and responsibility of every woman – to bear children. As we can see in description accompanying this image, it is aimed to portray rising of the next generation.

This image obviously presents gender discourse. By this interpretation we can suggest that this discourse was created for women audience, especially women from the

West, considering the use of English language. This visual discourse is easily understood by women, who have some a priori knowledge about the ideology of the Islamic State, particularly they know about the main role of women within this terrorist movement.

The viewer (we count for female recipient) is positioned in a high angle. The ground seems to be located beneath her and is overviewed by her. This kind of picture gives ability to generate some kind of insight to the live of women within the Islamic State. Stemming from these pieces of information about positions in connection with this picture, we can conclude that the power balance is on the side of the viewer. Concerning kind of shot, this one represents the medium shot which refers on the normal social distance between producer and receiver, like all day situation.

When it comes to the color of this picture, there are more colors observable in this image, yet the black one prevails. It is directly connected with women and black part of this picture is precisely clear without the blurry. Black color relates to the hidden, it keeps things bottled up inside, hidden from the world. Another meaning of black is protection from harm and negativity when traveling or when going about usual daily activities outside home. When we apply it on our objective, according to the IS ideology, women are permitted to be hidden and veiled and they should not to leave their homes when it is not necessary. This can help receiver to identify with the reality. Black also relates to the power and control, implies self-control and discipline as well as strong will. It symbolizes women and their power within the Islamic State, connected mostly with their gender-based dispositions. Additionally, self-control, discipline as well as strong will present desired characteristics of every woman.

## Image 2



**Figure 3** Tweet from 18<sup>th</sup> February 2015 published on Twitter by Umm Qayyim / @UmmQuayem (Hall, 2015, np.)

In this black and white picture we can observe man as a father with his newborn baby. They are probably at home, enjoying time together by playing and kissing. Despite black and white mode of this image, white and grey colors are more dominant in comparison with black. Description of this picture says: “*While muslims are deciding about hijrah, muhajereen are giving birth to ansar. AlhamduliLlah*”. The text associated with this image uses an active voice and describes what is currently happening.

Producer of this image is probably so called Umm Qayyim and this picture exposes her husband and her child. In this case she is not represented participant but conversely she is one of the interactive participants. Through this image discourse, she attempts to highlight the women as a wife and mother. We can see not only child, who is frequently displayed in propaganda discourses devoted to women, but also her man, which represents element of women attraction. Moreover, we can observe the man who takes care of his child, which is another important value appreciated by women. Furthermore, her description associated with this image is aimed to generate some sense of urgency and encouraging other women into action, namely to make a journey into the Islamic State and to deliver children. She refers on *ansar*, which in Arabic language

means “The helpers”, in other words local inhabitants of Medina, who helped Muhammad and his followers during their migration from Mecca. (Definition from the..., np.)

Concerning recipients of this discourse, stemming from the use of English language we can conclude that this image is produced for Western female audience. Hence, we can categorize it as a gender discourse. We can observe things purely connected with the gender– husband and child. It is aimed to not only to display the reality, but also for encouragement of women to change their behavior and take actions.

The observer is positioned in eye level angle- in front of represented participants. This type of position presents a balance of power between represented and interactive participants. The viewer is in very intimate nearly position with the man and child, which reflects recipient’s high level of involvement. Behind these features -connected with the creation of image- we can find an attempt to help recipients with identification with producer and her ideas.

Regarding usage of colors in this picture, author used black and white photographic mode. As it was mentioned before, despite the presence of black color, dominant colors are white and grey. It gives this image brightness. Concerning meaning of colors, white is a symbol of purity, innocence, wholeness and completion. Additionally, white also indicates new beginnings. All of these symbols are directly connected with the infant. Symbol of new beginnings, allowing us to put the past behind us and preparing us to move on can suggest also the new life of women, which will start after she leave her hometown and move to Syria. Shades of grey, together with white are also dominant. Grey means stable and solid, creating sense of calm and composure, relief from a chaotic world. Moreover, grey color symbolizes maturity and responsibility, which is interconnected with the eminent role of women from IS – get married, make a family and raise children the future of the Caliphate.



### Image 3



**Figure 4** Tweet from 25<sup>th</sup> January 2015 published on Twitter by muhajira umm hamza / @muhajirahfilah (Hall, 2015, np.)

This picture portrays three young girls during their lesson at school. Girls are hidden by wearing of traditional Muslim dress - black, white and colorful one. We can't see their faces because they are turned back while they are looking at the white board in front of them. Two girls, who are situated in the middle of this image, are close to each other and one of them hinge on the other one. This visual discourse includes following description: *"Girl in school in #raqqah media are lying. Children are fine under #is pic taken by me today #expressen #Aftonbladet"*.

The producer of this picture is a woman living in Raqqa, who presents one of interactive participants. She produced this picture due to its emphasis on the importance of knowledge and the role of woman as a teacher. Not only knowledge of women but also her responsibility to teach future generations is portrayed to be essential. She used the picture of small girls - children who are connected with women and their natural predispositions connected with gender. Description associated with this picture gives evidence that author of this visual discourse reacts to some negative information about live within the Islamic State published by media. She wants to avoid discouragement of

women to make journey into the Islamic State. Consequently, it refers to the importance of women in the IS.

In regards to viewers of this image, it was produced for the main purpose to attract as many women as possible, especially women living in the West. We can infer it based on the use of English language. Stemming from this fact we can conclude that this is also another gender discourse. Two girls close to each other generate positive feelings and represent love, kindness, friendship and sense of belonging to the same community.

The viewer is positioned in a high angle, while the floor seems to be beneath her. It means that the power of balance is on the side of the viewer. It seems that receiver watches over and has control over what is happening. It submits on women and their authority and importance in teaching and preparing future generation for its role, especially young girls.

There are more colors in this picture, while darker and brighter ones are in balance.

### **Explanation**

After our analysis of visual discourses in form of images, captured by non-professional producers we can make several conclusions. Through this analysis based on the Fairclough three-dimensional model as well as the grammar of visual design introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen we can see process of the creation of an identity of women living in the Islamic State.

Authors- as interactive participants- use visual material for promotion of their ideas as well as for encouragement of other women to change their mind, behavior as well as taking actions. In our case producers of these discourses present real women from the Islamic State, who are making sense of images in the context of the Islamic State. Regarding this fact they regulate what and how may be said through these images as well as how it should be interpreted. They emphasize on traditional roles of women, which correspond with their gender dispositions, namely delivery of children and their bearing. Another part of interactive participants created by viewers is aimed to identify itself with the ideas presented through discourses and their meanings. Moreover, we can see that the role of women is not only to produce, bear and teach future generation of

the Islamic State but from the perspective of the author of these discourses we can observe the role of women as recruiters.

From the broader perspective, we can see an importance of women for function of the Islamic State, which is reflected by production of these discourses. Islamic State needs women due to their function of reproduction and subsequent increase of its size and population. Consequently, it gives the Islamic State new fighters, credibility and power, which has an impact on the international environment. Concerning these evidences, we can conclude that the Islamic State caused an emancipation of women, despite the fact that this is not kind of traditional meaning of “emancipation” as we know it. It is an emancipation of women, who play an important role within the terrorist group and are equally important as men despite their different social roles which they are having within society.

### **3.4 Conclusions and implications**

The main objective of this chapter was to analyze several various propaganda materials produced by Islamic State for the main purpose to recruit new members. An analysis of various propaganda materials, particularly articles for women from magazines Dabiq and Rumiya, images from Twitter as well as targeted messaging, gives an ability to see the most accurate picture of examining issue as it is possible. As a methodological base for our analysis we have used three-dimensional method of CDA introduced by Fairclough as well as its combination with grammar of visual design by Kress and van Leeuwen for analysis of visual material. After analysis of different types of gender based discourses devoted to female audience, we can observe repeating signs available to find in every selected discourse.

As it was mentioned several times, no discourse exists independently and each is aimed to send some kind of message to its receivers. Ideology is an important factor, because due to ideology authors of discourses try to achieve some broader goals. Gender construction presence in our analysis emerges as an ideology, reveals in ideas, beliefs and intentions which stabilize the system. As gender theorists state organizations have direct impact on the construction of gender, responsible for creation and diffusion of the hegemonic ideology. In case of the Islamic State, authors of

discourses who presents members of IS have eminent impact on the gender construction. Authors of our analysis are mostly other women, which is aimed to become closer to the readers and help them with easier identification. They use the power of the religion and authority of Allah for achievement of credibility, which we can see plenty times in our discourses. One discourse representing targeted messaging was created by men, one of the most important and influential member, which presents also deliberate intention to attract female audience.

Our discourses are aimed to create attractive picture of women with emphasis on their importance. Conversely, concerning receivers we can conclude that all of these discourses were produced with the main aim to address Western women. Moreover, the aim of authors is to change their minds and fuel some kind of actions. As it was argue by gender theorists discrimination and oppression that women face in many societies (in our case Muslim women oppressed in Western countries) in term of women right, treatment, healthcare etc., can lead to the connection of females with the use of ..and realization of their potential though the terrorism (emancipation). We can conclude it due to the use of English language, repeating demonization of the West, creating opposing identities– negative ones describing West and positive ones portraying the Islamic State. The selection of topics also supports our argument. Through our analysis we can observe two levels of the women’s identity and their position within the Islamic State– wives, mothers and teachers and professional recruiters. Discourses are devoted to the importance of women as wives and mothers which declared also repeating attempts to persuade women about their *hijrah* into the Islamic State. Propaganda produced by the Islamic State is really sophisticated. Authors appropriately use linguistic features for making discourses as much interesting as it possible. We can see an active voice which generates sense of urgency. Prophetic methodology and personage of Allah play roles within these propaganda discourses.

Regarding everything mentioned above, we can assume that the Islamic State influenced an emancipation of women as terrorists. Subjectivity of woman is still changing and in this terrorist movement women play crucial roles. It is connected with their reproductive abilities, which are necessary for creation of the future generation of the Islamic State. As Caliphate is raising, it gives the power to the Islamic State and consequently it has an eminent impact on broader international scene. It is necessary to

add that the Islamic State presents bigger threat in comparison with previous terrorist groups, due to the fact that its goals are not limited to a particular area.

Here we can see overlap with the gender theory, which examines how ideas about gender influence politics. Scholars written in the gender theory tradition uncover presence of gender in all aspect of international affairs, which is also the case of women within the Islamic State. They claim that gender is a social construct and it is connected with weakness, dependence, emotion and private. Our analysis explains shift in women subjectivity due to their construction (producers of the discourse) of their interests and identities, which gives us ability to develop understanding of social change (actions made by receivers of the discourse). Identities shape constructions of femininity and masculinity and gender relations and the other way around, which is observable in our case.

Despite significant involvement of women within the Islamic State as bearers of the future generation as well as recruiters, it is not plausible that women in the near future would establish pure women organization. Their importance increasing but they do not often perpetrate terrorist attacks and they are still dependent on their male counterparts. It was proved that they are very competent, they have an advantage when it comes to soft and supportive roles, which has an impact on the power of particular terrorist group. This is also the main reason why they are so desired within the Islamic State. Conversely, men are also important for more effective perpetration of violent actions.

## Conclusion

Shortly after the Al-Baghdadi's establishment of worldwide Caliphate in June 2014, which refers on the founding of the Islamic State as we know it today, members of this terrorist movement have started with their massive propaganda campaign. The main aim of this campaign was to recruit as many members as possible, female addressees included, for the objective to increase the power as well as the territorial base of this movement. Major part of Islamic State's propaganda material appears to be devoted to Western audience. Consequently, we are witnesses of still more and more terrorist attacks conducted on European soil. IS representatives have subscribed to most of these terrorist attacks. Moreover, there is another important challenge connected with the raise of this terrorist movement, maybe invisible on the first sight, and it is women and their participation within this group.

The main aim of the thesis was to examine women, their changing subjectivity and the role within the Islamic State as well as the impact of this terrorist movement on their emancipation. Thesis consisted of three chapters that were focusing on different topics. First chapter discussed theoretical as well methodological base which formed this thesis. Regarding theoretical framework, constructivist feminism and gender theory, which build upon the study of how ideas about gender influence global politics formed this thesis, which means that whole thesis stems from this. First chapter also introduced the method of Critical Discourse Analysis, specifically Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA and grammar of visual design by Kress and van Leeuwen. These concepts become the methodological base of our own research. Finally, chapter briefly characterized sources of our research material as well as material itself.

Second chapter appeared to serve as contextual introduction into the topic, with the emphasis on current state of knowledge concerning women – roots and motives for their participation within terrorist movement. After our research we can conclude that during last decades, women's participation within terrorist groups has been constantly increasing. Moreover, they become crucial for success of many terrorist movements. According to some limitations (type of terrorist movement, purpose of particular group, time period or events connected with their activities etc.) it is not appropriate to make a

general conclusion about women's role within terrorist groups, namely their changing subjectivity necessarily shifting from victims toward warriors. In each group we can find many similarities (*motives* – oppression, exploitations, restrictions, economic reasons, revenge) but equally differences (*roles* – operational/supportive, *positions* – possible to be leader (secular)/ impossible to be leader (religious), *process of recruitment* – coercion (Palestine, LTTE)/ voluntariness (IS) which stems from their specificities. In this context it is necessary to mention the establishment of the method of suicide bombing, which markedly influenced women and their participation within terrorist movements. Despite limitations and dissimilarities, we can conclude that their involvement within terrorist movements has had an impact on increased level of women emancipation.

Third chapter was devoted to the empirical research of the propaganda material of the Islamic State, based on the method of CDA, namely Fairclough's three dimensional model and in addition, the grammar of visual design introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen. Research composed by the gradual analysis of six articles aimed for female audience, published in propaganda magazines *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah* and targeted messaging between IS's leader and young Western Muslim girl published by *Ann Errele*. Sources were analyzed according to the concept of three stages of CDA implemented by Fairclough: description, interpretation and explanation. Last source presented three posts "tweets" published by women of IS on well-known social platform *Twitter*. Due to the fact that these posts consist of visual material, Fairclough's model was combined with Kress's and Leeuwen's grammar of visual design. Stemming from this extensive analysis we made several conclusions.

There are several patterns, which we can observe in every analyzed discourse. These discourses are not written independently from one another; conversely we can see strong intertextuality between them. They are written for the same purpose – to attract Western females and encourage them to leave their countries and move to Syria. Discourses were created by other women – members of the Islamic State, with one exception of targeted messaging where men presented the main role. Authors, as well as their creation of the identity of women, supported by ideologically-based justifications, in form of quotations of Allah and his Companions, play an important role in recruitment process. Authors selected appropriate language and tried to become closer to the readers and help them to easier identify with their claims. In case of targeted

messaging, man serves as a tool of attractiveness to generate the sense of romanticizing about their lives. It is necessary to add that this is only one example among thousands, which are happening every day. Stemming from our analysis, we can observe two main roles of women within the Islamic State: housewives and professional recruiters.

Women participation within the Islamic State presents the milestone for women emancipation as terrorists. They play crucial role not only in case of recruitment of new women, but also they supposed to be the stimulation for encouragement of men's participation. This characterizes the role of women as recruiters. Another crucial role is connected mostly with their abilities stemming from their gender dispositions. They should be bearers of future generations, mothers, wives, teachers and supporters. It has eminent impact on the empowerment of the Islamic State and its achievement of broader political goals. Concerning women as fighters, according to the ideology of the Islamic State, they can fight only in exceptional cases, when males are not able to defend their territory. They are not required fight with weapons, but as we could observe in our research material, their weapon is patience and knowledge. Due to daring aspirations of the Islamic State, women are essential for their fulfillment, which explains the reason why they do not desire for their participation as fighters.

Concerning the future participation of women in terrorism, last decades confirmed that their activities connected with terrorism are increasing. We can assume that this trend will continue in the near as well as in the far future. However, it is not probable that women will establish purely women's terrorist organization. All of our cases support this argument, due to the fact that in majority of cases, women played mostly supportive roles, in which they approved to be really irreplaceable and successful. Despite the fact that there were some cases of women as perpetrators of violent actions, this is connected mostly with the phenomenon of suicide-bombing, which influenced almost every terrorist group, due to its efficiency. Many terrorist movements are based on patriarchal arrangement of their inner structure, which means that women are subordinated to men. They can find the emancipation for themselves but it is not that kind of emancipation we know in our Western society. Women in Islamic State have found their emancipation in raising up their children, in building safe havens for their husbands fighting in jihad, in teaching religion and bearing the future generations in the same spirit, in spirit of Islamic law and religion.



## **Summary**

The Master's thesis aimed to analyze women's subjectivity and its changing nature in connection to female involvement in terrorist movements. Thesis emphasized on the Islamic State and its impact on female terrorist's emancipation. For this purpose work used method of Critical Discourse Analysis based on three-dimensional model of analysis introduced by Fairclough as well as grammar of visual design implemented by Kress and van Leeuwen, for analysis of various propaganda materials published by the Islamic State. Stemming from performed analysis thesis concludes that women's subjectivity is changing and that the Islamic State caused female emancipation due to the fact that women play an influential role as housewives as well as recruiters.

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