Contents

Foreword V

Preface VII

Contents IX

List of Figures XI

List of Tables XI

List of Abbreviations XII

1. Introduction: Aim and outline of the study 1

A Models, concepts, and theories 7

2. Modeling terrorism and political violence 7

2.1 Three criminological anomalies of terrorism 9
2.2 Challenges for impartial research on crime and terrorism 12
2.3 Terrorism: Political violence or political label? 16
2.3.1 Terrorism as political discretion 17
2.3.2 Terrorism as political violence 18
2.3.3 The continuum of political violence 21
2.4 Summary 25

3. Modeling jihadism 29

3.1 Islamic activism 30
3.1.1 Islamism/political Islam 33
3.1.2 Islamic nationalism 35
3.1.3 Islamic fundamentalism/Salafism 37
3.2 Jihad in the book: The dogmatic dimension of jihadism 42
3.2.1 Origins of the jihad-dogma 43
3.2.2 Contentious aspects of jihad 44
3.3 Jihad in action: The military history of jihad 47
3.4 Summary 51

B Empirical part 53

4. Methodology 53

4.1 Research in the social sciences 53
4.2 Research methods for analyzing jihadi media 55
4.2.1 Discourse analysis 57
4.2.2 Frame analysis 59
4.2.3 Content analysis 62
4.3 Research design and method of the study 64
4.3.1 Sampling and data acquisition 65
4.3.2 Coding procedure 68

4.3.3 Data analysis ... 69
4.3.4 Automated concept mapping using Leximancer ... 71

5. The ideology of jihadism ... 75

6. Mapping AQ's ideology: Frames, narratives, themes, and issues in jihadi media ... 79

6.1 The socio-political analysis of jihadism ... 82
6.1.1 Apostasy ... 84
6.1.1.1 Grievances ... 85
6.1.1.2 Religious supremacy ... 88
6.1.1.3 Types of apostasy ... 93
6.1.1.4 Conclusions and thematic links ... 99
6.1.2 Global conflict ... 103
6.1.2.1 Grievances ... 104
6.1.2.2 Points of conflict ... 106
6.1.2.3 War of ideas ... 108
6.1.2.4 Conclusions and thematic links ... 112
6.1.3 Rejection of secular governance ... 113
6.1.3.1 Theological rejection of democracy ... 114
6.1.3.2 Political-strategic rejections of democracy ... 116
6.1.3.3 General grievances about secular governance ... 118
6.1.3.4 Conclusions and thematic links ... 122
6.2 The goals of AQ ... 123
6.2.1 Truce conditions ... 123
6.2.2 Programmatic goals ... 125
6.2.3 Conclusions and thematic links ... 126
6.3 The means: Doctrines and strategies of jihad ... 129
6.3.1 Instrumentality of force ... 130
6.3.1.1 Strategic instrumentality ... 130
6.3.1.2 Religious instrumentality ... 134
6.3.1.3 Conclusions and thematic links ... 137
6.3.2 Justifications for violence ... 142
6.3.2.1 Political justifications ... 142
6.3.2.2 Theological justifications ... 145
6.3.2.3 Conclusions and thematic links ... 152
6.3.3 Appeals and advice ... 153

7. Jihadism in Iraq ... 159

7.1 The conflict in Iraq ... 159
7.1.1 External factors of the conflict ... 162
7.1.1.1 Iran ... 162
7.1.1.2 Jihadi ideology ... 164
7.2 Jihadi ideology in action: Claims of responsibility of AQI and AAS ... 171
7.2.1 Assassinations ... 175
7.2.2 Abductions and hostage taking ... 176
7.2.3 Battles and military campaigns ... 178
7.2.4 Commando operations and hit and run tactics ... 180
7.3 Ideological alignment of AQ central and AAS/AQI ... 182
7.3.1 Religious aspects of jihadi violence ... 184
7.3.2 Strategic aspects of jihadi violence ... 186

7.3.3 Ideological transfer and lessons learned 191
7.4 Conclusion 193

8. Summary, conclusions, and outlook 195

Bibliography 203

Annex 217

1. Automated concept mapping using Leximancer 217
2. Sample transcript: *AAZ* July 27, 2006 225
3. Text segments from AQ statements 227
4. Text segments from the claims of responsibility of AAS and AQI 259
5. Humor, sarcasm, and irony in jihadi media 265

List of Figures

Figure 1: Thirteen definitional features of Jihadism 50
Figure 2: Sampling stages and sources for AQ statements 68
Figure 3: Proportion of thematic categories in relation to total word count 77
Figure 4: Frames, narratives, themes and issues in AQ's ideology 81
Figure 5: The Iraqi insurgency 2003-2009 164
Figure 6: A claim of responsibility from AAS 173
Figure 7: Computer and user generated seed word list 221
Figure 8: Leximancer concept map for 31 AQ statements 224

List of Tables

Table 1: Similarities in the criminological study of terrorism vs. common crime 13
Table 2: Continuum of political violence 23
Table 3: Five forms of Sunni Islamic activism 32
Table 4: Text intersection of two themes in the apostasy narrative 92
Table 5: Theme relations matrix 100
Table 6: Grievances as political justifications for violence 144