

ISSN 2421-4442

S T S

ICUREZZA TERRORISMO SOCIETÀ

Security Terrorism Society

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL - Italian Team for Security, Terroristic Issues & Managing Emergencies



EDUCatt

SICUREZZA, TERRORISMO E SOCIETÀ

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
Italian Team for Security,
Terroristic Issues & Managing Emergencies

8

ISSUE 2/2018

Milano 2018

EDUCATT - UNIVERSITÀ CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE

SICUREZZA, TERRORISMO E SOCIETÀ
INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL – Italian Team for Security, Terroristic Issues & Managing Emergencies

ISSUE 2 – 8/2018

Direttore Responsabile:

Matteo Vergani (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano e Global Terrorism Research Centre – Melbourne)

Co-Direttore e Direttore Scientifico:

Marco Lombardi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano)

Comitato Scientifico:

Maria Alvanou (Lecturer at National Security School – Atene)
Cristian Barna (“Mihai Viteazul” National Intelligence Academy– Bucharest, Romania)
Claudio Bertolotti (senior strategic Analyst at CeMiSS, Military Centre for Strategic Studies – Roma)
Valerio de Divitiis (Expert on Security, Dedicated to Human Security – DEDIHS)
Chiara Fonio (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano)
Sajjan Gohel (London School of Economics – London)
Rovshan Ibrahimov (Azerbaijan Diplomatic Academy University – Baku, Azerbaijan)
Daniel Köhler (German Institute on Radicalization and De-radicalization Studies – Berlin)
Miroslav Mareš (Masaryk University – Brno, Czech Republic)
Vittorio Emanuele Parsi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano)
Anita Perešin (University of Zagreb – Croatia)
Giovanni Pisapia (Senior Security Manager, BEGOC – Baku – Azerbaijan)
Iztok Prezelj (University of Ljubljana)
Eman Ragab (Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies (ACPSS) – Cairo)
Riccardo Redaelli (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano)
Mark Sedgwick (University of Aarhus – Denmark)
Arturo Varvelli (Istituto per gli Studi di Politica Internazionale – ISPI – Milano)
Kamil Yilmaz (Independent Researcher – Turkish National Police)
Munir Zamir (Fida Management&C7 – London)
Sabina Zgaga (University of Maribor – Slovenia)
Ivo Veenkamp (Hedayah – Abu Dhabi)

Comitato Editoriale:

Gabriele Barni (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano)
Alessia Ceresa (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano)
Barbara Lucini (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano)
Marco Maiolino (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano)
Davide Scotti (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore – Milano)

© 2018 **EDUCatt - Ente per il Diritto allo Studio Universitario dell'Università Cattolica**
Largo Gemelli 1, 20123 Milano - tel. 02.7234.22.35 - fax 02.80.53.215
e-mail: editoriale.dsu@educatt.it (produzione); librario.dsu@educatt.it (distribuzione)
web: www.educatt.it/libri

Associato all'AIE – Associazione Italiana Editori

ISSN: 2421-4442

ISSN DIGITALE: 2533-0659

ISBN: 978-88-9335-387-8

copertina: progetto grafico Studio Editoriale EDUCatt

Table of contents

I.

PERSPECTIVES ON TERRORISM

TIZIANO LI PIANI Progettazione strutturale e funzione sociale dello spazio (quale) vulnerabilità e soluzione al terrorismo urbano. Perché serve e come è possibile proteggere l'edificio dall'uomo (oltre che dal terremoto).....	7
DANIELE MARIA BARONE Jihadists' use of cryptocurrencies: undetectable ways to finance terrorism.....	17
ESTHER FORLENZA Woman in Islamic terrorism: history, roles, data and analysis	61
DANIELE PLEBANI L'eredità operativa di Stato Islamico: dall' <i>open source jihad</i> all' <i>open source extremism</i>	101

II.

PERSPECTIVES ON SECURITY

ANDREA BECCARO Contemporary irregular conflicts: new and old ideas.....	121
GIUSEPPE GAGLIANO The birth of French economic intelligence and the contribution of Christian Harbulot	141
FRANCESCO BALUCANI La guerra civile dello Yemen. Emblema dei conflitti moderni	153

GIACOMO SALVANELLI, ROSARIO AIOSA
*Predictive Policing: prevedere i furti in abitazione nella città
di Ancona (IT) attraverso il Software del Risk Terrain Modeling
(RTMDx)* 171

III.

PERSPECTIVES ON RESILIENCE

ALESSANDRA PEVERELLI
Theoretical studies and practical approach on measuring urban resilience:
the Mariana (MG) case study..... 191

Woman in Islamic terrorism: history, roles, data and analysis

ESTHER FORLENZA

Nota autore

Esther Forlenza is intern at ITSTIME (Italian Team for Security, Terroristic Issues and Managing Emergencies) at Catholic University of Sacred Heart in Milan. She has a master's degree in Security Policies with a specific background in Sociology. Her Master's final thesis was related to presence of women in Islamic terrorism and in jihadist activity.

Abstract

The presence of women in Islamic terrorism has been studied by different scholars, however, from the literature emerged a cognitive gap on the concrete functions assumed by them. The purpose of this research is to understand the roles played by women, if there are differences in role between women affiliated with Al Qaeda and Daesh and what are the relevant intervening variables. The study was conducted on a sample of 176 women and the approach adopted was that of a qualitative analysis. The first part of the research highlights, for each role that emerged, the socio-relational variables that influences acquisition of role. The second part of the study analysis the semiotics of two magazines that following the birth of the Islamic State with the aim of understanding if and in what terms the online propaganda promoted female mobilization. The results obtained from the study showed that there was both a gradual implementation and diversification of female support with the beginning of Daesh.

Abstract

La presenza delle donne nel terrorismo islamico è stata rilevata da differenti studiosi tuttavia dalla letteratura è emerso un gap conoscitivo sulle concrete funzioni assunte da quest'ultime. Lo scopo di tale ricerca è quello di comprendere quali sono i ruoli rivestiti dalle donne, se vi sono differenze di ruolo tra le donne affiliate Al Qaeda e al Daesh e quali sono le variabili intervenienti rilevanti. Lo studio qualitativo è stato condotto su un campione di 176 donne. La prima parte della ricerca evidenzia, per ogni ruolo emerso, le influenze socio-relazionali che ne hanno determinato l'acquisizione. La seconda parte dello studio si focalizza sull'analisi della semiotica di due riviste sorte a seguito della nascita dello Stato Islamico con l'obiettivo di comprendere se e in che termini la propaganda online abbia promosso la mobilitazione femminile. I risultati ottenuti dallo studio hanno evidenziato che vi è stata sia una graduale implementazione nonché diversificazione del supporto femminile con l'avvento del Daesh.

Keywords

Women, Islamic terrorism, roles, socio-relational influences, propaganda, Daesh.

1. Introduction

Islamic terrorism is linked to a multitude of factors but the most interesting current elements are two: the involvement of women in terrorist actions and the media coverage of terrorism. When we talk about terrorism we usually refer to a phenomenon related to male militant groups even though the tendency of female suicide bombers already emerged in the early 1990s. If Islamic terrorism is often associated with the fighting man, then it depends on the propensity to absolutize subjective criteria without taking into account that the nature of social phenomena, whatever they may be lies in their variability.

In the collective imagination, Islamic terrorism has the appearance of a patriarchal regime in which women perform passive functions at the service of their husband and family. However, regarding Al Qaeda there has already been a gradual active participation of women in terrorist attacks but with the birth of the Islamic State something has changed and the female gender could become the new sounding board.

Moreover, the use of social media to propagate extremist ideology has been crucial, it has given the opportunity to reach a broad audience with relatively simple means. The development of technology and the intensification of the use of the web have favoured communication services, the sharing of information through a web-based service and the publication in real time of images, videos and texts.

It is quite certain that terrorism has achieved most of its objectives through the spreading of intimidating propaganda thus gathering consent. Notwithstanding, there are certainly, other relevant variables that have led to the gradual introduction of women between the circle of the adepts. In order to grasp the factors that have led to the growing mobilization of women in Islamic terrorism, this study aims to analyse, evaluate and understand the history of a system of ideas that have evolved over time.

2. Objectives

Since the rise of the Abu Bakr Caliphate to Baghdadi until its ouster, 29th June 2014 to October 2017, the media have repeatedly stressed that women have been attracted to the Daesh propaganda and have responded to the call by deciding to leave for the territories of the Islamic State. In light of this, we

asked what were the roles assumed by Al Daesh women affiliated. Many academics from 2014 to 2017 have studied the presence of women in the Islamic State (Yesevi, 2014; Mietz, 2016; Jakupi and Kelmendi, 2017; Bakker & de Leede, 2015; Winter and Margolin, 2017; Mekhennet and Warrick, 2017; Huey and Witmer, 2016; Loken and Zelen, 2015; Ennaji, 2016; Strømmen, 2017; Gaub and Lisiecka, 2016; Loken and Zelenz, 2017; Mora Tebas, 2017; Bassou & Guennoun, 2017) but there was a knowledge gap that this study proposes to fill. The studies examined provided countless data on the number of women who left for Syria (Bakker & de Leede, 2015), the geo-political contexts of origin (Ennaji, 2016; Jakupi & Kelmendi, 2017; Loken & Zelenz, 2017; Mora Tebas, 2017) however, it is noteworthy to point out that no study has investigated the roles assumed by women in Islamic terrorism to date and what the relational influences are that have in some way to determine their involvement within the phenomenon.

3. Hypothesis

Three research questions have been asked:

- What are the roles that women have acquired in Islamic terrorism?
- Are there any role differences over time?
- What are the intervening variables and to what extent have they influenced the acquisition of the role?

4. Methodology

The study was conducted by gathering information from public sources and national and international newspapers. A 176 names of women involved in terrorist networks were collected, of whom for the majority arrest warrants were issued. From the sample emerged 29 women were involved in the Al Qaeda network or groups affiliated to it and 147 were affiliated to the Islamic State. The sample was collected from February 26th 2018 to July 3rd 2018. The collection was conducted through snowball or avalanche sampling. Wording or expression used to carry out the search, through the Google search engine, was: “*Women Islamic terrorists*” and it was also re-proposed in: Italian, French, German, Spanish, Indonesian, Austrian, Russian and Arabic. Each article that dealt with the topic was viewed and selected based on relevance.

In addition, 323 relevant websites were selected to proceed with this study case. The aim was to collect data that would allow a socio-relational analysis for each single female name as follows:

- Date of birth;

- Age at the time of arrest or arrest warrant;
- Ethnicity;
- Place of residence;
- Nucleus maiden family;
- Year of conversion and adherence to extremist ideology;
- Place and type of deed;
- Number of people involved since the beginning of the conversion process and respective names;
- Spouse/boyfriend,
- Year of marriage/engagement;
- Origin of spouse/boyfriend;
- Number of children and respective sex;
- Year of arrest and imprisonment and/or death.

However, it was not possible to collect all the data for each individual subject as much of information reserved and confidential and not made public.

Key indicators are the variables used to identify the specificities of the individual tasks.

The first indicator used corresponds to *relational influences*, commonly defined by anthropology with the concept of a parental system. The parental system indicates a terminological system whose functioning logic depends on social relationships and is constituted on the basis of: *parent-child relationships* (parent-child); *relationships of collaterality* (brothers, sisters or cousins) and *relationships of affinity* (husband, wife, brother-in-law, mother-in-law). The anthropological analysis of affinity relationships includes only those with whom a kinship is established by virtue of marriage, in fact the relatives of one spouse are said to be related to the other. In this study, however, a review of the definition of affinity relationship is proposed, including subjects with whom a social relationship is established through relatively stable patterns without any degree of kinship. The word affinity comes from the Latin word *adfinis* or “bordering” and it is the etymology that suggests that the boundary is that which delimits by relating. Two or more people in relationship with each other with common interests, socio-demographic or socio-psychological characteristics will come into contact and establish a relationship on the basis of affinity as happens in the case of secondary groups and/or sentimental relationships. This study also took into account the cases in which a role was acquired in the absence of relationship influences, assumptions made through the so-called *exogenous influences* i.e. the intrinsic forces of the socio-virtual system. Social networks and magazines used by the Daesh propaganda have attracted a very wide audience and such communication tools have been repeatedly defined by the mass media as facilitators of self-indoctrination.

As pointed out by the sociologist Landowski: “if the enunciation is an act, how to understand it if not in its interactional and institutional context? [...] While all at the time of structural Semnatique, they dealt with the conceptual architecture of texts, a first step decisive [...] was to take a cue from the elements [...] of narrative semiotics to start building a grammar of social relationships “. The enlightening perspective of semantics was examined to see if and how propaganda could effectively solicit women to mobilize in favour of the ideology promoted by Daesh; in fact, in Section II of this study, a semiotic analysis was conducted on the fifteen issues of “Dabiq”, the first online magazine of the Islamic State, whose first issue was published on 5th July 2014, and of the first Pakistani magazine female “Sunnat and Khola” which instead were published on the 1st of August 2017.

The second indicator encompasses the characteristics of the “role function” which has been defined as an executive stage. Each role involves different activation processes and the activation can be a single process or a set of processes that allow the subjects to put in place a series of strategic, operational or tactical actions. Therefore, drawing inspiration from the Strategic Studies, it was possible to distinguish a role for the set of behaviours associated with the function. The three different types of activation included are: *strategic activation*, i.e. the art of planning, of the internalization of the efforts required to acquire a given role; *operative activation*, that is the stage in which the woman assumes a role with a partially active involvement, mainly directs, guides and coordinates; *tactical activation* consists, instead, in the actual implementation of what has been planned through the acquisition of a purely active function.

Finally, to provide a clear example of how a woman has come to perform a specific task in favour of extremist ideology, based on the highlighted socio-relational influences that determined the acquisition of the role, the biographical analysis of an example case is developed.

This study succeeded in obtaining what the Turvey scholar defined by the term “profiling inductive” that is “a set of data related to events and correlated to the data of the people who caused them so as to arrive at deducing the standard criminal profile for that particular role/event “. The information gathered here was not aimed at obtaining a criminal profile, as Turvey’s definition of inductive profiling suggests, but rather to outline a typical profile for each role.

Subsequently, the roles acquired by the 176 women of the sample were subdivided into two categories: a category defined *typical* and another defined *atypical*. The roles that women have assumed before the emergence of Daesh have been considered *typical*, on the contrary, the roles acquired by women with the rise of the Islamic State have been highlighted as *atypical*.

The analysis revealed 29 cases of women associated with Al Qaeda or groups affiliated to it and 147 affiliated to the Islamic State.

As confirmed by the reference literature, the roles belonging to the *typical* category are five, namely: Jihadist Bride (Al-Tabaa, 2013), Attack (Von Knop, 2007, Speckhard & Akhmedova, 2006), Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant (Pilch, 2006; Fair, 2004), Lender and lastly Preacher. The following roles in the *atypical* category are: Propagandist, Propagandist-Jihadist Bride, Propagandist-Militant, Recruiter, Supporter, Supporter-Jihadist Bride, Jihadist Bride-Militant (*Table 1*).

Table 1: Counting the number of women per role.

Role	Count
Bomber	27
Jihadist Bride	9
Jihadist Bride-Militant	6
Lender	25
Preacher	2
Propagandist	17
Propagandist-Jihadist Bride	3
Propagandist-Militant	13
Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant	18
Recruiter	12
Supporter	20
Supporter-Jihadist Bride	24
Total	176

5. Section I: Empiric study: several roles of women

5.1 Jihadist Bride

The Jihadist Bride is the one who lives in the name of a relationship with a man and chooses to fulfil her role by carrying out only the task of wife and mother. As also emphasized by the propaganda of Al Qaeda, it is established that a Jihadist's wife must be religious and accept jihad as a way of life where her work consists to perform only domestic tasks. The subjects of the sample who perform this function have been educated to be a wife and mothers. In fact, the relational influences that distinguish the acquisition of this function are always relations of filiation and exogenous influences connected to the socio-cultural context of origin. Moreover, this task envisages a purely strategic activation (*Table 1, 2, Figure 1*).

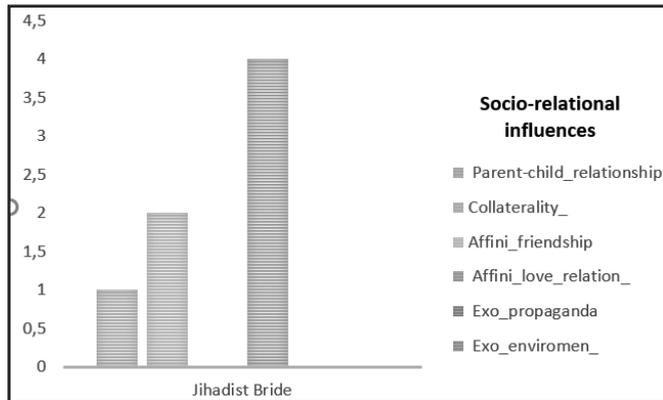
[The women in the sample on which the name is given and falling within the category are: Elena Moreno, Aaisha Yerima, Zeynab Nettleton/Sharrouf,

Zalina Akaev Zaira Akaev, Farhat Paracha, Mirsada Stabancic, Sam Al Hasani, Nozima Odilova.]

Table 2: Count women Jihadist Bride.

Role	Count
Jihadist Bride	9
Total	9

Figure 1: Graph of socio-relational influences for Jihadist Bride roles.



The graph highlights that in the majority of cases (5/9) the acquisition of the role of Jihadist Bride was influenced by romantic relationships and therefore by the relationship with a man sympathizing with extremist ideology or already a member of an organization. Nevertheless, also the influence from the context (3/9) and that suffered by an already sympathizing sister has, albeit to a lesser extent (2/9), determined in some cases the acquisition of role. Finally, it is noted that only one case has presented parental influence and there are completely absent influences coming exclusively from propaganda or from friendly relationships. This figure is particularly interesting because it refutes the idea, which has repeatedly been supported in the collective imagination, that women choose to become wives of fighters because they are uniquely influenced by the value code transmitted within the family.

Table 3: Analysis of the main relational influences and typical executive stages for the role of Jihadist Bride.

Typical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Jihadist Bride	Influence from filiation relationship	Strategic activation

5.2 Bomber

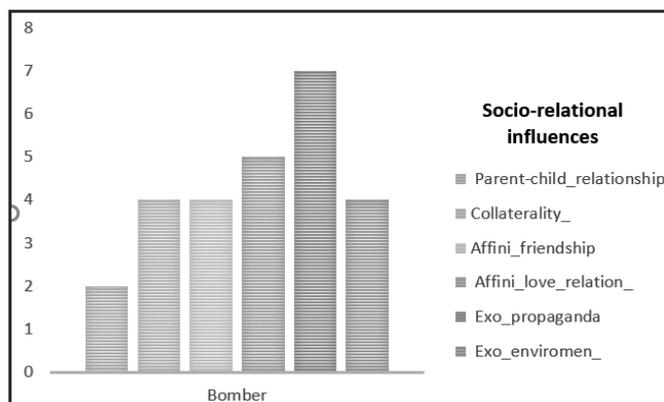
The Bomber is one who adheres to extremist ideology and chooses to perform a terrorist act. The uniqueness of women only as carers is traceable in the fulfilment of an action that is not preceded by other acts attributable to their adherence to the ideology. Martyrdom has been shown by psychology as the manifestation of a de-humanization process that occurs following a trauma, stress and/or confusion generated by specific shocking events. However, it is plausible to assume that the confusion and/or stress may have also been caused by the contrast between the values internalized by the first socialization agency and the values acquired at a later time following the influence of affinity relationships. This role foresees an initial strategic and then tactical activation, because certain precepts must first be internalized and then, once consolidated, it is possible to proceed with the implementation of the terrorist action (*Table 3, 4, Figure 2*).

[The women in the sample on which the name is given and falling within the category are: Muriel Degauque, Daria Itsenkova, Tareena Shakil, Zahra'u Babangida, Puji Kuswati, Sahil A., Dita Siska Millenia, Siska Nur Aziza, Shahlaa Najim al-Anbaky, Zohra Dawood, Khadiga Bibi Dawood, Sugra Dawood, Rizlaine Boular, Safaa Boular, Khawla Barghouthi, Grace Dare, Mina Dich, Hasna Ait Boutcachen, Ornella Gillman, Twafiga Dahir, Samiha Swaleh Awadh Noor, Osman Shindey Noor Salwa Abdalla, Samantha Lewthwaite.]

Table 4: Count women Bombers.

Role	Count
Bomber	27
Total	27

Figure 2: Graph of socio-relational influences for Bomber roles.



The graph shows that most of the Attackers played this role as a result of self-indoctrination facilitated by online propaganda (7/27). However, we note that also the romantic relationships with a man already involved in the organization (5/27) and the socio-cultural and geopolitical context of origin have to some extent determined the acquisition of role (4/27).

Table 5: Analysis of the main relational influences and characteristics of activation for the role of Bomber

Typical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Bomber	– Influence from filiation relationship – Influence from affinity relationship	Tactical activation

5.3 Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant

The Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant is the woman who, following her adherence to the radical ideology, carries out all three tasks acquiring a multidimensional role. The subject is thus assigned to make her belief public, to recruit other subjects and is itself a fighter. This multidimensional role that has been taken by ten women of the sample coming from the North Caucasus. The particularity of these functions is traceable in the acquisition of three tasks that are not separated from one another but appear as interdependent. The role acquisition has taken place as a result of the combination of influences from the relationship of collaterality, affinity and exogenous.

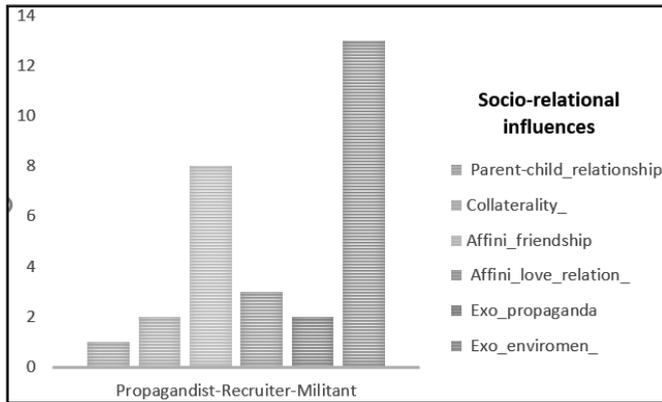
Furthermore, this multi-dimensional role will be characterized by a three-level activation, that is, strategic-operational-tactical activation (*Table 5, 6, Figure 3*).

[The champion women in this category are: Naida Asiyalova, Oksana Aslanova, Zaira Alieva, Jhannet Tsakhaeva, Ruzanna Ibragimova, Roza Nagayeva, Miriam Taburova, Amanat Nagayeva, Satisita Dzhbirkhanova, Lara Bombonati, Lynne Irene Stewart, October Martinique Lewis, Ahlam Aref Ahmad al-Tamimi, Émilie Konig, Ines Madani, Aafia Siddiqui, Collen Renee LaRose].

Table 6: Count women Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant.

Role	Count
Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant	18
Total	18

Figure 3: Graph of socio-relational influences for Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant roles.



The role acquisition has taken place as a result of the combination of influences from the relationship of collaterality, affinity and exogenous. From the graph it is evident that the socio-cultural and/or geopolitical background of origin has exerted a considerable influence (13/18) as well as the friendship relations have had greater weight (8/18) in the acquisition of this role with respect to sentimental influence.

Table 7: Analysis of the main relational influences and characteristics of activation for the role of Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant.

Typical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Propagandist- Recruiter- Militant	- Influence from affinity and exogenous relationship – Influence from a collateral relationship	Strategic-operative- tactical attivation

5.4 Lender

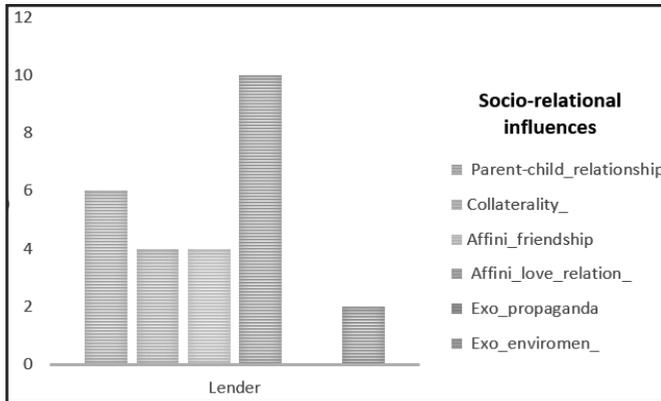
Lender is the one who supports the organization only through material support. The women involved in financing were traced as a result of investigations on banking transactions and no other act or behaviour on the web or in everyday life has contradicted them to be linked to extremist ideology. They offer material support in providing financial aid to a male member already affiliated with the organization who in most cases is a family member; a man with whom there is sentimental tie. The exogenous influences, in terms of self-indoctrination in order to support the organization, are completely absent in the acquisition of this role. In fact, present are influences from the relationship of collaterality, because one has a militant brother, or owing to relational influence of affinity in the case where a boyfriend or spouse is an aspiring fighter. The activation will be exclusively strategic as the effort required for the organization will only be material (*Table 7, 8, Figure 4*).

[The women in the sample, on which it was possible to retrieve the names, who are part of the examined role are: Nathalie Haddadi, Sabrina Seddique Abasin, Mariam Seddique, Christine Rivière, Fatima Elomar, Noor Salman, Hinda Osman Dhirane, Muna Osman Jama, Amin Fara Ali, Hawo Mohamed Hassan, Afsheen Khan, Hana Gul Khan, Aisha Saleh, Nawal Msaad, Amal el Wahabi, Jasminka Ramic, Mediha Medy Salkicevic, Sedina Unkcic Hodzic, Oytun Ayse Mihalik, Soumaya Boufassil, Nazimabee Golamaully.]

Table 8: Count women Lenders.

Role	Count
Lender	25
Total	25

Figure 4: Graph of socio-relational influences for Lender roles.



The exogenous influences, in terms of self-indoctrination, are completely absent in the acquisition of this role. In fact, the sentimental influence is always present (10/25) in the event that one's fiancé or spouse is an aspiring fighter or a member of the organization from a filiation relationship, influences from a parent's relationship (6/25) or collaterality, in case you have a militant brother, or (4/25).

Table 9: Analysis of the main relational influences and characteristics of activation for the role of Lender.

Typical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Lender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Influence from parent-child relationship and/ or collaterality - Influence from affinity relationship (love) 	Strategic attivation

5.5 Preacher

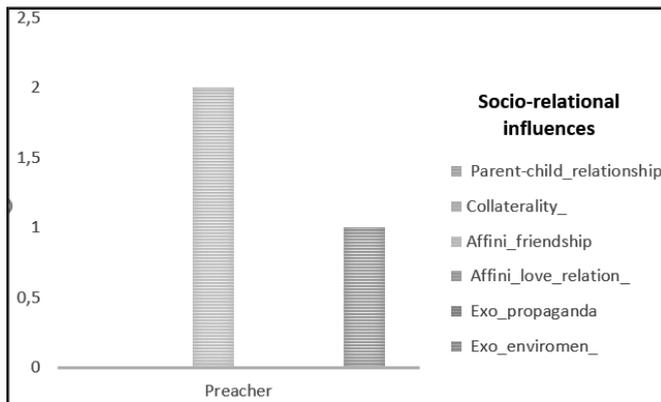
The role of Preacher is the one who performs propaganda acts in public places and/or through media tools such as magazines. Among the group of women under investigation, there emerged the specificity to acquire this role due to the need of bring a valid support of an already influential man within the extremist environment. Access to certain places for this task necessarily requires support outside the parental and family network. Therefore, the subjective characteristics required, found in both cases emerged, are the charisma and a high level of qualification. This role foresees an operative activation as the preacher's task will be to guide the audience towards a new direction (*Table 9, 10, Figure 5*).

[The sample women in the category are: Edina Lekovic, Lauren Booth.]

Table 10: Count women Preachers.

Role	Count
Preacher	2
Total	2

Figure 5: Graph of socio-relational influences for Preacher roles.



The only two Preacher women were both influenced by friendships and also by the socio-cultural and geopolitical background of origin.

Table 11: Analysis of the main relational influences and activation characteristics for the role of Preacher

Typical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Preacher	– Influence from affinity relationship (friends)	Operative attivation

5.6 Supporter

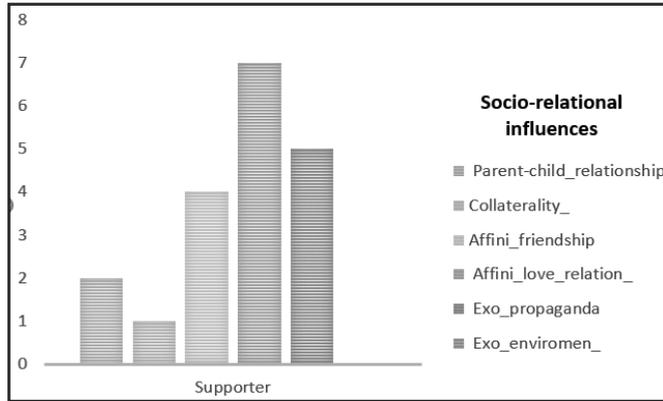
The Supporter is she who approves of the cause but does not make her belief public. These women internalize the creed but preferring privacy, prefer to communicate in total anonymity in private chat rooms. Only on personal devices were there traces of videos and/or images related to ISIS at the time of arrest. It is essential to underline that no woman becomes a supporter because she is influenced by the strictly parental circle but always by means of external subjects. Moreover, there are cases in which some become supporters in the absence of real relational processes but because they are subjected to exogenous influences, that is, from the propaganda of Daesh. Activation of this role will be purely strategic (*Table 11, 12, Figure 6*).

[The women on whom the names in this role have been recovered are: Salma Bencharki, Alice Brignoli, Hayta Boumedienne, Deqo Osman, Melina Bougedir, Jasmina Milovanov, Nadia Rockwood, Roshanara Choudhry, Sabrina Boyd, Yousma Jan, Farzana Ameen, Kamal Zine El Abidine, Lena Mamoun Abdelgadir, Nada Sami Kader, Tasneem Suleyman Huseyin, Marina Kachmazova, Shakirah Begam binte Abdul Wahab, Meryem Koraichi, Diana Ramona Medan, Zohura Siddeka.]

Table 12: Count women Supporters.

Role	Count
Supporter	20
Total	20

Figure 6: Graph of socio-relational influences for Supporter roles.



The graph shows that most of the Supporters (7/20) were influenced by the relationship with a man who already supported extremist ideology while about 5/20 embraced the cause of global jihad after proceeding with self-indoctrination. Although very few cases have been influenced by sisters/siblings or by their parents, there are no cases where the socio-cultural context has determined the acquisition of a role.

Table 13: Analysis of the main relational influences and activation characteristics for the role of Supporter.

Atypical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Supporter	– Influence from affinity relationships (love) – Exogenous influences (propaganda)	Strategic attivation

5.7 Propagandist

Propagandist is who through an account and forum shares images and post referable to her adherence to extremist ideology. The offense in this case is only that of propagandism, as those who assume it have this function as they have not performed any subsequent act. Moreover, to favour the acquisition of the aforesaid role there are always influences from an affinity relationship or exogenous influences due to self-indoctrination. Only one case of the sample has shown influence from a reverse filiation relationship, that is, a mo-

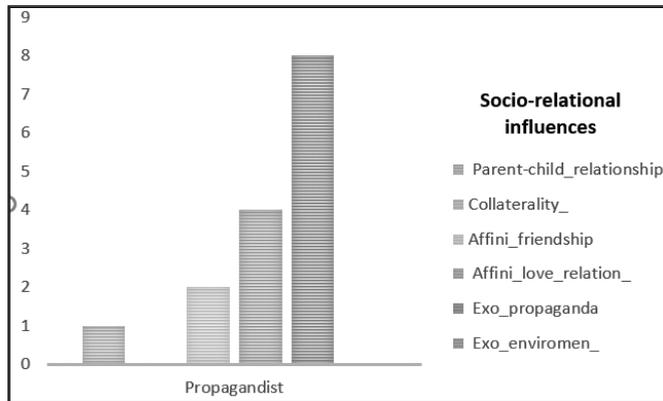
ther who begins to propagate the extremist ideology of Daesh at the moment when her daughter converts and becomes a fighter. In this case there will be a first activation and then operational (*Table 13, 14, Figure 7*).

[The women of the sample involved in the role of propagandist are: Alaa Asayed, Angela Shafiq, Mary Kaya, Zhafren Khadam, Safya Roe Yassin, Jamie Paulin Ramirez, Heather Elizabeth Coffman, Jaelyn Delshaun Young, Karen Vernon, Sara Pilè, Sally Jones, Claire Sagemakers, Fatimah Peer-Mohd, Runa Khan, Xaviera Rose, Jasmina Collaku.]

Table 14: Count women Propagandists.

Role	Count
Propagandist	17
Total	17

Figure 7: Graph of socio-relational influences for Propagandist role.



The graph shows that 8/17 women carried out propaganda activities following self-indoctrination through online propaganda and only 4/17 were influenced by the sentimental relationship. It is evident that there are no exogenous influences deriving from the socio-cultural context nor influences on the part of sisters or brothers influencing the acquisition of this role.

Table 15: Analysis of the main relational influences and activation characteristics for the role of Propagandist

Atypical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Propagandist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Influence from inverse filiation relationship - Influence from affinity relationships (love) - Exogenous influence (propaganda) 	Operativ attivation

5.8 Recruiter

The women among the sample who have taken on the role of recruiter, i.e. those responsible for the selection of potential future fighters or other tasks in favor of the organization, have been influenced by the relationship of collaterality, or influence by affinity or exogenous influences. Their function is one of implementing a task of vital importance for the advancement of the terrorist organization and therefore a strategic and operational activation is planned (*Table 15, 16, Figure 8*).

[Women of the sample who have taken on this role are: Nadà Muiz Qahtani, Wafa Koraichi, Bushra Haik, Maria Giulia Sergio, Alaa Esayed. Malika El Aroud, Serjola Kobuzi, Marianna Sergio, Ljubljana Gjecaj, Arta Kokobuni, Donika Coku, Fatima Aberkan.]

Table 16: Count women Recruiters.

Role	Count
Recruiter	12
Total	12

Figure 8: Graph of socio-relational influences for Recruiter roles.



The graph highlights that 5/12 Recruiters have been influenced by their parents and 2/12 have been influenced by both the context and a sister/brother. Therefore, no Recruiter has self-indoctrinated.

Table 17: Analysis of the main relational influences and activation characteristics for the role of Recruiter.

Atypical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Recruiter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Influence from relationship of collaterality - Influence from affinity relationship 	Strategic-operativ activation

5.9 Supporter-Jihadist Bride

Supporter-Jihadist Bride is she who at first approaches the extremist ideology and only after being drawn and engrossed decides to contract marriage with a fighter. In this case the desire to become a bride-jihadist is not induced by the socio-cultural context of belonging or by an obligation imposed by their family but occurs as a result of self-indoctrination or relational influences external to the family context.

For the acquisition of Supporter -Jihadist Bride, the women of the sample are characterized by not being mere militants' wives but women who have decided to contract marriage only after having joined the cause promoted by Daesh. Based on the relationship influences this two-dimensional role pre-

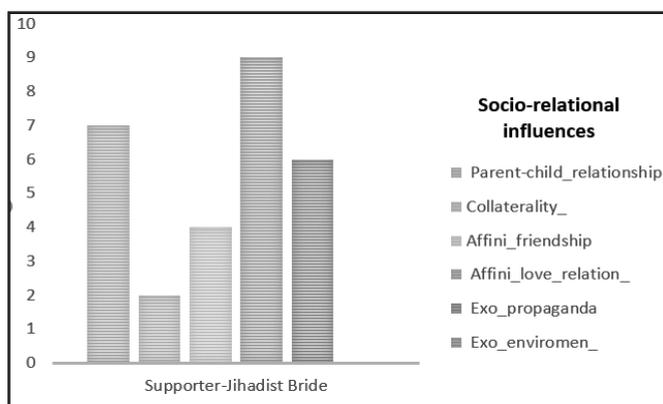
sents itself in a different way: in the case of exclusive influence from filiation relationship there will be first ascribed acquisition of the role of jihadist bride, as a destiny fate biologically determined by the parent educational influence, and in a next moment the woman will support extremist ideology. On the other hand, in the case of influence from the relationship of collaterality, generally suffered by a sister, of exogenous influence or influence from affinity relationship, self-indoctrination will first be necessary, first of all to support the cause promoted by jihad, and in a second moment will be the choice to become the wife of a fighter. The typical activation of this function is only strategic (*Table 17, 18, Figure 9*).

[Women of the sample who have taken on this role are: Samya Dirie, Yusra Hussien, Rajia KhanonRoshanara Bengum, Shaarmeena Begum, Amira Abase, Kadiza Sultana, Samra Kesinovic, Sabina Selimovic, Linda Wenzel, Laura Hansen, Varvara Karaulova, Miriam Ismailova, Khaterine Russell, Zahera Tariq, Tara Nettleton, Sonia Khediri, Julie Maes, Asia Ahmed, Fatima Akil Laghmich, Islam Mitat, Aqsa Mahmood, Zahra Halane, Salma Halane.]

Table 18: Count women Supporters-Jihadist Brides.

Role	Count
Supporter-Jihadist Bride	24
Total	24

Figure 9: Graph of socio-relational influences for Supporter-Jihadist Bride roles.



The role of Supporter- Jihadist Bride was hired by 9/24 women who were influenced by their partner or spouse while 6/24 chose to take it after self-indoctrination and another 6/24 were spurred from a parent.

Table 19: Analysis of the main relational influences and activation characteristics for the role of Supporter-Jihadist Bride.

Atypical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Supporter-Jihadist Bride	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Influence from affinity relationship (love) – Influence exogenous (propaganda) – Influence from parent-child relationships 	Strategic activation

5.10 Propagandist-Militant

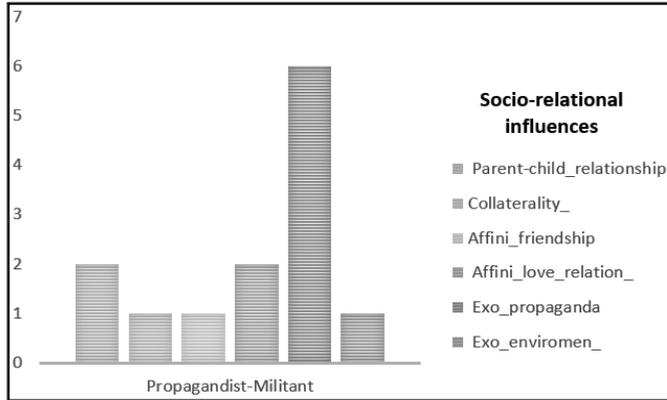
The women of the sample who belong to the two-dimensional role of Propagandist-Militant are distinguished by having developed the trait of aspiration with respect to the role thanks to the presence of influences from the relationship of collaterality or affinity. The solidity of the relationships determines the ability of the subjects belonging to the same circle to mutually influence each other and therefore to favour homologated behaviours. No woman in the sample has acquired this role because she is influenced by her parents and this would confirm that a sister or a friend is able to sustain the weight to make a subject question the previously internalized values. The typical activation of this role is identifiable both as operational and tactical (*Table 19, 20, Figure 10*).

[Women of the sample who have taken on this role are: Cláudia Patatas, Fatma Fahmy, Noelle Velentzas, Keonna Thomas, Zehra Duman, Zainub Mirza, Madihah Taheer, Amel Sakaou, Sarah Hervouet, Christina Presnyakova, Maria Pogorelova, Waheba Issa Dais, Tashfeen Malik.]

Table 20: Count women Propagandists-Militants.

Role	Count
Propagandist-Militant	13
Total	13

Figure 10: Graph of socio-relational influences for Propagandist-Militant roles.



The graph shows that 6/13 Propagandist-Militants have assumed this role thanks to the propaganda of the Islamic State. Furthermore, 2/13 were influenced by their parents and 2/13 by the relationship with a man already involved in the organization.

Table 21: Analysis of the main relational influences and activation characteristics for the role of Propagandist-Militant.

Atypical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Propagandist-Militant	- Influence from relationship of collaterality - Influence from affinity relationship	Operativ-tactical activation

5.11 Propagandist-Jihadist Bride

Propagandist-Jihadist Bride is who after having internalized and adhered to the precepts promoted by extremist ideology strives to spread the propaganda on the web and at a later time chooses to contract marriage with a man who is also affiliated with the organization and/or fighter.

What emerges from the women of the sample in this role is that the typical relational influences are always and exclusively or by relationship of affinities or exogenous influences. In the first case there will be a friend or a man with whom they entertain or intend to entertain a sentimental relationship to influence them in becoming a fighter’s wife, in the second case they undertake

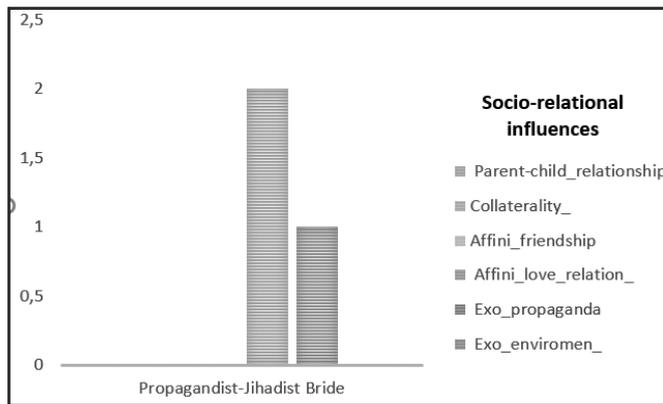
this path following self-indoctrination. The activation of the role-function will be both operational and tactical (*Table 21, 22, Figure 11*).

[Women of the sample in this role are: Laura Passoni, Shannon Coley, Novia Humaraya.]

Table 22: Count women Propagandist-Jihadist Bride.

Role	Count
Propagandist-Jihadist Bride	3
Total	3

Figure 11: Graph of socio-relational influences for Propagandist-Jihadist Bride roles.



The graph shows that 2/3 Propagandist-Jihadists Bride were influenced by their partner or spouse and only 1/3 took this role after self-indoctrinated.

Table 23: Analysis of the main relational influences and activation characteristics for the role of Propagandist-Jihadist Bride.

Atypical category	Indicator	Indicator
Role	Relational variable	Executive stage
Propagandist-Jihadist Bride	- Influence from affinity relationship - Exogenous influence	Operativ-strategic activation

5.12 Jihadist Bride-Militant

The two-dimensional role of the Militant- Jihadist Bride is woven in being the wife of a fighting man as well as acquiring the role of militant herself.

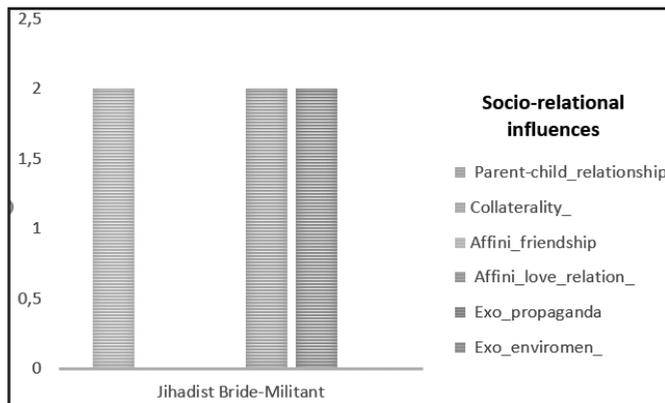
With the two-dimensional role of Propagandist-Jihadist Bride has been taken up by several women of the sample and the specificity of the function is to be found in the dual decision to become a militant of Daesh but at the same time contract marriage with a man who performs the same function. Therefore, the relational influences that emerged in favour of the acquisition of the role are only of affinity and exogenous and in all cases it has emerged that the choice of covering this dual task is favoured by the presence of two influences and those of affinity relationship, usually connected to a man who is infatuated or a friend already intent, and thanks to a process of self-indoctrination. Furthermore, the activation foreseen for this role is both strategic and tactical (*Table 23, 24, Figure 12*).

[Women of the sample who have taken on this role are: Jamila Henry, Meriem Rehayli, Kerry Thomason, Lorna Moore, Sheida Khanam.]

Table 24: Count women Jihadist Briede-Militant.

Role	Count
Jihadist Bride-Militant	6
Total	6

Figure 12: Graph of socio-relational influences for Jihadist Bride-Militants roles.



The graph shows that 2/6 have acquired the role of Jihadist Bride-Militant after being influenced by the partner or spouse and only 2/6 have chosen to take it after having undergone self-indoctrination and 2/6 for influence of parent-child relationships.

Table 25: Analysis of the main relational influences and activation characteristics for the role of Jihadist Bride-Militant.

Atypical category	Indicator	Indicator
<i>Role</i>	<i>Relational variable</i>	<i>Executive stage</i>
Jihadist Bride-Militant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Exogenous influence (propaganda) – Affinity relationship (love) – Parent-child relationships 	Strategic-tactical activation

6. Section II: semantic analysis of online propaganda

The analysis of the 176 cases of the sample led the study to analyse the importance of online propaganda as an exogenous influence, a decisive variable in self-indoctrination processes, effective in mobilizing a considerable number of women. Obviously, the propaganda of terrorist organizations, as shown in chapter 4 of this study, was already present at the time of development of Al Qaeda but it is certain that the success in determining differentiation of roles was due to the effective communication strategies of the Islamic State. To understand how online propaganda played a vital role in the making of the organization itself; the managing to take hold of female subjects of different ages with dissimilar backgrounds was read in a semantic analysis of the first issue of Daesh magazine: “Dabiq” which was carried out on 5th July 2014. A period which coincided with the increase in female mobilization, and its communicative drive promoted the rise of “Sunnat and Khola”: the first Pakistani woman’s magazine launched in October 2017 a magazine from Muhajirat fi Sabeelillah in Khurasan.

The analysis of the Dabiq periodical was carried out by identifying nine key words that conveyed messages addressed to a female audience, such were: *women, sisters, girls, wife, child, fighter, young, sons, daughters*. The semiotic analysis of the concepts related to these key words, carried underlying messages which are believed to have promoted the diversification of female mobilization.

6.1 “Dabiq” analysis

The analysis of the semantics of Dabiq has brought out relevant results regarding the communicative strategy used by the Islamic State, in fact several

concepts have emerged that highlight the gradual evolution of the contents of the messages and the audience to which they were addressed particularly to those of interest in this study. From the first issue of “Dabiq” the messages were never addressed exclusively to men, however, especially in the first seven publications, both a personal masculine pronoun and personal pronouns as “you” were used. Then, from the eighth to the fifteenth, a gradual introduction of messages explicitly addressed to the female component was found.

Subsequently the paragraphs have been reported, containing one or more key words.

DABIQ #1

- **Page 8:** *“Encouraging young people to join the ranks of the Islamic State”*. This phrase represents a possible motivational push for the female audience. Whether the woman identifies herself in the concept of **young**, given the non-specification of gender, or that the adult woman decides to proselytize the message for the younger generation.
- **Page 18.** *“Jihad should be based on: listening obedience; training; combat”*. The concepts of **listening** and **obedience** are used to be associated with the behaviour that the female figure should assume in marriage. The reference instead to **training** and **combat** are not specified to a male audience but are simply explained as typical elements of Jihad. Therefore, literally following what expressed would seem that anyone who shares faith can and must take the proposed behaviour.

DABIQ #3

- **Page 15:** *“This month, the soldiers of the Islamic State launched a rapid and brutal offensive in the northern Campaign of Halab”*. The campaign, entitled “Taking revenge for the chaste **sisters**”, targeted the perfidious Sahwāt Murtaddīn who prostituted themselves in America. In this sentence emerges the justification of the armed struggle to save women daughters of Islam. Women are considered **sisters** of fighting men, not an object in their possession but a subject to defend. For the first time, the recognition of women within a caste to be protected emerges from a content point of view.
- **Page 25:** *“O you who believed! Why do you say what and do not you do it? It is very odious in the eyes of Allah that you say what you do not do” [As-Saff: 2-3]*. The verse that brings the magazine, related to a deepening on the hypocrisy of those who choose not to fight while professing Jihad, is addressed to all Muslims who must choose to fight if they want to defend their faith. The combat emerges again without gender distinction. Furthermore, Allah [...] said: why should we not fight in the cause of Allah when we have

been driven out of our houses and turned away from our children? “Children are a priceless asset for mothers and putting the fight at the top of the priorities for every Muslim who intends to protect their family or simply to claim the loss of their children is interpretable as a message that can also mobilize women.

- **Page 26:** *“Therefore, any professional Muslim who has delayed his jihād [...] his number one priority to repent should be fighting”.*

The message here refers to every Muslim who for work, study or other has avoided the recruitment in the ranks of the Islamic State “. The profession or the qualification is certainly an element connected to the process of westernization which is why it is plausibly connectable to every Muslim who lives beyond the Caliphate. Promoting mobilization among professionals is considered a communication strategy that aims to extend its audience.

DABIQ #4

- **Page 9:** *“[...] have you seen the American, the Frenchman, or any of their allies [...]to walk safely upon the earth while the armies of the crusaders strike the lands of the Muslims not differentiating between a civilian and fighter? They have killed nine Muslim women three days ago by striking a bus transporting them from Shām to Iraq”.*

The message refers to the killing of nine Muslim women through the abatement of a bus in Iraq. Reporting the event and the culpable killings of women who were on the vehicle is intentional as it promotes awareness of their audience.

- **Page 16:** *“The slave becomes a slave to her master while her children have the status of her mastering herself. This is because the child of the teacher has the rank of the master, and in this way the son of the slave has the status of his master “.*

The message here is explicit, increasing the number of jihadist brides means increasing the number of future fighters. The woman is encouraged to acquire this role because it could guarantee him the acquisition of a status.

DABIQ #6

- **Page 44-45:** *“Why should the sons and daughters of the region enter the schools of the secular government to a great and remarkable extension without being any direction or preparation for the establishment of school houses by the Mujāhidīn?”.*

The reader is led to understand that the Mujaheddin school is the true education and it is the right way for both men and women to educate themselves by rejecting the secular and secular precepts.

DABIQ #7

- **Page 51:** *“My brothers and sisters, I ask you to be concerned about the conditions of the Ummah in the world, to act in this way following the Qur’an and the Sunnah”.*

The invitation is specifically addressed also to Muslim women, an exhortation to make the right choice to defend the cause of the Islamic State. This extract focuses on the wife of the pharaoh who chose to worship Allah despite this involving his torture and killing. Death is not represented as a possibility but as certainty, which guarantees women the possibility of recognition not only in heaven but also on earth through the memory of their deeds.

*“There were a lot of **straight women** in history, so follow their example”.*

The invitation to patience is emblematic. To have patience not only in bearing the hardships and pains but is also necessary in accepting that for real recognition it takes time. Pazientare means accepting the time necessary for reality to change. It is the legitimacy of waiting, respecting the inevitable times to acquire a role or to undress a habitus in favour of a new role.

- **Page 75:** *“What is the problem with you that you do not fight for the cause of Allah and the oppressed among men, **women** and **children** who ask for help [...]?”*

The question raises the importance of combat as means through which the oppressed, whether women, men or children, can be claimed. In this sentence we note that, unlike what was commonly used to think, the oppressed are no longer just women. With the battle you can remedy the abuses and the generalization of the figure of the fighter shows that there is no specific person responsible for the liberation of the oppressed but anyone can do it and who does not is assigned the label of traitor.

DABIQ #8

- **Page 33:** In this paragraph there is a clear and precise statement of what is implied in the concepts reported above.

*“The obligation is for **women** as for men. Allah has excluded from the mission the incapable women just like the incapable men [...]”.*

It is clear that no distinction appears more necessary, no role typing is more fundamental. The abilities of the individual are emphasized and it is what every woman has to rediscover in herself if she wants a prominent role in the Islamic State and to gain value in the eyes of Allah.

- **Page 34:** The clear reference to the “**sisters muhajirah**” is the appeal to the ambition that must move mothers and women who, even if apparently fragile compared to men, have already proved to have an ambitious soul

like men. The psychological vigour of the woman is expressly linked and equated with that of men and this specification represents the first explicit legitimation able to awaken the female audience in search of a status and/or a reason for living.

- **Page 35:** “*When women who believe come to you as muhājirāt, they test their faith*”.

With this statement an explicit invitation is made to Western women migrants, the Muhajirat to demonstrate their self-faith by recruiting.

DABIQ #9

- **Page 48:** “*The slave-girls are those who in the aftermath have turned into diligent and industrious seekers of knowledge after having found in Islam what they did not find in the Kufr, despite the slogans of*” Freedom “and” equality “.

The reference to Jihadist women-wives who have rejected Western values in favour of Islamic culture implicitly urges the sisters of Islam who live in the territories of the unbelievers to mobilize themselves to obtain the right recognition.

- **Page 70:** “*Once, a Muslim woman came to us with her children and asked us to kill her and not take her as a slave! There we offered her bread and help and clarified things to her. After a few days, she returned and defended the Islamic State* “.

The testimony shown here shows once again that women can obtain the ransom they longed for by proposing themselves and joining the Islamic State not through the role of a slave but rather as a fighter.

DABIQ #10

- **Page 48:** “*Some said that the first muhājirāh among women was Umm Salamah. [...]* “.

Being a model and an example for other women seems the way to social recognition exactly like what happened in history through the figure of Umm Salamah.

DABIQ #11

- **Page 45:** “*Do you know what the mother of lion cubs is? She is the teacher of generations and producer of men. [...] you are a pastor and everyone is responsible for his herd, [...] The Muslim generation is the part of the mother that nourishes* “.

The role of the woman is here connected to the teacher, to the training assistant of the future fighters emphasizing the importance of the female figure for a good education-training of the future fighters.

“*These are the women of Ummah! The first woman al-Khansaa!*”.

The reference to Al-Khansaa's first female battalion let the possibility of acquiring a function within the female platoons re-emerge.

DABIQ #13

- **Page 3:** *“For a husband and wife helping each other to get for qiyām al-layl, how much more deserve the blessing of Allah is a husband and wife who march together to fight the crusaders in defense of Khilāfah! And the brother is blessed as well as the wife who accompanied him despite the fight was not even mandatory for her but did not want to lose the opportunity [...]”*.

The possibility of fighting comes through a different reading, not proposed in the precedent numbers of magazines. The fight of women next to their husbands, is the legitimacy of a new image of the role of women and their identity. Women are next to their men, represented as their peers with the opportunity to access an exclusively male channel. Choosing as a husband a militant can be part of the earthly blessing but fighting with him allows the attainment of complete glory in the hereafter and the recognition of one's own new identity on earth.

DABIQ #15

- **Page 23:** *“[...] And what is due to wives is similar to what is expected of them, according to what is reasonable but men have a degree on them [in responsibility and authority]”*.

The message here suggests that what is due to wives is equal to what is expected of them. Chastity and obedience are the essential traits of the good wife and in this brief reflection the traditional values linked to this figure are re-proposed. Therefore, despite the various incitements to the change of role, the key to reading the female role is re-proposed as subordinate to the male role.

6.2 “Sunnat e Khola”

The analysis proposed for “Sunnat and Khola” differs from that used for “Dabiq” because the use of key words would undermine the possibility of bringing out important data. Furthermore, as only two issues of this magazine have been published, the text has been paraphrased to highlight all possible analogies with the first periodical of the Islamic State.

The first issue of “Sunnat e Khola” was published on August 1st 2017 and the second on October 18th 2017 after this date the publication was interrupted.

Figure 13: The cover of first issue of magazine “Sunnat e Khola”.



From the content analysis of the first issue there merged a preamble connected to the political situation of Pakistan and its potential international enemies.

- From pages 1 to 11, there is reported the dangerousness that India represents for Pakistan and the betrayal of the latter towards its people, which occurred following its alliance with America. The aforementioned initial pages refer to the power of the American army already demonstrated with the attack on Japan and further confirmed by the subsequent strategic operations that made it possible to defeat Gaddafi and Saddam Hussein. At the end of the tenth page we note the first appeal to women or those who have the duty and honour to fight for Allah.

Jihad is a form of worship and do not forget that we have promised Allah to obey all his commands. My respected sisters, those who understand Islam always show a greater degree of religious honor. He thinks Asia is a woman, then a wife of Pharaoh, [...] She agrees to sacrifice everything for the sake of her emaan. [...]. There is no difficulty after death. No fasting, no prayer, no jihad, no zakat. Everyone in Jannat is young. My sisters! [...]. My respected sisters, the reason why Allah Almighty gave this example is for us to follow it. Even the female slave of Pharaoh's daughter accepted Islam and submitted to only one Allah. O my respected believing sisters, the first martyr of Islam was a woman; Sumayya, the first sacrifice for the sake of Allah was given by a woman, Hazrat Khadija, the first to comfort the Nabi was a woman; his wife Hazrat Khadija; The first to spend for Allah's deen was a woman; Hazrat Khadija, the first to whom the Koran was recited, was also a woman; Hazrat Khadija. Allah the Merciful gave the woman a very high status. Mujahida, muhajira then if the father or the husband or the brother gets martyrdom, then also a higher status. In this time of trials and tribulations you have been given a great blessing. Run to get good deeds.

These extracts show that the messages proposed by “Dabiq” to a male audience are translated here to the feminine. “Dabiq” proposed to his would-be fighters, pages that give an account of comrades and brothers who died in battle, of friends who played leading roles among the battalions of Daesh and who gained glory through martyrdom, as well as urging the adepts of all world to carry out attacks in the name of Allah. Noteworthy are the lines providing a useful guide to the manufacture of explosives. Therefore, “Sunnah and Khola” uses the same communication strategy, adapting it to a uniquely female audience.

- From pages 12 to 30 there is the first significant testimony of a young Pakistani woman, graduated in medicine and specialized in the West, who has felt the need to turn her gaze to her Home land and rescue her suppressed people and rebel against unbelievers. This story entitled “From sinner to guide” is a clear exhortation addressed to all women to fight for the Islamic faith.

My ambition was clear; get the highest education so you can get the maximum worldly benefits and also to serve the Pakistani people and especially the Pakistani army to the best of my ability. To understand why I thought so? You have to take a look at my past. I was born and raised in an army family. My father was a Pakistani army officer. Most Pakistani army families are leading a non-Islamic and Western way of life. Democracy is used as a tool to keep these evil human beings in power and the “constitution” is used to give security to the government of these devils dictators. I knew that if I can read all those huge medical books, reading and meditating on the Qur’an is no longer difficult for me. [...] Allah gave my parents the ability and strength to repent and return to their Maker Allah. They started asking me continually to repent and read and understand the Quran, but maybe my crazy conscience needed a kick! I have tried many times to leave the satanic, atheist, less moral, aimless, less soul than I was living but each time my emerging career and ignorant friends have called me back. I thought what a woman can do? The first martyr of Islam was a woman, the first to accept that Islam was a woman, the first to spend for the love of Allah was a woman, the first to claim that Nabi was a woman, the first istashàdi was a woman. Although I have studied medicine for all the wrong reasons, but now after repentance, working for the mujaheddin, I can show practical evidence of my repentance. I also aspire to support the holy cause with the pen. If I cannot do anything, I would increase the number of Taliban.

- From pages 31 to 40, the magazine offers a second statement that of a six years old boy who aspires to follow in the footsteps of his family and become a Mujaheddin. To accompany the reader and give added value to the message, “Dabiq” places the image of a child-soldier with a bazuca on his shoulder next to the text. At the end of the magazine there is a further statement; an interview with a woman promoter of Jihad who is the daughter

of a Pakistani preacher arrested for promoting Sharia in the country. The issue, after the three testimonies, ends with the pages 41 to 45 with an instruction list giving women an array of deeds and roles they can take up in the name of Jihad:

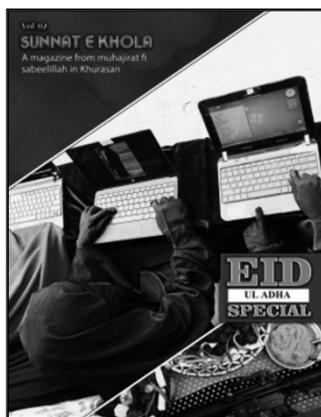
Sister, you can do the following activities:

1. *Help to publish and distribute jihadist literature.*
2. *Pen-shaped Jihad. Write essays to support the cause of jihad.*
3. *Organize religious gatherings at home. Try to preach the right faith, the true meaning of tauheed, emphasizes the need to lead life as dictated by the Qur'an and the Sunna. Invite them to meditate on the Qur'an and the Sunnah and preach the need to fight to implement the Sharia law in Pakistan and around the world.*
4. *Organize secret meetings at home and invite the like-minded jihadist sisters. Distribute literature reflecting on the obligation of jihad, organize physical training classes for the sisters. Learn how to use simple weapons. Learn the use of grinades.*
5. *With great prudence preach to the members of your family the obligation, the duty of every Muslim to fight to implement the law of sharia. Explain what is jihad and its obligation. It illuminates the aqeeda of Al wala wal bara, and that it is obligatory for every Muslim to fight the taghoot.*
6. *Create public awareness on the oppression of rulers and political generals. It supports the mujaheddin to fight the oppressors.*
7. *Help the cause of jihad with money. Promote related people to support jihad with money.*
8. *Support the mujaheddin in their secret hideaways far from the cities. Get food for them, help carry weapons, trust jackets and other requirements. Keep your weapons, money, other devices in a safe place and when you need to transfer them to the mujaheddin.*
9. *In case of danger of attack by the army or the police on a specific jihadist center, immediately inform the mujaheddin.*
10. *To plan the martyrdom operations, help the mujaheddin. Give them information on the security of the army and government institutions, hide their weapons, provide them with money. In addition, it indicates to them the possible men, women and institutions to attack.*

So, at the end of this first issue it was possible to see that true guidelines were given to all the mujahide sisters. From the ten points listed, it emerges that the actions that women can perform coincide with the roles played by them within the terrorist organizations, highlighted in Chapter 5 of the study.

On the other hand, regarding "Sunnat e Khola # 2" (**Figure 14**), contents are reinforced by more representative images. This data can already be verified from the cover image of the new issue which depicts the personification of the new female roles that arose with the birth of the Islamic State.

Figure 14: The cover of second issue of magazine “Sunnat e Khola”.



From the cover you can see three women in niqab working on PCs, one of which is viewing the first issue of the magazine “Sunnat and Khola”. If this representation actually shows the new icon of an active woman in favour of the terrorist organization, a second image on the right, which shows dishes served at the table with a gun next to it. What immediately comes to mind is how it symbolizes the multidimensionality of the role of women in addition to giving evidence that the main image of the cover coincides with the atypical role of Propaganda-Bride jihadist and that the second image depicts the essence of the Jihadist-Militant Bride, roles emerged from the analysis of the sample of 147/176 women affiliated to the Islamic State.

The preface of this second issue, from pages 1 to 4, gives details in advancement or progress the Pakistani Muslim woman has managed to achieve but it also seriously threatens the will of Allah; a progress that is repeatedly reported as an outrage to the Islamic faith.

What is in truth is that the real force behind the sudden enthusiasm of the government to improve the status of women in Pakistan MDG (Millennium Development Goal's)? Speaking of gender equality, Allah is our Creator, He knows best what is good for us. [...]. The MDG directly dismantles the family unit in an Islamic society. They do this by promoting gender equality and empowerment of women. The main role of a woman is to bring in a new generation and work for the best possible character building and education of this future generation. Primary schools based on the secular program will tear the Islamic roots from your children.

- From pages 5 to 8 the discourse is centred on the act of martyrdom and the sacrifice of one’s own children necessary to ensure the benevolence of Allah and obtain eternal glory.

See the example of Hazrat Abraham a.s. How great was his proof that Allah only through a dream asked him to slaughter his only son, that is, to sacrifice his son in the way of Allah. Hazrat Abraham listened and obeyed. [...]. We muhajireen and mujahideen feel special love and bond with Hazrat Abraham [...]. Our call is "Shariat or Shahadat (martyrdom)". Sunnat and Khaula's team was invited by several sisters ansar and muhajireen.

- From pages 9 to 11, there are different messages, declarations of mothers who have lost their sons or daughters, martyrs, wives of combatant inmates and sisters of mujaheddin. Each of these testimonies is reported in the magazine in favour of an increasingly conscious and aware mobilization of the benefits deriving from this choice.
- From pages 11 to 14, the magazine reports a speech addressed to Ayesha Gulalai that is "the youngest Pakistani parliamentary woman and first elected of the conservative administrative unit of the FATA, or the tribal areas with federal administration on the border with Afghanistan". The statements reported reveal the total disapproval of those who have not conformed to the precepts promoted by the Sunna but adapted to the secular program proposed by the West. In the following lines reported here is a comparison between Ayesha Gulalai and Aafia Siddiqui. It is repeatedly stressed that Lady Al Qaeda, unlike Ayesha, is the icon of the true Muslim woman who fought to eliminate the kuffar and was an example for all those who have believed and still believe in the future supremacy of a global jihad.

Finally, I would like to ask the human rights and right-wing organizations of women who are growing in support of Ayesha Gulalai and Nawaz Sharif's daughter-in-law, have stood up for our respected sister Afia Siddique when she was sold to the enemies of Islam. Musharraf? She was a pious Muslim sister who propagated deen and Islam and lived a life of piety. On what crime were convicted 83 long and tortuous years of imprisonment in Kuffar prisons? The Pakistani media are biased and anti-Islam. He is promoting the kuffar agenda to dishonor Islam and mujahideen and Islam.

- From pages 14 to 21, there emerges a declaration of a woman belonging to the team of "Sunnat and Khola" who tells of her personal experience in favour of jihad after having married a militant sentenced to death.

I felt the happiest woman on earth, my Abdur Rehman, my husband is a Mujahid. Also, if you do not want to be related to a prisoner sentenced to death, I am ready to free you from my marriage contract. "I replied," if you are a believer, then I am a believer woman, if you are a mujahid, then I am a mujahida. I am also a mother of a shaheed Alhamdulillah. Our little girl got seriously ill last year and died a martyr.

- From pages 22 to 28, there are the accounts of female figures who historically have actively contributed to make justice to the Islamic faith through martyrs and kuffar killings.
- From pages 29 to 33, there is a re-publication of a letter, hypothetically written by a child eager to become a mujaheddin. Therefore, in this second issue the image that accompanies the reader is no longer that of a child with a bazuca on his back, but a child with a Glock 43 caliber 9 in his hands.
- Finally, from pages 34 to 38, an interview is reported of Ameer's wife Teherrek taliban-e-Pakistan mullah Fazlullah. From the lines translated here, there emerge more important topics: the importance and prestige of being the wife of a fighting man, the acceptance of polygamy as an opportunity to share domestic burdens, the acceptance of martyrdom as a possibility of rebirth and glory eternal.

Sunnat-e-Khaura's team is first and foremost grateful to Allah Almighty for offering us the opportunity to jihad in the guidance of the truth-seeker, a man of mercy, Mulla Fazlulla Khurasani. privileged information providing security information. The men of the Pakistani army are sick of a secular democratic system. They know the reality of their generals without personality and want to get rid of them. Some of them have secretly promised loyalty to Ameer Sahib and are working undercover in Pakistan. While others have hijra and live with us. Not only men, but women belonging to the army have joined the ranks of the mujaheddin. [...]. To my sisters mujahida and muhajira I would like to say that we greatly appreciate your love for deen and Islam. Every day we receive requests from the sisters who ask for a martyrdom to be performed and have been blessed to fight the taghoot. Sisters, I believe there are Ummay Ammara, Khansa, Khaura among you who will raise the flag of La ila ha illala. Perform good deeds with sincerity and pray to Allah for firmness.

The various testimonies reported both in the first and in the second issue of the magazine have revealed the importance of the female team in the fight for a global jihad, an indubitable stimulus to all the young sympathizers and future supporters of extremist ideology.

Propaganda is known to have been more evident in wartime, as in the Manifesto, but in reality it is constantly being used as a political and social means to influence people's behaviour. Moreover, as shown by the semantic analyses, the repeated statements supported by the verses of the Qur'an provide legitimacy to any choice even to martyrdom.

The propaganda of terrorist groups uses all the means of communication available to spread their messages: press, radio, video, posters, meetings, flags, books, comics, poetry and music. The news and the most important issues are spread every day on sites like www.jihadology.net and if the propaganda is

so powerful is because the speeches supported by video images and produce greater effects than any other medium. Today, more than yesterday, social media are an instrument of active participation and as such guarantee the achievement of the primary objective: to drive people's opinions.

7. Discussion of results

7.1 Valuation of results

The narratives in both Dabiq and "Sunnat and Khola" can be divided into three main themes: political, religious and social because the main efforts of the information strategy have been based on four main directives from the beginning: Combining, Frightening, Supporting and Inform. Furthermore, qualitative and quantitative analysis has shown repeatedly that propaganda has exerted a considerable influence on role-playing, facilitating self-indoctrination.

From the count of the 176 women in the sample the roles assumed to a greater extent (*Table 25*), with a number of members ≥ 15 , are: Bomber, Supporter-Jihadist Bride, Lender, Supporter, Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant, Propagandist.

Table 26: Counting women for each roles id descending order.

Roles	Count
Bomber	27
Lender	25
Supporter-Jihadist Bride	24
Supporter	20
Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant	18
Propagandist	17
Propagandist-Militant	13
Recruiter	12
Jihadist Bride	9
Jihadist Bride-Militant	6
Propagandist-Jihadist Bride	3
Preacher	2
Total	176

A further analysis, however, has shown that the processes of self-indoctrination through online propaganda have determined only the acquisition of some of the roles (*Table 26*).

Table 27: Count in descending order of self-indoctrinated women.

Etichette di riga	Exo_propaganda
Propagandist	8
Bomber	7
Supporter-Jihadist Bride	6
Propagandist-Militant	6
Supporter	5
Jihadist Bride-Militant	2
Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant	2
Propagandist-Jihadist Bride	1
Preacher	
Jihadist Bride	
Lender	
Recruiter	
Totale complessivo	37

It emerges that the six roles covered to a greater extent have not always been acquired as a result of self-indoctrination, in fact there are: 7/27 Attackers who have acquired this role thanks to online propaganda as well as 5/20 Supporters-Jihadist Brides, 0/20 Lenders, 5/20 Supporters, 1/18 Propagandist-Recruiting-Militant and 8/17 Propagandists. For what concerns the roles with a number of subjects ≤ 15 the propaganda has influenced respectively: 1/2 Propagandist-Militant, 0/12 Recruiters, 0/9 Jihadist Brides, 2/6 Jihadist Brides-Militant, 1/3 Propagandist- Jihadist bride and 0/2 Preachers.

Notwithstanding, it is not possible to consider the results in absolute terms, given the limited number of the sample, but to some extent it is clear that the propaganda of the Islamic State has favoured female mobilization.

However, social relations have had considerable influence. The data that emerged frequently is the influence exercised by a boyfriend or a spouse who is a supporter of extremist ideas as a subject capable of plagiarizing the women close to him. In fact, viewing the results obtained (*Table 27*), it emerged that 49/176 women supported different Al Qaeda and Daesh procedures following the conditioning suffered by their partner.

Table 28: Counting in descending order of women affected by romantic relationships.

Roles	↓ ↓ Affini_boyfriend
Lender	10
Supporter-Jihadist Bride	9
Supporter	7
Bomber	5
Jihadist Bride	4
Propagandist	4
Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant	3
Jihadist Bride-Militant	2
Propagandist-Militant	2
Propagandist-Jihadist Bride	2
Recruiter	1
Preacher	
Total	49

It emerges that 10/20 Financiers have acquired this role following the relationship of affinity with a man as well as 9/20 Supporters-Jihadist Bride, 7/20 Supporters, 5/27 Attenders, 4/9 Jihadist Bride, 4/17 Propagandists, 3/18 Propagandist-Recruiter-Militant, 2/6 Jihadist Bride-Militants, 2/3 Propaganda-Jihadist Bride, 2/2 Propagandists-Militants, 1/12 Recruiters and 0/2 Preachers.

The data show that those who play passive roles (Lender, Supporter, Supporter-Jihadist Bride) have been more influenced by the men with whom they have undertaken a relationship. For the active roles, other types of socio-relational influences would appear to intervene.

In general, the frequency of relationships derives from the probability of building solid emotional bonds that act as excellent instruments capable of promoting the ideological and value-converting of a subject. The belief system is strengthened with the support of other social actors so the gradual entry of women into terrorist organizations consolidates the hope, sometimes manifested at times incessantly placed, that female support is fundamental for the survival of the ideology itself. In fact, the bonds promote very precise attitudes and behaviours that facilitate mutual solidarity. It is no coincidence that supporting and marrying a cause already supported by some friends or by one's partner favours the construction of a group identity so strong as to repress any interference coming from the outside world.

7.2 The limits of the study

The study of 176 women highlighted socio-relational influences that have, to a different extent, determined the choice to adhere to extremist ideology. However, despite the qualitative analysis indicated trends due to the small sample size it is not possible to generalize the results obtained.

Secondly, the failure to evaluate the ethnic origins of each subject did not allow a study on the geography of the roles. This analysis would have been useful in order to understand how the influence of the socio-cultural and geopolitical context has determined the acquisition of some roles.

The possible future developments of this study therefore require a large sample and a more detailed analysis.

8. Conclusion

The study carried out tried to provide an idea of how Islamic fundamentalism has increased its influence and has come to take different forms over time. The excursus proposed here has shown that the greater involvement of the female component within the extremist groups is nothing more than a historical product dictated by the need of such groups to change their strategy. The transformation of a group is necessary for its survival, a reason why it is no longer possible to think of women, in the context of Islamic extremism, with an exclusively passive role. In this study it was shown that women have always had a key function in terrorist networks, even before the birth of Daesh, and that they were gradually rediscovered as strategic actors with the advent of the Islamic State whose propaganda gave them the legitimacy they needed to assume different roles, both inside and outside the territory of the Caliphate.

Firstly, it must be considered that if the number of operative women is significantly increased it is because they have provided terrorist organizations with an undoubted advantage also in terms of internal security, just think that women generally have the ability to provide support through the home without arouse particular suspicions. In fact, there may be alternative ways of supporting Daesh and the role of Supporter, emerged in this study, has provided a different way of engaging in the activities of the organization which, given its passive nature, is very difficult to detect from the apparatus of safety.

Secondly, we must bear in mind that women are subjected to softer security checks, that violent attacks by women led by other radical organizations are known to be more lethal, as they are able to carry out attacks by hiding weapons under their clothes and get more media coverage.

Third, not least in importance, women play an educational role more than a man does in the family context. In fact, the supporters of extremist

ideology can produce an influence from deleterious filiation on the offspring with devastating effects on the new generations. In light of this, it is clear that there is a sort of “positive prejudice” towards the female component, a major problem that cannot be ignored because an inadequate evaluation in terms of danger facilitates the carrying out of activities in favour of extremist groups.

With the hope of continuing with increasingly specific studies on the involvement of the female component in terrorist groups of Islamic origin, it is hoped that the international community takes into account the importance of the multi-dimensionality of women’s roles and their strategicity too often scarcely considered.

Bibliography

- Bakker, E. & de Leede, S., (2015). *European Female Jihadists in Syria: Exploring an Under-Researched Topic*. International for Counter-Terrorism, The Hague Background Note, 1-15.
- Bassou, a. & Guennoun, I., (2017). *Al Qaeda vs. Daesh in the Sahel: what to expect?* OCP, Policy Center.
- Ennaji, M., (2016). *Recruitment of foreign male and female fighters to Jihad: Morocco’s multifaceted counter-terror strategy*. International Review of Sociology.
- Gaub, F. & Lisiecka, F., (2016). *Women in Daesh: jihadits’cheerleaders’, active operatives?* European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), 1-4.
- Huey, L. & Witmer, E., (2016). *#IS_Fangirl: Exploring a New Role for Women in Terrorist*. *Journal of Terrorism Reaserach*, 7(1), 1-10.
- Jakupi, R. & Kelmendi, V., (2017). *Women in Violent Extremism Lessons Learned from Kosovo*. Kosovar Center for Security Studies, 1-36.
- Loken, M. & Zelen, A., (2017). *Explaining extremism: Western women in Daesh*. *European Journal of International Security*, 3(1), 45–68.
- Mietz, E., (2017). *What about the women? Understanding and Addressing the Problem of ISIS Female Recruitment in the Western Balkans*. Belgrade Centre for Security Policy, 1-15.
- Mora Tebas, J. A., (2017). *Terrorismo en Sahel-África Occidental: nuevas tácticas, nuevas alianzas,... ¿nueva estrategia?* Instituto Espanol de estudios Estratégicos.
- Pavanello, M., (2007). *Breve introduzioni allo studio antropologico della parentela*, 19:38. Edizioni Nuova Cultura, Roma.
- Strømmen, E. E. J., (2017). *Jihadi Brides or Female Foreign Fighters? Women in Da’esh: from recruitment to Sentencing*. Center for Security Studies. ETH Zurich.
- Yesevi, C. G., (2014). *Female terrorism*. *European Scientific Journal*, 10(14), 579-594.

Sitography

<https://jihadology.net/>

La Rivista semestrale *Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società* intende la *Sicurezza* come una condizione che risulta dallo stabilizzarsi e dal mantenersi di misure proattive capaci di promuovere il benessere e la qualità della vita dei cittadini e la vitalità democratica delle istituzioni; affronta il fenomeno del *Terrorismo* come un processo complesso, di lungo periodo, che affonda le sue radici nelle dimensioni culturale, religiosa, politica ed economica che caratterizzano i sistemi sociali; propone alla *Società* – quella degli studiosi e degli operatori e quella ampia di cittadini e istituzioni – strumenti di comprensione, analisi e scenari di tali fenomeni e indirizzi di gestione delle crisi.

Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società si avvale dei contributi di studiosi, policy maker, analisti, operatori della sicurezza e dei media interessati all'ambito della sicurezza, del terrorismo e del crisis management. Essa si rivolge a tutti coloro che operano in tali settori, volendo rappresentare un momento di confronto partecipativo e aperto al dibattito.

La rivista ospita contributi in più lingue, preferendo l'italiano e l'inglese, per ciascuno dei quali è pubblicato un Executive Summary in entrambe le lingue. La redazione sollecita particolarmente contributi interdisciplinari, commenti, analisi e ricerche attenti alle principali tendenze provenienti dal mondo delle pratiche.

Sicurezza, Terrorismo e Società è un semestrale che pubblica 2 numeri all'anno. Oltre ai due numeri programmati possono essere previsti e pubblicati numeri speciali.

EDUCatt - Ente per il Diritto allo Studio Universitario dell'Università Cattolica
Largo Gemelli 1, 20123 Milano - tel. 02.72342235 - fax 02.80.53.215
e-mail: editoriale.dsu@educatt.it (produzione) - librario.dsu@educatt.it (distribuzione)
redazione: redazione@itstime.it
web: www.sicurezzaerrorismosocieta.it
ISBN: 978-88-9335-387-8

Euro 20,00



9 788893 353878