
“Kill Them Wherever You Find Them” - Radicalizing Narratives of the “So-Called” Islamic State Via the Online Magazine Rumiya¹

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Abstract

During the civil war in Syria and Iraq, numerous predominantly young Europeans joined the terrorist organization of the Islamic State and committed attacks in their homelands in the name of the Islamic State. The study “Westliche Jugendliche im Bann des Islamischen Staates” (Kiefer et al., 2016) examines the contents of the IS propaganda magazine Dabiq which was published until 2016. Dabiq was aimed at young people with the intention to radicalize them in the ideology of the IS. The Dabiq follow-up magazine Rumiya appears at a time when the IS began losing ever larger parts of its former territories in Iraq and Syria and as signs of structural disintegration are appearing. It is upon the changes occurring within this period of transition that we focus our research efforts. We identify the radicalization strategies in Rumiya and analyze whether, and to what extent, the IS adapts its propaganda to the changing political situation as compared to Dabiq. With the assistance of a deductively developed category system, this study uses a qualitative content analysis of all previous issues of Rumiya to investigate the narratives Rumiya utilizes in addressing its readers as well as the pathways proposed toward radicalization. Our research indicates that journeying to the Caliphate is no longer the primary objective of radicalization. In Rumiya, young people are being asked to relocate the battle to their home countries, which we associate with the territorial losses of the IS. In addition, the frequent narration of enemy images and clear rules in Rumiya magazine provides clues as to what action guidelines could be used to counter the radicalization of youth. Regarding the re-sults of this research, both the promotion of an interfaith and intra-Muslim dialogue as well as the support of parents whose children are looking for clearly communicated rules suitable to protect young people from radicalization by the IS and thus prevent terrorist attacks in their countries of origin.

Article History

Received Oct 30, 2018
Accepted Dec 23, 2018
Published Dec 28, 2018

Keywords: Radicalization, Islamic State, Rumiya, Dabiq, Terrorism

¹ This paper is based on the academic achievements of the teaching research project at the University of Tübingen, supervised by Dr. Rolf Frankenberger. The authors would like to thank Dr. Rolf Frankenberger, who supervised and supported them during this research.

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³ Also, the authors would like to thank Edward Cahill for his tremendous help in translating the original German manuscript into English.

Introduction

Europe is confronted with a “New Terrorism”, the activities of which have risen enormously in recent years (cf. Goertz, 2018: 1 ff.). As an active representative of this terrorist ideology, the Islamic State – which has existed since 2014 – is experiencing unprecedented attention in the public media and has been classified as one of the most dangerous international security threats worldwide. The IS (Islamic State) operates and impacts not only in the conflict-laden contested areas of Syria, Turkey, and Iraq but also, via its expanded interpretation of Jihad, poses a direct domestic political threat to the people of Europe. As an outcome of targeted propagation and dissemination of radicalizing media in Europe the number of people whom are committed to this extremist Islamist Ideology is increasing and, in some cases, are developing a willingness to commit acts of violence (cf. Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, 2018:173). Since the IS Caliphate was proclaimed in 2014, these developments have led to a growing interest in radicalization processes, in their causes, and in the investigation of possible strategies for prevention and deradicalization. Of fundamental importance here is the engagement with the ideology of the extremist Islamic organizations. For only by understanding the radicalizing message of the Islamic State can a foundation be laid for its deconstruction and this process be counteracted.

Especially important in this context are the IS magazines published in a half dozen languages, Dabiq and Rumiya its successor, as these can be regarded as representative of the ideological views and radicalization strategy of the IS. The value of the content of these magazines should not be underestimated as significant for research on terrorist activities in Europe as they are a means of communicating the exact execution of instructions from the IS to its followers. Rumi-yah described in detail how to carry out an attack with a motor vehicle (Rumiya 3) or a knife (Rumiya 2 & 4). After the publication of the third edition of Rumiya in November 2016, the cities of Berlin, Stockholm, London, and Barcelona all experienced attacks wherein motor vehicles were driven intentionally into areas crowded with masses of people.

Resulting from the tremendous significance of the problem, extensive studies have already been conducted on the editions of Dabiq which was published until 2016 (Ingram, 2016; Kiefer et al., 2016) and those of the comparable magazine Inspire published by Al-Qaida in the Arabian Pen-insula (Droogan & Peattie, 2016; Droogan & Peattie, 2018). Consequently, the article “Westliche Jugendliche im Bann des Islamischen Staates”⁴ (Kiefer et al., 2016) intends to contribute to the protection of youths from radicalization. Based on the magazines Dabiq and Rumiya published by the Islamic State, motives used to radicalize potential fighters are examined. However, the article by Kiefer et al. (2016) only includes the initial two issues of Rumiya magazine which had replaced Dabiq magazine in the IS media strategy during the period of the territorial reconquest by the Alliance against the IS. The weakened political position and power of the IS requires that the insights gained be reconsidered and that appropriate preventative measures be developed that significantly address the altered motives of IS and develop counter-narratives oriented specifically to them. However, comparable studies of Rumiya analyses from this point of view lack a similar depth of investigation. In a recent study, Macnair & Frank (2018) compare the connotation of individual words in Dabiq and Rumiya. However, their analysis refers only to the level of individual words and serves primarily to clarify the benefits of research study in the context of extremist media. Unfortunately, in its current form it can only make very limited statements about the context within the articles of the entire body of work. In his research, Lakomy (2018) examines the means by which the IS tries to cover up its defeats. His research confirms our findings, and the assumption of Kiefer et al. (2016), that the location for the execution of the struggle via the editorial staff of Dabiq and Rumiya is shifting away from the Caliphate in Syria and Iraq and into the countries from which the fighters originate.

The studies by Welch (2018) and by Wignell et al. (2016) examine the magazine by working out the core message of an article and then dividing the core message into categories. By using this method, they were able to observe a similar shift in the strategies of the IS

⁴ “Western Youths Under the Spell of the Islamic States” (Kiefer et al., 2016)

regarding the out-sourcing of the struggle. However, assuming the thematic singularity of the articles means that different facets within the articles cannot be considered. Although this research has already revealed important differences between the magazine series, there is still no in-depth analysis of the content within the articles. In this regard, Welch (2018) also points out that a detailed investigation of the radicalizing narratives in Rumiya is still needed:

“Admittedly, each of the five categories includes a range of articles. Further study to divide articles into exact subcategories, or specifically code passages within articles, would be useful and encouraged” (Welch, 2018: 188).

In order to close this research gap, in our first step we analyze the entire textual material of all previous issues of Rumiya with the help of a qualitative content analysis and determine descriptively which motifs are increasingly used for radicalization and how these relate to each other. Furthermore, in a second step, the results of the analysis of Rumiya magazine are compared with those of Dabiq magazine (Kiefer et al., 2016) in order to identify possible differences and to gain insights into the adjustments of the IS radicalization strategies within the previous three years. Our question is:

How have the radicalization themes and motivations of the “so-called” Islamic State published in Rumiya changed from those in Dabiq?

In order to examine this question, we investigate the following hypotheses in a comparative study:

H1: Between the magazines Dabiq and Rumiya, both published by the IS, significant changes can be observed in the radicalization tactics that coincide with the loss of IS territory in Syria and Iraq.

H2: Whereas in Dabiq, emigration to the Caliphate is at the center of radicalization, in Rumiya the focus shifts to the call to carry out terrorist attacks in the home country.

For our research, we draw on findings from interdisciplinary radicalization and terrorism re-search. Based on this theoretical foundation, deductive categories are formed in operationalization, in this manner the articles in Rumiya are examined in the analytical portion of the work. We compare the results with the magazine Dabiq. With the aid of our analysis, we create a framework for the development of recommendations for action to prevent the radicalization of young people throughout Europe.

Literature Review

In the absence of an overarching theory, this work makes use of an interdisciplinary approach unifying various theories from the field of terrorism and radicalization research. In this section, the theories selected are discussed in greater detail and the relevant concepts for answering the question are specified. Because of its political relevance and ease with which exploited, the concept of terrorism is a controversial one in politics and research (Hegemann & Kahl, 2018: 9 ff.). This work is therefore based on the broad definition of terrorism as developed by Schmid (2012) in collaboration with various academics and political experts:

„Terrorism refers, on the one hand, to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties“ (Schmid, 2012: 258).

Since our work analyzes the IS published magazine Rumiya, we proceed within the concept of transnational terrorism. This seems to be the most pertinent way to describe the nature and modes of violence pursued by the IS, which is characterized in particular by the creation of

transnational social spheres in which the terrorist organization can function (cf. Goertz, 2018:161 ff.; Taken, 2013: 36).

In its understanding of radicalization, this work refers to the definition developed by McCauley and Moskalenko (2008):

„Functionally, political radicalization is increased preparation for and commitment to intergroup conflict. Descriptively, radicalization means change in beliefs, feelings, and behaviors in directions that increasingly justify intergroup violence and demand sacrifice in defense of the ingroup“ (ebd.: 416).

This definition focuses on the perception of radicalization as an increasing relationship between the individual and the “In-Group”, in contrast to the remaining members of society in the “Out-Group” which is deemed as an enemy. Especially in view of the extreme procedures of the IS, such a dissociating behavior from society seems probable.

In addition, this paper considers the phenomenon of political radicalization following Moghaddam’s work (2005) not as a transition from one status to another, but as a process that is undergone in the course of radicalization. In his psychological approach, Moghaddam uses the metaphor of the terrorist act as a staircase to explain how individuals become active perpetrators of violence as they step from being passively disadvantaged. In doing so, he focuses on the observation of the subjective perception of injustice and the lack of alternatives available to the radicalizing individual. With his analysis, he creates a framework for investigating various stages of the individual radicalization along the path to terrorism. Because the radicalizing narratives of the IS are not directed at an entire group of people (for example, the Muslim community of Germany), let alone an entire country, this work also focuses on the level of the individual. This seems particularly relevant in the context of the observation that terrorist groups are increasingly operating on a smaller scale and that so-called “Lone Wolves” are specifically targeted in order to perpetrate self-organized attacks independently of the main organizational structure (al-Bāzī, 2017: 108 ff).

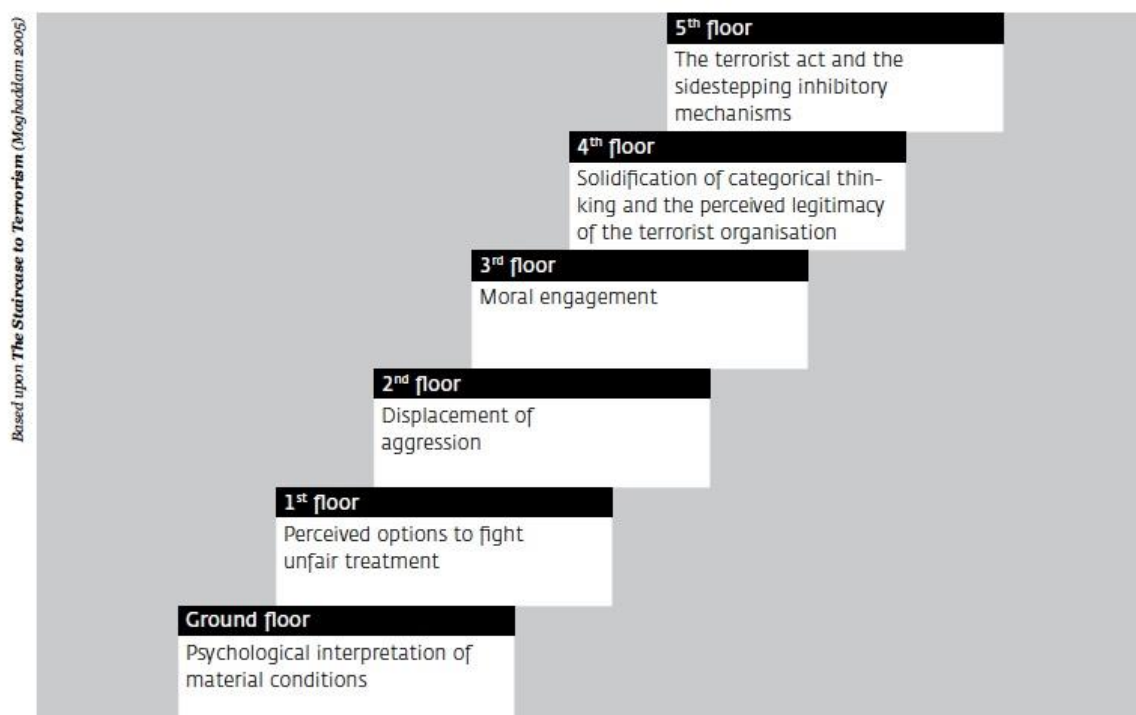


Fig. 1: Staircase Model of Radicalization according to Moghaddam, depicted by Young et al. (2013)

The matrix of radicalization further developed by Young et al. (2013) will serve as an additional basis for the investigation. This expands Moghaddam's Staircase Model so to better identify specific indications to be observed and possible measures to prevent radicalization.

In the context of terrorist radicalization via *Rumiyah*, the question arises as to which social group is addressed by this material generally and which individuals are especially at risk of being radicalized by the IS propaganda. This cannot be answered with singular clarity. Every path to terrorist action is different as members of terrorist organizations have distinct motivations and dispositions driving them to this form of extreme violence (Silke, 2008: 105). Nevertheless, we try to give a rough overview of the groups endangered by terrorist propaganda. Young men from teenage years to their mid-20s are most susceptible to jihadist radicalization (ibid.: 105). While the IS strategy also specifically addresses young women and emphasizes their duty to jihad (Musial, 2016/17: 79); young men remain the most vulnerable

group. This observation coincides with the general predisposition towards violent crime in this demographic category. The report of the Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz⁵ (2018: 184) states that between 2013 and 2017 young men with jihadist motives most often travelled to Syria and Iraq. Based on these observations, we see this age group as the primary target group of the magazines *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah*. Another important observation is that, statistically speaking, the radicalized are neither uneducated nor are they poorly paid or unemployed (Silke, 2008: 107). Accordingly, social belonging to an economic class appears to be less important a factor than the perceived deprivation along the lines of identity. In addition, it can be stated that in general no pathological component influences the individual's decision to take terrorist action (Sageman, 2008, 224; Silke, 2008: 104). Based on the study by Winter (2015), we identify three groups to which the IS message is directed: First, people who join the active struggle in Syria and Iraq. Second, so-called "Lone Wolves", who commit individual terrorist acts in their home countries without having entered into physical contact with the IS. The third group is composed of people who do not themselves become part of the struggle, but who spread the news and publications of the IS (online) and thus stimulate the radicalization machinery of the organization (ibid.: 43 f.).

A decisive question in the process of radicalization is that of how the contact between the IS and those radicalized comes about. According to Moghaddam's Theory of Radicalization, perceived deprivation and a lack of options for improving one's own situation open the individual to alternative value systems (Moghaddam, 2005: 165 f.). At this juncture, which is also referred to as "cognitive opening" (cf. Theine 2016: 28ff.), the contact between the terrorist organization and the radicalized person takes place.

In the case of specific radicalization by the IS, there exists a strongly self-referential process that often takes place unnoticed within the social environment. The young people establish their first contacts with representatives of jihadist ideology primarily online and gradually build up an alternative social network in this virtual environment. (Boeckler &

⁵ "Office for the Protection of the Constitution"

Allwinn 2017: 234ff.). The internet as a key place of radicalization offers a venue that is difficult for the State to monitor:

„Over the past two or three years, face-to-face radicalization is being replaced by online radicalization. The interactivity of the group changes people’s beliefs, and such interaction is found in Islamist extremist forums on the Internet” (Sageman, 2008: 227).

The IS media strategy differs from other, as well as previous, jihadist organizations primarily in the quality and quantity of the media published and disseminated via the Internet (cf. Winter, 2015: 18). In particular, the online services Twitter and Telegram serve as distribution media (ibid.: 106, Tiflati & Horgan, 2017: 2). Beyond the modern methods of dissemination, moreover, the complexity of the IS’s media output is a new development. The group specifically adapts its strategy to the respective recipients and achieves a high degree of professionalism in its publications, which is also reflected in the institutionalization of the IS media agencies. These are decentralized geographically in their structure (each wilāya has its own agency that publishes information and propaganda), with a clear focus of production on visual content (Zelin, 2015: 85). The main portion of the material is published in Arabic, contrary to what is often assumed. An exception in the IS media landscape is the al-Hayat Media Center, which specializes in non-Arab publications, translations, and among other things, has responsibility for the publication of *Rumiyah* which is examined in this paper.

Of all the numerous published videos, graphics, pictures, and texts, *Rumiyah* has a distinctive position. The reason for this is that *Rumiyah* is continuously published in multiple languages (English, German, French, Russian, Turkish, Uyghur, Pashto, and Bahasa Indonesia) and thereby appeals to an international audience. In contrast to the previous purely English magazine *Dabiq*, which focused on short-term goals, the IS pursues a long-term strategy with *Rumiyah*. This also explains the name change of the magazine from *Dabiq* to *Rumiyah*. *Rumiyah*, as the Arabic name for Rome, symbolizes the fall or conquest of the Roman Empire and the heart of Christianity by the IS. This exhortation is evidenced by a

quotation which can be found in every issue of *Rumiyah* on the Title Page or in the Table of Contents:

„O muwahhidin, rejoice, for by Allah, we will not rest from our jihad except beneath the olive trees of *Rumiyah* (Rome). – Abu Hamza al-Muhajir” (*Rumiyah* 5: 1).

Over the past two years, the total volume of media published by the IS has declined steadily (Winter, 2017: 107) as has that of al-Hayat Media Center which is responsible for *Rumiyah*. The most recent issue of the magazine analyzed in our work was published in September 2017. To date, however, there is no official statement from IS for the discontinuation of *Rumiyah*'s publication. We suspect that the loss of the IS-controlled city of Raqqa in September 2017 forced the media agency to cease publication. Whether *Rumiyah* continues to be published or replaced by a new magazine is not yet observed.

Radicalizing Themes in Dabiq

The research work of Kiefer et al. (2016) confirms that all of the themes known to radicalization research from which the applied category system is built are discussed by the IS in the twelve issues of *Dabiq* (ibid: 134). Two clear focal points can be identified: The categories “Enemy Images” and “Clear Set of Rules and Regulations” are coded most frequently. The former is divided into three subcategories. The enemy image “West and Its Allies” subcategory mainly refers to the USA and Europe as well as their allies Russia, Japan, Australia, Israel, Arab regimes, and rebel groups in the Syrian civil war. In eight out of twelve issues this is the most common category (ibid.: 151f). Almost the same number of encodings can be noted as enemy images for the subcategory “Other Jihadist Groups”. The Taliban, Al-Qaida, and the Jawlani Front are frequently mentioned, with the indication that their form of jihad is incomplete and misleading (ibid.: 154). The enemy image of “False Religious Communities” subcategory, on the other hand, is encoded less frequently. Christians, Jews, atheists, and followers of differing interpretations of Islam are described as such (ibid.: 154).

The Category “Clear Set of Rules and Regulations” is the second most frequent theme in the propaganda of the IS. The magazine lists rules for almost every aspect of everyday Muslim life. In short, the instructions refer to the fact that a “true” Muslim has the duty to carry out hijrah, jihad, and unconditionally adhere to the Sharia, whose interpretation the IS provides (*ibid.*: 157 ff.).

In addition to these two most common themes, departures from this predominant pattern was also noted. In Issues 1 and 5, the categories “Achievements of the IS” and “IS as Avant-garde” appear more frequently. The authors assume that the former is so frequently mentioned in the first edition as a means of legitimizing the newly founded Caliphate and to lay it as a foundation for further propaganda of the IS (*ibid.*: 161). The category “IS as Avant-garde” was increasingly encoded in Issue 5. At the time when the issue was published, the IS was confronted with the fact that very few current achievements existed and that defeats had to be offset (*ibid.*: 162).

The categories “Supposedly Noble Goals” and “Differentiation from Mainstream Society and Parents’ Generation” are consistently rare in the magazines examined. Contrary to the assessment of other scientists (*cf.* Winter, 2005: 28 ff.), goals that lie in the distant future are rather unimportant as the contents refer primarily to current world events.

Methodological Approach

The qualitative content analysis devised by Mayring (Mayring & Frenzl, 2014) is an analytical tool for evaluating text. It entails formulating categories to which individual passages of text can be assigned. These categories can be developed either inductively from the material or determined in advance based on theory and deduction. A decisive advantage of the method is that it can be employed on large amounts of text, yet still retains interpretative properties (Mayring & Frenzl, 2014). Of the various techniques used to perform qualitative content analysis, we have opted for structure-based content analysis. It provides for a deductive theory-driven category formation and the specification of a classification guide

defining each category, anchor examples, and rules of delineation between categories. Also, we allow inductive category formation based on the text. In order to calibrate and test our classification results, we have proceeded as follows:

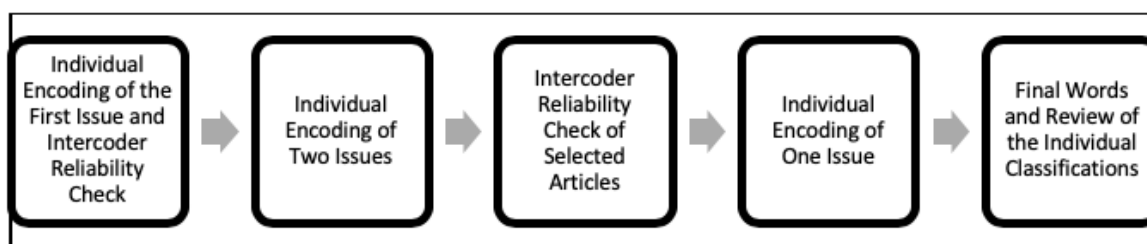


Fig. 2: Visualization of the Classification and Control Processes

The Rumiya issues we examined contain a large number of images and infographics as well as text. While we consider the image level of the magazine to be important, our research is confined to the textual content in order to ensure comparability with the previous study (Kiefer et al, 2016), which also focuses solely on textual material.

Operationalization

In the following section, the analysis categories of the qualitative content analysis will be presented briefly and a classification guide for the analysis will be drawn up. In composing the categories, this work is based on the categories used by Kiefer et al. (2016) to enable an accurate comparison between the magazines *Dabiq* and *Rumiya*. The category system used by them derives from findings obtained through socio-psychological radicalization research and propaganda analysis (Kiefer et al. 2016: 141) and was largely deductively developed; only the category “Superiority of the IS” was developed inductively. In addition to the majority of the categories taken from the previous work, the present work expands the spectrum of theory-led and inductive aspects that seem relevant for an investigation of the radicalizing contents of *Rumiya*. In contrast to the three supercategories used by Kiefer et al. (2016), we structure our category system according to the distinction between push and pull

factors (Jacobsen 2017: 15ff.). This structure appears more appropriate to us as it reflects the simultaneous alienation from the original society and the progression into the alternative, terrorist society of the IS.

In our analysis we define the encoding unit as the smallest unit consisting of a (partial) phrase and the context unit as the largest unit containing a maximum of one paragraph. Both should correspond to a meaningful unit in its entirety. It is possible, when needed, to encode individual phrasing and context units with several different classifications if different themes are represented in the same unit. Each individual issue of Rumiya Magazine serves as an evaluation unit, this allows us to compare them with each other later and correlate them with information on contemporary political events. In order to achieve an accurate comparison with the article by Kiefer et al. (2016), this paper examines the English-language version of Rumiya beginning with its first edition in September 2016.

Push Factors

Enemy Images

This category includes assertions about the enemies of the IS. This can be on the level of religious ideology as well as on a specifically military level. In accordance with In-Group-Out-Group mentality as borrowed from Radicalization Theory (see pages 4 & 5), all non-supporters of the IS are designated as hostile in this Enemy-Schema in order to legitimize and demand violence against them. The world is divided into a binary system in which only believers and non-believers, brothers-in-arms or enemies, exist. In order to gain a better overview of the different archetypes of “Enemy Images” referenced in Rumiya and to be able to differentiate between them, this category has been divided into four subcategories. With this distinction, we can make more precise statements later during the analysis as to which attributes, as utilized by the IS, the In-Group-Out-Group approach is based on.

Non-Muslim Religious Groups (False Religious Communities)

This subcategory contains statements on all groups that, in the opinion of the IS, adhere to a “false” faith. We also include here the “unbeliever” or “disbeliever” (kufr) within this category, since in Rumiyaḥ no significant distinction is made between it and non-Islamic religious groups. An example of an anchor for this category: *„May Allah bless the knights of the Khilafah lurking in the Crusader homelands and enable them to carry out massacres against the cross-worshipping populations therein“ (Rumiyaḥ 5: 7).*

False Interpretations of Islam (False Religious Communities)

Other interpretations of Islam are classified separately from the subcategory “Non-Muslim Religious Groups” as they are referred to in the journal Rumiyaḥ as a non-Muslim religious community using different terminology. The necessity of militant jihad and the recognition of the Caliphate of the IS are at the core of the distinction between “true” and “false” Muslims. In Kiefer et al. (2016) this category does not exist, in this case “Non-Muslim Religious Groups” and “False Interpretations of Islam” are combined under “False Religious Groups”. An example of an anchor for this category: *„All the Sufi tariqas that we have known, heard of, or read about have fallen into shirk in one way or another“ (Rumiyaḥ 5: 13).*

West and Its Allies

This subcategory includes statements about the military and ideological enemies of the IS worldwide as well as the allies of the West among the MENA States. They can either be directly involved in the struggle against the IS on a national level (e.g. USA, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, etc.) or represent an enemy of the IS on an ideological level (e.g. Western Imperialism). Also included are comments on historically important reference points for the IS, such as the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 or the 2003 US invasion of Iraq. An example of an anchor point for this category: *„By Allah, we will not let you sleep unless you give peace to the Muslims. I am warning you, O America! And, a message to the Muslims, don't listen to celebrity scholars who sold their religion“ (Rumiyaḥ 4: 37).*

Other Jihadist Groups

This subcategory includes text passages in which the IS distinguishes itself from other jihadist groups and makes an exclusive claim to the legitimate representation of Ummah. Specifically, in conjunction with the proclamation of the caliphate, the IS emphasizes this special status and thereby tries to separate itself from other jihadist groups such as al-Qaida. An example of an anchor point for this category: *„You were afflicted previously with those of the apostate Sahwat who abandoned the city of Aleppo, went trotting behind the dollar to fight the Khilafah State, and surrendered Aleppo to the Nusayriyyah without a fight“ (Rumiyah 9: 32).*

Differentiation from Mainstream Society and Parents' Generation

In order to not confuse the separation from both the mainstream society and the parents' generation with the creation of enemy images, this category includes a stronger focus on the call for ideological and cultural isolation from the surroundings. One should consider the context of the recruit's surroundings. It is not, as with the set of rules, predominantly about one's own person, but about protection from the false influences of parents and mainstream society. A detailed discussion of the impacts of isolation on radicalization can be found in Moskalenko (2010: 260 f.). An example of an anchor point for this category: *„He declared baraaah from his taghut father, once even asking the amir to allow him to go assassinate his own father, saying, 'I know one person who should be targeted, my taghut father. If you give me permission, I will finish him'“ (Rumiyah 2: 10).*

Perceived Deprivation

Oriented on the ground floor of Moghaddam's Theory of Radicalization (2005, 162 f.), this category includes statements that seek to convey an image of the discrimination of the recipients within their communities. This perceived role as a victim of the western mainstream society lays the foundation for the individual to be able to differentiate himself from society and attack it in the next step. In our analysis, we have divided this category according to the division between individual and collective deprivation common in

deprivation literature. It is worth noting that Kiefer et al. (2016) classify deprivation without deference to collective or individual.

Individual Deprivation

This subcategory encompasses text passages that speak to the individual in the role as a victim of Western Society. These passages can be, for example, economic factors but can also be individual experiences that have led to a perception of being disrespected by society. An example of an anchor point for this category: *„As the fitnah of strangeness increased around Abu Mansur during his five years of imprisonment, his iman also increased and he drew closer to his Lord. Despite missing the birth of his eldest son and his daughters' childhoods, he remained patient, spending his time memorizing much of the Quran and reflecting upon it and the reality of sacrifice“ (Rumiyah 1: 15).*

Collective Deprivation

In contrast to “Individual Deprivation”, this subcategory denotes the discrimination of a group within society. In the case of the IS, this category refers to the (perceived) discrimination of Muslim men and women in Western Society (and in other parts of the world) and the resulting lack of opportunities for Muslims to actively participate within this society (Moghaddam: 2005, p. 163; Theine: 2006, p. 20). An example of an anchor point for this category: *„I truly hope from Allah that he will specifically answer us, as we have been oppressed by those near and far, and the whole world has gathered to go to war against us“ (Rumiyah 6: 32).*

Reprimands of the Mujahiddin

This category was added by us inductively starting with Issue 11. In this issue it is indicated that a great many Mujahiddin begin to weaken in the struggle or in following the rules of the IS and to doubt their way. This behavior is condemned, and readers are likewise admonished not to turn their backs on jihad. For this purpose, accounts from the Sunnah are also used as inspiration. An example of an anchor point for this category: *„Nor do I fear the*

desertion of your Muslim brothers in the various parts of the world, but I fear for you from your own selves. I fear that weakness, febleness, failure, and abundance of sins may afflict you“ (Rumiyah 11: 7).

Pull Factors

Superiority of the IS

This category contains statements concerning the material, and especially the military power, of the IS in relation to other conflict parties in the Syrian civil war as well as its perceived enemies in an international context. The economic strength of the caliphate can also be included. An example of an anchor point for this category: *„Thus, the affair of the muwahhidin continued – by Allah’s grace – to rise and to flourish. Allah increased them in numbers, weapons, and wealth, granted them consolidation on His earth, and supported them in establishing His religion and reviving the jama’ah of the Muslims, which is led today by Amir-ul-Muminin Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi“ (Rumiyah 6: 10).*

IS as Avant-Garde

This category includes statements that represent the IS as the only authority legitimized by Allah and emphasizes its religious and spiritual superiority over other interpretations of Islam and other Islamic institutions. In contrast to the category “Glorification of the Fighters”, only the religiousness and privileged status of the “true Muslim” prevails here and not worldly, individual character traits. An example of an anchor point for this category: *„The Islamic State rose from sincerity and was nourished by the blood of shuhada who took the fight against kufr seriously, striking at it until they met their Lord in that condition, striving in His cause“ (Rumiyah 7: 19).*

Achievements of the IS

The category of “Achievements of the IS” includes statements proclaiming the successes of the organization in diverse contexts. Statements about territorial advancements, attacks committed, as well as an increase in followers can be classified under this section. In contrast to the category “Military/Material”, the superiority of IS in this category refers to specific events rather than general statements about the strength and superiority of the organization. An example of an anchor point for this category: *„Previously, at the beginning of the month of Sha’ban, an istishhadi targeted a recruitment center in the area of Khawr Maksur, in the center of ‘Adan, killing and wounding roughly 100 murtaddin“ (Rumiyah 1: 26).*

Achievements of the IS Outside the Controlled Territories

In order to find out whether the IS really relies more on transnational terrorism, we have added another subcategory here. All successful attacks, hostilities, and conquests that are explicitly reported as outside the territory of the IS are listed under this subcategory. As an indicator, we consider whether the magazine speaks of attacks outside the wilayat of the IS. An example of an anchor point for this category: *„On the 15th of Muharram, a soldier of the Khilafah stabbed two disbelievers in the city of Hamburg in response to the Islamic State’s call to target the citizens of nations participating in the Crusader coalition“ (Rumiyah 3: 44).*

Social Ensurances

This category refers to all the indications by the IS to ensure the financial and social security of its followers. On one hand, there is the mentioning of prestige, acknowledgement, and equality within the community and, on the other hand, there is the mentioning of solid financial security for the organization members (Goertz: 2018, p. 44 ff.; Said: 2016, p. 161ff.). An example of an anchor point for this category: *„Indeed, those who have believed and performed hijrah and fought with their wealth and lives in the cause of Allah and those who gave shelter and support - they are allies of one another.“(Rumiyah 1: 8).*

Clear Rules and Regulations

This category refers to explicit rules for conflict and everyday life, which are partly based on the interpretation of the Koran and the Sunnah by the IS, or are stand-alone instructions intended to strengthen and replicate the structures of the IS. Indiscretions and rule violations are severely punished. We consider this category important because its function is to replace previous legal and social regulations that are discarded during the radicalization process. The rules provide the radicalizing person stability in a time of great change and suggest a feeling of security. They also serve to divide the perceived surroundings and one's own behavior into "right" and "wrong". An example of an anchor point for this category: *„The judge ruled both of the soothsayers to be killed as apostates due to their claim of having knowledge of the unseen and their practice of soothsaying, and because they were both from among the main tawaghit who call people to commit shirk in the worship of Allah under the pretext of ‘sainthood‘ (Rumiyah 5: 15).*

Supposedly Noble Goals

All passages that speak of the "holy, God-given" goals of the IS are assigned to this category. In the forefront are the long-term goals, which would mean the end of the struggle for the IS. This includes, for example, the conversion of all "unbelievers", the successful campaign for territories all over the world dedicated to the Caliphate of the IS, God's punishment upon unbelievers, or else the protection of the ideals of the IS to the point of their own martyrdom. Even the naming of the magazine, Rumiyah, refers to these future goals, since it is based on not resting until Rome is subjugated. An example of an anchor point for this category: *„[...] and the banner of the Islamic State will flutter fly in every part of the world with Allah's permission – even if the enemies of Allah and the enemies of the believers hate that. And there is no ability or strength except with Allah“ (Rumiyah 12: 5).*

Adventure and Excitement

This category includes reports about the allegedly exciting and diverse life as a warrior of the IS, which is often cited as the reason for participation in militant jihad (Sageman, 2008, 116 f.). A brief description of this psychological phenomenon can be found in Silke (2008, 116 f.): All text passages that present the struggle of the IS as a challenge and entice with fascinating experiences, excitement, and danger can be classified here. An example of an anchor point for this category: „*He then went out, seeking the nearest point of ribat to the enemy and the most dangerous to the fighters, and his brothers guided him to the combat raging north of the city of Tabaqah*“ (Rumiyah 8: 45).

Call for Change and Drive for Action

Here, the request to readers to become active themselves and to support the work of the IS are to be classified. The category can be found in the work of Benford and Snow (1988) as “motivational framing”. This type of framing usually takes place after a specific foundational work for the process of radicalization has been accomplished (Theine: 2016, p. 21). This category includes practical proposals for action on one hand and general calls for jihad on the other. In any case, the followers of the IS as well as the readers of the magazine must be motivated to become active themselves by being directly invited to do so or by receiving instructions on acts of violence. An example of an anchor point for this category: „*O you who strive towards the Gardens and the pleasure of Allah, go forth with Allah’s blessing, for indeed, this war is your war. Turn the disbelievers’ night into day, bring destruction to their homes, make their blood flow like rivers*“ (Rumiyah 3: 5).

Call for Change and Drive for Action Outside the Controlled Territories

This subcategory expands the “Call for Change and Drive for Action” category. It includes the specific call for action abroad. All appeals and speeches that are explicitly reported as outside the territory of the IS are classified under this category. An example of an anchor point for this category: „*O soldiers of the Khilafah in Turkey! O you whose path to*

performing hijrah to Dar al-Islam has been blocked by the murtadd, Turkish border patrol forces! You must strike the Turkish taghut and his murtadd followers. ,Fight them; Allah will punish them at your hands, He will disgrace them, He will support you against them, and He will heal the breasts of a believing people‘ (At-Tawbah 14)“ (Rumiyah 3: 3).

Glorification of the Fighters

This category was inductively developed by us and is not to be found in Kiefer et al. (2016). Within this category we classify statements that idealize individual fighters or the entire ensemble of IS fighters and associate them with heroic secular traits and attributes. As role models in active combat, they offer guidelines and personal reference points for people in the radicalization process. The glorification of the fighters that died in jihad against the enemy and who were martyred is especially significant and venerated here. An example of an anchor point for this category: *„Indeed, our brothers in Mosul displayed steadfastness, perseverance, and conviction in the face of disbelief and its various forms, something not witnessed by history until today“ (Rumiyah 12: 4).*

Analysis of Rumiyah

Evaluation of Findings

Following the completion of the evaluation process of the online magazine Rumiyah, 4,540 passages were classified representing 56% of the total text material within the 13 issues published. Overall, Rumiyah magazine is clearly structured. Each issue contains between seven and eleven articles, which are listed at the beginning in the table of contents. In all issues, in addition to longer articles, there are several graphic pages with short, simple explanatory texts (infographics). Also, interviews with important representatives or supporters of the IS are printed in the majority of issues. The layout of the issues is very professional with its inserted photos, illustrations, and recurring chapter subdivisions making the magazine

straightforward and easy to read. Particularly noteworthy are the article series, where one topic is dealt with in several successive issues.

After the evaluation of all classifications was completed, they were transformed into the following breakdown of categories:

Category	Encodings	Relative Frequency
Enemy Images	2099	46.23%
Clear Rules and Regulations	875	19.27%
Achievements of the IS	431	9.49%
Call for Change and Drive for Action	259	5.70%
Glorification of the Fighters	247	5.44%
IS as Avant-garde	184	4.05%
Supposedly Noble Goals	118	2.60%
Perceived Deprivation	100	2.20%
Superiority of the IS	72	1.59%
Reprimands of the Mujahiddin	49	1.08%
Adventure and Excitement	42	0.93%
Differentiation from both Mainstream Society and Parents' Generation	37	0.81%
Social Ensurances	27	0.59%
Total	4540	100%

Fig. 3: Absolute and relative distribution of the classifications (see also Fig. 5 for a graphic representation)

It is notable that the category “Enemy Images” is by far the most frequently classified category with 46 percent of all encodings. The category “Clear Set of Rules” also stands out with 19 percent of the encodings performed out of the entire category system. The categories “Achievements of the IS”, “Call for Change and Drive for Action”, and “Glorification of the Fighters” are found to be in the range between 10 and 3 percent, which do not represent the main portion of the encodings performed, but nevertheless make up a relevant share of the themes mentioned. The categories “Social Ensurances”, “Differentiation from Mainstream Society and Parents’ Generation”, “Adventure and Excitement”, “Reprimands of the

Mujahiddin”, “Superiority of the IS”, “Perceived Deprivation”, and “Supposedly Noble Goals” are all in the range of less than 3 percent and can therefore be considered irrelevant with regard to the total number classified.

If one examines the encodings carried out in the progression of the individual issues of *Rumiyah*, additional tendencies can be observed. On one hand, it can be seen that Issue 5 and Issue 11 stand out because of a high number of different encodings, whereas Issue 7 presents a particularly low number of encodings (see Fig. 11). On the other hand, we can observe in the regular distribution of the encodings that some classification categories appear more frequently over the course of the issues, while others decrease in importance. It is particularly apparent that the category “Enemy Images” is becoming significantly more important in the course of time and the category “Clear Set of Rules and Regulations” is increasingly less mentioned in later editions. These relative changes between issues allow us to draw conclusions about the internal developments within *Rumiyah*’s editorial staff and the possible changes in the IS strategy in recent years. In addition, the chronology of individual magazines allows us to establish parallels with real political events (e.g. losses of strategically important cities) that have altered the content of this magazine series.

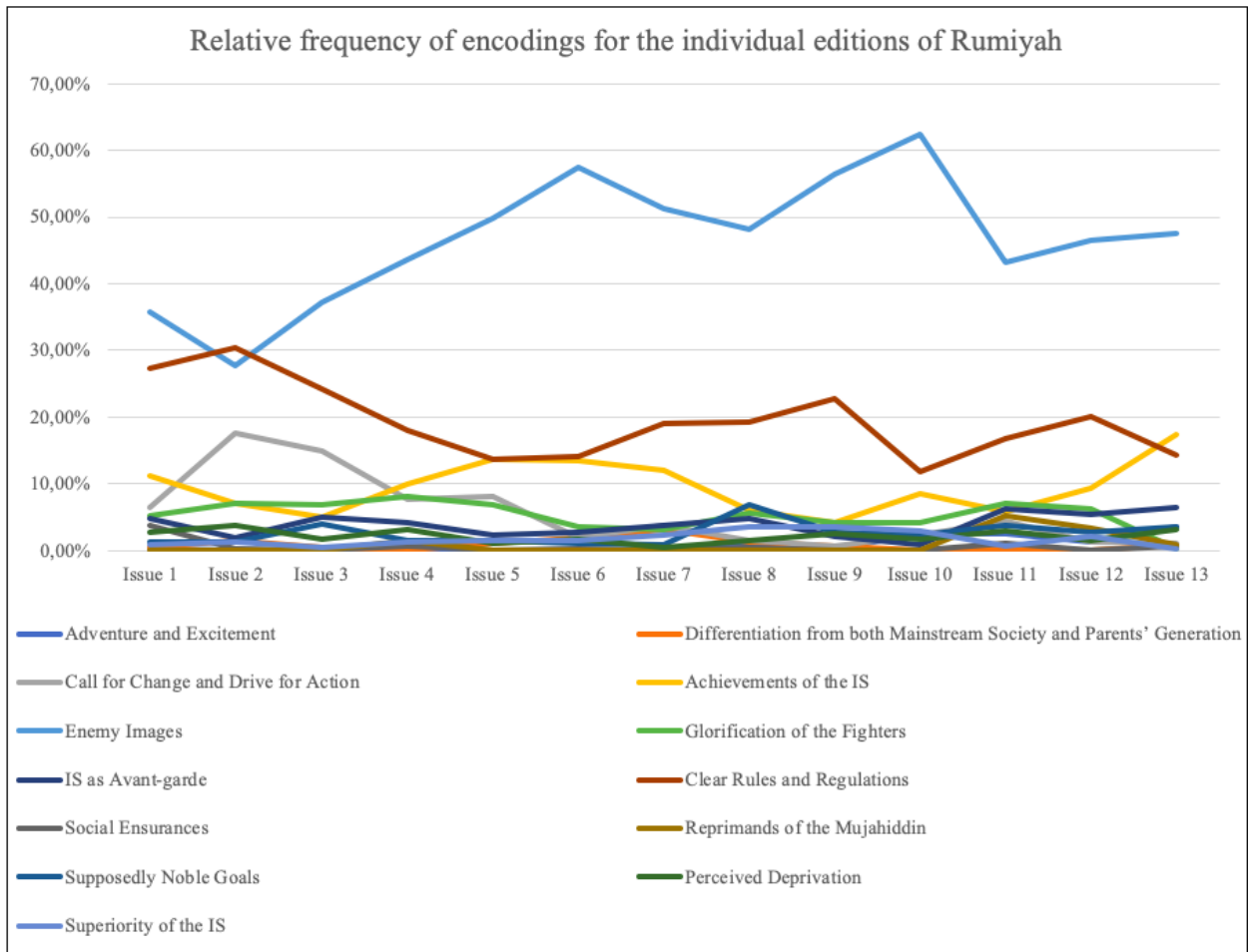


Fig. 4: Relative frequency of encodings for the individual editions of Rumiya

Interpretation of the Results

Enemy Images

The high number of “Enemy Images” Category encodings can be explained in part by the fact that subcategories often occur simultaneously within a meaningful passage (this overlap is visualized in Fig. 12). Repeatedly in *Rumiya*, different enemy stereotypes are associated with each other and portrayed as a unified alliance in the fight against the IS. The following example should illustrate this point:

- „The battles that have ensued in the city of Bab, between the allies of Rahman – the soldiers of the Islamic State – and the allies of Shaytan from the murtaddin of the Turkish and Nusayri armies, the Sahwat, the Rafidi militias, and the Russian and American Crusaders, and their allies from the evil scholars, the claimants of jihad, and the political parties and organizations“ (Rumiyah 7: 4).

The most frequently occurring subcategory, “Non-Muslim Religious Groups” (37 percent) comprises all those who do not identify themselves as Muslims (e.g. Jews, Christians, or atheists). In contrast to the followers of the “true” faith, the fighters of the IS, these are titled as unbelievers and polytheists, which not only justifies their fight, but makes it imperative. Accordingly, many articles focus on legitimization and regulation of violence against these enemies, which is reinforced by hadiths and religious authorities.

- „Imam Ibn Taymiyyah said, „And kufr alongside muharabah (belligerence) is present in every kafir, so it is permitted to enslave him just as it is permitted to kill him“ (Majmu’ al-Fatawa)“ (Rumiyah 11: 29).
- „As for kafir women and children who do not fight or otherwise partake in hostilities, then the principle stands that they should not be deliberately killed, meaning that one should not single them out for targeting. However, when they are not distinctly isolated from the kafir men or when they are not easily distinguishable from them, then their collateral killing is a justified part of the jihad against the kuffar“ (Rumiyah 5: 7).

In general, it is striking that the omnipresent religious dualism between “believing” and “disbelieving” is applied to non-religious entities. Creating a religious connotation for the battle lines is particularly clear with the use of the word “Crusader”. Thus, State military opponents of the IS in Syria and Iraq (such as the USA or Russia) are labeled “crusaders”, which assigns a religious importance to the struggle of the IS. Moreover, this representation

of the alliance against the IS as “Crusaders” brings to the struggle the characteristics of an historical resistance, which portrays the IS as the last Muslim bastion against the unbelieving invaders.

- „On the 19th of Rabi’ al-Awwal, one of the soldiers of the Khilafah – Abul-Bara at-Tunisi – carried out an operation in which he ran over several people in the heart of the German capital, Berlin, in response to the Islamic State’s call to target the citizens of nations involved in the Crusader coalition, which is killing Muslims“ (Rumiyah 5: 41).

By presenting the conflict as a religious struggle between the “true” Muslims and all those of other faiths, the IS signals to the radicalizing youth that the existence of their religion is imperiled by these non-Muslim religious groups. The dualistic thinking of the IS also applies to all other Islamic groups which do not adopt the Islamic interpretations of the IS and do not submit to Allah’s will as expressed in the caliphate of the IS. This hostile image of the “False Interpretations of Islam” (34 percent) forms the second most frequent narrative in *Rumiyah*. Muslims outside the ideology of the IS are accused of not doing justice to the tawhid doctrine and the true Islam with all its requirements. They are denounced as apostates and lose their status as Muslims and as part of the Islamic Ummah by means of takfir.

- „so whoever doesn’t submit to Allah – such as one who abandons all actions or forcefully resists some of the manifest, mutawatir rulings – is nothing but a kafir, and whoever isn’t exclusively for Allah – such as one who worships the prophets and the righteous, whether blindly following others or having misunderstandings – is nothing but a mushrik, even if he prays, fasts, and claims that he is a Muslim“ (Rumiyah 1: 5).

Additionally, Muslims who do not profess to the IS are presented as allies and slaves of the “Crusader” powers who support the invasion of infidels against the interest of the Muslim Ummah.

- „Indeed, the Murtadd Brotherhood has emerged as a poisoned spearhead carried by the Crusaders in their war against the Khilafah“ (Rumiyah 2: 6).

The third most frequent “enemy” is the subcategory “West and Its Allies” (24 percent), which elevates the IS’s binary worldview to a military level. In contrast to the other two subcategories, this category does not distinguish between “unbelieving” and “believing”, but anchors the distinction firmly in the real political opponents of the IS. Here, no distinction is made between the countries involved in the Syria and Iraq struggle from those which position themselves internationally as opponents of the IS. It is clear that not only a military fight against the West takes place, but also a battle of thoughts against Western concepts, which are presented as dangerous to the Muslim Ummah.

- „Then legions of its soldiers will enter the land of Turkey, making therein new wilayat in which the Shari’ah of Allah will be established and the idols of Ataturk, democracy, secularism, Sufism, and the Murtadd Brotherhood will be removed. And none of that is difficult for Allah“ (Rumiyah 6: 20).

The deficiency of the subcategory “Other Jihadist Groups” (5 percent) indicates that other jihadist organizations involved in the civil war in Syria and Iraq do not constitute a disconcerting opponent status of the IS in *Rumiyah*. Accordingly, references to these groups can be found almost exclusively in connection with other state sponsored conflict factions, which form an alliance with them. An obvious explanation for the low importance of this category can be found in comparison with *Dabiq* (see p. 27).

In summary, it can be stated that the Dualist thinking of the IS exhibits one of the constituent principles for the jihadist radicalization strategy of young people via *Rumiyah*. By dividing the world into two categories, “good” or “evil”, “false” or “true”, and “believing” or “unbelieving”, the IS creates a clear separation between the In-Group and the Out-Group that allows it to legitimize violence against all those who are not part of this identity-forming In-Group. If one combines this observation with the theoretical foundation of the radicalization process, the “Enemy Images” category represents the fourth floor of radicalization (Moghaddam, 2005: 165 f.; see also Fig. 1). By demonizing its enemy stereotypes, the IS creates a platform through *Rumiyah* that allows it to demand violence against dissenters and thus complete the process of radicalization.

Clear Rules and Regulations

The second most frequent category in *Rumiyah* is “Clear Rules and Regulations”, which encompasses all areas of the life followers of the IS lead. Particularly well represented are the detailed regulations and instructions for the “correct” practice of the Islamic religion. In addition, there are regular laws and guidelines for the social coexistence of the followers of the IS in Syria and Iraq, some of which also include punishments during this earthly life and in the afterlife for failure to obey. It is noteworthy that under the category “Clear Rules and Regulations” women are also explicitly addressed and their place in the social system of the IS becomes clarified.

- „Therefore, whoever wishes to be from among those who practice the siyahah of the Sunnah, as understood by the Salaf, must perform hijrah and jihad, must strive against himself for Allah’s sake by adhering to zuhd and dhikr in the course of his ribat“ (Rumiyah 5: 21).
- „Because of this, the most correct opinion is that the criminal is dealt with in a manner like what he did to the victim, as long as it is not something forbidden due to Allah’s right“ (Rumiyah 5: 18).

- „Yes, there is nothing wrong with Muslim women visiting each other, nor with keeping families ties, nor with her going to the market. However, nothing should be done in excess. Going out should be occasional in comparison to the default rule, which is that she stays at home“ (Rumiyah 3: 41).

Besides the everyday social rules, Rumiyah also contains specific instructions for the armed struggle against the enemies of the IS. On the basis of quotations from the Koran and Sunnah, it is determined how this fight should take place and which rules are to be followed on the battlefield.

- „Al-Khattabi said, ‚The kafir’s blood is permissible because he has not yet uttered the word of tawhid; but if he were to say it, then his blood is spared and becomes prohibited‘ (A’lam al-Hadith)“ (Rumiyah 1: 35).

The category “Clear Rules and Regulations” summarizes statements that construct an inclusive social legal system for the followers of the IS both within and outside its territories. In the context of Moghaddam’s Radicalization Theory (2005), we can state that *Rumiyah* endeavors to offer a structured and “uncomplicated” way of life to its young people who are in an identity crisis and who have undergone a process of cognitive opening using statements within this category. It is proposed that only the observance of the strict rules enables a meaningful life in this world and in the hereafter. The IS thus seizes the value vacuum that is part of the radicalization process and transfers its own norms to the young people involved. The statements within this category can be perceived accordingly as belonging to the third floor of radicalization by Moghaddam (ibid.: 165; see also Fig. 1), on which the process of integration into an alternative radical moral system takes place. We suspect that the decline in encoding within this category throughout the published magazines, can be explained by the decrease in instructions and rules of conduct for the life in the Caliphate. As the territory shrinks, the structuring of life together under the IS takes a backseat and is thus reflected in a

decline in encoding under the category “Clear Rules and Regulations”. At the same time, however, instructions for the “correct” practice of religion worldwide remain succinct and the category “Enemy Images” is becoming more significant (see Fig. 4).

Seldom Encoded Categories

In addition to the most frequently encoded categories, there are some rarely encoded categories (see Fig. 3), including “Superiority of the IS” and “Social Ensurances”. The low incidence of these categories can be explained by the fact that the IS, because of its decreasing economic and military capability, is no longer able to ensure financial or social security for its followers nor to achieve military success. Despite the low percentage of the category “Reprimands of the Mujahiddin”, we consider it important because it serves as an indicator of the decline in the number of IS fighters. The categories “Adventure and Excitement” and “Differentiation from both Mainstream Society and Parents’ Generation” also rarely appear, in some issues they were not encoded at all. It may be that these narratives are represented in other media, since video and images of the IS, for example, have a strong association with adventures and experiences of the IS fighters (Farwell, 2014: 50).

The category “Perceived Deprivation” was the least encoded. This finding can be explained by the fact that even before reading the magazine, those who radicalize themselves are of the opinion that they and the Islamic Ummah in general are oppressed by Western protagonists. Accordingly, the radicalizing themes in Rumiya are designed for people that are already further advanced in the radicalization process and have already passed through the ground floor as expressed in Moghaddam’s theory (Moghaddam, 2005: 162 f.; see Fig. 1).

Contrary to our expectations, the category “Supposedly Noble Goals” also seldom appears. Although the IS does pursue long term goals in Rumiya, it mostly refers to current events. The low share of the category “IS as Avant-garde” can be explained by the fact that the IS offers radicalized young people, especially those in the West, the opportunity to participate in the realization of the “God prescribed goals” through armed jihad without being directly part of the IS. The sparsity of both this category and the other subcategory “Other

Jihadist Groups” indicates that the IS consciously does not limit the “true” faith regarding other jihadist groups so tightly anymore so to have more recruitment possibilities (Jasim, 2018: 168).

Subcategory – Outside the Controlled Territories

The subcategory “Call for Change and Drive for Action Outside the Controlled Territories” was encoded at least once in all editions except 6 and 11. The subcategory “Achievements of the IS Outside the Controlled Territories” was encoded several times in all editions (see Fig. 13). In editions 4 and 11, the “Achievements of the IS Outside the Controlled Territories” were encoded twice as often as the general “Achievements of the IS”. This indicates that with one hand the IS tries to divert attention from the territorial losses and defeats in Syria and Iraq, while with the other hand wants to offer inspiring examples for followers living outside the caliphate, which serve both distraction and direction. With the attacks outside the caliphate reported in *Rumiyah*, examples of successful fighting are cited from almost all continents, but also all types of attacks on civilians are listed and honored in the magazine *Rumiyah*:

- „On the 14th of Dhul-Qa’dah, two soldiers of the Islamic State launched an attack on members of the Russian police force, west of Moscow, killing and wounding several of them“ (Rumiyah 1: 26).

The subcategory, “Call for Change and Drive for Action Outside the Territories” is not very often encoded in relation to the category “Call for Change and Drive for Action”. However, it should be considered that if no specific location is given for the attacks, the call can usually still be regarded as applying universally. Thus, it is valid for IS followers in the area it controls as well as those living in the “Dar al-Kufr”. Despite the limited number, some examples encoded under “Call for Change and Drive for Action Outside the Territories” stand out clearly and point to the relocation of the IS’s attack to targets abroad.

- „Light the ground beneath them aflame and scorch them with terror. Kill them on the streets of Brunswick, Broadmeadows, Bankstown, and Bondi. Kill them at the MCG, the SCG, the Opera House, and even in their backyards. Stab them, shoot them, poison them, and run them down with your vehicles. Kill them wherever you find them (...)“ (Rumiyah 1: 17).
- „To our brothers in ‘aqidah and iman in Europe, America, Russia, Australia, and elsewhere, your brothers in your lands have absolved themselves of blame, so leap onto their tracks and take an example from their actions, and know that Jannah is beneath the shadows of swords“ (Rumiyah 11: 21).

Since both subcategories can be found almost continuously in the magazines, it becomes apparent that the IS actively endeavors to design the contents of *Rumiyah* explicitly for the IS followers outside the wilayat in order to prepare the path for their own battle in their home country.

Timeline and General Characteristics

The described collapse of the encodings performed in Issue 7 prompts us to conduct a more detailed investigation into the context of the publication. *Rumiyah* issue No. 7 was published on March 7, 2017. During the Spring of 2017 there are no significant territorial losses of the IS recorded, but several sources report the increasing financial weakness of the group (Heißner et al., 2017:3). The format of Issue No. 7 also differs significantly from the previous editions. This applies, among other things, to the table of contents and the last page of the magazine. Also, the pictures are less horrifically gruesome in the following issues. And in some issues long prayers and poems are printed. These changes indicate that the editorship of the magazine may have changed, possibly as an outcome of the financial hardship that was placing an increasing burden on the IS at the time. A significant change can again be seen in Issue No. 11, published July 13, 2017, only a few days after the IS lost control of the

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strategically important city of Mosul. In encoding this issue, we came across text passages denouncing the weakness and doubts of once loyal IS followers, so we inductively added the category “Reprimands of the Mujahiddin” to the category system. Even though this category was subsequently encoded in some prior and later editions, it is by far most frequently found in Issue No. 11, presumably attributable to the panic and anger that spread among IS fighters after the loss of Mosul.

Comparison with Dabiq

Evaluation of Hypothesis 1

H1: Between the magazines Dabiq and Rumiya, both published by the IS, significant changes can be observed in the radicalization tactics that coincide with the loss of IS territory in Syria and Iraq.

In general, though, there is great similarity between *Dabiq* and *Rumiya* both in layout and in the topics presented. Thus, the radicalizing narratives remain largely unchanged despite the loss of territory. The categories “Enemy Images” and “Clear Rules and Regulations” continue to be the focus of the online magazine. However, there are significant deviations at the subcategory level, which can be linked chronologically with the loss of territory. In particular, the subcategories of “Enemy Images”, “Non-Muslim Religion Groups” and “False Interpretation of Islam”, were encoded much more frequently in comparison to *Dabiq* (see Hypothesis 2).

Furthermore, the language used by the IS remains unaltered. The IS uses a very sophisticated language throughout. Moreover, the articles in both magazines are clearly structured in design and are characterized by frequent excerpts from hadiths and Koran quotations. Thematically, both magazines contain series of articles specifically for women as well as interviews with female followers of the IS. This observation coincides with the

research results of other authors who find that the narratives used by the IS are continuously consistent (Kuznar, 2017: 50). However, for some categories there are significant differences between the two magazines that allow us to confirm our hypothesis.

The categories “Achievements of the IS” and “IS as Avant-Garde”, which were encoded most frequently in the Kiefer et al. analysis compared to other categories (Kiefer et al., 2016: 1151), appear relatively infrequently in all *Rumiyah* issues. This finding suggests that in *Rumiyah*, contrary to the assumption of Kiefer et al. (2016), the IS does not offset the lack of military achievements with the increased use of references to the ideological supremacy of the IS (“IS as Avant-Garde”). More than this, both categories are invariably in the background and do not form the cornerstone of radicalization narratives. Instead, the crisis resulting from the territorial losses in which the IS finds itself is deemed to be a God-given test of the faithful, the endurance of which requires steadfastness and patience both in everyday life and at the battle fronts.

- „Know, O people of Islam, that being tested is part of a long story, since “La ilaha illallah” was revealed to this earth, so the prophets and truthful were tested, as were the muwahhid imams“ (Rumiyah 8: 21).

The categories “Reprimand of the Mujahiddin” and “Glorification of the Fighters”, which cannot be found in the analysis by Kiefer et al. (2016) and were inductively inserted into our category system, also point to a change in the radicalization themes of the IS. The category “Glorification of the Fighters”, which idealizes individual fighters or the entirety of fighters of the IS and attributes the heroic attributes – e.g. steadfastness, patience, and courage – in difficult times, offers esteem for both the individual and the group. We assume the emphasis on the achievements of individual fighters is intended to prevent the dedication of the followers of the IS from being called into question as a result of the continuing loss of territory. On the other hand, with the category “Reprimands of the Mujahiddin” the IS denounces the emerging weakness as well as insufficient faith of its faltering fighters. We find

this almost exclusively in the context of the devastating recapture of Mosul by the Iraqi military. The rebuke admonishes the fighters to maintain their loyalty and to continue actively supporting the goals of the IS.

Evaluation of Hypothesis 2

H2: Whereas in Dabiq, emigration to the Caliphate is at the center of radicalization, in Rumiya the focus shifts to the call to carry out terrorist attacks in the home country.

In the analysis of the magazine *Dabiq* by Kiefer et al. (2016), the category “False Religious Communities” is the least frequently encoded subcategory under “Enemy Images”. For our work, we have subdivided this subcategory into the two subcategories “False Interpretation of Islam”, and “Non-Muslim Religious Groups”, since the IS uses different names for these two enemy groups. With more than 700 encodings each, these two categories are much more densely encoded than the “Enemy Images” groups “West and Its Allies” and “Other Jihadist Groups” that prevail in *Dabiq*. This clearly increased occurrence speaks directly to our hypothesis. Since Muslims living abroad are less often confronted with jihadist groups, State leaders, or armies than with other religious groups and “non-radical” Muslims, these are the main stereotypes of the “enemy”.

For further confirmation of the hypothesis, the findings of the subcategories “Call for Change and Drive for Action Outside the Controlled Territories” can be consulted. Both subcategories can be found in nearly all issues of the journal. These classifications are not used by Kiefer et al. (2016), so no direct comparison can be made. Even still, the two subcategories can support the hypothesis that the IS seeks to provide its followers outside its controlled territories with examples and calls for action in their immediate surroundings.

The article series “Just Terror Tactics”, which details the exact procedure for various attacks, is also an indication of this. The series appears in 5 of 13 issues of *Rumiya*. Places that are listed as ideal for attacks include parades, shopping malls, and trade fairs such as

those found primarily in the USA and Europe. The proposed tactics (Molotov Cocktails, knife attack, driving cars or trucks into crowds) are designed to be executed by individuals or small groups at low cost.

- „It is for this obvious reason that using a vehicle is one of the most comprehensive methods of attack, as it presents the opportunity for just terror for anyone possessing the ability to drive a vehicle. Likewise, it is one of the safest and easiest weapons one could employ against the kuffar, while being from amongst the most lethal methods of attack and the most successful in harvesting large numbers of the kuffar“ (Rumiyah 3: 11).

In the caliphate area, where the IS fighters are responsible for punishing and eliminating infidels, such attacks are not necessary. Thus, they are understood to be explicit instructions for terrorist attacks outside the civil war in Syria and Iraq. In addition, numerous other articles also refer to the alleged authorization and encouragement in Islam to kill all Christians and apostates of Islam.

- „Through all of the aforementioned, we can see that the Christians [...] do not have any sanctity with regards to their blood and their wealth because they are belligerent and do not have dhimmah. If anyone from among them is killed, his blood is waste, and likewise their wealth is permissible for the Muslims to take“ (Rumiyah 9:10).

Kiefer et al. (2016), state in their analysis of their category “Clear Rules and Regulations” for the magazine *Dabiq* that the duty to emigrate to the Caliphate (Hijrah) is an obligation recurring in all editions (Kiefer et al., 2016: 167). This responsibility hardly appears in the examination of the magazine *Rumiyah*. Although there are still stories of Muslim women who successfully journeyed to the areas controlled by the IS, there are also reports of people who

carried out the jihad in their homeland. In most cases, the journey to the IS territory is merely an option in parallel with the execution of the jihad in one's own country.

- „And it is upon the Muslims – specifically those who reside in dar al-kufr and cannot find a way to make hijrah – to do what Abu Basir did to the mushrikin of Makkah [killing them and taking their wealth]“ (Rumiyah 11: 39).

Conclusion

After examining *Rumiyah* magazine for radicalization strategies in the previous sections and then comparing them with its predecessor magazine, *Dabiq*, we can summarize our most important findings. First, the isolated analysis of *Rumiyah* shows that the categories “Enemy Images” and “Clear Rules and Regulations” are the most dominant narratives of radicalization. With the assistance of Moghaddam's radicalization model (2005), we have been able to prove that the prevailing enemy stereotypes in *Rumiyah* are paradigmatic for dualistic In-Group-Out-Group mentality, which is the threshold of propensity for terrorist violence. In addition, the category “Clear Rules and Regulations” builds an alternative system of norms, which offers young people a framework and a sense of belonging during the process of dissociating themselves from mainstream society. Thus, *Rumiyah* occupies an important place in the progressing stages of the process of radicalization, which ultimately prepares young people for terrorist action.

Secondly, compared to the previous magazine *Dabiq*, in *Rumiyah* we were able to observe a far-reaching robust and consistent continuity of radicalizing narratives. Nevertheless, meaningful differences could be found in individual categories, which can be interpreted as a reaction of the IS to the ongoing territorial losses in Syria and Iraq. While the focus within the category “Enemy Images” in *Dabiq* Magazine was clearly on the subcategories “West and Its Allies” and “Other Jihadist Groups”, the focus in *Rumiyah* shifted to “Non-Muslim Religious Groups” and “False Interpretations of Islam”. We have also

observed the frequent occurrence of the subcategory “Achievements of the IS Outside Controlled Territories”. Additionally, we have observed that both explicit instructions to carry out terrorist “Lone Wolf” attacks occurred in the “Just Terror Tactics” series of articles as well as consistently fewer calls to journey (hijra) to the IS territories. These findings confirm our assumption that, in response to the ongoing territorial losses, the IS began orienting its radicalization efforts more intensely towards persuading young people to perform terrorist attacks in their home countries. As a result, the goal of radicalization is no longer only the emigration to the territories of the IS, but transnational terrorist activities.

The strong shift in enemy images between *Dabiq* and *Rumiyah* is aimed at the direct social environment of young people in the process of radicalization. This can be divided into other religious groups and non-believers as well as other interpretations of Islam. This leads us to recommend interreligious dialogue and interdenominational dialogue, as an essential measure to prevent radicalization. We also see an important starting point in supporting the families and social environment of vulnerable young people. Those people giving assistance should be instructed on drawing up clear peace-promoting guidelines in order to deny a place for the ideological propaganda of the IS. In this respect, clear structures and norms are essential to provide young people with stability and security in their everyday lives. It is important that prevention starts before contact with radicalizing media such as *Rumiyah*. Especially by avoiding deprivation through social integration and equal opportunities, a foundation can be laid to weaken the influence of jihadist material on young people.

The questions examined in this paper require further research. It would be instructive, if difficult in practice, to investigate the recipients of the IS online magazines and the influence of these media on their individual radicalization experience. Furthermore, it remains to be explored whether similar developments of radicalization strategies can be observed in other media of the IS. Finally, based on our knowledge of the radicalizing narratives of the IS, we would like to encourage more detailed studies on methods of prevention and de-radicalization be conducted.

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Appendix

Glossary of Arabic Words Used

<i>amīr al-mu'minīn:</i>	Leader of the Faithful (Title of the Islamic Caliph).
<i>'aqīda:</i>	Name for a denominational document in which all the beliefs of a Muslim or a certain Islamic group are summarized.
<i>bai'a:</i>	Political ritual in Islam in which a single person, or group of people, promise allegiance and loyalty to a ruler.
<i>barā':</i>	Defection, dissociation
<i>Dabiq:</i>	The name of a village in northern Syria after which the first magazine to be published by the IS was named. The magazine was given this name as a symbolic gesture associating it with the end-time victory of the Muslims over the unbelievers, as described in Hadīth, which is to take place in Dabiq.
<i>dār al-islām:</i>	Designation for all areas under Muslim rule.
<i>dār al-kufr:</i>	“Area of non-belief“.
<i>ḍimma:</i>	An institution of Islamic law that determines the legal status of non-Muslims under Islamic rule.
<i>fitna</i>	Designation of difficult times, in which one can count on increased division of faith and apostasy.
<i>ḡāhiliya:</i>	(Age of Ignorance) Refers to ancient Arab paganism in pre-Islamic times.
<i>ḡamā'ah:</i>	A term for the Ummah (Islamic World Community).

- ğihād* (dt. *Jihad*): Endeavor, effort, commitment and struggle in the way of God (al-ğihādu fī sabīli Llāh). Often translated as "Holy War".
- ḥadīth* Pl. *aḥādīṭ* (dt. *Hadith*, Pl. *Hadithe*): Accounts, tales and traditions of the sayings and actions of the Prophet Mohammed. The *Aḥādīṭ* form an important part of the Sunnah and are deemed the second source of Islamic law after the Koran.
- ḥafīzahu 'llāhu*: "May God protect you". Expressed as a general blessing for living persons.
- ḥilāfa* (dt. *Kalifat*): Caliphate
- ḥalīfa* (dt. *Kalif*): Caliph
- hiğra*: The emigration of Mohammed and his followers from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD. In the texts of the IS the return of the Muslims to the IS established caliphate is interpreted on the basis of *hiğra*.
- imām* (dt. *Imam*): Commander, role model and religious-political leader.
- imān*: Faith.
- istišhād/aš-šahāda*: Martyrdom.
- kāfir*, Pl. *kāfirūn/kuffār*: Unbelievers, deniers of God, heretics.
- kufr*: Non-belief / Heresy.
- Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*: "There is no god but God".
- manḥağ*: Term for the methodology that is to be used according to the specifications of the IS when carrying out divine commands.
- murtadd* Pl. *murtaddūn*: Apostate. A person who renounces a religious or political belief or principle.
- mujāhid*, fem.: *mujāhidah* Pl. *mujāhidūn/ mujāhidīn*: A person who executes jihad.
-

muwaḥḥid, Pl. *muwaḥḥidūn/muwaḥḥidīn*: Monotheist.

mušrikūn: Idolaters, polytheists.

muhāğir Pl. *al-muhāğirūn*: Emigrants/immigrants, a term referring to followers of the IS who entered the Caliphate from abroad

nuşairiyyah: The religious community of the Alawites to which the Syrian ruler Assad belongs.

rasūl Allah: God's messenger (mostly referring to the prophet Mohammed).

rađiya 'llāhu 'an-hu: "May Allah be pleased with him." Mostly used for Mohammed's companions.

raḥimahu 'llāh: "God have mercy on him." A general blessing for the deceased.

rāfiđa Pl. *rawāfiđ*: Denier. A term used by the IS and other Sunni groups for certain Shiite groups, in particular followers of the twelve Shia.

ridda: Abandonment of religion.

Rūmīyah (dt. *Rumiyah*): The Arabic word for Rome (symbolic of the whole West in the context of use by the IS), after which the IS named the second magazine published by them. According to the IS interpretation, this name is a reference from a hadith to the imminent conquest of Rome by the Muslims.

ribāţ: Term for fortifications on the border of the Islamic Territory to carry out the martial jihad.

şallā 'llāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam: "God bless him and give him salvation." This eulogy is pronounced after the naming of the Prophet Mohammed.

şūfi-ţarīqa: Sufi Order or Sufi Brotherhood.

şahawat: Common term for all Sunni jihadist forces fighting against the IS.

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- salaf*: Designation for the "Ancestors"; generally refers to the first three generations of Muslims.
- siyāḥa* (Metaphorical) journey to the execution of jihad, which every Muslim must undertake.
- subḥānahu wa-ta'ālā*: "He is praised and exalted". The eulogy used for God.
- šayṭān*: Devil, satan.
- šahīd/istišhādī* Pl. *šuhadā*: Martyr, martyrs.
- šahāda*: The Islamic Creed: (Lā ilāha illā 'llāh wa Muḥammadun rasūlu 'llāh 'llāh; There is no God but God and Mohammed is the Messenger of God).
- širk*: Idol worship, polytheism, idolatry.
- taqabbalahu Allah*: "May God accept him." Blessing wish for deceased and martyrs.
- takfīr*: The process of religious excommunication in which someone is declared to be kāfir.
- tauḥīd*: Monotheism, "faith in the Oneness of God."
- tāġūt* Pl. *ṭawāġīt*: Idol, false god.
- umma*: The Islamic international community. (Ummah)
- wilāya*: Name of the federal districts into which the IS has divided conquered territories.
- zuhd*: Asceticism.

Remarks on Arabic Spelling

In the following study we use the transcription of the DMG (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft). Terms such as jihad or imam, which are now also used in the German language and in newspaper articles, have been inserted into the glossary according to the prevailing spelling in German texts. As a result, we will only use the DMG transcription in the text for terms for which there is no generally accepted German spelling.

Illustrations and Graphics

A few graphics in the following segment could not be translated into English. Those copied from the encoding program MAXQDA remain in their original German version.

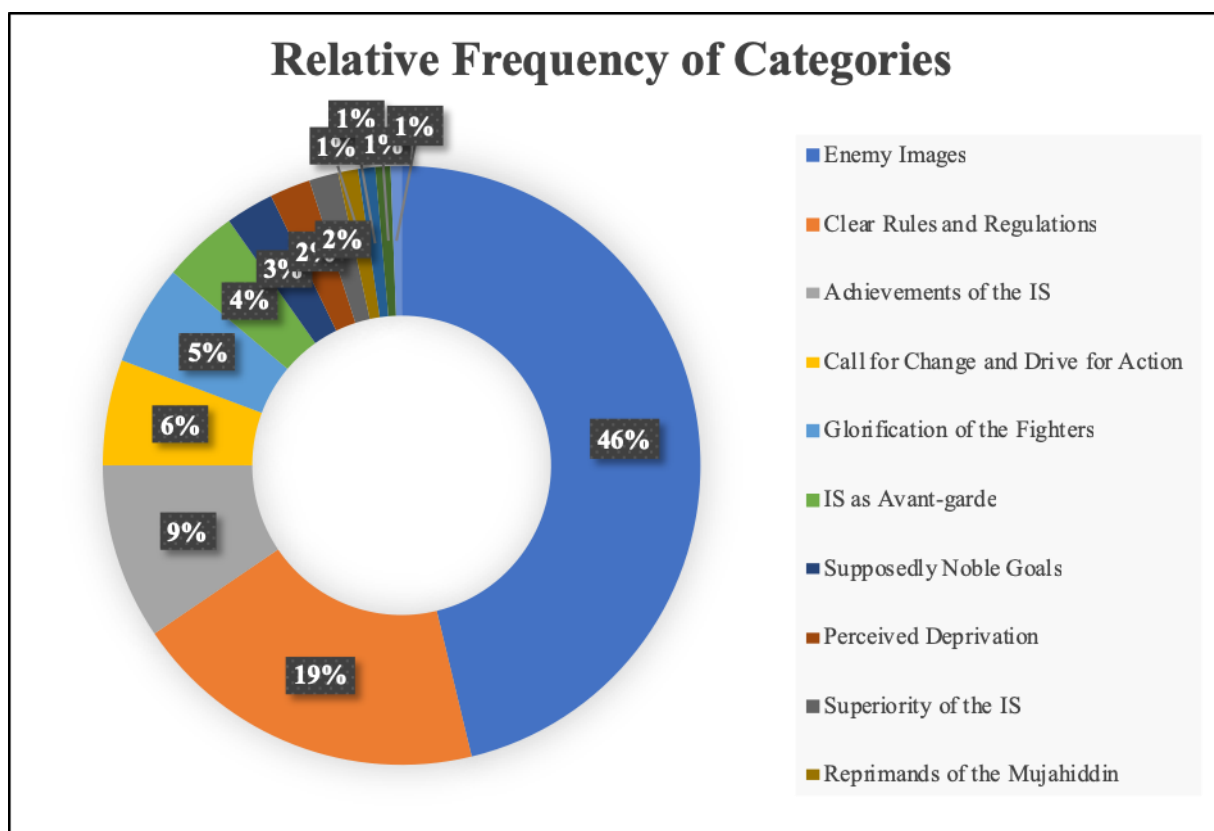


Fig. 5: Graphical representation of the encodings in the 13 issues of Rumiya

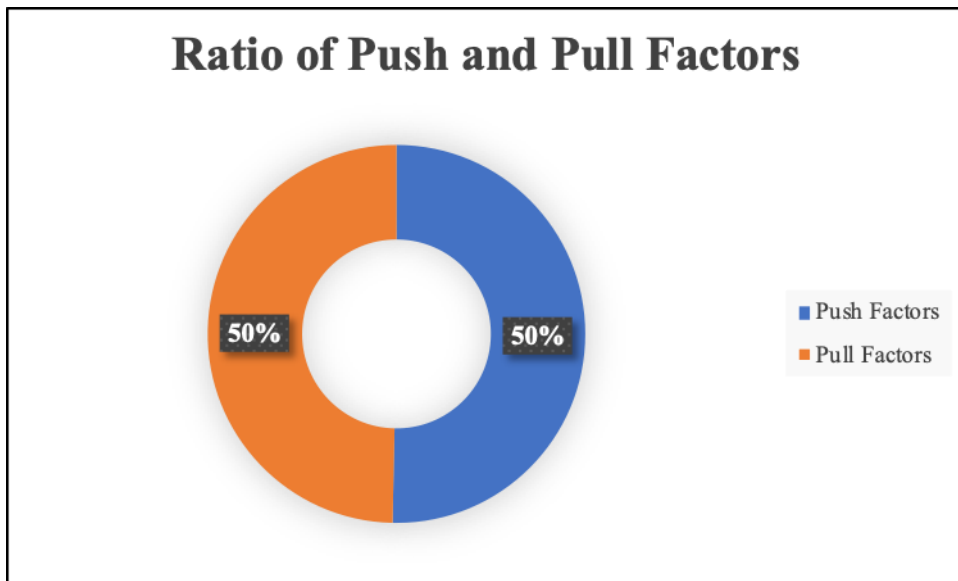


Fig. 6: Ratio of Push and Pull Factors Classifications

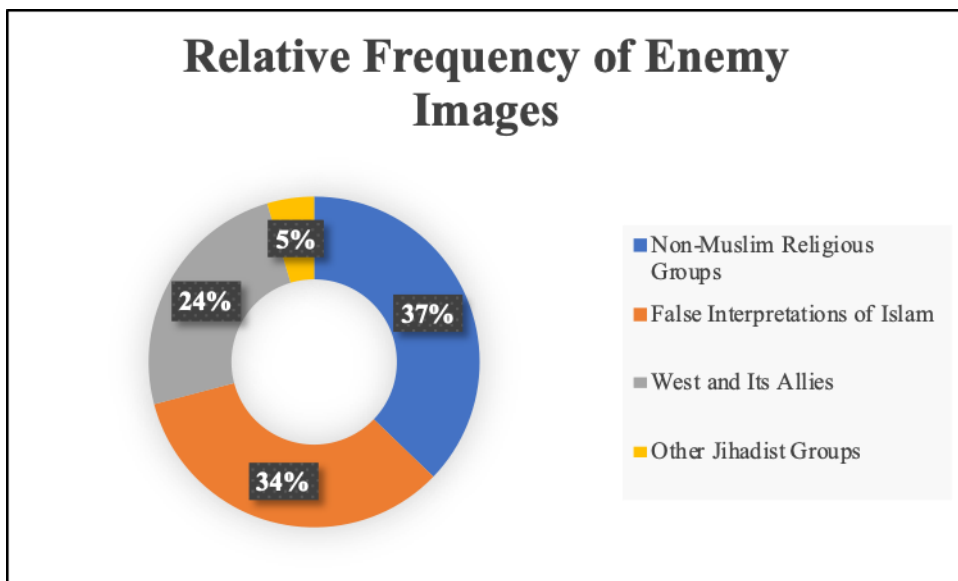


Fig. 7: Ratio of Enemy Images by Subcategory

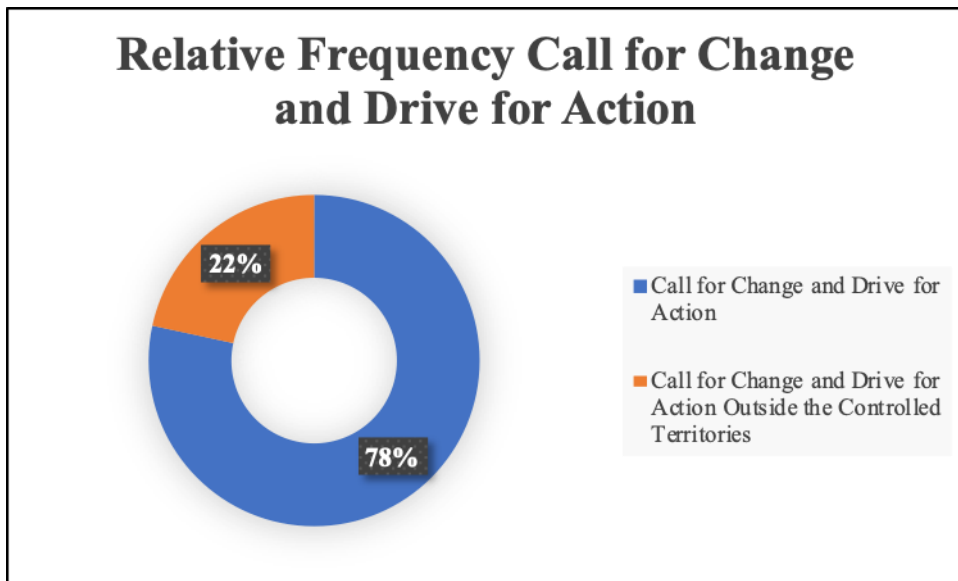


Fig. 8: Ratio of Call for Change and Drive for Action by Subcategory

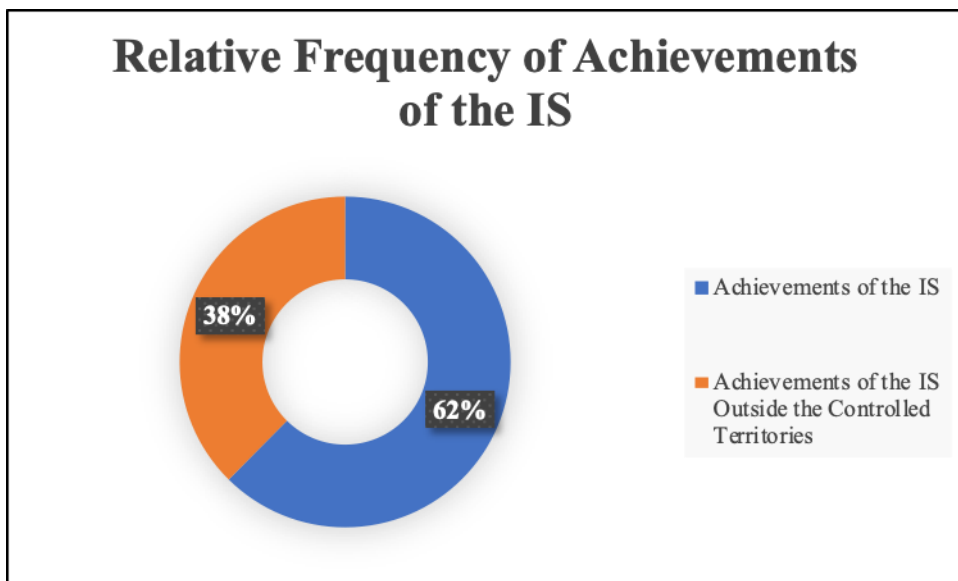


Fig. 9: Ratio of Achievements of the IS by Subcategory

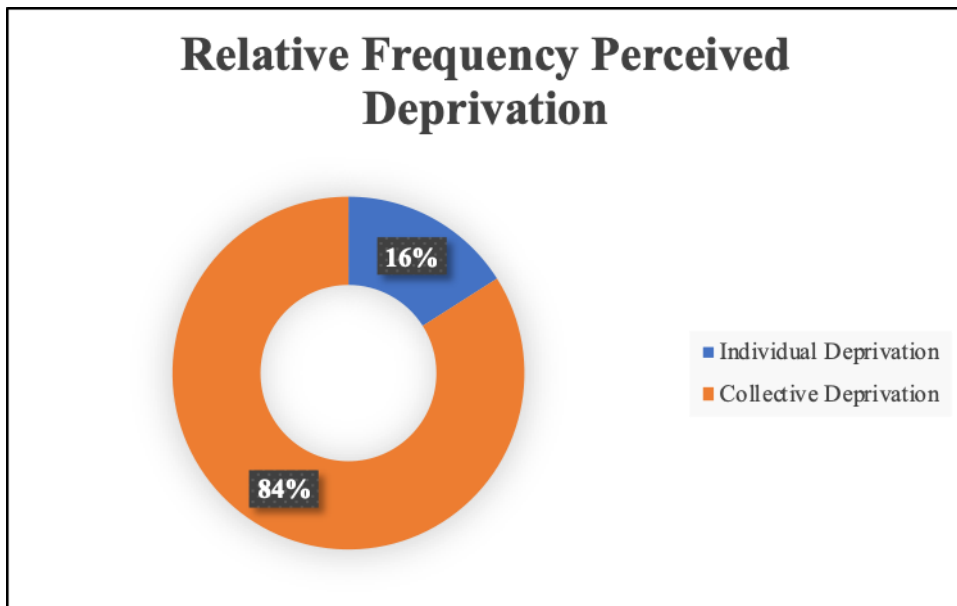


Fig. 10: Proportion of Perceived Deprivation by Subcategory

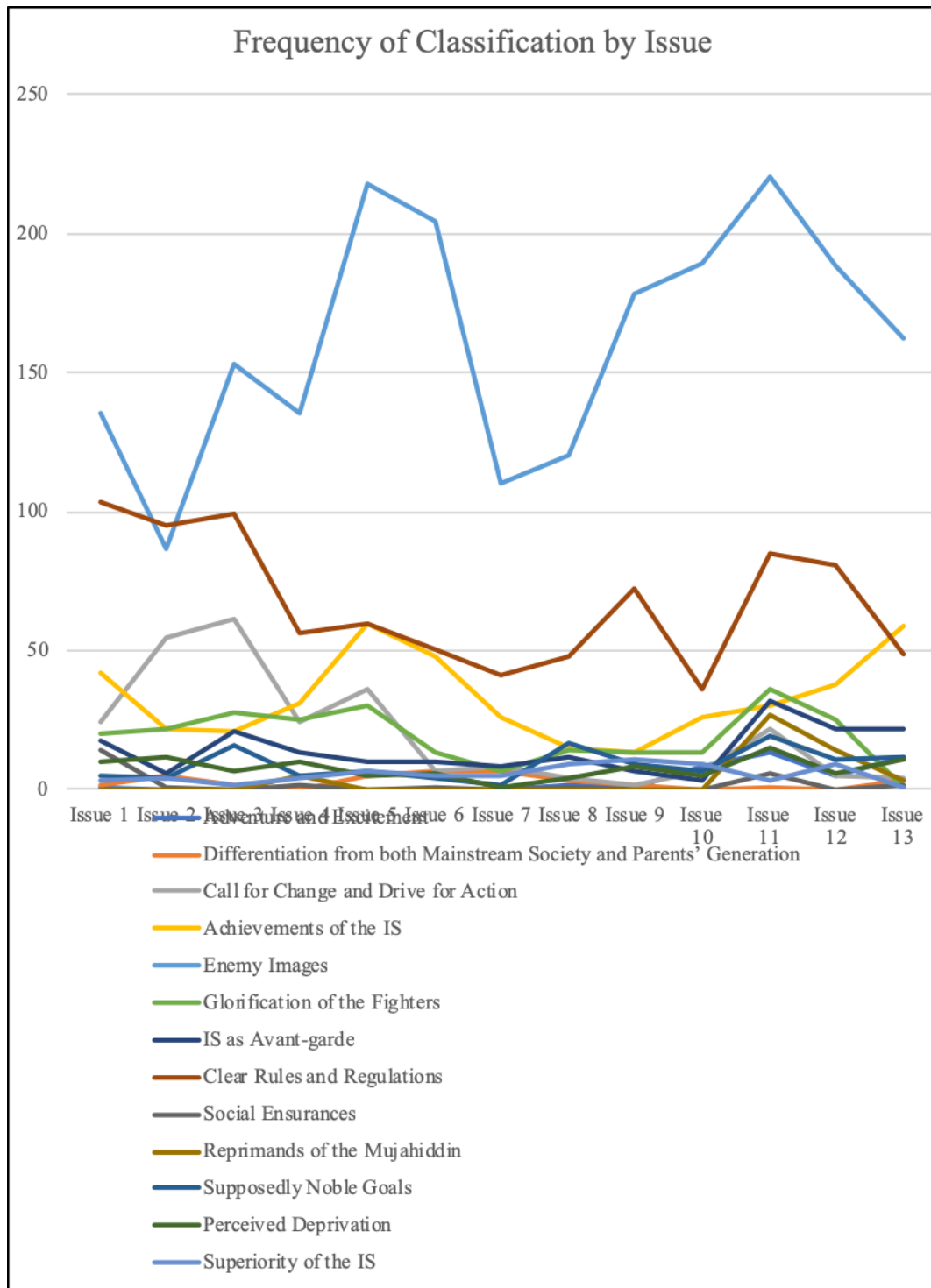


Fig. 11: Frequency of Classifications by Issue for All Rumiya Issues

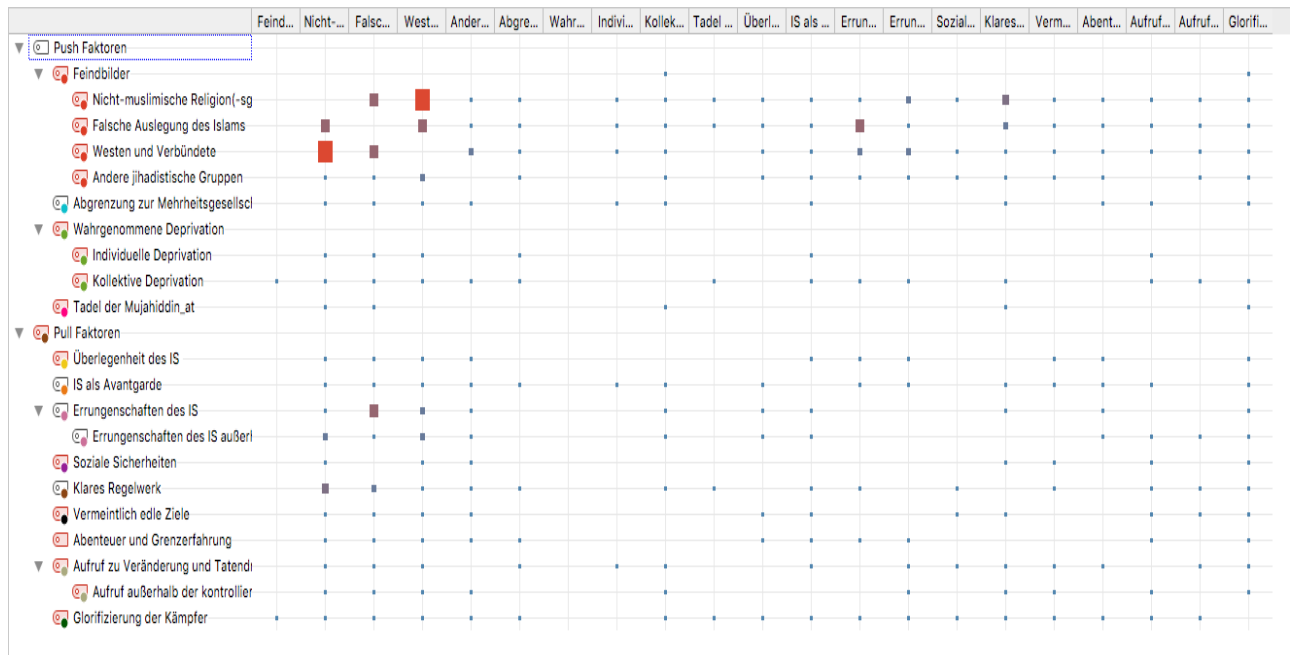


Fig. 12: Relationship between Individual Categories

Codesystem																							
Pull Faktoren																							0
Errungenschaften des IS		35	14	13	11	42	44	17	5	7	9	10	29	33	269								
Errungenschaften des IS außerhalb	7	8	8	20	18	4	9	10	6	17	20	9	26	162									
Aufruf zu Veränderung und Tatendrang	21	43	39	21	34	7	7	3	1	6	13	5	3	203									
Aufruf außerhalb der kontrollierten	3	12	22	3	2		1	1	1	1	9		1	56									
Σ SUMME	66	77	82	55	96	55	34	19	15	33	52	43	63	690									

Fig. 13: Occurrence of Subcategories "Outside Controlled Areas" in Rumiya Issues 1-13

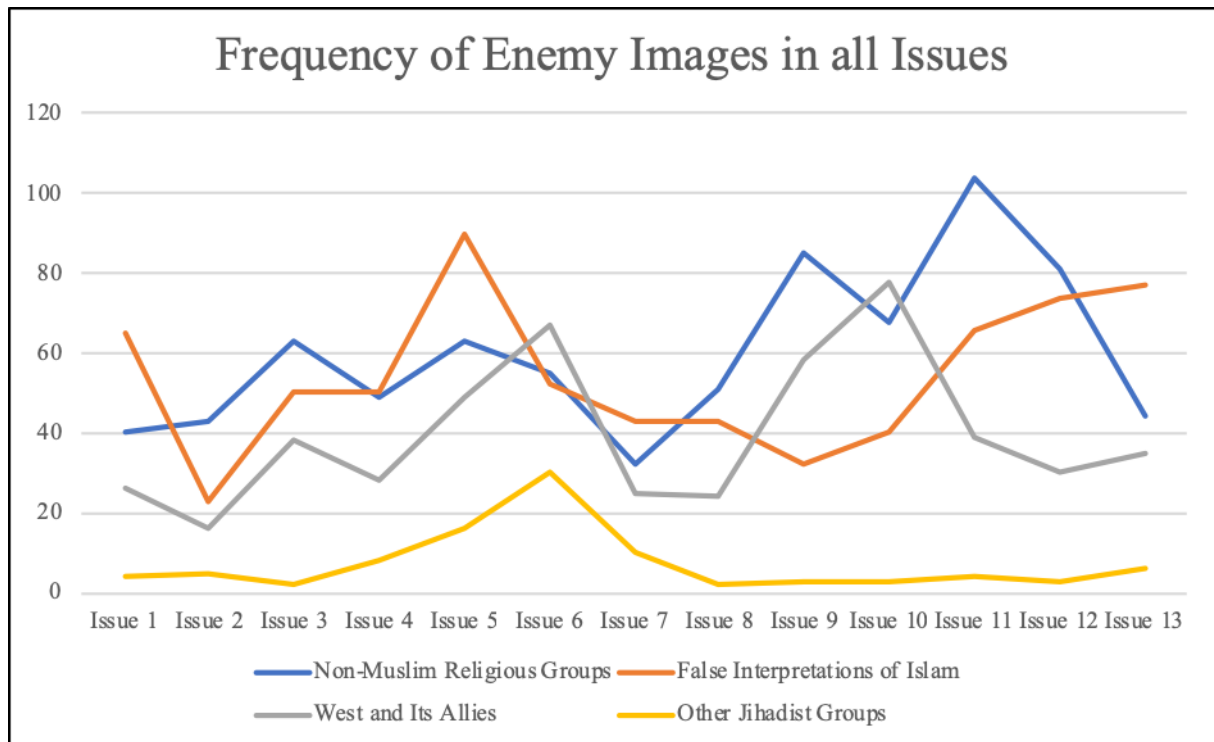


Fig. 14: Frequency of Enemy Image Subcategories per Issue for All Issues



Fig. 15: Visualization of the frequency of classifications within the magazine Dabiq (Kiefer et al., 2016: 174)

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ISSN: 2363-9849

Editor in Chief: Daniel Koehler