

Contextualizing Radicalization Across the World

CSS DIALOGUE REPORT

The Centre for Security Studies
JINDAL SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Contents

Ideological and religious radicalization	Hussainpur Sai Charan
Fake news and its role in Radicalism	Kritika Karmakar
Radicalization in Southeast Asia	Medha Mythili Nibhanupudi
Radicalization in Africa	Grace Cheema
Radicalization in Europe : Historical Brief	Arun Teja Polcumpally
Sponsoring and Financing of Radicalized groups	Joseph Punnen
Terror Franchises of ISIS and Al Qaeda	Rayan Bhagwagar
Recruitment strategies by terror groups	Samyuktha Miriyala
Radicalization and lone-wolf attacks	Zeus Hans Mendez
Successful deradicalization strategies	Siya Bindal
Impact of COVID-19 on terror groups	Swati Batchu

Ideological and Religious Radicalisation

HUSSAINPUR SAI CHARAN

Ideological and Religious Radicalisation can be best understood by two models – Wiktorowicz’ model and Moghaddam’s staircase to terrorism. They essentially talk about the push and pull factors which create a cognitive opening which results in the individual seeking religious or an ideology which is often self-initiated. At this stage, the individual is often influenced by sermons or radical teachings and internalises such teachings or values as his/her own’s value system.

In India, there have been a spectrum of radical ideologies influencing the security scenario. In the recent few months, there have been multiple arrests by NIA across the country where radical individuals espoused various belief systems including jihadist, Sikh nationalism, and Maoist beliefs. The trends are worrying indeed. In one of the largest conspiracies in recent years, NIA has arrested multiple individuals in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu belonging to an ISIS affiliated group known as Al-Hind. Individuals of various age groups ranging from 25 to 52 years have been arrested. This indicates that ISIS ideology can no longer be identified with the young radical jihadist but has also penetrated the older age groups who might have earlier associated themselves with the Indian Mujahideen(IM) or Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI). As predicted by many experts, ISIS as an ideology is much more dangerous than ISIS as a terrorist group. Despite ISIS’s leadership in ruins, it continues to influence individuals through their publications and online presence.

Its ideology has also penetrated our friendliest neighbour, Bangladesh. The Jamatul Mujahideen Bangladesh (JMB) which is the most extremist organization in Bangladesh has affiliated itself with ISIS. They have been very active in Bangladesh and are also active in India. The most recent arrest i.e., JMB Bengaluru Module case indicates that JMB is expanding its activities. The eleven terrorists arrested were from West Bengal, Assam and Bangladesh indicating that they are looking to expand their activities into border states. ISIS has also recently published an article in the recent issue of Sawt al-Hind (Voice of Hind) (Issue No.7) which specifically calls for Muslims of Bengal to do their part and not to lose heart. ISIS has also been issuing their releases in Bengali. This shows that ISIS is investing their resources in influencing Bengali Muslims.

There have also been renewed attempts in fermenting the Sikh extremism by SFJ (Sikhs for Justice) and Khalistan Zindabad Force (KZF). These two groups draw funding and other resources from foreign nations. SFJ has been carrying out smaller acts of violence such as arson and propaganda activities (online and offline). KZF has considerable support from Pakistan in terms of money and arms. The most recent one being the failed arms and FICN drop using UAVs. Sikh extremist groups draw considerable resources flowing from various Western countries with a well-established expatriate community.

On a surprisingly new front, the NIA has arrested four individuals espousing communist ideology. Although Left Wing extremism might not look like the gravest threat however, the Communist ideology has a certain magnetism in young individuals even though the communism has failed multiple times. This trend must also be contained at all levels, especially at local levels.

Fake news and radicalism

KRITIKA KARMAKAR

The Pizzagate incident presents a good picture of the consequences of disinformation via social media. On the 4th of December in 2016, in a local pizza shop in Washington D.C., a man brought a rifle and opened fire at everybody in the shop. What inspired the suspect's actions were a series of fake news that had travelled via twitter. There were false tweets widely spread on the net claiming that Comet Ping Pong was the base for a paedophile sex ring involving Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton, a former Secretary of State, and members of her campaign (Lopez, 2016). The result of this misinformation was so widespread that even the FBI began investigating only to realize that all these claims were false.

But this is not the only incident that has occurred in the world so far. In today's day and age where most of the information is available online, minor tweaks in news articles can create a significant impact on the readers minds. According to a new study by Thomas Hills, at the University of Warwick, it suggests that the recent acceleration in the prominence of fringe extremism and misinformation around the world is partly due to the mass proliferation of information we have at our fingertips and our inability to effectively process that influx of information (Haridy, 2018). These are unsuspecting masses who are vulnerable to the facts presented to them, and tend to believe in them. Extreme cases lead to violence. However, it is not always the fault of readers who do not verify their sources. Fake news is fabricated in such a manner that it can sound convincing to the sharpest of minds.

It is important to note that violence that stems out of fake news and online radicalization, need not always manifest in the form of a terror attack or a shooting incident, it can also be seen in form of hate comments and videos that are posted online, which talk about inflicting bodily harm or any such threats to a particular person or institution.

But before understanding how fake news serves as a catalyst in the radicalization process, it is important to understand what fake news is. The term fake news is ideally associated with politics but in most cases it is also used interchangeably with terms like fake information, disinformation and misinformation (Webwise, n.d.). Misinformation is information that is false or contains wrong facts but is not spread with the intention of spreading hate. Disinformation, on the other hand is false news that is deliberately spread to create harm to a person, social group, organization or country (UNESCO, n.d.).

Fabricated news that is tailored in such a way that it backs a certain ideology or creates a sense of hate among its followers against a certain opposing group or idea. Fake news is usually published under the guise of being authentic news. This tool of false information is used by both political and non-state actors alike. The motive behind such acts always remains the same- i.e. to influence masses and some extreme cases of radicalization eventually lead to violence, like the one that was mentioned in the beginning.

Lastly , the threat of fake news and online radicalization is very real and can have severe consequences on the socio - political domain of any nation. Given the transnational nature of such cybercrime, fake news has become a global maintenance. However, there is also a clear bias in the ways in which this issue is being dealt it. Disinformation that is state- sponsored or intends to instigate feelings of division within a society on the basis of caste, religion, gender etc., they are not really met with stronger forces. But there has been a significant amount of efforts that are taken to combat the propaganda that is spread by terrorist organizations. Such lapses in countering fake news leads us back to the basic struggles of not having concrete definitions for these terms.

References

Lopez, G., 2016. *Pizzagate, The Totally False Conspiracy Theory That Led A Gunman To A DC Pizzeria, Explained*. [online] Vox. Available at: <<https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2016/12/5/13842258/pizzagate-comet-ping-pong-fake-news>>.

Haridy, R., 2018. *Extremism And Fake News: The Dark Side Of Too Much Information*. [online] New Atlas. Available at: <<https://newatlas.com/digital-technology-proliferation-information-dark-side/57603/>> .

UNESCO. n.d. *Journalism, 'Fake News' And Disinformation: A Handbook For Journalism Education And Training*. [online] Available at: <<https://en.unesco.org/fightfakenews>>.

Webwise.ie. n.d. *Explained: What Is Fake News? | Social Media And Filter Bubbles*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.webwise.ie/teachers/what-is-fake-news/>>.

Radicalism in South East Asia

MEDHA MYTHILI NIBHANUPUDI

Jemaah Islamiyah is said to be regrouping after suspected members linked to Para Wijayanto (leader of JI arrested in 2019) were arrested in Indonesia since April. A source at National Police, Indonesia is reported to have stated that while the group does not carry the JI tag, it continues to follow JI's ideology and operational tactics. While JI used to rely on robberies and donations for its finances, it has shifted towards supporting its operations by investing in traditional businesses such as plantations. An alleged member of JI was arrested while trying to deliver weapons worth Rp 200 million to a cell in West Java suspected of planning to conduct paramilitary training for new recruits. Asia One reported in Aug 2020, that members of JI planned on infiltrating local motorbike gangs and cause "chaos" to divert the attention of security forces and attack ethnic Chinese communities and their businesses.

There has been an increase in lone wolf attacks conducted by Jamaah Ansharut Daulah JAD as well, exemplified by a knife attack on the former coordinating minister for politics and security affairs in 2019.

Radical extremist groups are turning to cryptocurrency to finance their operations.

- In 2020, IS linked terror groups in Philippines used cryptocurrency generated funds to finance activities of terror networks operating in Southern Philippines.
- In 2018, an Indonesian based charity linked to Hayat Tahrir Al Sham in Syria, raised funds using cryptocurrency.

Informal charities linked to terror groups have emerged in the recent years.

- Various terror networks including Jamaah Ansharud Daulah (JAD), Mujahidin Indonesia Timur (MIT) and Jamaah Ansharul Khilafah (JAK) are supported by decentralised charities.
- While charities linked to JAD include Baitul Mal Ummah, Anfiqu Center, Gubuk Sedekah Amal Ummah (GSAU), and RIS Al Amin, those operated by JAK activists include Aseer Cruce Center (ACC) and Baitul Mal Al Muuqin. An ACC donor who was an Indonesian maid in Singapore was charged with terrorism financing.

Increased participation of women in radical groups and terror groups.

- In 2017, two women suspected of plotting to attack the presidential palace were arrested in Indonesia.
- Three families, comprising of a mother and two daughters, carried out a suicide bombing in 2018 on a Diponegoro Indonesian Christian Church in Indonesia.
- In 2019, an Indonesian couple attacked a church in the Philippines.
- In Aug 2020, a woman identified as the wife of the alleged leader of the Mujahideen of Eastern Indonesia (MIT) was arrested while delivering logistics to MIT.

- In Aug 2020, twin blasts were carried out by two widows of members of the Abu Sayyaf Group in Jolo of southern Philippines. It is further suspected that three female members of ASG are hiding in southern Philippines.

Threats

The region around the Sula/Sulawesi seas, as the US State Department’s “Country Report on Terrorism 2019” stated, that separate southern Philippines from islands in Malaysia and Indonesia continue to be safe havens for terror groups and facilitate easy movement of terror groups.

Abu Sayyaf splintered as Suhiron refused to publicly align himself with IS and wanted to focus on criminal activities while other leaders decided to pursue terrorist activities. Security forces stated that the clashes between the Abu Sayyaf Group and the security forces of the Philippines that occurred in April 2020, indicate that Sawadjaan worked alongside Sahiron’s faction. While the possibility that Sahiron has aligned himself with IS is not definite and can also be attributable to operational strategy, this could translate into a strengthened IS network in Philippines and the larger SEA.

The presence of 300-500 extremists including 40 foreigners largely from Indonesia and Malaysia, belonging to different groups pledging their allegiance to IS, in the Philippines continue to pose a threat to SEA.

ISIS affiliates in Indonesia are reportedly depending on offline methods to recruit due to continued efforts by authorities to restrict their online presence on Telegram.

References

Arianti, V., & Taufiqurrohman, M. (2020). Extremist charities spread in Indonesia. Retrieved 2 September 2020, from <https://www.eastasiaforum.org/2020/03/17/extremist-charities-spread-in-indonesia/>

Arianti, V., & Yaoren, K. (2020). How Terrorists Use Cryptocurrency in Southeast Asia. Retrieved 2 September 2020, from <https://thediplomat.com/2020/06/how-terrorists-use-cryptocurrency-in-southeast-asia/>

Arnaz, F. (2020). Indonesian Police Detect Resurgence of Jemaah Islamiyah. Retrieved 2 September 2020, from <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/indonesian-police-detect-resurgence-of-jemaah-islamiyah>

Arnaz, F. (2020). Wife of Indonesia’s Most-Wanted Militant Arrested. Retrieved 2 September 2020, from <https://jakartaglobe.id/news/wife-of-indonesias-mostwanted-militant-arrested>

Chew, A. (2020). Indonesia: Isis affiliates recruiting amid Covid-19 restrictions. Retrieved 2 September 2020, from <https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/politics/article/3098698/indonesias-isis-affiliates-wooing-new-recruits-unhappy-pandemic>

Chew, A. (2020). Indonesian terrorists planned to attack shop owners in areas with Chinese communities. Retrieved 2 September 2020, from <https://www.asiaone.com/asia/indonesian-terrorists-planned-attack-shop-owners-areas-chinese-communities>

Chew, A. (2020). Malaysia-Philippine Frontier: Sabah Tightens Borders After Terror Attack in Jolo. Retrieved 2 September 2020, from <https://www.benarnews.org/english/news/malaysian/Sabah-Jolo-attack-08262020164349.html>

RSIS. (2020). 2020 Jolo Suicide Attack: Evolving Tactics – Analysis. Retrieved 2 September 2020, from <https://www.eurasiareview.com/01092020-2020-jolo-suicide-attack-evolving-tactics-analysis/>

U.S Department of State. (2020). Country Reports on Terrorism 2019. Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/reports/country-reports-on-terrorism-2019/>

Yeo, K. (2020). Are Philippine Militants Looking to Take Advantage of COVID-19?. Retrieved 2 September 2020, from <https://thediplomat.com/2020/05/are-philippine-militants-looking-to-take-advantage-of-covid-19/>

Radicalisation in Africa

GRACE CHEEMA

Violent extremism in Africa intensified rapidly at the beginning of the current decade and has been on a steady rise since, although the rate of this increase has been relatively modest. According to the Global Terrorism Index of 2019 (Global Terrorism Index, 2019), three of the world's ten countries most impacted by terrorism were in Africa. The continent has witnessed a six-fold rise in violent events since 2011 (Africa Centre for Strategic Studies, 2019). Most of this can be attributed to the rise in militant Islamic group activity in four theatres: Somalia, the Lake Chad Basin, the western Sahel, and Mozambique. Of particular importance here is the Sahel region where extremism spread rapidly from its epicentre of Mali into western Niger and Burkina Faso and is expected to rise further after the August 2020 coup in Mali. Extremist presence in the region has largely been dominated by the Al-Qaeda-aligned Jama'a Nusrat al-Islam wa al-Muslimin' (JNIM), which includes Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Ansar al-Din, Al-Mourabitoun and Katibat Macina, and the Islamic State's regional branch, the Islamic State in the Greater Sahara (ISGS).

Unlike other regions, radicalisation under the IS and Al-Qaeda groups in the Sahel rests on their strategy to work parallel to each other and capitalise on local intercommunal conflicts to create a radicalisation narrative based on marginalisation. For instance, in Central Mali, the JNIM has exploited the conflict between Fulani herders and Dogon farmers to increase recruitment. Fulani extremism has also spread to other countries like Nigeria where violence from Fulani extremists has surpassed that from the Boko Haram in recent years. This is in line with the general trend where some of the most active groups like the Boko Haram in Nigeria and the Al-Shabaab in Somalia have been on the decline lately, though they still continue to dominate extremist activities. One factor behind the decline of Boko Haram has been its increasing internal conflicts and the resultant factionalism which has undermined the group's capacity for large-scale attacks (Onuuoha & Oyewole, 2018). This was also accompanied by a decline in the group's popularity since its peak in 2015 when its membership ranged from 15,000 to 50,000 (Onuuoha & Oyewole, 2018).

The Al-Shabaab, which dominates extremist presence in regions in the Horn of Africa and has one of the most aggressive child recruitment campaigns in the world, continues to be the most active militant Islamist group in Africa. However, the number of violent events attributed to the Al-Shabaab has been on the decline for the past two years. Yet the Dusit attack of January 2019 suggested that while violent events by Al-Shabaab are now fewer in numbers, they are likely to become much more consequential and symbolic (Hillary, n.d.). This decline, however, has been accompanied by an expansion in violent activities by other extremist groups. The insurgency in Mozambique's Cabo Delgado province, spearheaded by the ISIS-affiliated extremist group Ansar al-Sunna, has intensified over the past three years. The group's evolution has shown similarities with the ISGS in shifting towards a campaign against state forces from the initial focus on civilian targets.

Additionally, there has also been an increase in violent activities of the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) and Mayi Mayi groups accompanied by the ADF's propaganda campaign based on ethnic and jihadist narratives from

Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. The recent rise in reported fatalities linked to militant Islamist activities in Africa marks a shift from the relative stasis that had been maintained in the previous years. The geographic radius of violent activities in Africa has also become more dispersed and the reach of radicalisation campaigns is only expected to expand further with the COVID-19 pandemic.

References

Africa Center for Strategic Studies. African Militant Islamist Groups Set Record for Violent Activity, July 2020. Available from: <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/african-militant-islamist-groups-new-record-violent-activity/> (accessed 31 August, 2020)

Institute for Economics & Peace. Global Terrorism Index 2019: Measuring the Impact of Terrorism, Sydney, November 2019. Available from: <http://visionofhumanity.org/reports> (accessed 31 August, 2020).

Onuoha, Freedom & Oyewole, Samuel. Reports Anatomy of Boko Haram: The Rise and Decline of a Violent Group in Nigeria, 2018. Accessed from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324741222_Reports_Anatomy_of_Boko_Haram_The_Rise_and_Decline_of_a_Violent_Group_in_Nigeria

Matfess, Hilary. Not with a Whimper but with a Bang: Al-Shabaab's Resilience and International Efforts Against the Rebels. The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, <https://acleddata.com/2019/01/27/not-with-a-whimper-but-with-a-bang-al-shabaabs-resilience-and-international-efforts-against-the-rebels/> (Accessed 30 August, 2020)

Sponsoring and Financing of Radicalized Groups

JOSEPH PUNNEN

The Islamic State

The Islamic State has an estimated annual income of \$200 million. When it was at its peak the Islamic State was earning around \$6 billion per annum. Making them the wealthiest terrorist group in the history. Much like al Qaeda, the Islamic State was made by the US as an instrument designed to divide and conquer the oil-rich middle east and to counter Iran's influence. Their main source of income was through extortion, taxation, robbery and the sale of oil, gas and drugs. But now they have lost considerable amount of land, they were able to smuggle \$400 million out of Iraq and Syria. the cash it has hoarded will provide the group with more than enough money to survive as a clandestine terrorist movement with the ability to wage a prolonged campaign of guerrilla warfare throughout Iraq and Syria. They were also able to raise funds from donors primarily in the Gulf region, but also from countries round the world. They used bogus and legitimate charities, shell companies and legitimate businesses as covers.

Hezbollah

The Hezbollah has an annual income of around \$1.1 billion. With the main funder being the Iranian government and they are committed to fund around \$800 million per annum. Another source of income is in their part on the global drug industry. Their operations extend all over the world. Among their various activities, there are active Hezbollah cells engaged in constant money laundering, forgery, weapons trade, smuggling, and of course producing and trading drugs, primarily heroin and cocaine. The Secretary General of the Hezbollah Hassan Nasrallah pointed out that the recent U.S. sanctions will not impact the outfit and confirmed that the group received full financial and arms support from the Islamic Republic of Iran. He stated “ We are open about the fact that Hezbollah's budget, its income, its expenses, everything it eats and drinks, its weapons and rockets, come from the Islamic Republic of Iran,” and he emphasized that his group “will not be affected” by any fresh sanctions (Rafizadeh, 2020).

The Taliban

The Taliban has an estimated annual income of \$800 million. The Taliban was trained by the CIA and funded by the Saudis, in order to defeat the Russians in Afghanistan during the Cold War. Their primary source comes from the sale of drugs primarily the opium and heroin. The organization makes hundreds of millions from the pirate mining of natural resources within the regions under its control, collecting ransom for hostages and, from donations. Most of the opium poppy cultivation takes place in the areas controlled by the Taliban, making Afghanistan the world's largest producer of opium. The Taliban also collects a 10% cultivation tax on farmers who grow opium and taxes are also collected on laboratories converting opium into heroin.

Hamas

The Hamas has an estimated annual income of \$700 million. Their main source of income via taxation, levies, and fees. (Hamas collects taxes on the money-changing companies that convert the foreign currency to shekels, allowing them to receive tens of millions on the way.) Hamas runs hundreds of businesses monopolizing a variety of fields from real estate to security, banking, and even hotels and tourism. Along with taxes, hundreds of millions of dollars flow into the organization's account each year as private donations. Moreover, Iran and Qatar are committed to contributing around \$100s of millions. The group also gets support from influential personalities and other institutions. Iran supplies weapons and almost half of the military budget of Hamas (\$70 million).

References

Rafizadeh, M. (2020, May 20). In first, Hezbollah confirms all financial support comes from Iran. Retrieved August 30, 2020, from <https://english.alarabiya.net/en/features/2016/06/25/In-first-Hezbollah-s-Nasrallah-confirms-all-financial-support-comes-from-Iran>

Understanding the notion of ‘Us and Them’- Islam in Europe: Historical brief

ARUN TEJA POLCUMPALLY

The existence of Muslims can be traced to the 8th century and even the renaissance is opined to be started as a result of the dialecticism between the philosophers of Jewish, Christians, and Muslims. The early demography of Muslims can be seen in Al-Andalus of the Iberian Peninsula, Byzantine Empire during Ottoman invasions, and its occupation of the latter. During the period of the Umayyad Caliphate, Al – Andalus region became the entry point for the initial influx of Islam into Europe, during 661 720 A. D. Fall of the Byzantine empire to the Rashidun caliphate (3rd caliphate) is another period of Islam influx into the Balkan region of Europe. Crusades followed the latter period until the onset of modern European history. After the periods of reformation, renaissance, enlightenment, Europe has finally drawn a line between church and state and brought the political concept called secularism. Islam is skeptically viewed because it has never been a part of the enlightened period of medieval European history. Europe fears that the rise of Islam would bring historical revisionism into Europe affecting its modern political principles such as liberty, equality, democracy, secularism.

Why Muslims regard Europe to be hostile – Quick view through Modern history

Numerous factors in the twentieth century created unease among Muslim societies regarding the relationship between Europe and the Middle East: the destruction of the Ottoman Empire; the secularization of the Turkish state and abandonment of the caliphate; the imposition of the mandates by Britain and France, underlining the precedence that their strategic interests had over the peoples and political forces in the region.

The emergence of a variety of military, monarchical, and socialist governments girded with an Arab nationalism often adorned with Islamic pretensions. Due to the moral vacuum created by the west system in the Islamic world, the old system of governance and practices have been found attractive.

With the rise of religious and ethnic wars during the late 20th, such as Israel attack on Lebanon (1982) where it is considered as west attacking the Islamic nation and the Iranian revolution 1979 which sent a victorious sense among the Muslims as they have overthrown the west backed regime, the episode of Saddam Hussein and finally the Bosnian war has triggered the permanent demarcation of the Islam and Europe.

Current Radicalization Roots with its vantage point in the political history

Mr. Parekh a political theorist and present labor member of House of Lords has opined that "since wider society, too, had begun to refer to them as Muslims and associated negative ideas with the term, Muslim youth in the spirit of "black is beautiful" asserted their Islamic identity with pride". (Roberson, 1994)

Werner Schiffauer in his work *The Irresponsible Muslim: Islam in German Public Culture* has opined that there exists a collective memory of the Muslim wars (and corresponding to crusades). Based on these historical narratives there is a suspicion that the other side is interested in conquest and taking over, but not peaceful cohabitation. With the terror attacks, the suspicion has reached the next level which brings "us and them" dichotomy. Europeans see that "we" is clear and easily definable: definable through "our" culture, 'our' values, 'our' institutions, and 'our' way of life. Muslims and Islam, therefore, are to be seen to present a real and direct threat to 'our' culture, 'our' values, 'our' institutions, 'our' way of life. This can be conceptualized as "Neo-Crusades" as a European thought which promotes Islamophobia. The rupture of identity and the exposure of Muslims in Europe to the unbearable destruction of Middle East social life creates an un-avoidable exclusion within Europe.

References

- Strindberg, A., & Wörn, M. (2011). *Islamism: Religion, radicalization, and resistance*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- B.A. Roberson. Islam and Europe: An Enigma or a Myth? *Middle East Journal*, Vol.48, No. 2(1994).
- Peter, F., & Ortega, R. (n.d.). *Islamic movements of Europe: Public religion and Islamophobia in the modern world*. P 321
- Roy, O. (1994). *The failure of political Islam*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Strindberg, A., & Wörn, M. (2011). *Islamism: Religion, radicalization, and resistance*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Riva Kastoryano (2004). *Religion and Incorporation: Islam in France and Germany*.
The International Migration Review, Vol. 38, No. 3, Conceptual and methodological Developments in the Study of International Migration. Pp.1242
- Werner Schiffauer. *The Irresponsible Muslim: Islam in German Public Culture*. *Islamic movements of Europe: Public religion and Islamophobia in the modern world*.

Franchises of Daesh

RAYAN V. BHAGWAGAR

The history of Daesh is an interesting one – a small jihadist organisation started in 1999 that reached its peak as a quasi-state in 2015. The group kicked off under the leadership of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi – a Jordanian belonging to an impoverished Bedouin family. Poverty forced him into thuggery and substance abuse. He travelled to Afghanistan where met with Osama Bin Laden in 1999; however, the two did not see eye to eye on critical thoughts of Islam. The American invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq post the September 11 attacks influenced Zarqawi in waging war against the West. The invasions inspired many more mercenaries and jihadists from across the region to join the resistance. Daesh under the leadership of Zarqawi is one of the most ruthless Sunni jihadist groups and sparks an inter-sectarian clash. Eventually, Daesh becomes a front for the Al-Qaeda in Iraq, until Zarqawi is terminated by the Americans.

In 2011, the Arab Spring revolutions spark chaos and turmoil across the region. Revolution in Syria is suppressed ruthlessly by the Assad regime's military and paramilitary, which is criticised and condemned by the west. Jihadists are with some support from the state able to escape prison and stir up chaos in the country, to prevent foreign intervention. These formerly imprisoned Jihadists join a rekindled Daesh, led by a religious scholar preaching Jihad and the establishment of an Islamic Caliphate across the world – Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Daesh attacks Iraqi prisons to free more Jihadists to join their ranks and fight for their cause. Unlike other terrorist organisations, Daesh reorganises its fighters into an army group which attacks and takes over much of Iraq and Syria within weeks. Sectarian tensions means that Daesh is a welcome sight for Sunnis who have been exhausted by Shia dominance in the region. The group believes in a holy war which has to be fought across the whole world to incorporate what they understand as being the true idea of Islam. As such, the group gained supporters across the Islamic world. Immense support from specific regions also meant that Daesh could establish caliphates, or provinces in these regions. Some of these are:

1. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Sinai Province

Formerly the Ansar Bait al-Maqdis, the group conducts operations on behest of the caliphate in the Sinai governate of Egypt. It has been active in the region since the Arab Spring revolutions in 2011. It was constantly involved in attacks against Israel. In 2014, the group's leader Abu Osama al-Masri pledged allegiance to Daesh as an extension of the caliphate.

2. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Yemen Province

Daesh announced the formation of its Yemen Province in November 2014, claiming control over 8 sub-provinces in the country, including around Sana'a and Aden. The provincial group has been head-to-head with the Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula. It carried out its first attack in 2015 on

Shia mosques, further straining sectarian ties in West Asia. After the death of several leaders, Abu Ibrahim al-Hashimi al-Qurashi became provincial leader, who is also the current leader of Daesh.

3. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Caucasus Province

Daesh in June 2015 announced the formation of a Province in the Caucasus region. Its area of operations mainly lie Dagestan, in the Russian Federation as well as areas in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. The current governor of the province is Chechen terrorist leader Aslan Byutukayev. The provincial front of Daesh has carried out mainly small-scale attacks.

4. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Libya Province

The Libyan Province came about when al-Baghdadi asked its Libyan followers to stay in Libya and carry out their jihad domestically. Many groups such as the Battar Brigade who had previously sent their Jihadists to Iraq and Syria now pledged absolute allegiance to the caliphate and established a province in Libya, following the turmoil post the Libyan civil war. Abu Muaz al-Tikriti is an Iraqi national and the current leader of Daesh's Libyan Province.

5. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Algeria Province

Other than the Libya province, the Jund al-Khliafah group is a Maghrebi terrorist organization which pledged allegiance to the Caliphate. The group became active in 2014 after the beheading of a French national in Algeria. The group was formerly a faction of the Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb until 2014, when group leader Abdelmalek Gouri joined hands with Daesh, only to be killed the next year in 2015 in a military raid.

6. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – East Asia Province

Daesh extended its arm into East/Southeast Asia by recruiting the notorious Abu Sayyaf group into its cadre in 2014, with group leader Isnilon Hapilon pledging allegiance to al-Baghdadi. However, this group has been very active in the region since before 2014. The group is one faction among many others involved in the Mindanao-based insurgency seeking independence from the Philippines to establish an Islamic State/Emirate. The group is associated with the Siege of Marawi, a five-month long battle between Daesh's East Asia Province and the Filipino National Army and Paramilitary forces, which ended with a decisive Philippine victory.

7. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Gaza Province

The Sheikh Omar Hadid Brigade emerged in 2014 when members of the Ansar Bait al-Maqdis – a terror group based in the Gaza strip and the Sinai – pledged allegiance to the Caliphate. The group looks eye-to-eye with its Daesh masters, who believe in the establishment of a greater Assyrian/levant emirate, thus eliminating the ideas of Palestinian nationalism. At the same time, it also supports the elimination of all Jews and infidels from the region.

8. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – West Africa Province

While West Asia was plunging further into chaos, Boko Haram had made the news in 2014 after taking hostage 276 schoolgirls, followed by the capturing of vast tracts of territory in Borno, in Northeastern Nigeria in 2015. Boko Haram leader Abubakar Shekau pledged his and his group's allegiance to al-Baghdadi in 2015, establishing Daesh's West African province. The group operates in Nigeria and its neighbouring countries, including Niger, Cameroon, and Chad. While the Nigerian government in 2019 claimed that the group was "technically defeated", the group has been increasingly carrying out attacks in the country.

9. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Khorasan Province

Daesh also has a presence on either side of the Durand line, in Afghanistan as well as in Pakistan. It also operates in Tajikistan and has several volunteers of Indian origin. Its last known leader – Aslam Farooqi – was arrested in April 2020. The group has carried out a plethora of bombings and gunman attacks in the region. The latest attack was carried out near Jalalabad Prison on August 3, 2020, in which 200 Daesh-Khorasan members managed to escape, with the death toll at 29. The 25 March 2020, attack on the Kabul Gurdwara was also claimed by Daesh's Khorasan front.

10. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Somalia

The Abnaa ul-Caliphaa led by Sheikh Abdul Qadir Mumin declared their allegiance to the Caliphate and holds control over a small portion of land in the northern mountainous region. The group is known to recruit child soldiers. Mumin was a former al-Shabaab cleric, who switched sides in 2014. The Daesh Province however has been unable to expand in size due to the tremendous pressure from al-Shabaab and the Somali and American Governments.

11. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Central Africa Province

In October 2017, a video emerged through Daesh-allied media hubs that showed a small number of militants in the Democratic Republic of the Congo who claimed to be part of the "City of Monotheism and Monotheists" group. The leader of the militants went on to say that "this is Dar al-Islam of the Islamic State in Central Africa" and called upon other like-minded individuals to travel to MTM territory in order to join the war against the government. The Wagner Group – Russia's finest mercenaries who have fought in Syria, Chechnya, and Eastern Ukraine previously – are also present in the fight against this province, fighting alongside Mozambican Security Forces.

12. Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant – Greater Sahara Province

In 2015, a split in the terror group Al-Mourabitoun led to the formation of Daesh's province in the Sahara under the leadership of Adnan Abu Walid al-Sahrawi. The terror group operates in the Western Sahara and Mali. Western Sahara is a largely ungoverned territory with several factions

involved in its complex politics. The Greater Sahara Province has not conducted many notable attacks.

13. Islamic State of Iran and the Levant – India Province

There have been growing fears of Daesh's entrance into India. Previously, attacks in Jammu & Kashmir claimed by Daesh were carried out by the Khorasan Province. However, in May 2019, Daesh claimed to have established a province in India. As per the 26th report of the Analytical Support and Sanctions Monitoring Team, the Indian subcontinent group reportedly has between 150 and 200 militants from India (significantly from Karnataka and Kerala), Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Myanmar. Previously, Indian nationals have been reported to be member to the Khorasan Province.

Recruitment Strategies by Terror Groups

SAMYUKTHA MIRIYALA

Terrorist groups employ young recruits in almost every capacity: in support roles, as recruiters, as propagandists, and as fighters. Young people are recruited vary widely across contexts. In many cases, young people join terrorist groups because they are duped, trafficked, kidnapped, or forcibly recruited. Others join terrorist groups voluntarily owing to the appeal of a group-based identity; perceptions of exclusion, grievances, or cultural threats; the promise of economic stability; prospects of fame, glory, or respect; and personal connections, including family and friendship networks.

Evolution of recruitment strategies:

Historically, terrorist recruitment was restricted based on geographical proximity. People in areas of conflict and geographically close to the extremist groups were influenced and persuaded into joining the groups. In the 1980's mujahedeen rebels from Afghanistan used VHS tapes and blurry videos to propagate their messages. Even Osama Bin Laden sent recorded messages on VHS among the Muslim world. In the 1990's websites came online. These websites provided universal access to jihadist literature and helped in propagating their ideology. The first jihadist website was the Islamic media centre, which came online in 1991. Later, chat rooms and forum boards were also available. By 2000, downloadable videos were the trend. And post 9/11, terrorism and technology were set in motion with internet and social becoming key platforms for not only recruitment but also to plan attacks, fundraising, propaganda etc.

Online recruitment through social media is the most prominent way of recruitment to all terror groups in the current age. Without internet, terror groups would not be able to achieve the scale of recruitment they achieve through social media and other online platforms. Using the internet for recruitment has its own benefits for terror groups:

- It offers anonymity
- Can reach a lot of people with less efforts and less time
- Limitless geographical access to people
- lack of regulation or censorship
- Inexpensive

Use of various online platforms for recruitment:

Various popular online platforms like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Telegram etc are used by terror groups. Approximately 300 videos are uploaded on YouTube per minute to spread their propaganda and persuade people to join terror groups. Almost all terror groups including ISIS, Al

Qaeda have official accounts on social media platforms. Platforms like telegram which are securely encrypted are used for clearing doubts of potential and prospective recruits with regards to the group's agenda or ideology.

Apart from these well-known platforms on the surface web, Dark net also serves as a platform for recruitment. Dark net is an inaccessible and unsearchable platform from the regular internet or search engines we use. Dark net contains illegal and anti-social information and can be called a platform for crimes. Both on surface web and dark web, we find content like choreographed videos like murders, hostage executions, mass executions, documentaries, etc. these typically include a script, multiple high definition camera angles and sometimes even graphical content. Terrorists use dark net not only for recruitment but also for training, planning, fundraising, and giving instructions to new recruits and sleeper cells.

Targeting:

Recruiters are very skilled at targeting and filtering people online. On platforms like Facebook and twitter they tend to observe the ideology and social life of a person – they see if the person follows anti-government pages, extremist pages, religious and educational forums. Terrorists maintain propaganda pages on the internet and closely monitor people following their content. A candidate for recruitment may come to the group's attention by making a financial donation, downloading extremist propaganda, entering a jihadi chat room, or visiting radical pages on Facebook. Children, youth below the age of 25, minority groups, marginalised sections of the community are particularly targeted.

Staircase model of recruitment:

After targeting the next step for recruitment is the stair case model of radicalisation. This was posited by Fathali Moghaddam. The first step of the staircase is dissatisfaction or aggression and oppression amongst targets. After targeting terror groups seek to convert this anger into possible tangible actions of dissent. In the next stage, the recruits are supposed to be provided a moral justification for their actions. When this moral justification is provided by ideology this hate is solidified in the mind of the person.

The next step of the ladder is the foot in the door technique. Moderate or modest requests are made in the beginning of the recruitment. For example, they are asked to explore and improve content on propaganda websites. They never ask a new comer to join as a full-fledged fighter right in the beginning. Once compliance for the seemingly benign request is achieved, the recruiters may gradually increase the demands from candidates by encouraging them to become fighters. On top of the staircase, it is important to make the recruiters pledge their obedience and make them become compliant to the organisation. For this, negative reinforcement and punishment are used. Constant harsh criticism and making them feel they are not doing well for the organisation creates a sense of indebtedness towards the organisation creating a certain sense of compliance.

Lone wolf attacks and Radicalization

ZEUS HANS MENDEZ

Like much of the phenomenon discussed above, lone wolf radicalization has increased exponentially over the years, making it a reality in most regions of the world. Yet its narrow problem at the same time. Out of all terrorist attacks only 1.28% were lone wolf attacks as of a report from 2018. While in India it has not yet become a common occurrence, according to a number of reports emanating out of the United States and Europe, the number of lone wolf attacks by individuals has seen a significant uptick over the past few decades.

The term itself was first popularized by Tom Metzger and a few other white supremacists in the US in the 1990s who envisaged "*warriors acting alone or in small groups who attacked the government or other targets in 'daily, anonymous acts'*". The term has since then come to categorize a broad base of individuals as lone wolves. However, in its most basic of forms, a lone wolf or a lone actor terrorist is an individual that commits acts of terrorism alone, generally outside a command structure or without material assistance from a group. These actors also have to be differentiated from those who are categorized as "sleeper cells", who generally operate or remain dormant on the orders of an overarching group or organization. In this regard, lone wolf attackers are more often than not seen as being merely influenced by the ideologies of such groups rather than on their orders.

What one has to firstly note about these kinds of attacks is the motivations behind them. Now lone wolves as they are called could either be motivated by the ideology of a larger group like the ISIS or Al-Qaeda, however, more often than not, they operate of their own accord. According to a number of studies, lone wolf attackers are not only motivated by political or ideological motives alone and personal grievances also play a prominent role in influencing their activities. Many join extremist groups only to leave due to conflicting agendas or ideas, which are often too extreme even for the hard-core members of the group. It has also been observed that terrorist groups often **screen out** people with serious mental disorders, as the group relies on coordination and reliability.

In this regard, according to a database created by Professor Paul Gill of the University College of London, 40 percent of the attacks across the United States and Europe were carried out by individuals who had been diagnosed with mental health issues. The database also shows that these "lone wolves" were 13.5 times more likely than their counterparts in other terrorist groups to have some form of mental illness. This is what makes the whole phenomenon highly unpredictable, as it is very difficult for security forces to either detect, counter or defend against.

Essentially, there is no one single definition or profile that can be accorded to these individuals, especially since they could include religious zealots, environmental and animal rights extremists, white supremacists and jihadists. On the one hand Islamic radicalism has been seen in both small

and large scale attacks such as in the case of Omar Mateen, an afghan immigrant who killed almost 50 people in a gay night bar in Orlando because it went against his “principles”. On the other, neo-Nazism in Europe has influenced a number of people to carry out attacks; motivated by either racist ideologies or islamophobia. In completely different instances though, one may see Christian fundamentalists like James Kopp, who have sought out physicians who carry out abortions and kill them. They can however, pose greater dangers as well. In Germany a man was arrested in possession of a ricin bomb in 2018. According to reports he had produced enough ricin to kill 13,500 people. This shows that such lone wolves are capable of making small but dangerous chemical or biological weapons as well. Personal, ideological and political motivations can thus lead to attacks which are highly dangerous for a nations security.

In this context, if “lone wolves” are motivated or get support from larger radicalized groups, the threat may be higher. In Islamist circles, it would seem like the acts carried out by lone wolf attackers have often been popularised and encouraged. In 2003 for instance, an article from a Jihadist forum called on Osama Bin Laden’s sympathisers to take action without awaiting instructions. In 2006, an al-Qaeda member released a similar message which was titled “How to fight alone”. Now this has seen a significant increase over the years, especially as social media has found a larger base of users. In this regard, since the reports of the increase in recruitment by the ISIS in South and Southeast Asia emerged, the fear of lone wolf attacks was one of the major concerns. Groups often provide such actors with a sense of legitimacy and belonging, often making individuals act as “envoys for the collective”. This has shown to be true in the case of most extremist ideologies that have radicalized individuals.

The main problem with countering or preventing such events though is firstly the problem of diversity. While motivations are diverse and varied across region, country and religion, these actors also operate under solitary guises, making their intentions hard to discern since they avoid contact with others. Secondly the problem of numbers and analysis has also become a shortfall in implementing counter measures. As stated above, the number of lone wolf attacks in comparison with the group motivated or influenced attacks is almost negligible. The institute for crime, security and crisis put the number at hardly 1.28% of all terrorist attacks. It has thus very hard to understand or predict from which disenfranchised, alienated or frustrated environment lone wolf attackers may stem. They display a variety of backgrounds with a wide spectrum of ideologies and motivations. Differentiating between the radicalized who are prone to extremism and those who are not has also become increasingly difficult.

In this regard, with the threat of lone wolf attacks on the rise across the world, it has become a major security concern, especially since these lone wolves are almost always under the intelligence radar. With social media and extremist websites now perpetuating a number of radical ideologies faster than the government can monitor, it has also become a challenge for India. As of a few reports from June 2020, there were possible threats of lone wolf attackers being recruited from Bangladesh to infiltrate in India as well. A report by the Home Ministry in November 2019 also

drew out this threat, where it said that lone wolf attackers could emanate out of Pakistan or Afghanistan and cause problems in India. In this regard, lone wolf attacks have not only become a global phenomenon, they are not only increasing, but have also become a major security threat for India.

Successful Deradicalization Strategies

SIYA BINDAL

According to ‘John Horgan’, who has been recognized as world's most eminent expert in the psychology of terrorism, deradicalization is: “the social and psychological process whereby an individual’s commitment to, and involvement in, violent radicalization is reduced to the extent that they are no longer at risk of involvement and engagement in violent activity”. In other words, deradicalization can be perceived as a way of changing one's inward convictions and upbraiding radical ideologies. Strategies revolving around deradicalization are relatively new; with certain programs prompting differing degrees of accomplishment and disappointment.

In **Yemen**, post Al-Qaeda's assaults on the interests of French and American people, the first ever deradicalization program was regulated. This program, to a great extent, concentrated on re-educating captured detainees. Its methodology was uniquely to change the radical ideological views of the activists. This individual centred deradicalization program, though paved the way for different nations to embrace comparative measures and further develop on it, yet was just halfway fruitful as there were scarcely any radicals who were finally recouped. Moreover, government's lack of responsibility and absence of holistic approaches brought about cessation of this program in 2005.

Saudi Arabia concocted deradicalization methodology in 2004 which depended on the requirement for person's ideological swing from brutality to peacefulness. This program mostly fused three viewpoints: ideological changes, professional training along with monetary help, and guaranteeing security of the ex-radicals. Under ideological change and professional training, the program gave tranquil lessons of Islam, inspiration to surrender the fanatic ideology they hold solid to, and directed strict discourse. Also, monetary help was given to relatives of prisoners. Hence, eventually a solid relationship was evolved between the program authorities and the prisoners.

While Yemen basically focused on ideological modification, Saudi Arabia concentrated on alteration of behaviour alongside ideological change. At first, the Saudi government asserted that the program had a 100% achievement rate, however later affirmed that at least 20 percent of the previous prisoners returned to barbarity. Despite the fact that this program was not essentially regulated, yet it was a comprehensive effort by Saudi Arabia.

Indonesia presented its deradicalization program in 2005. This program was a withdrawal activity that concentrated on radicals who were confined by the police. The aim of this program was to hamper the entire recruitment process of radicals in the long haul. Similar to Saudi strategy, Indonesia also provided with vocational and monetary assistance to detainees and permitted the relatives of prisoners to effectively take part in the process.

One noteworthy element of this program was the incorporation of ex-radicals to share their previous experiences to the prisoners. This component was considered as a key factor that prompted its prosperity, where the shocking encounters shared by previous activists could demoralize current fanatics. But the accomplishment of this program was restricted due to the absence of commitment by the authorities, improper financial mechanism.

Pakistan presented its Swat Valley Deradicalization model in 2009. This program equipped 2,500 radicals with professional training, monetary help and interest free loans. These endeavours were planned to fill in as inspiration for ideological alteration and to counter the radical trainings of extremists. Apparently, this program had not only deradicalized the extremists, but also expressively challenged the recruitment of youth in Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan. Conversely, there is absence of adequate information to affirm if this model had a high achievement rate. Just like Saudi Arabia and Indonesia, Pakistan also sought help from the ex-radicals in their deradicalization program to spur the fanatics to move away from brutality. In the long run, the Swat Valley Model needed monetary assistance and political responsibility but due to the absence of both these factors, this program could not be executed in the entire country.

There are a few other countries as well; like Singapore; that asserts high achievement rate however this could be because of relatively low number of cases in the nation. So far, many nations have come up with different deradicalization strategies and all of these strategies hold different level of success rate. But there is no single deradicalization program that can take a hundred percent guarantee that a "deradicalized" individual will never face recidivism.

Impact of COVID-19 On Terror Group Activities

SWATI BATCHU

At the start of the pandemic, many expected that terror activities would experience a slowdown given reduced media visibility, uncrowded public spaces, and lack of mobility. Nonetheless groups have used downtime during lockdowns to their advantage. More people than ever before are accessing the internet, and this means that ideological propaganda can now be accessed by a wider audience. Major groups like the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, and Boko Haram are using their respective periodicals, radio shows, television networks, and internet groups, to facilitate exactly this. Al-Qaeda presented the pandemic as “divine retribution against the non-believers” (Simons, and Cristina, 2020) which risks lulling “believers” into a sense of security from contracting the virus. Similarly, they also used its propaganda mechanisms in Africa to spread this idea of divine retribution and urge listeners to dedicate time to religious learning during lockdowns (Williams, 2020). In addition to this, ISIS has also used its propaganda arm to spread disinformation about and sow distrust in state organs, which is particularly destructive considering that response to COVID requires considerable cooperation with state authorities. Much like Al-Qaeda, IS also stated in their periodical, Al-aba, that the best way to combat the virus is through piety towards good through acts of “Jihad” (International Criminal Group, 2020).

Another major cause for concern is the withdrawal of international troops from spaces in the middle east and Africa. This is particularly visible in Iraq where coalition forces from the UK, US, France, etc., have left as the pandemic took its hold. Absence of international forces in addition to dwindling lockdown restrictions would allow IS to execute more complex and large-scale attacks. Thus, it is unsurprising that this has been received positively by the IS which hopes to capitalize on this withdrawal and show no mercy to “infidels”, instead attacking them in their moment of weakness (International Criminal Group, 2020). This is the case with IS, Al-Qaeda, and Boko Haram as well who have been launching deadly attacks in the Lake Chad area which have resulted in large casualties (Jalloh, 2020). There are also concerns that virus might be weaponized by such groups. While methods such as aerosolization are still far-fetched, using an infected individual to spread the virus is more accessible. While there are no reports of major terror groups resorting to this as of yet, the FBI and US Department of Homeland Security have found chatter on Telegram hinting that white extremist groups are looking into ways to spread the virus to police and minority groups (Gul, 2020).

While intelligence and security agencies are on the lookout for potential terror attacks, in practice pre-empting attacks is not always possible. Thus, terror groups continue to function relatively unabated, while security forces try to play catch up. This is especially the case in weaker states where the state by itself is unable to hold back rebel and terror activities on any given day, let alone during a pandemic when its resources are spread thinner than ever before. Attacks in Chad, Cameroon, The Philippines, etc., thus indicate that terror groups are using the current chaos to

their advantage by continuing to launch deadly attacks. Stringent monitoring for social media sites and terror groups' online activities is necessary. In some cases, this might be one of the only ways indoctrinated members living away from the organization's base can stay in touch and make plans given restricted movement. Thus, it is important that state entities around the world continue to remain vigilant.

References

Gul, Zakir. 2020. *A Local and Global Threat: The White Racially and Ethnically Motivated Terrorism*. August 19. <https://moderndiplomacy.eu/2020/08/19/a-local-and-global-threat-the-white-racially-and-ethnically-motivated-terrorism/>.

International Crisis Group. 2020. *Contending with ISIS in the Time of Coronavirus*. March 31. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/global/contending-isis-time-coronavirus>.

Jalloh, Abu-Bakarr. 2020. *Increased terror attacks in Africa amid coronavirus pandemic*. August 4. <https://www.dw.com/en/increased-terror-attacks-in-africa-amid-coronavirus-pandemic/a-53066398>.

Simons, Greg, and Cristina Bianca. 2020. *The Specter of Terrorism During the Coronavirus Pandemic*. May 8. <https://www.e-ir.info/2020/05/08/the-specter-of-terrorism-during-the-coronavirus-pandemic/>.

Williams, Clive. 2020. *Terrorism in the era of Covid-19*. 4 15. <https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/terrorism-in-the-era-of-covid-19/>.