Fighting for a greater cause

A critical discourse analysis focusing on the recruitment within extremist social movements

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July 1, 2019

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17,457 words

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1. Introduction

The current prevailing discourse exists, in which jihadism and transnational violence are described as a modern concept. Thereafter, a part of European history in which the continent suffered from dangerous transnational activism in the nineteenth-century, tends to be forgotten.[1] Attacks organized by the anarchist movement resulted in widespread fear and costed hundreds of lives in Europe and other continents.[2] The international anarchist movement was born during the nineteenth-century and flourished from 1880 to 1930. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, European nation-states, and the accompanying nationalist feelings, started to develop. In Western Europe the economic effects of the Industrial Revolution changed daily life, resulting in a continuously increasing social division. The middle-class demanded a more restrictive control over the working class, since the way of living of the working class did not accommodate to the lifestyle of the middle-class. The class divisions manifested in protest movements, among which the anarchist movement.[3] The anarchist movement was not necessarily connected to a specific class in society, but their core philosophy consisted of the desire for a stateless, lawless society with communal ownership of all means of production. Taking Marx's socialist theory to a next level, the anarchists envisioned the final state as one without all forms of political power where all citizens were their own masters. The movement inspired a series of assassinations throughout Europe, the United States, Argentina and Brazil. As a matter of fact, some individual members were able to successfully assassinate some of the most prominent leaders of the world.[4] A few examples are the attacks against the Russian head of State, the Spanish prime minister and, of course, the famous assassination of Empress Elisabeth of Austria.[5] The planning and execution of these deadly assaults seemed to be an

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[1] "Blood, rage & history: The world's first terrorists," World Politics, The Independent, last modified October 12, 2009, accessed April 15, 2019, https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/politics/blood-rage-history-the-worlds-first-terrorists-1801195.html.

[2] "For jihadist, read anarchist," Special Report, The Economist, last modified August 18, 2005, accessed June 8, 2019, https://www.economist.com/special-report/2005/08/18/for-jihadist-read-anarchist.

[3] "Revolution and the Growth of Industrial Society, 1789-1914," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed June 8, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-Europe/Revolution-and-the-growth-of-industrial-society-1789-1914.

[4] Whitney Kassel, "Terrorism and the International Anarchist Movement of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism,* vol. 32 (2009): 237-238.

[5] The Independent, "Blood, rage & history."

Italian-only occupation. During these years, a significant amount of Italians were on the move across Europe and America, due to political suppression, social inequality and poverty.[6] This thesis examines how the Italian anarchists have developed themselves into a transnational social movement, by constructing a collective identity and the feeling of belonging to a community, also referred to in this thesis as an imagined community. The term 'imagined community' does not mean a community is fictitious or not real. An imagined community is real, since it is considered by the members of it to be real, and thus has serious effects on the social lives of people.[7] A transnational social movement refers to an entity of groups with components in more than one country, which is committed continuous antagonistic action for a common cause – or a common constellation of causes – often against governments, international institutions or private firms.[8]

While today's anarchism seems harmless, during its peak years anarchism promoted a broadly appealing vision of a free, stateless society, in a time of political revolution. In the International Anarchist Congress in 1881, the anarchist movement adopted the new strategy of propaganda by the deed, meaning they turned to terrorism[9] to achieve their goals.[10] "A single attack could make more propaganda than thousands of pamphlets."[11] This 'propaganda by the deed'-strategy is often related to the violent propaganda of modern jihadism and Islamic State, but its effectiveness in recruiting foreign fighters is debated. While most of us consider it triggering and abhorrent, potential recruits often see the videos, photos and news reports and consider these materials as a sign that Islamic State keeps their promise when reaching their

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[6] "Anarchistische Aanslagen," Collections, International Institute of Social History, accessed 22 April, 2019, http://www.iisg.nl/collections/anarchist-assaults/index-nl.php

[7] Martin Sökefeld, "Mobilzing in transnational space: a social movement approach to the formation of diaspora," *Global Networks,* vol. 6 (2006): 265-271.

[8] "Transnational social movement," Encyclopedia Brittanica, last modified March 24, 2014, accessed June 20, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/transnational-social-movement

[9] According to the Oxford Dictionary, terrorism is defined as following: "The unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims."
"Terrorism," Oxford Dictionary, accessed June 26, 2019, https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/terrorism

[10] "The First Global Terrorists Were Anarchists in the 1890s," Opinion, The New York Times, last modified April 29, 2016, accessed April 15, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/30/opinion/the-first-global-terrorists-were-anarchists-in-the-1890s.html.

[11] Ibid.

goals. [12] Propaganda of the deed is a communication tool, employed by insurgents and states, and can evolve into a technique for political marketing. It resonates with potential recruits when the deed enhances the propaganda of the word, and thus can lead to the construction of a collective imagined memory and identity. [13] In addition to the propaganda of the deed, the promise to end up in eternal paradise when obeying the Islamic sharia laws according to Islamic State, stimulates people to leave and join this fight on foreign soil. [14] Whereas the anarchists aimed for a stateless society, Islamic State declared an Islamic caliphate in Iraq led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, enforcing a strict sharia legislation. With this declaration, al-Baghdadi had offered a powerful alternative to other Islamic extremist movements, such as al-Qaeda, by building an actual pseudo state. Between four and eight million people have lived under the governance of the Islamic State, ruled by a strong hierarchal structure. [15] A new trend in studying the Islamic State and its foreign fighters is making a comparison with the nineteenth- and twentieth-century anarchists, and, as the paragraphs demonstrated, it is in fact possible to draw some similarities between both extremist movements. While jihadism cannot be considered as a successive offspring from anarchism, the anarchist movement can provide the field of foreign fighting and migration with a valuable historical perspective. [16] This thesis researches how the anarchist and jihadist transnational movements have recruited their foreign fighters by constructing a collective imagined identity. In order to explain the construction of an imagined community, this thesis combines the propaganda of the word, such as pamphlets, posters and lyrics of songs, to the propaganda of the deed strategy handled by each movement. Combining these two strategies handled by each movement provides insights in how each movement has recruited their foreign fighters with their political marketing.

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[12] The Economist, "For jihadist, read anarchist."

[13] Neville Bolt "Propaganda of the Deed and the Irish Republican Brotherhood From the Politics of 'Shock and Awe' to the 'Imagined Political Community," *The RUSI Journal* 153:1 (2008): 48-49.

[14] The Economist, "For jihadist, read anarchist."

[15] Donald Holbrook, "Al-Qaeda and the Rise of ISIS," *Global Politics and Strategy,* vol. 57 (2015): 94.

[16] Richard Bach Jensen, "Anarchist Terrorism and Global Diasporas, 1878-1914," *Terrorism and Political Violence,* vol. 27 (2015): 441-442.

1.1 Historiography

Despite their growing numbers, foreign fighters are an overlooked phenomenon in historiography. According to the International Centre for Counter-terrorism (ICCT), between 3922 and 4294 foreign fighters have left from the European Union since mid-2012.[17] These foreign fighters have influenced the conflicts they joined, by prolonging it or empowering the movement.[18] Noticeably, foreign fighting is often only mentioned in the case of Muslims fighters in modern conflicts since the 1980s, with the beginning of the Soviet-Afghan war. Nir Arielli prefers in *From Byron to bin Laden* to consider foreign fighters in most cases as 'foreign volunteers.' Foreign volunteering is the more accustomed term in historiography when the phenomenon of foreign fighting emerged. Additionally, this term stresses the importance of voluntarism and an individual's choice to join these conflicts. "These were individuals who *chose* to take part in a conflict, to take orders, to put their lives at risk, and, potentially, to take the lives of others."[19] However, this definition by Arielli insinuates that foreign fighting is an equivalent to forced foreign fighting. This is not the case, which is why this thesis will give a more inclusive definition of foreign fighters in the second chapter.

As mentioned earlier, foreign fighting remains an understudied type of transnational activism. Thomas Hegghammer claims that foreign fighters in historiography are often taken for granted as deduction of conflict in the Muslim world. The literature that does exist on foreign fighting, barely equips the field of transnational activism with answers. Predominantly, the extant literature is on foreign fighting involvement in individual, but there has been no cross-case analyses or theoretically informed attempt to explain the appearance, or sudden rise in numbers, of foreign fighters. An exception to the scholarly field is David Malet.[20] Malet emphasizes that, despite the fact the numbers of foreign fighters is rising, transnational recruitment is being overlooked in the current literature. In order for countries to get a grip on

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[17] "Foreign fighters," ICCT, accessed 11 December, 2018, https://icct.nl/topic/foreign-fighters/

[18] Thomas Hegghammer, "The rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad," *International security*, 2010, 1.

[19] Nir Arielli, *From Byron to bin Laden: A History of Foreign War Volunteers* (Cambridge, MA: Hardvard University Press, 2017), 5.

[20] Hegghammer, "The Rise of Muslim Foreign Fighters: Islam and the Globalization of Jihad," 54.

the rising number of foreign fighters, understanding the transnational recruitment is crucial.[21] Furthermore, Malet complements Hegghammer by claiming no one has yet conducted cross-case analyses, and highlights how the focus of social movement recruitment has been on a subnational level, neglecting the transnational dimension. Hence, this thesis focusses on transnational recruitment in extremist movements. The incentive for someone to join a conflict may seem obvious, however, why would insurgencies recruit outside of the conflict zones and try to mobilize individuals who seem to have had no direct share in the outcome of the conflict? Transnationalism studies have predominantly focussed on rebels in exile or foreign state support for rebels, bypassing the independent global activists. The focus has been specifically on the nonviolent variety of the global activists, neglecting the foreign fighters.[22]

The anarchist movement has proved to be an extremely productive field of investigation in transnational studies. Where transnational studies focussed on rebels in exile or foreign state support for rebels, they ignored the independent global activists, and their role. The spotlight has been generally on the nonviolent variety of transnational global activists, neglecting more violent transnational foreign fighters. [23] Kristin M. Bakke emphasizes the importance of studying foreign fighters by demonstrating their impact in transnational conflicts. Foreign fighters, who are considered non-state actors, are able to empower the insurgency movement by introducing more actors and factors to a conflict, which can cause a civil war to be prolonged or at least complicate the negotiations and interventions when ending of a war. Furthermore, Bakke states the successfulness of a movement is held in its ability to mobilize and recruit supporters, and organize cohesive collective action. Foreign fighters might influence the strength of a movement with resource mobilization and tactical innovations, provided that these ideas resonate with the local norms, practices and assessments about how to best fight the war.[24] Understanding what motivates a transnational activist to fight on foreign soil, and analysing their social movement offers a basis for preventing them from going. This thesis adds to the historiography on transnational activism and transnational recruitment, by comparing the

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[21] David Malet, "Foreign Fighter Mobilization and Persistence in a Global Context," *Terrorism and Political Violence,* (May 2015): 454-457.

[22] David Malet, "Why Foreign Fighters?: Historical Perspectives and Solutions," *Elsevier Limited,* (Winter 2010): 97-100.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Kristin M. Bakke, "Help Wanted? The Mixed Records of Foreign Fighters in Domestic Insurgencies," *International Security,* vol. 38, no. 4 (Spring 2014): 150-153.

anarchist movement to the global jihadist movement, in order to gain some useful insights for the current security threat posed by the latter group.

To provide the field of transnational recruitment with new insights, this thesis compares the jihadists to the anarchists in order to construct a historical perspective. Principally, the historiography regarding Italian anarchism has been written by its opponents, resulting in a biased and unbalanced perspective towards the movement.[25] Carl Levy noticed that anarchists in exile were able to create hidden organizational and financial mobilization networks, which could explain why the anarchist movement was able to survive for such a long time. However, he still admits the history of Italian anarchists in exile has yet to be written. Davide Turcado confirms that this statement still holds today. Turcado elaborates on the historiographical lacuna noticed by Levy, by emphasizing the fact that the analyses of anarchism accentuate cyclical patterns of advances and retreats. For example, Nunzio Pernicone as well as Levy himself, have written about the anarchists in a way that suggests a cyclical pattern of emergence and withdrawal.[26] Subsequently, this results in inadequate analyses that fail to explain how anarchists have sustained the movement over time. These analyses preserve a picture of powerlessness, before repression and cyclical reappearances. Therefore, the idea exists that the anarchist movement is characterised by discontinuity, revolutionary spontaneity, and a lack of organization. It establishes the belief that the movement is ineffective and irrational.[27] The history of anarchism remains hardly visible in historiography, due to the repression of this movement.[28]

According to Matthew S. Adams, historians continue to overlook the rich political tradition of the anarchist movement. The analyses of anarchism published between the early 1970s and mid-1990s were primarily concerned with positioning anarchism in relation to more established political ideologies. Adams argues that this positioning discredits the vicissitudes of the anarchist history, making it seem as a less important political movement.[29] In contrast to Adams, Constance Bantman and Bert Altena state how the pre-World War I anarchist

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[25] Carl Levy, *Gramsci and the Anarchists* (New York: Berg, 1999): 1-3.

[26] Nunzio Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014): 11.

[27] Davide Turcado, "Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1885-1915," *International Institute for Social History,* 52 (2007): 407-410.

[28] Turcado, "Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1885-1915," 407-410.

[29] Matthew S. Adams, "The Possibilities of Anarchist History: Rethinking the Canon and Writing History," *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies,* vol. 1 (2013): 34-36.

movement can be considered "the world's first and most widespread transnational movements organized from below," during a time when socialism was a uniquely powerful driver of global connections. The anarchist movement has proved itself as an extremely productive field of investigation for transnational historians.[30] Nonetheless, despite the renewed attention and appreciation of the anarchist movement in various scholarly fields, such as political sciences and international relations, the movement is often marginalized, silenced or simply unnoticed in historiography.[31] Regardless of a significant number of foreign fighters, the role of migrants and foreign fighters in transnational social movements is often contested in historical research.

This thesis argues against the custom that the term 'foreign fighters' is only to be used in relation to modern Muslim foreign fighters. Furthermore, this thesis aims to explain anarchism and jihadism as transnational social movements and compares their methods of recruitment. In most studies regarding social movements, the modern nation-state is the frame and context of modern political struggle, particularly in Charles Tilly his renowned work on social movements. However, the perception of the modern nation-state has changed, due to the acceleration of contemporary global integration processes. Consequently, these changes in perception have implications for our understanding of political struggles by groups advocating for social change. Due to globalization, more actors and factors become involved in achieving social change.[32] As Bakke explains, bringing in more actors and factors can make a conflict more complicated, and might potentially prolong a conflict.[33] Additionally, bringing in these new actors may challenge the supremacy of the modern nation-state as the dominant player in a global arena. The traditional means of authoritative influence in the world system, referring to the militant and economic valour, are questioned by global actors that can wield influence, regardless of their access to these traditional resources of valour. This demonstrates that many state-level political struggles are at least partly shaped by global forces, and shows the relevance

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[30] Constance Bantman and Bert Altena, *Reassessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 3-5.

[31] Angela Wigger, "Anarchism as emancipatory theory and praxis: Implications for critical Marxist research," *Capital & Class* vol. 40 (2016): 129-132.

[32] Jackie Smith and Hank Johnston, "Globalization and Resistance: an Introduction," in *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*, ed. Jackie Smith and Hank Johnston (Lanham: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2002), 1-3.

[33] Bakke, "Help Wanted?," 150-153.

of including foreign fighters, or transnational actors, in research.[34] The historiography leads to the following research question for this thesis: can transnational social movements, such as the Italian anarchists and Islamic State be considered an imagined community, and how does that provide the current debates on recruitment in transnational violence with new insights?

1.2 Theoretical framework and methodology

A useful theoretical framework to analyse international migration is transnationalism constructed by Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton in 1992. The term had been previously used in literature to describe economical phenomena, such as multinationals settling crossing borders. In this article the authors state that earlier conceptions of immigrant and migrant are no longer adequate and that a new conceptualization is required in order to come to terms with the experience and consciousness of migrants. The earlier conceptions of immigrants were images of rupture; being forced to abandon your own culture and having to learn about a new one. Glick-Schiller *et al.* describe the emerging of a new kind of migrant, one whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies. Their lives cut across the boundaries of the nation-state, bringing two societies into a single social field. Transnationalism refers to the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement, diminishing the control of the nation-state.[35] However, this theory on transnationalism has not yet explained transnational social movements and their recruitment that goes beyond borders.

To answer the research question, the Italian anarchist movement and Islamic State are considered as transnational imagined communities. In order to see how they constructed a political effective collective identity, it is important to know how people are mobilized for this identity and how they are made to accept this identity. Identity is an issue of movement and mobilization, as Martin Sökefeld explains in his article on mobilization on a transnational level. Sökefeld claims the term diaspora has gained extensive popularity in social and cultural sciences, and it has lost its precise meaning and analytical power. He defines diaspora as transnational imagined communities that unites different segments of people that live in

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[34] Smith and Johnston, "Globalization and Resistance: an Introduction," 1-3.

[35] Nina Glick-Schiller, Linda Basch, Cristina Blanc-Szanton, "Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, vol. 645 (July 1992): 1-2.

territorially distant regions. Due to the huge popularity of the term diaspora and the loss of its analytical power, it results in diasporas being described as a natural consequence of migration. This is not the case according to Sökefeld; when taking the concept of the imagination of a transnational community and a collective identity as defining characteristics of diaspora, and drawing on constructivist concepts of identity, it shows that the existence of diasporas is in fact not a natural consequence. A prerequisite of these diaspora groups are specific mobilization processes, which also occur in social movements. By taking the anarchist movement and Islamic State as transnational imagined community, a community that unite segments of people living in different areas, it enables research to find out the effectiveness of recruiting people by constructing a collective imagined identity in transnational social movements.[36]

One of the core concepts in this thesis is identity. As Jacquelien van Stekelenburg explains; "identity is our understanding of who we are and who other people are, and, reciprocally other people's understanding of themselves and others." There is a difference between a personal identity and a group identity. The individual personal identity refers to a person's self-definition in term of personal attributes and their self-definition in terms of social category memberships. Whereas the collective identity at the collective group level means "the shared definition of a group that derives from members' common interests, experiences and solidarity."[37] It refers to a shared sense of belonging to a group. A collective identity is a crucial factor when it comes to constructing a social movement and gain a following. It can be measured and examined by factors such as symbols, beliefs, and shared values.[38] But how did the anarchist and jihadist recruiters construct such a collective transnational identity? The literature on transnational recruitment mentions different factors that have proven their effectiveness in mobilizing people. Bakke describes the relevance of framing in transnationally mobilizing people.[39] Framing helps to identify the collective grievances and resentments in society and to vilify the designated enemy. It stimulates the transition from constructing a

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[36] Sökefeld, "Mobilzing in transnational space: a social movement approach to the formation of diaspora," 265-271.

[37] Jacquelien van Stekelenburg, "Collective Identity" in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements,* ed. David A. Snow, Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans and Doug McAdam (Hoboken: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2013): 1.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Bakke, "Help Wanted?" 150-153.

collective identity into collective action.[40] In past analyses of social movements and social movement organizations, usually a connection is made between the sorrows in the entity of actors, and the successful, or unsuccessful, development of a movement. This connection forms a theoretical centrality, but according to John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald moving away from this centrality takes the significance of social psychology away and makes it easier to integrate social movements in structural theories of social process.[41] To examine how the jihadists and anarchists constructed a collective identity and constructed themselves into an ideological transnational social movement, the new social movement theory is handled throughout this thesis as a theoretical framework. This theory emphasizes the mutual relationship between collective identity and framing the enemy in society, thus creating *us* vs. *them*.[42]

The new social movement theory has its roots in continental European traditions of social theory and political philosophy. This approach was introduced to the studies on social movements, since the classical Marxist theory was inadequate to fully analyse collective action. The classical Marxist approach assumed all collective social action was due to economic problems as capitalist product, and considered all social actors to be defined by the class relationships, ignoring other social identities. On the contrary, new social movement theory tends to look at other logics that explain any form of collective action.[43] New social movement theory highlights the non-economic defining sources of a collective identity, such as ethnicity, gender and sexuality. In other words, it focusses on identities that rise out of shared interests and values.[44] Thereafter, new social movement refers to a diversity of collective actions that can no longer be explained sufficiently by the classic Marxist model.[45] In transnational social movements, people often have different backgrounds, and do not share the same social, economic and political customs, which is why it is necessary to explain the attractiveness of a

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[40] Reza Aslan, "Global Jihadism as a Transnational Social Movement: A Theoretical Framework," (PhD diss. University of California, Santa Barbara, September 2009), 7, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

[41] John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 83 no. 6 (May 1977): 1212-1216.

[42] Aslan, "Global Jihadism as a Transnational Social Movement: A Theoretical Framework," 14-22.

[43] Steven M. Buechler, "New Social Movement Theories," *The Sociological Quarterly* vol. 36 no. 3 (Summer 1995): 441.

[44] Aslan, "Global Jihadism as a Transnational Social Movement: A Theoretical Framework," 14-22.

[45] Buechler, "New Social Movement Theories," 441-443.

transnational social movement by factors such as ethnicity, religion or ideology. Furthermore, another benefit of using the new social movement theory is that it highlights structural roots of grievances and emphasizes the mutual relationship between collective identity and the formation of these grievances.[46] New social movement theory accentuates the role of ideology. Ideology is not fixed, but is formed through a process of conscious reflection between members and leaders of the movement, spread through social networks and institutions. [47] As mentioned earlier in this introduction, the members of the social movements in question were diverse. They do not share a home country, and do not share the same social, political, or economic customs as every other member of the transnational social movement. New social movement theory helps to bring forward their transnational similarities, regardless of ones' situation in its home society. Furthermore, implementing new social movement theory on global jihadism broadens the currently existing historiography, since this theory has not yet been applied on a large religious social movement, such as the Islamic State.[48]

There is a large variety of approaches in the new social movement theory, however there are a few themes that occur in every variation on this theory. The first theme is emphasizing either the symbolic action in civil society, or the cultural sphere and consider these elements as a larger frame for collective action, besides the instrumental actions in a particular state or political sphere. Secondly, new social movement theory emphasizes the significance of processes that promote autonomy and self-determination, instead of focussing on the maximization of influence and power. Thereafter comes including the role of post materialist values in much contemporary collective action. The fourth theme in new social movement theory is that it tends to problematize the often fragile processes of constructing collective identities, rather than assuming that conflict groups and their interests are structurally determined. The fifth theme is highlighting the socially constructed nature of grievances and ideology, instead of arguing that these are surmised from a group's structural location. The last theme is that the theory acknowledges a variety of submerged, latent, and contemporary networks that often undergird collective action, rather than assuming that centralized organizational forms are prerequisites for successful mobilization. These themes predominantly signify a discrepancy between both classical Marxism and resource mobilization theory, as well as some similarities with social constructionism. On a side note, there is another defining

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[46] Aslan, "Global Jihadism as a Transnational Social Movement: A Theoretical Framework," 14-22.

[47] Aslan, "Global Jihadism as a Transnational Social Movement: A Theoretical Framework," 19-25.

[48] Ibid.

characteristic in new social movement theory. Operating with some model of a prevailing ideology or structure in society, such as capitalism, industrial society or information society, that provides the context for the emergence of collective action. Once again, these are the general themes in new social movement theory, which this thesis focusses on.[49]

1.2.1 Primary sources and structure

Studying anarchists is no easy task, since they did not keep membership lists, minutes of meetings, or records of important decisions; neither did they organize into a national party, as did socialists and communists.[50] Many tools used for propaganda, and the dissemination of ideas, of the Italian anarchist movement were often through oral communication. Their printed publications were often for immediate use and have not been conserved properly, which is why there is limited access to the primary sources on anarchism.[51] The sources, which are accessible, are often written sources on paper, or printed posters. The International Institute of Social History (IISH) has a significant repository of records and papers on anarchist history. Next to the IISH, The Anarchist Library will be an important repository. For this essay, the main primary sources are translated publications from renowned anarchists, such as Pietro Gori and Errico Malatesta, posters and anarchist songs. These articles (mostly in the shape of a pamphlet), songs and posters offer information about the recruitment strategy practiced by the anarchists: what does the movement believe to be their ultimate goal, and who is to blame for the current unjust situation? What measurements should be taken in order to achieve this goal? Whom are they trying to appeal and recruit for this goal? Especially the articles, books and papers give a clear overview in the ideology and the practices of the anarchists. The primary sources for this thesis originate from the period of 1880-1930, the peak years of the anarchist movement. An important note here is that these publications are translated into English, which can influence the true meaning of the publication, and subsequently the interpretation. There is not always a correct translation from Italian to English in the original specific context, however since I am not fluent in Italian, this is the most practicable option for this paper. The sources

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[49] Buechler, "New Social Movement Theories," 441-443

[50] Roberto Perin, *Transnational Radicals: Italian Anarchists in Canada and the U.S., 1915–1940* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015): no page number.

[51] Luigi Balsamini, "Libraries and Archives of the Anarchist Movement in Italy," *Progressive Librarian* issue 40 (fall/winter 2012): 1-3.

have been selected based on who has written them, where they have been published and what language they have been published in. From some periodicals, it is known how many copies based in relation to how many people have been produced, illustrating their relevance and thus being exemplary in describing the role of recruitment.

Additionally, symbols such as the black flag, can be of relevance when researching the construction of a collective identity. Symbols can prevail in different forms, such as slogans, forms of clothes and address (calling the movement's members by a specific name, such as comrades or brothers) or certain behaviour. Studying symbols is done as additional argument to the written sources, since symbols can only be effective when they are in fact embedded in a society.[52] Furthermore, the numbers of literacy has changed a lot during the peaking years of anarchism, which can limit the use and effectiveness of the previously mentioned written sources. In 1880 the literate world population was only 19.63% and in 1930 this had already risen to 32.53%. However, today it is 86.02% of the world population, which means the targeting audience is increasing for social movements.[53] Depending on whom they considered a potential target, the anarchists had a relative smaller portion of society that could be reached with their textual materials. However, by spreading their message with songs and symbols, they expanded the potential recruiting audience. In addition to the previously mentioned sources, this thesis combines these sources with the propaganda of the deed strategy. Combing the deed, with propaganda of the word, it gives an overview of the complete political marketing. A disadvantage of using the materials for this time period is that it can be difficult to measure their actual effectiveness in society. How did the anarchist ideas resonate within society? How did potential recruits respond to the anarchist texts? The most accessible documents against the anarchists can be police or government documents; however, this surely does not represent the opinions of the common people.

Whereas the anarchists were relatively more enigmatic about their propaganda, or at least were precarious about the extent of administration, Islamic State aims to reach an audience as extensive as possible. They post videos, photos and news reports, practically on a daily basis and are highly active on social media platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook and Tumblr. For the chapters on global jihadism and the Islamic State, Jihadology.net will be a significant repository. This repository keeps a rather large amount of sources on Islamic State, including
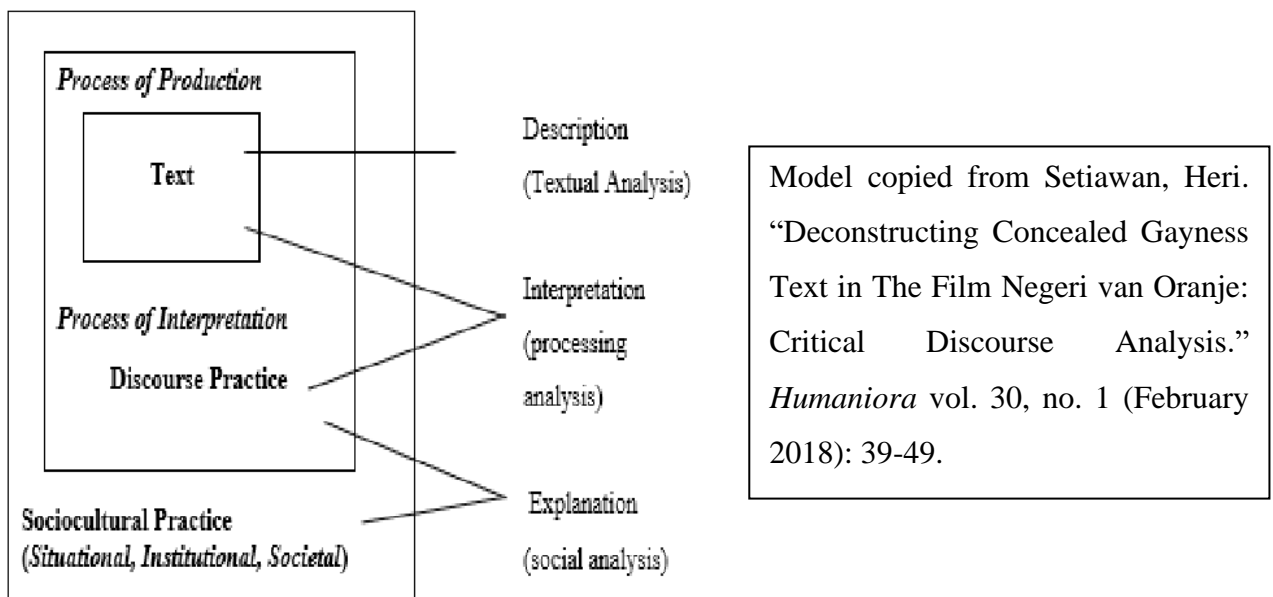
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[52] Aslan, "Global Jihadism as a Transnational Social Movement: A Theoretical Framework," 7.

[53] "Literacy," Our World in Data, last modified September 20, 2018, accessed June 13, 2019, https://ourworldindata.org/literacy.

nasheeds (a capella songs), prayers, videos, magazines and photos. The most accessible magazine is 'Dabiq,' which will be used primarily throughout this thesis. This magazine is first published in 2014, and has been translated in multiple languages, among which English. The sources from Islamic State are easy accessible, but it should be investigated whether the source comes from Islamic State itself, or someone who is not considered a member of the group and merely sympathizes with the social movement. Furthermore, the chapter on the Islamic State focusses on the propaganda by the deed. Newspapers are used to research how attacks were reported and what the goal of these attacks was. These attacks do not only construct a collective identity, but they also create an illusion of power.[54] Islamic State has somewhat similar symbols to the anarchists, however they are used in a different context and with a different meaning. They have for instance the black flag, the orange jumpsuits and tucking their trousers in their socks, to construct a collective identity and us vs. them.

When researching these primary sources, a critical discourse analysis is implemented. A critical discourse analysis provides a well-established framework to demonstrate how discourses collect dominant and taken for granted meanings.[55] This type of analysis helps to

Model copied from Setiawan, Heri. "Deconstructing Concealed Gayness Text in The Film Negeri van Oranje: Critical Discourse Analysis." *Humaniora* vol. 30, no. 1 (February 2018): 39-49.

discover the relation between language and power, or more specifically the connection between language use and unequal power relations. As Norman Fairclough demonstrates in his book *Language and Power* critical discourse analysis is able "to help increase consciousness of how

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[54] Aslan, "Global Jihadism as a Transnational Social Movement: A Theoretical Framework," 19-25.

[55] Susan Ainsworth and Cynthia Hardy, "Critical Discourse Analysis and Identity: Why Bother?" *Critical Discourse Studies* 1 (2004): 225-227.

language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation."[56] In this thesis, critical discourse analysis aims to discover the meaning and context that are being generated through communication processes. In addition, these can reveal the impacts of communication on mobilizing citizens.[57] There are three factors included in successfully doing a critical discourse analysis. First there is a textual analysis that looks for what vocabulary and grammar are used. Thereafter, is the discourse practice that researches the utterance of the text. How has the text been presented to the potential recruits? Last is the social analysis, which connects the textual source to the social context. How does this text place itself in the current socio-political situation, and what does it offer as an alternative that resonates with the potential recruits?[58]

A useful 10-step plan has been constructed by Jowett and O'Donnell to analyse the propaganda produced by the anarchists and jihadists. They define propaganda as 'a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.'[59] This roadmap to analysing propaganda can provide an answer to the following three questions. First, it is important to know to what ends a propaganda agent, working through an organization, actually reaches the audience through the media. What symbols does this propaganda agent use and can he get the desired reaction with these symbols? Secondly, what form of opposition is there to the produced propaganda, if there is any in the first place? The third question aims to clarify the successfulness of the propaganda and to what extent the goals have been achieved.[60] These three questions are taken into consideration when researching the primary sources for this thesis and aim to clarify the purpose and successfulness of the produced materials.

In order to answer the research question for this thesis, there will be three chapters. The first chapter discusses who is considered a foreign fighter. Who are we referring to as migrants who move to transnational social movements? Afterwards two main chapters will follow, each

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[56] Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power* (Londen: Routledge, 2013): 1-2.

[57] Farid Shirazi, "Social media and the social movements in the Middle East and North Africa: A critical discourse analysis," *Information Technology & People* vol. 26 issue 1 (2013): 28-32.

[58] "A Sample of CDA," SlideShare, last accessed June 5, 2019, https://www.slideshare.net/bekhalhussein/a-sample-of-cda

[59] Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, "How to Analyze Propaganda," in *Propaganda and Persuasion* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc, 2005): 269.

[60] Ibid.

is divided into four subchapters. The first chapter discusses the anarchist movement, and the second chapter discusses the Islamic State. The subchapters answer the following questions; what is the historical background of the movement? This question is answered in both cases, in order to successfully implement the social analysis for the CDA method. What was current situation in that time, and how was the specific movement offering as an alternative? What is this specific movement about? How did they construct their collective identity? The fourth subchapter provides the reader with a short overview of the findings. In the end a conclusion follows, which will answer the research question if transnational social movements, such as the Italian anarchists and Islamic State can be considered an imagined community, and how that provides the current debates on recruitment in transnational violence with new insights?

2. Who is considered a foreign fighter?

In order to answer the research question, this thesis first defines who is referred to when speaking of foreign fighters. Since most of these definitions mention the word 'conflict,' a definition of conflict is provided beforehand. According to international humanitarian law, there are two types of armed conflict. The first type is characterized as international armed conflicts, opposing two or more States, which emphasizes the confrontation on a governmental level. The second type is relevant for this paper, since it is defined by the confrontation between governmental forces and non-governmental armed groups, or between such groups only. This definition enables research to include non-state actors in transnational confrontations against state-actors.[61] In his book *From Byron to bin Laden*, Nir Arielli claims that he prefers to consider foreign fighters as foreign volunteers. Calling these types of migrants 'foreign volunteers' has been done in historiography ever since the phenomenon of foreign fighting emerged. Additionally, this preference is just based on the historiography, but is also based on other languages. Arielli explains that in different conflicts, such as the First World War and Israel's independence, people were referred to as 'voluntaires,' 'Freiwilligen' and 'mitnadvim.' It emphasizes the importance of voluntarism the freedom of choice in joining these foreign conflicts. "These were individuals who *chose* to take part in a conflict, to take orders, to put their lives at risk, and, potentially, to take the lives of others." Furthermore, defining these migrants as foreign volunteers diverges them from the millions of people who had to oblige their service, or did earn their wages with joining conflicts on foreign soil. Lastly, Arielli informs that not every foreigner who joined a conflict on foreign soil was necessarily a fighter. There is a vast variety of cases from people who joined a conflict as a non-combatant volunteer to provide aid or medical relief. Arielli exceptionally refers to migrants as foreign fighters in the context of Muslims, who have fought transnationally in modern conflicts since the 1980s.[62] However, the differences, which Arielli reveals, between foreign volunteering and foreign fighting does not necessarily exclude each other. An armed combatant who joined a foreign conflict before the 1980s can still be considered a foreign fighter. In addition, a non-armed combatant after the 1980s can still be considered a foreign fighter, without having to be a

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[61] "How is the Term "Armed Conflict" Defined in International Humanitarian Law?," International Committee of the Red Cross, accessed June 25, 2019, https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/assets/files/other/opinion-paper-armed-conflict.pdf

[62] Arielli, *From Byron to bin Laden,* 5-6.

Muslim. Foreign fighting is also not an equivalent to forced fighting. A considerable amount of Muslims went voluntarily to Islamic State territory.

A large variety of scholars has tried to define foreign fighters, each highlighting a different aspect of foreign fighting, such as degree of violence, travelling distance to the foreign conflict and the ideological background. Cerwyn Moore and Paul Tumelty define jihadists in Chechnya as "non-indigenous, non-territorialized combatants who, motivated by religion, kinship, and/or ideology rather than pecuniary reward, enter a conflict zone to participate in hostilities." An advantage of this definition is the emphasis on non-territorialized, meaning that the travel distance does not necessarily matter. Someone can be considered a foreign fighter, even when the distance means going from the Netherlands to Germany. One's ideology, religion or kinship is more significant than the financial reward. However, this definition insinuates that a potential recruit is aware of the degree of violence that is used in the specific conflict. This is not always the case, and leads to deception among the recruits. This deception will be touched upon in the chapter on global jihadism.[63] The United Nations Security Council simultaneously handles a violence focussed definition and describes foreign fighters as "individuals who travel to a State other than their State of residence or nationality for the purpose of the perpetration, planning or preparation of, or participation in, terrorist acts or the providing or receiving of terrorist training, including in connection with armed conflict". This definition provokes an image of every foreign fighter being a terrorist. It ignores the people who left to conflicts on foreign soil to provide aid, for instance as a nurse.[64] David Malet defines foreign fighters as 'non-citizens of conflict states who join insurgencies during civil conflicts.'[65] This seems a rather applicable definition, as it does include armed and non-armed combatants; however, it excludes the anarchist movement, or migrants similar to the anarchists. As the chapter on anarchism will demonstrate, the Italian anarchists were not necessarily leaving their marks in one conflict state. They were fighting against governments in general, hence the movement was spreading globally. Thus, this thesis needs a more encompassing definition on foreign fighting.

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[63] Malet, "Foreign Fighter Mobilization and Persistence in a Global Context," 456.

[64] "Foreign terrorist fighters," Security Council Counter-terrorism Committee, accessed on December 8, 2018, https://www.un.org/sc/ctc/focus-areas/foreign-terrorist-fighters/

[65] Jeanine de Roy van Zuijdewijn, "The Foreign Fighters Threat: What History Can (not) Tell Us," *Perspective on Terrorism,* vol. 8 (October 2014): 59-73.

The International Centre for Counter-terrorism provides the most inclusive definition on foreign fighters. It defines foreign fighters as "individuals that have for a variety of reasons and with different (ideological) backgrounds joined an armed conflict abroad" This definition includes every individual, armed or non-armed, that has left to a conflict - whether that be a state, or a greater battle – regardless of their personal motivations.[66] This definition is handled throughout the thesis, since it includes both ideological anarchist foreign fighters and religious jihad foreign fighters. It is not applicable to one specific case study as some of the other mentioned definitions, but can be applied to any type of foreign fighters.

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[66] ICCT, "Foreign Fighters."

3. Europe and transnational Italian anarchism

Anarchism is defined by the Cambridge dictionary as following: "the political belief that there should be little, or no formal, or official organization to society, but that people should work freely together."[67] The movement still exists to this day, and their main ideology is opposing all forms of governmental control.

3.1 Historical background

Anarchism is one of the oldest political philosophies in the world, but has changed and reinvented itself many times.[68] It is an example of a theory, which evolved into a social movement.[69] Italian anarchism started to develop itself in the 1860s in the aftermath of the Risorgimento (1820-1870), a period in Italian history that consisted of national insurgencies and resulted in political unification in Italy. It is unanimously agreed upon that the Risorgimento caused a schism between 'legal Italy' and 'real Italy.' After this period, the House of Savoy had ended up as ruling party, due to loyal support from the conservative liberals. The House of Savoy predominantly conducted policies, which were in favor of the economic and social elite.[70] Socialists, such as Filippo Turati and Antonio Gramsci, started to show their dissatisfaction to the new state, and claimed that the libertarian tradition is one of the pathological symptoms of the ill-fated post-Risorgimento state. According Turati and Gramsci, liberal Italy was afflicted with a severe problem: the divisions between different regions, which were ruled by one political elite that was hardly representative of the wishes of the vast majority of the Italian population. Turati and Gramsci, despite their differences in theories, were both

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[67]   "Anarchism,"   Cambridge   Dictionary,   accessed   June   18,   2019, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/anarchism

[68] Matthew S. Adams, "Preface," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism,* ed. Matthew S. Adams (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): xi.

[69] Ersel Aydinli, "Before Jihadists There Were Anarchists: A Failed Case of Transnational Violence," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 31:10 (2008): 904.

[70] Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892,* 11.

aiming for a socialist revolution, but remained in their circle of trust.[71] When Giuseppe Ferrari and Carlo Pisacane joined these theorists, it was the beginning of a socialist revolution in Italy.[72]

The ideas of Pisacane were to become the core ideas of anarchism. He was influenced by the ideas of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, a French anarchist, a Frenchmen whom is considered the founder of modern anarchism with his work *Qu'est-ce que la propriété? Recherche sur le principe du droit et du gouvernement.* In this work Proudhon describes how property causes all forms of social inequality.[73] Pisacane continued on the ideas of Proudhon and he considered the Risorgimento as the potential catalyser for a socialist revolution. Pisacane wrote *Testamento Politico* in 1857, in which he clarified the anarchist principles according to his believing. "My political principles are sufficiently known. I believe to socialism, but to a socialism different from the French systems (…): it is the inevitable and near future of Italy and perhaps even the whole of Europe (…). Socialism, of which I speak, can be defined in these two words: freedom and association." [74] Furthermore, Pisacane was the theorist who advanced the ideas on 'propaganda by the deed,' a strategy of propaganda that consists of political actions that are meant to be commendable to others and potentially can play as stimulant.[75] Pisacane describes propaganda by the deed as following in his Testamento. "Ideas spring from deeds and not the other way around; the people will not be free until it is educated but it will be well educated once free (…) The flash of Milano's bayonet was a more effective propaganda than a thousand volumes penned by doctrinarians who are the real blight upon our country and the entire world."[76] Pisacane was one of the theorists that encouraged these assasinations; however, not every anarchistic theorist was in favour of these methods.[77]

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[71] Levy, *Gramsci and the Anarchists*, 1-3.

[72] Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892,* 11.

[73] Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *What is Property? An Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of Government* (1876). Online access via The Anarchist Library, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/pierre-joseph-proudhon-what-is-property-an-inquiry-into-the-principle-of-right-and-of-governmen

[74] Carlo Pisacane, "*Testamento Politico*" (1857). Online access via http://www.legroma.osservatoriodeilaici.com/wpress_it_IT_292XXL/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Pisacane081.pdf

[75] Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892,* 11-13.

[76] Carlo Pisacane, "*Testamento Politico*" (1857). Online access via http://www.legroma.osservatoriodeilaici.com/wpress_it_IT_292XXL/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/Pisacane081.pdf

[77] Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892,* 11-13.

Anarchism did not obtain extensive public attention until the late nineteenth century when they set off a series of terroristic attacks, such as bombings and assassinations. [78] The discontent towards the House of Savoy was ever increasing, stimulating people to join socio-political movements. The socialist revolutionary ideas of Mikhail Bakunin, which were introduced in the 1860s to Italy, gained popularity. It was offering a doctrine to the Italian people to overthrow their government, which had proven itself tyrannous. Taxes were disproportionate and were only to benefit the corrupt government. Magistrates, civil officers, were bought and sold with the greatest facility and for a low price. Public security barely existed and was ineffective. The government was considered as shamelessly corrupt, resulting in detest from the public. A variety of Italian anarchists was wandering around Europe, since they were no longer safe in Italy when publicly criticizing the government. They joined the International Anarchist Conference in order to establish an Italian anarchist movement, so they could restore the freedom for the people.[79]

3.2 Who were the anarchists?

"Anarchists are rebels; and, in all time, among rebels some have been generous, some violent, some perverse. There are, idealist anarchists, and criminal ones; the evil is that the latter are generally the most conspicuous." – Francesco S. Nitti[80]

In the quote above an Italian politician, Francesco S. Nitti, speaks on the violent character of the Italian anarchists in November 1898, the pinnacle years of the anarchists. He wrote an article on the Italian anarchists, four years after the assassination of the French President Carnot by Sante Caserio. Nitti describes the acts and attacks from the Italian anarchists as dreadful deeds that shame the rest of civilized Italy. "It is not peculiar to Italy. On the contrary, it was imported to Italy about thrity years ago by Mikhail Bakunin, and the Italian workmen who abandon themselves most readily to anarchy are those who live *á l'etranger* (abroad). There is no nation which is exempt from anarchy."[81] Nitti states here that anarchy is an imported product in Italy

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[78] Adams, "Preface," xi.

[79] G. M. Fiamingo, "Italian Anarchism," *The Open Court* vol. 13 (1899): 485-492.

[80] Francesco S. Nitti on "Italian Anarchists," November 1898, The Anarchist Library.

[81] Ibid.

and is not to be affiliated with Italians.[82] Mikhail Bakunin and Errico Malatesta are often considered as prominent leaders of the Italian anarchist movement. A remarkable and particular characteristic of the anarchist movement is the disconnection between the core theorists, whom mostly disagreed with the use of violence, and the social outliers. The latter group was often driven by oppression and scarcity, and often committed the terroristic attacks. The members saw the anarchist ideology as the solution for their resentment towards the Italian government, and committed terroristic attacks in its name.[83]

Bakunin, the Russian anarchist that Nitti refers to as the one who imported anarchism to Italy, reinforced and expanded the ideas of Pisacane. Bakunin called for a radical transformation of society along antiauthoritarian lines.[84] He separated anarchism from other social movements at the time, by demonstrating that the other movements lack certain crucial element to achieve a better world. "I hate communism, because it is the negation of liberty and because for me humanity is unthinkable without liberty. I am not a communist, because communism concentrates and swallows up in itself for the benefit of the State all the forces of society, because it inevitably leads to the concentration of property in the hands of the State."[85] He distanced himself with these critiques from the communist and socialist movement.

Bakunin wrote a book *God and the State*, which can be considered one of the leading guides to the anarchist ideology. In this book, he addresses the emptiness of believing in a divine authority, and more specific the earthly authorities that are founded upon this divine authority. "Government by science is becoming as impossible as that of divine right, wealth, or brute force. All powers are henceforth to be submitted to pitiless criticism. Men in whom the sentiment of equality is born suffer themselves no longer to be governed; they learn to govern themselves."[86] In this quote, Bakunin demonstrates how any shape or form of governance is wrong. In order to achieve an equal society, people need to be able to govern themselves according to the natural laws. Furthermore, Bakunin quotes Voltaire and his statement of how

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[82] Francesco S. Nitti on "Italian Anarchists," November 1898, The Anarchist Library.

[83] Kassel, "Terrorism and the International Anarchist Movement of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," 237-238.

[84] Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892,* 11-13.

[85] Edward Hallett Carr, *Mikhail Bakunin* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1975): 341.

[86] Mikhail Bakunin, *God and the State,* 1882. Accessed via the Anarchist Library.

religion has been invented by governments to oppress people.[87] ""If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him." For, you understand, "the people must have a religion." That is the safety-valve."[88] Bakunin believed it was relevant to recruit people from higher classes into the anarchist movement, since they had more influence in overthrowing the political system. He exchanged ideas and developed relationships in Italy after his arrival in January 11, 1864, especially in the southern part of Italy. He created a radical and autonomous political doctrine. The people recruited in this area would eventually constitute the core of his Neapolitan following and form the first generation of Bakuninist anarchists in Italy.[89] From 1864 onwards, there was a significant expansion of working associations in Italy, due to the growing industrialization. In southern Italy, most of the working class were landless peasants who had already engaged in several failed insurrections against their enlightened rulers.[90] As Nitti describes, "The movement of the International spread rapidly. Associations were formed everywhere, accompanying the larger organization."[91] The working associations, *società operaie*, organized themselves per specific profession and the anarchists were able to gain support from these associations. In the end the first Italian anarchist organization *Federazione Operaia Napoletana* was founded in 1874 in southern Italy.[92] Within this anarchist organization, Bakunin became close friends with Carlo Cafiero and Errico Malatesta, two men who would become of great significance in the upcoming years of the Italian anarchist movement.[93]

3.3 Constructing a collective identity

The anarchists produced a large variety of documents to gain a widespread following. The larger frame to what the Italian anarchists speak of is the poverty and oppression caused by the government. Influenced by the ideas of Bakunin, in cooperation with Carlo Gambuzzi and

[87] "An Anarchist FAQ," The Anarchist Library, last modified June 18, 2009, accessed June 1, 2019, https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/the-anarchist-faq-editorial-collective-an-anarchist-faq-09-17

[88] Mikhail Bakunin, *God and the State,* 1882. Accessed via the Anarchist Library.

[89] Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892,* 11-13.

[90] Vittorio Sergi, "Anarchism in Italy," *International Encyclopedia of Revolution and Protest* (2009): 129-130.

[91] Francesco S. Nitti on "Italian Anarchists," November 1898, accessed via The Anarchist Library.

[92] Sergi, "Anarchism in Italy," 129-130.

[93] Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892,* 11-13.

Stefano Caporosso, the first anarchist journal *Eguaglianza* was founded in Naples in 1869.[94] It was not an immediate successful tool to gain followers, since the journal did not have many readers.[95] As anarchy started to spread across Italy, the *Federazione Operaia Napoletana* and many smaller organizations joined the communist International Workingmen's Association, also known as the First International.[96] This move led to the internationalization of Italian anarchism and can be considered the turning point in Italian anarchism in becoming a transnational social movement.[97]

Starting in the second half of the nineteenth century and throughout the first half of the twentieth century, millions of Italians were migrating to the United States of America and Latin America. There was significant support in the United States, Argentina and Brazil to build a rather impressive anarchist press and financially support other anarchist organizations. Some of the most important Italian periodicals were printed and published in New York, such as *Il Martello* in 1918 and *l'Adunata dei Refrattari* in 1922.[98] These periodicals can be considered as organs, which means that the contributions tended to converge the anarchists, even when there was no formal binding organization.[99] The exchange of these periodicals was facilitated thanks to the diversity of linguistic segments in the transnational anarchist movement. By moving around in different countries and knowing the language, militants made it possible to write translations and correspondences from everywhere to newspapers in their own language. In addition, when anarchists were placed into exile, they could nourish their knowledge on anarchism by meeting with new trade unions and developments in other countries.[100] The anarchist press was the carrier of all anarchistic ideas, either nationally as internationally.[101] Regardless of the functioning of the anarchistic press, state leaders still aimed to decrease the influence of the anarchists with law enforcement. In a Dutch newspaper *de Grondwet* in 1908 the author mentions the printing of *La Questione Sociale* in New York has been prohibited by

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[94] Sergi, "Anarchism in Italy," 129-132.

[95] Francesco S. Nitti on "Italian Anarchists," November 1898, accessed via The Anarchist Library.

[96] Sergi, "Anarchism in Italy," 129-130.

[97] Turcado, "Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1885-1915," 407.

[98] Sergi, "Anarchism in Italy," 129-132.

[99] Turcado, "Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1885-1915," 407-410.

[100] Turcado, "Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1885-1915," 410-415.

[101] Turcado, "Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1885-1915," 407-410.

President Roosevelt.[102] As Nitti mentions in his article; "Italy has enacted a few laws against anarchists, which sometimes have been well, and often poorly enforced."[103] Furthermore, during Italy's colonial war in Libya, there were nationwide strikes against governmental oppression, which led again to an individualist terrorist attacks against the military and politicians.[104]

When the Italian section of the First International held their first meeting with the anarchists, Cafiero supported the anarchist position against the Marxist trends in the International. This eventually eliminated the anarchist movement out of the First International. Consequently, the anarchists lacked a common organizational project when the First International was no longer their link. Combining this organizational deficiency with substantial governmental suppression, an increasing amount of terrorist attacks on the European continent took place, as a result of the anarchistic 'propaganda by the deed'-strategy.[105] In the introduction of this thesis, the assassinations on leaders of Europe were mentioned, but the attacks went further than this. They planned bombings, and executed these bombings by using dynamite, one of the first widely available weapons to mass-destruction. Italian anarchists strategically placed these bombs at the sites of bourgeois sociability, such as a piazza in Rome and an opera house in Barcelona.[106] These bombings did not only take place in Europe, but also on high-profile locations in the United States, such as Wall Street in Manhattan, New York; just by this attack 38 people died.[107] A variety of newspapers in the United States mentioned other attacks throughout the country, in places as Washington and Philadelphia.[108] With these attacks, the Italian anarchists suited the action to the propaganda of the word. They did not just express their dissatisfaction through pamphlets, but now they picked up arms to fight the system. As Neville Bolt demonstrates in his article on propaganda of the deed, once this meets the words,

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[102] "Op last van den president," De Grondwet, Dutch newspaper published on March 31, 1908, accessed via Delpher.

[103] Francesco S. Nitti on "Italian Anarchists," November 1898, accessed via The Anarchist Library.

[104] Sergi, "Anarchism in Italy," 129-130.

[105] Ibid.

[106] The New York Times, "The First Global Terrorists Were Anarchists in the 1890s."

[107] "The Mysterious Wall Street Bombing, 95 Years Ago," History Stories, History, last modified on March 7, 2019, last accessed on June 26, 2019, https://www.history.com/news/the-mysterious-wall-street-bombing-95-years-ago.

[108] Poster on "The Trail of the Terrorist Bombs," images accessed via Wikipedia "1919 United States anarchist bombings."

it turns into successful political marketing. It can lead to convincing potential recruits to join the fight. When the deed resonates with the texts, the insurgency movement is likely to grow, since they have taken their propaganda further on the collective memory that has been constructed by the texts.[109] Prominent leaders of the Italian anarchist movement, such as Malatesta, disapproved of these attacks.[110]

The doctrine of anarchism evolved from the development of the enlightenment when Europe was drastically changed by the spread Industrial Revolution. In order to discard all forms of state power, anarchists stated that the dissolution of the capitalist order would only be reached by the uprising of the lower classes. Bakunin stimulated the idea of the use of violence to achieve this social revolution. The propaganda of the deed strategy became an official strategy in 1881 during the International Anarchist Congress in Londen. This is considered the turning point among the majority of anarchist theorists, who were first opposing violence and now accepted it.[111] As Peter Kropotkin states in his pamphlet *The Spirit of Revolt* the resentment of the lower classes against the traditional class system is worsening. They need a new, more effective, strategy to achieve an equal society. "Men of integrity for whom the act is one with the idea, for whom prison, exile and death are preferable to a life contrary to their principles, intrepid souls who know that it is necessary to *dare* in order to succeed."[112] He stimulates people to take action against their government, by illustrating the necessity of violence. According to Kropotkin, even one act can make a difference. "One such act may, in a few days, make more propaganda than thousands of pamphlets."[113]

Malatesta did not necessarily promote violence, but he described it as self-defence of the people against their oppressors. "I think that the oppressed are always in a state of legitimate self-defence, and have always the right to attack the oppressors."[114] Remarkably, Malatesta justifies these attacks as a holy war, a frame this thesis will further discuss in the chapter on

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[109] Bolt "Propaganda of the Deed and the Irish Republican Brotherhood From the Politics of 'Shock and Awe' to the 'Imagined Political Community,' 48-49.

[110] Sergi, "Anarchism in Italy," 129-130.

[111] Kassel, "Terrorism and the International Anarchist Movement of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," 237-241.

[112] Peter Kropotkin on "The Spirit of Revolt," 1880. Accessed via the Anarchist Library.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Errico Malatesta, "Anarchists, the War and Their Principles," 1914-1931. Accessed via the Anarchist Library.

global jihadism. "I admit, therefore, that there are wars that are necessary, holy wars: and these wars of liberation, such as are generally civil wars, i.e. revolutions."[115] In this pamphlet, he does not promote violence, but he explains it is not always unavoidable. By describing violence as self-defence, it might enable people to sympathize more with the movement, since there is no violence used without a legitimate reason.

Remarkably, there was also praise and support for the assassinations of political leaders. In a Dutch anarchist newspaper, *Recht voor Allen*, fellow anarchists claim the assassination on Canovas, prime minister of Spain, was justified due to his harsh repression on the Spanish people. "Canovas was a tyrant, a hangman, surely, nobody had something to say against him."[116] In another edition of this newspaper, the authors claim Michele Angiolillo, the Italian anarchist, saved people by assassinating Canovas. "The Italian anarchists have committed work of solidarity, to protect people from suffering and hunger."[117] These quotes above show there was an increasing resentment towards European governments throughout the continent. As this example shows, the Dutch author criticised the Spanish prime minister and applauded the man who ended his rule. In spite of the above-mentioned internal division between the anarchist theorists and the members who committed the individual attacks, the movement continued together. The propaganda released by the movement, such as the periodicals and songs, as well as the individual terrorist attacks, carried the anarchist message.

While the paragraphs above have demonstrated the relevance of the documents that were spread during the peaking years of Italian anarchism, it is important to research what the message was in these periodicals, songs and pamphlets. In the vast majority of the researched materials, the wrongdoings of a government to the common people are mentioned. The anarchists often clearly state a difference between the inner and outer group, us vs. them. In an edition of the periodical *Freedom*, an anarchist communist periodical that was published in 1919, the authors mention "They (other periodicals) are, however, either liberal in the best sense of the word, Bolshevik, or Socialist, and we are none of these, even if we look with a kindly eye on all of them. We are Anarchists, because we see in the State an enemy of liberty and

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[115] Errico Malatesta, "Anarchists, the War and Their Principles," 1914-1931. Accessed via the Anarchist Library.

[116] "De eerste minister in Spanje," Recht voor Allen, Dutch newspaper published on August 14, 1898. Accessed via Delpher.

[117] "Spaar vrouw, noch kind, noch vader, noch moeder!" Recht voor Allen, Dutch newspaper, published on September 15, 1897, accessed via Delpher.

human progress (…)."[118] Referring to the movement as 'we' creates a sense of belonging for everyone in the group and creates inclusiveness and coherency. Likewise, Malatesta creates an inner and outer group in his pamphlets. In *Anarchists, the War and their Principles* Malatesta states; "I would never have believed it possible that Socialists, even Social Democrats, would applaud and voluntarily take part, either on the side of the Germans or on the Allies, in a war like the one that is at present devastating Europe."[119] He is referring to the First World War in this pamphlet, and touches upon the disappointment of socialism. However, he also concludes some of the anarchists are making the same mistakes and he is convincing his fellow anarchists to rise above that. "But what is there to say when the same is done by Anarchists? (…) Let us return to our principles."[120] Malatesta explains further, how the principles of the anarchists are similar when it comes to fighting, however he only thinks fighting is justice when it comes to human emancipation. "I am not a "pacifist." I fight, as we all do, for the triumph of peace and of fraternity amongst all human beings; but I know that a desire not to fight can only be fulfilled when neither side wants to, and that so long as men will be found who want to violate the liberties of others, it is incumbent on these others to defend themselves if they do not wish to be eternally beaten (…)."[121] Malatesta compares the Socialists to the bourgeois, which will eventually lead again to the oppression of the common people.[122] These quotes do not only demonstrate how addressing the members as 'we' and the enemies as 'them' creates an inner and outer group, but also clarify the message the Italian anarchists carry. The state is the enemy that deprives their people of liberty. The anarchists have a set of principles and ethics that should set people free from the state oppression. They offered an alternative to the current socio-political and economic problems, by wanting to create an equal society.

In addition to the text, the Italian anarchists had songs to include more people to join their ideological movement. An important songwriter of the Italian anarchist movement was Pietro Gori. In his songs, he expressed the ambitions and principles of the movement. In this specific song, *Addio Lugano Bella* (Goodbye beautiful Lugano) Gori speaks to the audience

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[118] "To our Readers," Freedom, Italian anarchist newspaper printed in New York in 1919, accessed via Library of Congress.

[119] Errico Malatesta, "Anarchists, the War and Their Principles," 1914-1931. Accessed via the Anarchist Library.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid.

with 'us' and 'we,' and speaks about the government as 'you' and 'them.' "It's for you exploited, for you workers, that we are chained like malefactors, but our mind is just idea of love."[123] In addition, he warns the bourgeois that one day in the future, they will be punished for their oppression against the people. "Bourgeois republic one day will be ashamed, we now accuse you ahead the future."[124] By explaining the historical faults made by the government, it offers a projection for the present and the future. These mistakes can turn into a symbol or metaphor that communicates the governmental wrongdoings and will make people avert against the government again.[125] In a verse later in this particular song, he calls up to collective action by the anarchists, by declaring a war to the bourgeois. "Driven relentlessly, we walk from land to land, to preach peace and to banish war, peace for the oppressed, war to the oppressors."[126] These songs are a powerful way of recruiting people to join the Italian anarchist movement. Similar to the pamphlets and periodicals, the addressing in the songs divides an inner and outer group, by creating us vs. them. Thereafter, it identifies and vilifies the government as the enemy, who has put the suffering to the inner group. Lastly, it calls to collective action, by instructing the inner group to come together and fight the enemy.

In another song written by Gori, *Ballata di Sante Caserio* he handles a similar structure. As the title suggests, it is a ballad for Sante Caserio, an Italian anarchist who assassinated the French president Carnot. Caserio ended up being sentenced to the guillotine. In the ballad, Gori places Caserio almost on a pedestal, by describing him as kind and gentle, and someone who gave his life for the greater good. "In memory of a young brave and strong, who for your love defied death (…) you gave all your heart, all your hope."[127] Gori praises Caserio for his courage and his actions to support the anarchist ideology. Besides songs, symbols played an important

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[123] "Addio Lugano Bella," Italian anarchist song written by Pietro Gori in 1895. Lyrics accessed via Italy Heritage and YouTube.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Bolt "Propaganda of the Deed and the Irish Republican Brotherhood From the Politics of 'Shock and Awe' to the 'Imagined Political Community,' 50.

[126] "Addio Lugano Bella," anarchist song written by Pietro Gori in 1895. Lyrics accessed via Italy Heritage and YouTube.

[127] "La balata di Sante Caserio," a song written by Pietro Gori, accessed via Anti War Songs, lyrics via YouTube.

role in the collective identity of anarchists. The black flag was one of these symbols and symbolizes the absence of a government, or simply no state. The black flag was characterizing for the Italian anarchists. The picture on the right shows *El Batallón de la Muerte o Centuria Malatesta,* which was one of the best-known international anarchist organizations. The core of this group were banished Italians whom had moved to France.[128] Another symbol of solidarity is the raised clenched fist in the air, which appears in many posters of the anarchists. This symbol was also used in the Spanish Civil War as an anti-fascist symbol, as contrast to the open-palmed Roman salute that the fascists had adopted. The clenched fist shows how each finger, each element of the hand, may be fragile, but clenched together makes a strong, powerful fist.[129] This can be translated to the working class. Each person may be fragile and individually stands no chance against the government, but coming together in working associations they can become powerful.

3.4 Findings

The subchapter above demonstrates that the anarchists relied mainly on the spreading of texts, such as pamphlets and periodicals, songs and symbols, accompanied with their propaganda by the deed. New social movement theory demonstrates how non-economic sources of collective identity can result in successful mobilization and collective action. As the introduction mentioned, the classical Marxist theory was no longer sufficient in explaining social movements. If the anarchists were to be described by the classical Marxist theory, the main focus would be on economic equality and the class struggle. However, the Italian anarchists had more to strive for than just economic equality. They were against communism, since this

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[128] "Batallón de la Muerte," Brigadas Internacionales, accessed June 20, 2019, http://vexi.cat/annasebas/bi_centuria_malatesta.htm

[129] "What's in a clenched fist?" The Guarian, last modified May 30, 2006, accessed June 17, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/film/2006/may/30/cannes2006.cannesfilmfestival

would eventually only lead to empowerment of the government, whereas all they wanted was to abolish state control in every shape and form. As Bakunin describes in *God and the State*, the government went even so far to create religion as a tool to oppress people. The Italian anarchists strategically framed the governments as the enemy, an entity that has put the common people through all their suffering. In a variety of documents, the anarchists use words such as poverty, slavery, oppression and suffering. They present a frame to potential recruits and describe the current society as unfair and unjust. According to the anarchists, the situation in countries is not only unequal based on economic relations, but the state benefits of the expenses of the lower classes in a social, political and economic way. Government and higher classes are prospering, while the well-being of the lower working classes is ever declining. They framed the government as the outer group and the enemy that created the suffering in society. This is the unjust situation according to the Italian anarchists, and was the first step for the anarchists to construct a collective identity.

The anarchists offered an alternative to the lower classes, by wanting to abolish the state. They created an inner group, their fellow anarchists, by referring to the potential recruits as 'us' and 'we.' To this inner group, they presented anarchy as the ideology that was able to fix the problems in society. Their propaganda was presented to potential recruits through periodicals, songs and symbols. In these documents, they displayed the grievances held against the outer group, such as inequality, poverty and oppression. When the Italian anarchists started to establish anarchist presses around the anarchist community, that located itself in different parts of the world, the audience to target potential recruits enlarged. By recruiting members from different countries, the Italian anarchist movement was able to translate their periodicals in a large variety of languages. With the help of these international periodicals and pamphlets, the Italian anarchist started spreading their message globally. They kept referring to the unjust situation, and applauded the anarchists that helped the anarchist cause, as we saw with the attack by Angiolillo on Spanish prime minister Canovas.

Besides textual recruiting, the Italian anarchists had a large variety of symbols and songs in their recruitment strategies. They increased the amount of potential recruits, by not addressing one specific group in society. They framed the collective grievances as something that every member in society was a victim of, which creates a sense of solidarity. Furthermore, they used symbols such as the clenched fist to underline this solidarity within the anarchist community. In addition to the symbols that resembled the inner group, they also used symbols that stood for the outer group. For instance, the black flag was used as a protest to the modern nation-state and their accompanying institutions. The anarchist songs are useful primary

sources that clearly demonstrate the grievances and framing within the anarchist movement. They mention the unjust situation, and who is suffering and who is benefiting from this situation. They create a collective identity, as well as a call for collective action. Multiple songs ended with the suggestion to join the movement and end the suffering and oppression caused by the state. These elements have been categorized as propaganda of the word, and combining these with propaganda by the deed results in successful political marketing. The effects of the recruitment by the Italian anarchists can be traced down by the amount of members they had gained. At one point, between 1919-1921, the Italian anarchist movement had around 20,000 members.[130] New social movement theory has demonstrated in this chapter, that the Italian anarchists had successfully mobilized recruits with by emphasizing the structural roots of their collective grievances and highlighting their collective identity. As critical discourse analysis has proven is that the Italian anarchists have influenced the potential recruits to join their battle against the state, by framing their texts in a way that makes the anarchists dominant over the potential recruits.

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[130] "1918-1921: The Italian Factory occupations and Biennio Rosso," Libcom, last modified September 10, 2006, accessed June 5, 2019, http://libcom.org/history/articles/italy-factory-occupations-1920

4. Islamic State and global jihadism

Jihad has two definitions. The first defines jihad as a religious struggle against the evil in yourself or in a society. The second definition is translated to the holy war fought by Muslims against people who are considered a threat to Islam.[131] This illustrates that the meaning of jihad is dependent to its context. It refers to the human struggle to promote what is right and to prevent what is wrong. It can mean the inner jihad, to strive to become a good Muslim, or it can refer to the outer jihad, which refers to actual fighting for Islam, such as in Islamic State.[132] Jihad is translated to 'striving,' 'exerting' or 'fighting.' It expresses the struggle for the moral betterment of the Islamic community, the *ummah*.[133] This thesis focusses on outer jihad.

4.1 Historical background

In order to successfully implement a critical discourse analysis, this subchapter first discusses the historical background of the Islamic State and the social context it was born in. Before Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant was founded, global jihadism had manifested itself in other countries and conflicts.[134] The first time large-scale foreign recruitment of fighters, called the *mujahideen,* took place was in the Soviet-Afghan War in 1979 to 1989. Mujahideen translates to 'those who engage in jihad' or 'holy warriors.' The Soviet-Union invaded Afghanistan on December 24, 1979 to protect the communist government in Kabul from the growing resistance in society against this government. An extensive network consisting of religious schools was set-up in Pakistan, and went beyond, encouraging foreigners to travel to Afghanistan to fight for jihad and to protect the people in Afghanistan. Framing the war as protecting the people from Afghanistan, stimulated Muslims from other various places in the world to go to Afghanistan and show their support. In addition, the geopolitical rivarly between the communist Soviet-Union and the capitalist United States of America, stimulated non-communist countries

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[131]   "Jihad,"   Cambridge   Dictionary,   accessed   June   10,   2019, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/jihad

[132] "Jihad," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed June 10, 2019, https://www.britannica.com/topic/jihad

[133]   "Jihad,"   Oxford   Islamic   Studies   Online,   accessed   June   10,   2019, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1199

[134] ISIL, in the rest of this thesis referred to as the Islamic State.

to support the mujahideen with fundings, military trainings and weapons. It was strategically framed as an ideological war on communism, and a religious war to protect Islam.[135] Abdullah Azzam was a prominent figure in this war and introduced the *foreign fighting doctrine*, a doctrine different from the traditional orthodox jihad regime. He claimed it was obligatory for Muslims to protect and defend their fellow believers, by joining the jihad.[136] "What is the matter with the mothers, that one of them does not send forward one her sons in the Path of Allah, that he might be a pride for her in this world, and a treasure for her in the Hereafter through his intercession? And what is the matter with the fathers that they do not urge one of their, so that he can grow up in the rearing-ground of heroes, and the lands of men, and the grounds of battle?"[137] This already set-up a frame for future conflicts, that it was the duty of Muslims to protect their fellow believers in other parts of the world. Together with Osama bin Laden, a young wealthy individual with relevant connections to other funding networks, Azzam founded Maktab al Khidamat, the movement that eventually evolved into al-Qaeda in 1988.[138] Between the ending of the Soviet-Afghan War and the start of the Syrian Civil War, global jihadism and al-Qaeda had reinvented and relocated itself to multiple locations, such as Bosnia, Chechnya and Iraq. However, the establishment of the Islamic State is one of the most extreme manifestations of a response to the historical oppression of Muslims yet.

While it may seem to some people that Islamic State appeared out of the blue, it is clear that the organization was born out of the war in Iraq (2003-2011), the Arab Spring (2010) and the Syrian Civil War (2011-present).[139] The Arab Spring broke out with the self-immolation of Mohamed Bouazizi in Tunisia and the following protests against the regimes in the Middle East. In March 2011 the effects of this Arab Spring had spilt over to Syria.[140] Due to the lack of freedoms and economic misfortunes, there was an increasing resentment from the Syrian

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[135] Maria Galperin Donnely, "Foreign Fighters in History," *Center for Strategic & International Studies,* (2017): 3.

[136] Muhammid Haniff Hassen, *Father of Jihad: The Abd Allah Azzams Jihad Ideas and Implications to National Security* (Hackensack, NJ: Imperial College Press, 2014): no page number.

[137] "Join the Caravan," Internet Archives, accessed April 28, 2019 https://archive.org/stream/JoinTheCaravan/JoinTheCaravan_djvu.txt.

[138] "Osama bin Laden," History, last modified December 16, 2009, accessed April 28, 2019, https://www.history.com/topics/21st-century/osama-bin-laden

[139] Willem Theo Oosterveld and Willem Bloem, "The Rise and Fall of ISIS: from Evitability to Inevitability," *The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies* (2017): 5-6.

[140] Donnely, "Foreign Fighters in History," 19.

people towards the Syrian government lead by president Bashar al-Assad. The people demanded president al-Assad to leave. Fuel was added to the fire when protesters were brutally repressed.[141] Security forces had opened fire on a crowd of protesters, an attack initiated by the Syrian government. [142] A thirteen-year old boy was tortured and killed during this attack, increasing the tensions between the Syrian government and its people.[143] To intensify the national pressure, the government of al-Assad had decided to release the ex-fighters who had participated in the war in Iraq. These people had been imprisoned in Syria when they attempted to leave Iraq. Consequently, these releases resulted in the reactivation of international fighting networks. These networks were the networks of the core of al-Qaeda. The ex-fighters advocated the freedom of their fellow fighters who were still imprisoned in other parts of Syria. 'Breaking the Walls' was the campaign which was released in July 2012, was supposed to realize this release. It caused eight major prison breaks throughout the country, which meant the release of more than 500 prisoners detained during the Iraq War. Denying and ignoring the people's demands, resulted in the break out of the Syrian Civil War. President al-Assad claimed to protect his people from these fighters to justify his increasingly harsh way of ruling. He started to frame every protester against his regime as a terrorist and an Islamic extremist.[144] Protesters were either imprisoned, or killed. [145] The civil war interrupted over forty years of political stability in Syria.

4.2 Who are the (global) jihadists?

In order to know how the Islamic State has constructed a collective identity, it is important to know who they are, and what their message is. How have they framed the unjust situation in order to gain a more widespread following? The Islamic State is one of the most extreme manifestations of a Muslim response to a political situation in history. The Islamic State can be considered much more than just a transnational social movement that is unacknowledged by

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[141] "Syria's civil war explained from the beginning," Middle East, last modified April 14 2018, accessed February 15, 2019, https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/syria-civil-war-explained-160505084119966.html

[142] Donnely, "Foreign Fighters in History," 19.

[143] Al Jazeera Middle East, "Syria's civil war explained from the beginning."

[144] Donnely, "Foreign Fighters in History," 19-20.

[145] Al Jazeera Middle East, "Syria's civil war explained from the beginning."

the international political community. Whereas a social movement is usually considered as a group of people working together to reach a specific goal, Islamic State possesses territory, a population and a state apparatus, which can also be considered the characteristics of a state.[146] Comparable to the Soviet-Afghan war, the Syrian Civil war was not simply a conflict occurring on a national level only. Geopolitical competition and international interventions have been of great influence on the development of the Syrian Civil War. Russia served as a significant allie for Syria, while the United States supported anti-Assad rebel groups with arms. Turkey has launched several operations against the Islamic State, and Israel has carried out air raids inside Syria.[147] Remarkably, this international intervention is not as coordinated and cooperative as the interventions during the Soviet-Afghan War. During the war in Afghanistan, all the intervening countries were fighting against one enemy, the communist Soviet-Union. In Syria multiple countries pull on multiple strings. Due to the conflict of interests that come along with these international interventions, the Syrian Civil War is escalating into a conflict with no adjacent end in sight. The Islamic State was born out of this multiple party conflict in Syria, by claiming they were protecting the Syrian people against the al-Assad regime and the harm this regime was doing in society.

The aftermath of the Arab Spring in Syria offered al-Qaeda a plethora of examples to describe the Syrian government as "half-baked, hijacked, derailed, or ultimately misguided."[148] An increasing amount of jihadist movements got involved in Syria, next to al-Qaeda, forming a challenge for the latter organization. It became clear al-Qaeda was no longer the leading force among all the different jihadist movements involved. As a response to the weakening position of al-Qaeda, the Islamic State was established in 2013 by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, a former member of al-Qaeda. He declared an Islamic caliphate in Iraq, presenting a powerful jihadist alternative that achieved more results in a short period than al-Qaeda had managed in two decades.[149] While in most modern Islamic conflicts, such as Afghanistan, Chechnya and Iraq, ex-foreign fighters moved to the consecutive conflict, but this was not the case with Syria and the Islamic State. With the beginning of the Syrian Civil War, the attention of al-Qaeda attention

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[146] Bo Wang and Bing Fan, "Reflections on the Issue of ISIS," *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies,* 9:3 (2015): 49-51.

[147] Al Jazeera Middle East, "Syria's civil war explained from the beginning."

[148] Holbrook, "Al-Qaeda and the Rise of ISIS," 94.

[149] Holbrook, "Al-Qaeda and the Rise of ISIS," 94.

was provoked in a negative sense.[150] Ayman al-Zawahiri was the successor of bin Laden and had become the leader of the widespread Islamic terrorist network.[151] Where al-Qaeda has affiliations with a variety of other Islamic terrorist groups, it excommunicated the Islamic State. Al-Zawahiri declared in 2014 that Islamic State is not considered a branch of al-Qaeda and does not want to be held accountable for any action organized by the Islamic State.[152] Similar to the anarchist movement, who decided to separate themselves from other ideological movements such as socialism and communism, the Islamic State turned into an independent functioning movement.

As soon as the Islamic State was able to conquer and establish a territorial basis, the movement aimed to build a pseudo state, which refers to a geopolitical entity with the characteristics of an independent nation-state, but is not recognized by the international community as a self-governing political entity. Between four and eight million people have lived under the governance of Islamic State. The Islamic State is governed through a rather hierarchal structure, with al-Baghdadi at the leading position as caliph. A caliph functions as a political leader in Islam and is considered the successor of prophet Muhammed. Similar to Azzam in Afghanistan, al-Baghdadi had a scholarly background in Islamic Studies and had been active as an imam for several years. The radical religious rule of al-Baghdadi is accompanied by the practices of bureaucratic military style of command at each level within the organization and governance. He has managed to create a "cohesive, disciplined and flexible organization."[153] Al-Baghdadi is supported by two deputies, a Shura council and a cabinet of ministers, whom are each supported by a council of provincial governors and their military commands. Furthermore, a War Council is leading the regular operations and future planning. The Islamic State its senior leadership consists mostly of Iraqis with menacing military experience. The vast majority of these individuals who possess a leading position in the governance of the Islamic State, can be considered intellectuals with high educational standards. These intellectual individuals feel discriminated against and alienated; they think it is wrong how the Islam is portrayed in the media and blame the west and its policies for the problems in Iraq and Syria. Remarkably, the Islamic State has strategic ways to finance their pseudo state.

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[150] Donnely, "Foreign Fighters in History," 20-24.

[151] "Al-Zawahiri volgt bin Laden op," IsGeschiedenis, accessed December 17, 2018, https://isgeschiedenis.nl/nieuws/al-zawahiri-volgt-bin-laden-op.

[152] Donnely, "Foreign Fighters in History," 20-24.

[153] Holbrook, "Al-Qaeda and the Rise of ISIS," 94.

Whereas the Soviet-Afghan war got foreign support from countries like the United States, Islamic State has its own system for collecting and distributing money. Territorial control gives Islamic State access to oil fields and establish a variety of criminal activities and services.[154] The oil sales and arbitrary taxation of its inhabitants shape the main sources of income.

While the effects of the involvement of Islamic State in the Syrian Civil war conflict were first mostly indirect, they became more noticeable as the conflict intensified. From 2011 onwards, the Islamic State evolved into the dominating jihadi group in the Syrian Civil War. The movement turned showed its ruthless character, even for standards and practices by al-Qaeda, resulting in the previously mentioned excommunication by the latter movement. Despite the Islamic State barely having any fellow jihadist allies, the movement was able to gain territory in Iraq and Syria.[155] Before this thesis continues, a short note to the definition of foreign fighters is made. Arielli excludes mercenaries from his research, since mercenaries are only fighting for private gain.[156] In contrast to this claim, mercenaries are included in this thesis as foreign fighters for two reasons that are explained by David Malet. First, mercenaries are included many fighters from previous conflicts have become stateless afterwards. For instance, after the conflict in Afghanistan, some countries where the fighters originated from refused to accept the ex-fighters as citizens. Consequently, the fighters became a stateless, transient horde of religious mercenaries, ready to fight in the next conflict and "escaping dead-end lives." In addition to this, most recruits are neither mercenaries nor fanatics bent on domination. In fact, most recruits do not even consider themselves as mercenaries, they genuinely believe that they are fighting in a defensive rather than an elective war. Most Islamic transnational insurgents have fought in transnational struggles with a pan-Islamic convincing: fighting for the Islamic caliphate and protecting your fellow believers.[157]

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[154] Holbrook, "Al-Qaeda and the Rise of ISIS," 94.

[155] "Who are ISIS? A terror group too extreme even for al-Qaeda," The Guardian, last modified 11 June, 2014, accessed March 15, 2019, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jun/11/isis-too-extreme-al-qaida-terror-jihadi

[156] Arielli, *From Byron to bin Laden,* 7.

[157] Malet, "Why Foreign Fighters?" 106-113.

4.3 Constructing a collective identity

Before this thesis researches how the Islamic State constructed a collective identity, it should be noted how they can target a relative larger audience than the anarchists. Whereas the anarchists were bound to songs, posters and texts that were produced in presses and had their limitations in the amount that was produced, the Islamic State has access to digital channels, such as the internet, to spread their materials in a limitless amount to a global audience. Next to successfully conquering a physical territorial basis, the Islamic State has gained an impressive amount of foreign support. This support for the Islamic State has grown extensively since 2011, resulting in almost 25,000 recruited fighters. [158] With the beginning of the Syrian Civil War the conflict was mainly framed as a violation of human rights and highlighted the oppressive government killing its own people. Throughout the continuation of the conflict, the framing changed to building actually building a state, where people could live under the strict sharia law, in return for protection. Recruiting foreign fighters is something the Islamic State is famous for, and which they are doing persistently. The process of recruiting takes a long time, but the persistence in recruiting is remarkable. The Islamic State has access to loads of platforms and channels, through which they approach the potential recruit. [159] This subchapter demonstrates how these platforms and channels, and the accessibility of such, have helped to construct a collective identity and how these subsequently have led to the extraordinary amount of recruits leaving their home society and entering the Islamic State.

Firstly, the most important element that connects the potential foreign recruits and the Islamic State to each other is their religion. Both parties are already part of a larger imagined community, the ummah, based on their shared religion. The emphasis on Allah, and serving Allah, is prominent in every textual or audio-visual material. The Islamic State include quotes from the Quran in almost every document, in order to justify their actions, as the following quote shows: "And if you punish (an enemy), punish with an equivalent of that with which you were harmed." – An-Nahl: 126. In general, the documents are written with a religious tone, by repeating words such as, sin, honor, blessing, virtue and punishment. The fact that the Islamic

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[158] Almakan Orozobekova, "The Mobilization and Recruitment of Foreign Fighters: The Case of Islamic State, 2012-2014," *Connections*, vol. 15, no. 3 (Summer 2016): 83-84.

[159] "A look at how ISIS is recruiting young Americans through the internet," YouTube, last modified 4 November, 2017, accessed April 25, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4FZC0WWzHQs&t=378s

State has foreign recruits from all over the world, results in people who can speak more languages, and thus makes it easier to translate the propaganda in a variety of languages, which might increase the audience.

What makes the recruitment of the Islamic State remarkable is the persistence of the movement, a method that stands out from other movements. New material gets released (almost) everyday, even until today while their power and territory is decreasing. Jihadology.net is used for this thesis as a safe channel to access these materials, and the latest release of a statement by Islamic State was on June 11, 2019. The persistence of the Islamic State in gaining support is extraordinary, and so is the accessibility to these propaganda materials. The Islamic State uses almost every type of channel or digital platform to reach out to potential recruits. They make videogames, produce magazines, organize lectures, publish songs, take advantage of social media and even approach people on the streets.[160] The movement is rather innovative with their recruitment strategies. The movement puts a lot of effort into recruiting their foreign fighters and empowering their movement.

In order to reach their potential recruits, the Islamic State developed an effective virtual propaganda mechanism, called the Al Hayat Media Centre. This platform releases different types of materials, showing different sides of the militant group. For example, in one video they show children playing and laughing, while in the other video they praise the people who have died and show destructed buildings. One key factor in all these propaganda videos and images is the emphasis that the Islamic State is providing for its people by their governance and justice. For this thesis, the focus has been on the multilingual glossy from Islamic State, titled *Dabiq*. Each issue has a different main theme, which differs from a wide range of topics, such as discussing the attacks in the West (Brussels and Paris), how to conform to the laws of the Islamic State or how to justify their attacks and killings. Each issue of Dabiq is properly structured with different chapters, and each issue opens with a quote by Abu Mus'ab az-Zarqawi[161] to remind the members of the social movement why they are fighting: "The spark has been lit here in Iraq and its heat will continue to intensify, by Allah's permission, until it burns the Crusader armies in Dabiq."[162] In issue number 15, the authors of the magazine justify

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[160] "Terrorists in Belgium: Former Altar Boy Turned ISIS Supporter Shares His Story," 5.59-6.48, interview accessed via YouTube.

[161] A prominent member of Islamic State, previously one of the leaders of al-Qaeda

[162] "Break the Cross," Dabiq, recruitment magazine of the Islamic State, issue 15 published on July 31, 2016. Accessed via Jihadology.net.

the attacks that have been committed by the Islamic State. This edition of Dabiq extensively discusses multiple attacks, in which they take responsibility for these offensives. They express their pride and are happy that their fellow brothers have gone to eternal paradise. "After the attacks in Orlando (USA), Dhaka (Bangladesh), Magnanville, Nice, and Normandy (France), and Würzburg and Ansbach (Germany) led to the martyrdom of twelve soldiers of the Caliphate and the deaths and injuries of more than six hundred Crusaders."[163] The magazine emphasizes how the battle against the West is not an easy one to be fought, and must continue, despite the previous mentioned achievement. According to the Islamic State, the West possesses the wrong values which have come to existence through secularization. "(…) one would expect the cross-worshippers and democratic pagans of the West to pause and contemplate the reasons behind the animosity and enmity held by Muslims for Westerners and even take heed and consider repentance by abandoning their infidelity and accepting Islam. But the fever and delusion caused by sin, superstition, and secularism have numbed what is left of their minds and senses."[164] The magazine continues by demonstrating how secularization has not improved society, but has made people to become slaves of their sins. "Their (the West) hedonic addictions and heathenish doctrines have enslaved them to false gods including their clergy, their legislatures, and their lusts. As for worshiping the Creator alone and following His Final Messenger, then that is beyond their consideration."[165] As this quote demonstrates, it strikes the authors of Dabiq that even after the attacks, the West has still not shown repentance. The characteristics of sin and secularism makes the West ignorant, and has itself to blame for these attacks.

Another way of justifying their existence, is including their historiographical relevance in each issue of Dabiq, by highlighting the oppression on Islam in previous times, and thus being a response to historical unfair treatment. The Islamic State emphasizes the reward of the martyrdom. Whenever someone sacrifices themselves for the Islamic community, they get an honorable mention and admiration from the community itself and its leaders. Since there is a dominant hierarchal structure in the Islamic State, it can be argued here that striving for the acknowledgement from the leaders of the Islamic State becomes more intense. Besides leaving a message for potential recruits, the writers of Dabiq leave a message for opponents as well.

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[163] "Break the Cross," Dabiq, recruitment magazine of the Islamic State, issue 15 published on July 31, 2016. Accessed via Jihadology.net.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid.

"They will find in the pages of this issue the details of our message to them on the issues of Christianity, feminism, liberalism, and atheism. However, the ultimate message of the Prophet Muhammad, the revelation he was dispatched with – the Quran and the Sunnah – and the message of all past prophets from Adam to Muhammad has been the same throughout history: There is no ilah but Allah."[166]

After clearly demonstrating their message and ideology, the Islamic State makes a clear division between an inner and outer group. The way of addressing members is considered as symbolism in the social movement as well. In every researched song, magazine, and article, the Islamic State refers to the people who obey their laws as brothers and sisters in the Muslim brotherhood. The Islamic State is a Sunni based organization, meaning brotherhood is already an embedded term in their religion. A prerequisite for a symbol to be fruitful in its aims, is the embeddedness of that specific symbol in the community in question. With the term 'brotherhood' as an embedded symbol, speaking to potential recruits as brothers and sisters will speak to the members of this community and will create a feeling of belonging and coherence. Everyone who is considered the inner group, gets referred to as brother or sister. Since the Syrian Civil War was framed as an attack on fellow brothers and sisters, this also stimulated potential recruits to join the foreign war: people similar to themselves were being attacked by their own government. These brothers and sisters get eternally rewarded for their efforts in the Islamic State. In addition, they will also be rewarded when conforming to the sharia law. As the lyrics of one of the published songs mentions: "They sold themselves and their belongings to their master, so that they may attain Allah's garden and his approval. Come my friend, the Khilafah has been established now. Happiness and joy is for the people of faith today. We praise Allah who granted us a manifest victory, glory and honor. How long have we been waiting for this day?"(…)[167] These lyrics emphasize that obedience leads to a reward. "The muslims were low, servile and homeless without a place. Now Allah provided us with the Khilafah with glory and honor, they did not leave the blood of the martyrs in vain without gains."[168] Once again, they refer back the historical oppression of Muslims, but now they have been rewarded due to

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[166] "Break the Cross," Dabiq, recruitment magazine of the Islamic State, issue 15 published on July 31, 2016. Accessed via Al Hayat Media Centre, Jihadology.net.

[167] "Come my friend," Video nashid published on July 7, 2015. Accessed via Al Hayat Media Centre, Jihadology.net.

[168] Ibid.

their obedience to Allah and the Khilafah. Whereas the outer group, the West, is considered as sinful, the inner group of the Islamic State deserves a reward and glory.

Next to the Islamic State addressing potential recruits through frame of the Sunni brotherhood, they often change the names of the recruits, also referred to in the historiography as *nom de guerre*. Nom de guerre is a pseudonym someone takes during a war, in the case of the Islamic State these names are strictly Arabic.[169] This strategy is not invented by the Islamic State, but has proven its effectiveness in other movements as well. Nom de guerres are able to project the ideology and aspirations of the specific movement.[170]Naming new recruits Abu, bin or ibn (father/son of), is not something the Islamic State invented, but is something the social movement uses for its own benefit. When they all receive an Arabic name, it hides the difference in origin and emphasizes the sense of belonging in their new community. Besides naming the members in the same style, they also have the clothing as a symbol. For example the women have to be dressed in a burqa, which the Islamic State describes as "garments of purity and faith."[171] Another remarkable symbol in the Islamic State is the black flag, similar to the anarchists. However, the meaning of this symbol differs from the anarchist black flag. The flag has white lettering with the text: *shahada*. Shahada is Arabic for testimony of faith, or devoting yourself to the Islam. Next to the flag, the Islamic State has on occasion put its prisoners in orange jumpsuits, when releasing the videos of the Jordanian and Japanese victims. These orange jumpsuits possibly symbolize the United States detention facility at Guantanamo Bay.

Remarkably, a new method of recruitment has been introduced to the Islamic State, which might blur the differences between the inner and outer group. Within this modern approach, they have propagated their movement on social media as more Western, and started acting this way as well. On the one hand the propaganda videos and images show the images

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[169] "ISIS fighter with American accent urges supports to take advantage of U.S. gun laws," The Washington Post, last modified December 27, 2017, accessed June 18, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/isis-fighter-with-american-accent-urges-supporters-to-take-advantage-of-us-gun-laws/2017/12/27/5ffc664a-eb2d-11e7-b698-91d4e35920a3_story.html?utm_term=.08d23c38b99b.

[170] Charles Pfukwa, "Onomastic innovation in Zimbabwean *noms de guerre*," *Language Matters* vol. 34 (2003): 13-23.

[171] "Inside the Caliphate #7," video published on February 7, 2018, Al Hayat Media Centre, Jihadology.net.

of terror, such as decapitated heads, terrorist attacks in Europe and weapons, whereas the other videos are friendlier. For instance, there are Islamic State militants posing with Nutella jars to familiarize Western people, whilst still holding a machine gun.[172] This Western approach is might attract younger people from the West to join the social movement. Violence and weapons alone is not the only way to attract fighters to join the conflict. Instead, the violent extremist group pushes 'jihadi cool' subculture to draw in members of the younger generation in the west. Some of the jihadists blog on Tumblr, a blog website, where they mix pictures of violence and prayers, with glitter, cats and horses. This strategy of recruitment might be considered as counterproductive, since the movement starts to promote a lifestyle which they claim to despise. However, it is possible that this new strategy attracts younger people to join, since the pictures become more relatable. The Islamic State is presenting a more humane side of the fighters with these pictures. When they present pictures of something the potential recruits are familiar with, the potential recruits might sympathize faster with the overall ideology of the Islamic State. In fact, some jihadists who have joined the Islamic State, admit it was not necessarily the ideology that formed the key to joining, but the 'coolness' that the movement eradiated. Having lots of weapons and provoking a style that is similar to the Grand Theft Auto video-game seems cool to young influential people.[173] This GTA-style is also implemented in some of the recruitment videos, such as the videos in the category "Harvest of the Soldiers." In these videos the Islamic State handles an animated video-game style that expose weapons, cars and explosions. With a voice-over these videos show the results of a certain period in terms of territory gained, or lost, and members of the movement who have sacrificed themselves for the ideology.[174] The strategy of Islamic State and their recruitment is making sense to a chaotic world, giving someone a sense of belonging and make sure there is someone else to blame for the bad things that are currently happening in the world.[175]

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[172] "Photos of Islamic State Fighters with their Favorite Sweets," Vice, last modified December 23, 2014, accessed June 28, 2019, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/vdpa5a/isis-loves-nutella-456.

[173] "Isis uses Nutella jars and cat GIFs to lure Westerners: study," The Local SE, last modified 7 June, 2017, accessed May 21, 2019, https://www.thelocal.se/20170607/the-digital-caliphate-uses-nutella-jars-and-cat-gifs-to-lure-westeners-study-isis-sweden

[174] "Harvest of the Soliders #8," video published on September 21, 2018, Al Hayat Media Centre, Jihadology.net.

[175] Ibid.

Last to be discussed as a strategy of recruitment within the Islamic State is their propaganda by the deed. A significant act of the Islamic State, that has given their name justice, is the fact they have actually taken over territory. This was most likely possible, due to the 'global Jihadist power vacuum,' which also happened when the Soviet-Union left Afghanistan, leaving the country in question as a defacto state. While the United States of America intervened in Iraq, Assad's ruthlessness and post-bin Laden Al-Qaeda's discomposure, resulted in a power gain for the Islamic State. It may seem there was a worldwide euphoria and relief after the Arab Spring and the weakening of al-Qaeda, but the Islamic State decided to fill the power vacuum in the Middle East, and exploit the situation of weak state governance and control in Iraq and Syria. The lack of political stability in both countries, and the consequences of this instability, was one of the key factors that led to conquering territory that turned into psychical manifestation of name of the Islamic State.[176] Taking over territory might have acted as propaganda by the deed, since they were combining their propaganda of the word to an actual act. This resulted in political marketing in favour of the social movement, since they had committed an act they had promised in their propaganda: building a state for Muslims as an alternative for the oppressive Syrian government.

The Islamic State and their organized attacks often carry a clear message. First of all, the attacks are needed to expand their territory, which will give their name more justification: building an actual state for the Muslim brotherhood and its members. Remarkably, in the Dabiq magazine the authors also mention what actions are still to be planned and executed, instead of only referring to the attacks that have happened in the past.[177] Furthermore, the attention Islamic State spends on promoting their actions is noticeable. Not only do they strategically pick their targets, but the authors extensively discuss the attacks that have happened. In issue 13 of Dabiq the authors mention the assassination of Piero Parolari, a missionary from Italy, in Bangladesh. The authors extensively discuss what the motivations for this assassination were, and how they have committed the execution.[178] At first, the name might not immediately be familiar to everyone, however, Piero was an important missionary and his death deeply saddened the

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[176] Orozobekova, "The Mobilization and Recruitment of Foreign Fighters," 83-84.

[177] "The Rafidah: From Ibn Saba' to the Dajjal," Dabiq, recruitment magazine of the Islamic State, issue 13 published on January 19, 2016. Accessed via Jihadology.net.

[178] Ibid.

religious community in Bengal.[179] Throughout the issues of Dabiq the authors mention the names of specific people, similar to Piero Parolari, whom they have assassinated and what they achieved with this attack.

4.4 Findings

What the subchapter above has demonstrated is that the Islamic State spreads a lot of propaganda of the word, in all shapes and forms, and compliments these documents with their propaganda of the deed. New social movement theory demonstrates how non-economic sources of collective identity can result in successful mobilization and collective action. If the Islamic State were to be explained by the classical Marxist theory, it would only focus on the economic inequality as a motivation for the movement to exist, and for potential recruits to join the movement. However, as the Islamic State has proven, the collective identity based on religion is an effective factor to recruit people and expand the movement further. In fact, their shared religion might have been a catalyst in the process of building a collective identity, since religion can already be a key factor in shaping an imagined community. While other movements, such as al-Qaeda, have aimed to construct a collective identity as well, the Islamic State offered a radical alternative that almost 25,000 fighters were able to sympathize more with.

A collective identity also has its weaknesses, as subchapters above have demonstrated. Based on religion, al-Qaeda can be considered a transnational social movement with a collective identity. Al-Qaeda's reputation was deeply harmed by the jihadist alternative that the Islamic State offered. In order to defend their organization from the Islamic State, al-Qaeda started to co-operate with allies and other jihadist movements. Al-Qaeda needed to prove their relevance continuously. They opted for a strategy that aimed to steal the legitimacy from the Islamic State. Al-Zawahiri stated after the creation of the Islamic State that the group was a 'branch affiliated to al-Qaeda,' and that the actors whom were involved in the movement pledged their loyalty to al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda made effort to promote itself and to delegitimise the Islamic State to re-establish their powerful position from the past.[180] The Islamic State developed as an entity

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[179] "Bangladeshi Christians, Muslims and Hindus demand for justice for Fr Parolari," Asia News, last modified November 21, 2015, accessed June 12, 2019, http://www.asianews.it/news-en/Bangladeshi-Christians,-Muslims-and-Hindus-demand-justice-for-Fr-Parolari-35946.html

severed from al-Qaeda. The Islamic State and its attacks have helped to divert attention away from the attacks its parent organisation, al-Qaeda, has been responsible for. Al-Qaeda has had the opportunity now to present itself as the 'moderate,' 'mainstream,' option, in comparison to the Islamic State, since extremism is a relative concept.[181] They keep presenting themselves as an alternative to the other, so constructing a collective identity based only on religion is not enough for the Islamic State to maintain its power. It was necessary for the Islamic State to clearly frame an inner and outer group, in which the inner group is merely the Islamic State and its members, so they needed to differentiate themselves from al-Qaeda based on more than religion. The Islamic State went further than al-Qaeda by actually building a pseudo state as a territory for Sunni Muslims only.

The Islamic State and their accessibility to the internet makes it relatively easier for the movement to circulate their propaganda materials globally, and for the potential recruits to access these materials. In addition they approach people on the streets, to even spread their message face-to-face verbally. By having foreign fighters from a large variety of countries and different linguistic segments, it increases their capability to translate propaganda to multiple languages and reach a larger audience. In every document used for this thesis that the Islamic State has published, there is a constant reminder to their religion, a justification for their actions and a demonstration of their power. The Islamic State make a clear distinction between the inner and the outer group, by referring to the inner group as brothers and sisters. To the outer group, they often refer to as 'infidels,' 'them,' or 'the West.' It highlights the wrongdoings of the West, while highlighting the good actions of the Islamic State and its fellow Sunni brotherhood. It stresses the inadequacies and sins of those that do not support the movement its goals, and the qualities and rewards of those who do. Furthermore, there are patterns to be noticed in the propaganda, such as the preference to use videos with voice-overs to underline a textual message with images, using linguistic skills by translating their Arabic messages to a variety of languages, and using music and a subculture 'jihadi cool' that seem to be resonating with western youth culture.[182]

To successfully implement a critical discourse analysis, the propaganda released by the Islamic State needs to be connected to the social context in Iraq and Syria. As mentioned throughout the subchapters above, the Islamic State made clever use of the domestic affairs in

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[181] Orozobekova, "The Mobilization and Recruitment of Foreign Fighters," 83-84.

[182] Scott Gates and Sukunya Podder, "Social Media, Recruitment, Allegiance and the Islamic State," *Perspectives on Terrorism,* vol. 9 (August 2015): 109.

Syria and Iraq. They established themselves as alternative in a power vacuum. After the Arab Spring broke out and the al-Qaeda lost its relevance, both countries were left unknowing on what to do next. The Islamic State took advantage of this power vacuum and conquered a territorial basis. The transnational social movement has strategically framed the Syrian Civil War as a violation of the human rights of Syrian people and framed themselves as the one who protected these people. They offered the territorial basis for Sunni Muslims as a zone where these people could live in safety. As long as the inhabitants of this zone obeyed the sharia laws, they were granted with protection from the Islamic State. Foreign fighters responded to the message of protecting the Syrian people who were oppressed by their Syrian government, led by Bashar al-Assad. The Syrian government was harshly criticized and framed as the enemy, the entity that caused the unjust situation. The Islamic State kept enlarging their frame of the enemy, by including the West and basically everyone who did not support the social movement. Everyone who does not support the movement, is considered an enemy, including Muslims that do not seem to be following to correct religious laws.

Besides their textual propaganda, the Islamic State uses a variety of symbols that support their message. As mentioned earlier, addressing recruits as brothers and sisters enhances the coherency inside the inner group. In addition to the frame of the brotherhood, they use nom de guerres, or war names, to highlight the Islamic identity of the recruits. Altering names to the same style of pseudonyms highlights the similarities between members, and eliminates their differences. Furthermore, they wear similar modest clothes, such as a burqa and thawb, to eliminate the differences between members by appearance and stimulates the sense of inclusiveness. They have a flag that symbolizes the Islamic State as a nation and the shahada message on it reminds people to devote themselves to Islam. Lastly, their propaganda of the deed can be considered a symbol as well. The movement commits a large variety of attacks and assassinations, which support their ideology. Those who do not conform to the laws of the Islamic State, should be punished. Those who punish the outer group deserve glory and honor.

5. Conclusion

The main research question for this thesis was the following: can transnational social movements, such as the Italian anarchists and Islamic State be considered an imagined community, and how does that provide the current debates on recruitment in transnational violence with new insights? As the introduction demonstrated, there was a lacuna in the historiography on the Italian anarchists and the existence of foreign fighters. The Italian anarchists were often described as a spontaneous social movement without a functioning organizational structure. The movement is often characterized by their flaws, instead of their success factors due to the fact that their history is often written by their opponents. There are some similarities noticeable between the Italian anarchist movement and the Islamic State. In the historiography on the Islamic State, the role of foreign fighters and how they are being recruited is often overlooked, even though the numbers of recruits has risen and has influenced the outcome of specific conflicts.

The theory used in this thesis was New social movement theory, since this framework explains social movements by other factors than economic stimuli. Despite the fact that this thesis focussed on transnational social movements, the theory on transnationalism does not include social movements and fails to explain the recruitment within such movements. Furthermore, social movements are often described by the classical Marxist theory, which argues that a social movement occurs whenever there is economic inequality and leads to a class struggle. It tends to look at social movements on a subnational level, and fails to explain transnational social movements. New social movement theory fixates on non-economic sources of collective identity, such as ethnicity, gender and sexuality. It highlights the structural roots of grievances and emphasizes the mutual relationship between collective identity and the formation of these grievances. Therefore, this theory is used since it accentuates the role of ideology and collective identities in transnational social movements. In addition, a critical discourse analysis is implemented in order to research how the transnational social movements were able to exert power of the potential recruits and get them to join the fight. This analysis includes looking into the actual text, how this text is presented to the audience and how this offered an alternative to the sociocultural practices at that time. This thesis was divided into two large chapters, each divided again into four subchapters, which focussed on the historical background of the specific movement, the ideology of the movement, how they constructed a collective identity and discussing the findings.

It is possible to draw some similarities between both the transnational social movements. Both movements clearly framed the unjust situation that was created by a government, and of which the common people were suffering. The movements strategically framed their own ideology as an alternative to this oppression caused by the government in question. They were able to create an inner and outer group, by the way they addressed their members and potential recruits. Whereas the Islamic State used the frame of the Sunni brotherhood, the Italian anarchists referred to the inner and outer group as 'us' and 'them.' Both methods clearly illustrated the competition between the current situation and the accompanying social movement as a response. Furthermore, they used symbols such as flags, clothing and propaganda of the deed to enhance this inner and outer frame. They both committed attacks on valuable places in the target society, for instance the anarchists attacked cafés of the bourgeoisie and the Islamic State assassinated an important missionary in Bengal. Both movements refer to their attacks as necessary, as a holy war that needs to be done in order to achieve their goals. Remarkably in both movements is their persistence in recruiting foreign fighters. They kept reminding people why they were fighting the unjust situation and what people themselves can do to help reach this goal.

There are also differences between the movements. The most significant difference is the core theory of each movement: whereas the anarchist movement was a political ideology that wished to ban all forms of governance, the Islamic State is a religious movement that handles a strict hierarchal structure accompanied by sharia laws. The Italian anarchists criticized religion as a tool invented by governments to oppress people. The Islamic State already had a lead start when they wished to recruit foreign fighters, since they tried to appeal people from an imagined community that was already established, the Sunni brotherhood. Furthermore, the Islamic State wishes to building an actual state, with strict governance, while the Italian anarchists wished to abolish this modern nation-state system completely. Each movement can be considered a transnational imagined community, when taking a shared collective identity as fundament to consider a group as imagined community. This expands the classical idea that an imagined community is limited to the boundaries of a nation-state. This could provide new insights for research on transnational foreign fighters, by arguing that transnational social movements can construct a collective identity across boundaries. Future research might want to explore how people respond to propaganda and the individual psychological mechanisms behind joining an extremist movement.

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