Bachelor Degree Project

Daesh's Construction of Enemy Images

- A study of Enemy Images in Dabiq Magazine

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Abstract

This study aims to examine how Daesh constructs the enemy images of their opponents and who the opponents are. The study adopted enemy image theories as for the theoretical base to understand how Daesh constructs and propagates these enemy images. This study is carried out on qualitative abductive desk study with discourse analysis as the method and relied on Dabiq as the primary data. Daesh employs enemy images to effectively paint a negative image of the opponent while calling for a variety of actions from their followers. The primary data shows some concepts and themes that are used in enemy image construction being present in Dabiq. The results of of the analysis show that Daesh uses the delimitation between them and us, a set of values that separate the two groups. This is what has been described as "our" and "their" essence and the final aim which is legitimize war or violence is very clear in Dabiq. This thesis also suggests other ways of looking at the concept of enemy images suggesting further research areas where deemed necessary.

Keywords: Dabiq, Daesh, Enemy images, Construction, Theories.

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Contents

1 Introduction

Since 2010 there was a rise of Jihadist groups such as Al-Qaeda in the middle east including Daesh that begun the production of English-language e-magazines consistently aimed at spreading propaganda and encouraging the Muslim population to accept both their ideologies and their cause. These include engaging acts of violent extremism at home and abroad. Also, these magazines were calling for more recruits explicitly targeting young men and women in their messaging. The production of these publications has attracted significant strategic analysts from the security sectors and policymakers. These magazines have been interpreted in a variety of ways within the academic literature (Droogan, Peattie, 2017: 591) These includes through the lenses of political myth, behaviorism, hermeneutics, and in-group, other, crisis and solutions construct (ibid).

In early June 2014, Daesh begun the production of its first experimental e-magazine named Islamic state news, later renamed to Islamic state report. The Productions values were very high, with many of its contents mainly focusing on battlefield victories and early initiatives in local governance.

Dabiq magazine was published in different languages, but the English version of the magazine had been seen as one way of Daesh trying to communicate with various audiences. Although the magazine was published in different languages, it mostly consisted of images and graphics with very little text. One month later, the Al-Hayat (life) media center- part of the Islamic states then growing media apparatus- published the first issue of Dabiq as a response, which Daesh claimed to the positive feedback received from their supporters as a feedback to the earlier publications of their magazines. (Milton, 2015). The name "Dabiq" was taken from a small town in northern Syria identified in some Hadith texts (Prophetic traditions) as the eventual site of an apocalyptic battle between victories of Islamic forces and the forces of Rome. Since 2014, Daesh has successfully published and distributed fifteen issues of Dabiq that have been allocated online in PDF format- the most recent at the time of writing being in July 2016. Throughout

its publication, Dabiq magazine has successfully adopted a unique and coherent brand identity. Issues produced in Dabiq magazine have typically run to about 40-80 pages, consisting of articles, transcribed speeches, and the republishing in one place of political and religious and social commentary, produced by Islamic states affiliates and supporters (Novenario, 2016). The production of Dabiq magazine presented the Islamic state as a divinely inspired state-building project emphasizing and legitimizing this project in political and religious terms by calling their supporters to arms, maligning and denigrating perceived enemies (Droogan, Peattie, 2017: 591-593). However, Dabiq magazine does represent a significant vehicle for the spread of Islamic state ideas, including attempts at legitimization and a call to arms. Daesh sees Dabiq as one of the tools available to them in helping establish a state that is governed by Islamic Sharia law. Their central arguments through all the issues of the Dabiq magazine is that producing such a state will provide a home for all true Islam faiths, which in this case refers those who agree to Daesh Jihadism ideologies (Kibble, 2016:133)

Accordingly, understanding the Dabiq magazine contents is vital to those attempting to counter the influence of Islamic state Propaganda (Droogan, Peattie, 2017: 593). In Daesh's periodic magazine the image of the enemy as the "others" is defined and constructed legitimizing actions against them. The construction of these enemy images was legitimized and supported through the group's use of the Islamic religious studies, current and historical conflicts as well as the nostalgic idea of a Caliphate. One such ideology which will be the central theme of this thesis is how they, either successfully or unsuccessfully, formulated the plan of who the enemy was. This study will, therefore, look at the concept of enemy images. Enemy images being a study of how conflicts are started and sustained by meticulously reinforcing particularly negative stereotypes of the other party (Harle, 2000:10)

1.1 Research Problem and Relevance

As explained by Galtung and Webel (2007),in understanding peace and conflicts it is also very crucial to understand the different forms of violence; Direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence. Our primary focus in this thesis is to investigate how Daesh constructs enemy images of their opponents. This places our thesis in the core of understanding and getting a broader picture of peace and conflict within societies. This study highlights how different forms of violence are legitimized through imaging of the other as the enemy. Furthermore, as explained by Steiner (2010), when societies accept enemy images, different crimes against humanity can be legitimized such as killing, raping and other forms of abuse. A good example is that of the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Steiner goes further by stating that enemy imaging itself is a form of violence when these enemy images are present and at the same time accepted by societies. As a consequence, the role and importance of enemy images in accounts of conflict are systematically underestimated (Stein,1996). It is his analysis that enemy images should be given the required attention as they are already an act of violence by themselves.

Enemies and enemy images are thought to be prerequisites in preparedness for war (i.e., to fight and kill). It is made very clear in the literature that an enemy is essential for armed conflict (Bjerstedt et al., 1991). In his book Faces of the enemy, Sam Keen (2004) coined the term consensual paranoia. The term refers to a normal person who is a member of war-justifying society forms the template from which all images of the enemy are created. The term consensual paranoia suggests a pathology. When an individual or individuals experiences unrealistic fear, constant worries, sees the world in black and white. This might lead the person act irrationally; we label such person as paranoid.

It is pronounced that in their magazine Dabiq, which is our primary data for this research, Daesh constructs imminent threats calling for immediate action. Daesh further urges the entire Muslims to remain vigilant against their enemies. Daesh also calls for more recruits to join them fighting for the sake of God.

In spite of this knowledge, very little information is available on how Daesh constructs enemy images (Stein,1996). Our primary focus in this thesis which is to investigate on how Daesh create enemy images of their opponents is essential in the field of peace studies.

Therefore, understanding enemy images will give us a good understanding of how best we can counteract the different forms of crimes against humanity. We will understand the various ways Daesh uses it to legitimize violence against their opponents and its final lead to increase in radicalization.

To place the aim of this research, there will be the need to address what is happening in the academic circles around the menacing problem brought about by Daesh. Much of the existing literature concentrates on the general idea of Daesh propaganda and how this has been termed as a digital war. The concentration has been on Daesh's message. Why this message is hitting the right cords is often ignored as a research subject. I hypothesize that enemy images created by this media make it possible for the Daesh to appeal to their audience. I will, therefore, seek to look for enemy image construction in Dabiq.

The thesis aims to find the characteristics of enemy images using knowledge available to us to dissect this problem. One of possible literature is that of Dabiq magazine. Its choice fulfills two critical facets. The first one is that it unlike other mediums used, this is probably the most direct attempt by Daesh to come up with a consistent message. A guidebook of sorts. The second facet is that of its consistency. The Dabiq magazine has been issued 15 times before being renamed to Rumiyah. It would be easy to not read too much into a publication that has been published once or twice. A magazine issued so consistently over that period is a significant statement that can help us analyze their thought process. We can thus analyze it as the primary data source and have some level of confidence that it is not the opinion of just one person, but rather an organized attempt at a consistent message.

1.2 Research Objective and Research Question

Our focal point in this thesis will be to answer the following research question.

How does Daesh construct enemy images of their opponents in Dabiq magazine?

Through thoroughly analyzing the Dabiq magazine as well as the available theory's in enemy images, we aim to find any lingering themes that will help us understand how Daesh constructs enemy images of their opponents. Understanding is the first step of action and this research will help towards that end.

This research will analyze the existing theories on enemy images and aim to establish the literature that is relevant to this subject. This will mainly be through analysis of scholarly articles on media in general and existing literature on Dabiq magazine.

A Discourse analysis method will then be employed to understand our data. Discourse analysis is a tool available to us to analyze the semantics and language in media. We will finally go through the results and analyze the findings and make relevant conclusions.

1.3 Theory

My theoretical chapter will be presenting how enemy images are defined, constructed and what consequences can enemy images have when present. Core elements of enemy images that are essential in the construction of enemy images will be discussed as well and applied, these are othering, stereotyping and prejudice. In the development of enemy images, the theories of enemy images are limited to psychodynamic and social psychological perspectives in which enemy images are perceived as the projection of one's inner malevolent tendencies onto another and, consequently, as a pathological process (Oppenheimer, 2006: 270).

Within this approach, an enemy image represents asset of beliefs or assumptions

about an individual or a group and is considered a natural reaction to the process of identity formation by individuals and groups (Stein,1996). When a group holds such an image it is considered negative stereotype. Whereas the individual's self-identity is in part determined by his or her social identity, which in turn is primarily determined by group membership or group identity, group identity is defined by contrast to other groups and is the result of systematic comparisons with and differentiation from other groups. In some instances, the emergence of group identity is accompanied by derogation of other groups (Stein 1996).

However, Enemies and enemy images are also thought to be prerequisites in preparedness for war (i.e., to fight and kill (Oppenheimer, 2006:269). I will discuss the different theoretical concepts of enemy images on my theoretical chapter and explain on how the different theories can help us investigate on how Daesh construct the enemy images of their opponents and thus fulfill the goal of this research.

1.4 Methodology

This research will be based on an abductive study using discourse analysis method. The research will be carried out by abductive since the study will be using the different theories of enemy images and applying the primary data chosen for this research. The primary data chosen is the Dabiq magazine which totals to fifteen issues.

The applicable method for this research paper is the discourse analysis method. Discourse analysis is an interpretive and constructivist form of analysis that draws on diverse theoretical and methodological approaches from linguistics, anthropology, and sociology.

Discourse analysis is the applicable method of this research since the method explores how discourse gives meaning to social practices and institutions. However, discourse analysis is concerned with analyzing, not just the text itself but the relation of text to its context. I have chosen the fifteen issues of Daesh periodic magazine Dabiq and

will analyze how Daesh construct the enemy images of their opponents.

1.5   Disposition of The Thesis

The next chapter is the literature review chapter which will present existing literature studied on Dabiq magazine of Daesh. The chapter will discuss in detail existing literature on the Daesh magazine Dabiq.

The third chapter is the Theoretical framework. This chapter will serve as our departure point for our research. This chapter will present theories of enemy images from different scholars that will be later used in the analysis chapter of the thesis. Issues that will be covered are the definitions of enemy images, core elements of enemy images, the constructions and lastly the consequences of enemy images.

The fourth is the methodological framework. This chapter explains the relevant and applicable methods for the study which is the discourse analysis. The chapter will also discuss the primary data chosen for this research, the relevance and the reliability of the data.

The fifth chapter is the findings and analysis that presents the findings gathered in this research and will discuss in detail the main findings from our data by analyzing them.

The sixth chapter is the discussion chapter that presents discussions of the findings by once again highlighting the results found concerning the research questions of the study and finally concluding the thesis giving an overall summary to tie the knot bringing this research to its final conclusion which is the final chapter.

1.6   Scope/Limitation

The research is delimited to the concept of understanding how Daesh defines and constructs the enemy images of their opponents in use of their extreme radical views of the Islamic jihadism and the invention of their caliphate.

The research will only limit itself to the constructions of the enemy images. This

is because there are many other themes in the magazine which are not within the scope of this research. The research will also limit itself to the 15 issues of Dabiq and not its subsequent issues which were renamed to Rumaya. This will help us establish a baseline without necessarily trying to analyze if the name changes also included a change in theme and direction. It is also worthy to state that Daesh is known using many names including ISIS and ISIL. I will refer them to Daesh.

1.7 Ethical Considerations

Reading through the different issues of Dabiq magazine I came across there are some ethical considerations that I need to take into account and mention. This research project might be available and accessed by many different people and do the research understood as a way of giving popularity to Daesh which is international terrorist organization. This is not the intention. Also, to make my research academic, I will not include any personal judgments but instead analyze the material as it is so that I can fulfill the purpose of my research academically and answer my research questions.

The other ethical consideration that I see is crucial to be mentioned here is Daesh interpretation of the Islamic religion will not be generalized and viewed as the only interpretation from all Muslims but rather be understood and limited to Daesh interpretations and views

1.8 Background and History of Daesh

The history of Daesh begun in 1999 passing through different phases before finally coming to the structure it has today. The leader of Daesh Abuu Bakr Al- Baghdadi announced the foundation of Daesh as an Islamic state in June 2014. As many analysts have argued, the organization of Daesh and other terrorist groups has been pushed by the volatile situation in Syria and Iraq. The power vacuum in the region is what had led Daesh and other terrorist organizations to thrive (Hussain, 2016: 3).

Daesh is believed to be the result of the repression from the Syrian state and Iraq. The birth of Daesh is also thought to be the result of the breakdown of Al Qaeda after the death of Osama bin Laden (Mohamedou, 2004). Daesh started as a terrorist organization, it later turned into a revolt and finally took the shape of a proto-statehood which Daesh has today.

When it comes to the origin and evolution of Daesh, the organization can be traced back to two personalities; Osama bin Laden and Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi (ibid). Zarqawi, a Jordanian national, fled Afghanistan before reaching Northern Iraq in 2001 where he joined the forces of Al- Ansar Al-Islam (Partisans of Islam). It was a terrorist organization in the region at the time. When the Coalition forces led by the United States attacked in 2003 to replace the Baath regime led by Saddam Hussein, the most educated Iraqi people who are skilled became jobless and lost their status. When the coalition forces led by the US eventually reached their mission, the US installed a Shiite government, but as a direct result, the Sunni Muslims in Iraq felt that they will be alienated and might even become a target of Shiite government (Hussain, 2016: 3-5). The Sunni Muslims later became targets of the Iraqi government led by Nouri Al Maliki, and thousands of Sunni Muslims were being jailed and killed. Some of the Sunni Muslims were also being targeted. A good example is that of former vice president Tariq al Hashimi who was charged with terrorism and finally sentenced to prosecution after he fled the state (Stern Berger, 2015).

A large group of the Sunni Muslims felt at odds with the Iraqi government which was not ready to address their grievances and seemed to work in the shadows of the Western powers. This resulted in a spectacular recruitment grounds for many Jihadist Organizations one of them being Al Qaeda (Kirkpatrick, 2015). As stated by a former CIA officer the war in Iraq has provided Al Qaeda a new front for its struggle and conflict against the West. As most experts have argued, Zarqawi, one of the men traced back with Daesh today evolved from being an alone extremist to a charismatic leader of Al- Qaeda

leader in Iraq in 2004 (Sekulow, 2014).

Later, Zarqawi had founded a terrorist organization named Jamāat al-Tawhid-al-Jihad that was renamed to Majlis Shura al-Mujahedin (MSM) or Mujahidin Shura Council in 2006 after combining with other Iraqi rebellious factions. After Zarqawi was killed by the US forces, the organization which was formed as a result of joining different factions dispersed.

Later, the MSM joining other rebellious groups founded the Dawlat al-Iraq al Is-lamiyah; Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). In the year 2010, the organization named Abu Ab-dullah al Rashid al Baghdadi as the commander and emir of the group. The organization had begun to extend the structure from Iraq to Syria. In the year 2012, the organization then established and organized its formation with the Al-Nusra Front, the most famous active faction from the Syrian people that opposed Assad regime. The leader of IS later extended the organization to Syria changing the name to Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS).

In 2014, the organization announced the creation of an Islamic state that would erase all borders having their leader as Al Baghdadi which will be leading the estimated 1.5 billion Muslims around the world (Hussain, 2016: 4-5).

Unlike, other international terrorist organization Daesh is today considered to be one of the most dangerous and violent non-state actor(NSA) that exists in the middle east having the probability of spreading into other regions as well as seeking grounds in the international arena. Unlike other NSAs organizations, Daesh is much different in its working, organization, and structure (ibid). Daesh has much superior operational structure and a more cultivated ideology. Further, Daesh has also a multi-functional form that works both militarily and politically (Lynch, 2015). As explained by Wood (2015) Daesh's dominant strategy is to have a Caliphate system in the world which is dominated by the true principles of Islam.

There is no doubt that Daesh is a threat to the international order and world peace.

Daesh has in recent years caused severe peace implications both in the regional and global peace and security that has raised more concern for many states around the globe (Cockburn, 2014). Finally, as security experts suggest, to curb the threat from Daesh, a solid front must be created which can be the only efficient way (Fuller, 2015).

2 Literature Review

In this chapter, I will present and discuss existing literature on how Daesh magazine Dabiq had been studied and what different scholars have written about the magazine. Much of literature existing has focused and concentrated on the general idea of Daesh propaganda and how this has been termed as a digital war. There are a wide range of literature concerning how international terrorists use the media to reach their objectives (Farwell, 2014: 53). This also includes Daesh, one of the insurgent terrorist organizations in modern militants, because of their use of highly structured media techniques to reach their targeted audiences (Greene, 2015)

As agreed and discussed by many scholars, terrorists always compete for our attention and influence (Price, 2012: 8). Terrorists use many techniques through their media propaganda including the use of indiscriminate violence, fear, and intimidation's to influence the policies and actions of societies and their governments (ibid).

Hoffman (1996: 1941) explained how terrorists use their own websites and other websites with different material that targets specific audiences (ibid). Gabriel and Conard (1994) explained how these websites have successfully provided on online platform for indoctrination as well as distribution of terrorist manuals, instructions and data. This is what Evan Kohlmann calls a Myspace -like social networking hub for extremist's intent on becoming the next generation of terrorists (Price, 2012: 8-9).

However, the use of the internet has revolutionized terrorism in many ways. Some of the most notable activities that had to be conducted face to face such as fundraising, or training are now being conducted through websites or virtual training camps (Lieberman, 2017: 10).

In Additions to Daesh's use of the social media platforms, the group has further developed its tentacles online through the production of an online magazine named Dabiq which has the group's ideologies and goals. (Christien, 2016: 2-3) Daesh that claims to be the return of the 17th Islamic Caliphate run according to strict Islamic Sharia law,

have shockingly been spreading its messages through online forums with quite some success (Christien, 2016: 2). The magazine publishes long publications in the languages of English, French, Arabic and Russian. Dabiq aims to show political, military, and religious programs to a western audience and explain the Islamic state's ideological concepts (Christien, 2016: 4).

Other scholars who have studied the Dabiq Magazine have explained Daesh strategic communication campaign. Ryan (2014) and Ghambir (2014) analyzed the structure and contents of Dabiq as means to explore its strategy. Both have emphasized and explained the potency of the magazine's use of propaganda as a tool to galvanize its support base. Ryan (2014) on the other side asserted that the Islamic state is attempting to appeal to the heads of other communities, discontented youth and young professionals (Ingram, 2016: 459).

Moreover, there is a broader analysis of Daesh communication strategies. For example, research by Fernandez (2015), Winter (2015), and Zelin (2015) have found themes that characterize how Daesh shapes its messages to convince their support base. The themes identified are Daesh's world view, how Daesh through their messaging shape perceptions and galvanize support. The Daesh magazine Dabiq and their view to the world are based on its key ideological tenets into four key areas (Colas, 2017: 173-175). These are, Islam as the perfect time-guide for all aspects of life. Jihad as an obligation for all Muslims and the only way to advance the true Islam and thus protecting the "true" Ummah. Its manhaj (methodology) is argued to be one that corresponds to that of prophet Mohammed and the Salafs. This finally implying that Daesh is the defender of the Muslims community. A good example brought forward in the Dabiq propaganda magazine is the Palestinian-Israeli conflict Daesh's propaganda ideologies is built on modern Islamist ideologies like Sayyad Qutb, and Abdallah Azzam whose influence is clear in Daesh's claims that Islam is a perfect and timeless and that it must not be compromised by man-made ideologies. According to Daesh the world is divided into true Muslims referred to

Daesh-aligned Sunnis and everybody else (ibid) Another concept researched is Daesh's propaganda strategy in Dabiq magazine on shaping feelings and realizing support (Colas, 2017: 173). As discussed by many scholars, Daesh propaganda campaign is aimed to shape audience's feelings in line with its world view galvanize their support and mobilize them towards actions by leveraging a combination of pragmatic and perpetual factors in its messaging (Ingram, 2015). Modern insurgents are known to seek and implement their own politico- military apparatus. Fall (1998) describes as a competitive system of meaning designed to act as the "lens" through which its audiences perceive conflict. The other discussion here is the rational-choice appealed to by the group. Daesh appeals to factors that are drawn upon the in-group and out-group identity (other). March and Health (1994) described this rational choice of Daesh strategy on delivering their propaganda messages as logic of suitable decisions, that is choices made in accordance with one's identity. Through this messaging the group portray themselves as the true protectors of the in-group identity (Sunni Muslims).

Another research area of Daesh propaganda techniques in their Dabiq magazine have focused on the groups interpretive framework for radical narrative analysis (Vergani, Bliuc, 2015: 7). This interpretive framework for radical narrative analysis eases an examination of how radical narratives strategically design in-group identity, out-group identity (other) and crisis constructs and interplays these via-value (ibid).

Dabiq magazine can also be understood as an instrument of a Jihadi discourse. Throughout the fifteen issues of Dabiq magazine there exists a persistent and strong distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. Dabiq identifies an array of out-groups—both Muslim and non-Muslim—which Daesh considers its enemies. It proceeds to spend considerable time rejecting and disparaging these enemies (Droogan Peattie, 2017: 616). For example, the magazine aggressively rejects the authority of local regimes, the legitimacy of other jihadi groups and the religious authenticity of Shi'a Muslims, and promotes the alleged weakness and malevolence of the West, and the supposed deviousness of non-

Islamist militias in Iraq and Syria (among others) (Droogan, Peattie, 2017: 616-619).

Throughout the fifteen issues of Dabiq magazine the editors have focused heavily on the concept of out-group rejection. In this sense, through the magazine Daesh tries to express the Islamic State's identity and authority not just in its own right, but also through contrast with other groups—particularly al Qaeda and local militias. The Islamic State's supposed positive traits, uniqueness, strengths and victories are no doubt still discussed and emphasized without reference to out-groups, but out-group comparison remains a key method for the Islamic State to assert its own legitimacy (ibid). Some of the major themes in the magazine are related to allegiance, the groups strengths and victories and their territorial expansion. Daesh uses these themes as to create in-group identity centered on the victory of the group by framing the Islamic states expansion and achievements on behalf of Islam itself (Droogan Peattie, 2017: 620). The Dabiq magazine provides its targeted audiences a narrative of cosmic war led by Daesh and waging war against a coalition of states and organizations through their opposition to Islam. But Daesh targeted audiences are not very clear while the magazine is published in the languages of Arabic, French and Germany the magazine predominantly receives attention in the West due to the magazine producing English versions. Dabiq magazine producing English versions have been explained and understood Daesh uses the Dabiq magazine server as a recruitment and inspiring western Muslims (ibid).

On the other side some scholars argue that Dabiq magazine does not function as a recruitment tool instead the magazine appears to function more as a form of press release(Droogan Peattie, 2017: 619-623).The magazine provides Daesh with an opportunity to justify their actions and its religious authenticity to a broader Muslim audiences and taunt enemies. The magazine further presents the group as vanguard of a global Islamist revolution providing the group religious legitimacy and justifications of the groups actions(ibid).

Through the existing literature it is evident that most scholars who have studied the

Dabiq magazine viewed from the angle of how the magazine uses propaganda to change perceptions of the targeted audience and call for more recruits.

In as much as many scholars have done a great job analyzing this propaganda, not a lot is focused on how the enemy is portrayed. Enemy images have not received the research focus required.Therefore a gap can be identified. The importance of enemy image is in making it obvious why this propaganda is successful. For the audience to consume this propaganda, they have to identify themselves with Daesh and prejudice the others as the enemy. Therefore, my research in this paper will contribute to the existing literature by analyzing the magazine and investigating how the Daesh constructs enemy images in the magazine. It will add a missing angle to the study of Dabiq as a propaganda magazine.

3 Theoretical Framework

This chapter will introduce different theories that are central for this research paper. A brief definition of enemy images will be presented. Some of the theoretical concepts that will be highlighted are stereotyping, othering and prejudice. General theories on enemy image construction will be presented. This chapter will also try to make connections between these theories and how they can help us answer our research questions. The definitions of enemy images will in this case give us an understanding and a basis to explore how Daesh defines the enemy images of their opponents. There are other core elements that are central to construction of enemy images that will be explored i.e. othering, stereotyping and prejudice. More details on the explanation of these enemy images theories will be discussed in the coming sections.

3.1 Enemy Images

Enemies and enemy images are thought to be prerequisites in preparedness for war (i.e., to fight and kill). An enemy image is here defined as a specific form of a negative stereotype. (Oppenheimer, 2006: 269).

Concerning the development of enemy images, early theories have focused and related enemy images to psychodynamic and social psychological perspectives. According to Harle (2000), enemy images are today used in conflicts and is present in wars and many in propaganda studies.

The psychodynamic approach perceives enemy images as a dynamic process with the internal motivating process (Oppenheimer, 2006: 271). From a social psychological perspective, the emergence of negative stereotypes is also thought to be a dynamic process. Within this approach, enemy images represent a set of beliefs and assumptions about an individual or a group. Enemy image construction is, therefore, a natural reaction to the process of identity formation by individuals or groups (Stein, 1996). The other cru-

cial point is when a group holds such image it is considered a negative stereotype. For instance, (Brown 2001) has demonstrated that when groups are involved in inter-group comparisons, a definite relation is evident between positive in-group (e.g., own country). On the one hand, there is a derogation of the other group (out-group). These findings suggest the relation between in-group favoritism or identification and out-group devaluation can be manipulated by strengthening or weakening the need for inter-group comparison (Oppenheimer, 2006: 271.272). Therefore, when enemy images are present or negative stereotypes are self-fulfilling and self-reinforcing. By such images, people tend to act more aggressively toward the other group.

An enemy image is a representation of the other as the enemy. It can be effective or cognitive; It can drive from the actions of the enemy or the perceptions of the perceiver. Or in other words, an enemy image could be biased, imaginary or real (Zur, 1991: 5). An enemy image could be defined as the commonly held, stereotypical, dehumanizing image of the out-group. For instance, the enemy image provides a focus for externalization of fears and threats. In addition to that, a lot of undesirable cognitions and emotions are projected to the enemy. The crucial concept for us to understand is that the "enemy image" is not limited to feelings of dislike or antipathy; it must also involve the threatening possibility of aggression and violence. The other emphasis and central concept of enemy images are that the one group (in-group) is threatened by another group (out-group). This is not simply hostility, threat, or aggression among individuals. But there is also emphasis on the process of dehumanization which legitimizes violence against the enemy (Zur, 1999: 6-8)

Vergani and Bliuc (2015) argued that creating the idea of 'us' versus 'them' strengthens the in-group and the out-group identity. The in-group identity is that of the dominant group trying to create an image of the other. In this case, the in-group is the group with good morals, while the out-group are the threat-posing group who are violating their values and assets. Not only do the out-group present a threat to the in-group but there is a

real possibility for annihilation if this threat is not met with hostility or aggression. This then leads to legitimizing violence, projections, and other cognitive biases. The central concept here is enemy images are essential in the legitimization of the different forms of violence within societies. As explained by Galtung (1990) violence can be classified as cultural, structural and direct violence.

Enemy images can also be defined in a way where we set our self through the definition of the other. The central concept here is that to determine the enemy we need to identify our self-first and make identification of who we are. We do this by describing our self as the good while our enemy, in this case, is the bad (Girard, 2013). Enemy images and othering is one of the core concepts that clarify how to define and understand enemy images. Othering, in this case, functions to identify that the other is different from us. Scholars relate othering in the study of sociology where by that difference of "us" versus "them" creates division (Harle, 2000: 10)

Another definition from the prominent scholar Laswell (1951) is the image of the enemy can be defined as the expression of opinions and actions so we can influence the perceptions of groups or individuals. He goes further and explains that we do this through predetermined ends or psychological means. Feelings are essential to understanding events or situations. There are many ways of changing people's attitudes to assume a certain issue, and one of them can be through the use of the media propaganda. In the general understandings of some scholar's enemy images can be categorized as malign and benign enemy images. According to explanations given to Harle and Luostarinen, the central concepts of a malign enemy images are, describing the enemy as different from us, dehumanizing the other, representing the other as stereotypical and lastly portraying the enemy as never changing and static (Luostarinen, 1989: 9-23).

There are also some other core concepts in understanding in enemy images; stereotyping, othering and prejudice. Stereotyping of the enemy is one of the significant ways to portray its badness and essential first step in dehumanizing them so they can be killed

without guilt (Zur, 1999: 4). Othering is also necessary to enemy images. Othering is defined as when a group or an individual does not follow the same norms as the in-group members. This exclusion is then used as a form of identification. The role of othering play in enemy images is to define that the "other" is different from the in-group members (Harle, 2000:10). The important understanding underlying othering is that the whether the in-group or the out-group this leads to the aspect of inclusion and exclusion. Also, the enemy, in this case, is considered to be threatening while the other is deemed to be unthreatening (Vuorinen, 2012: 3). Enemy images and prejudice are also essential and core to of enemy images understanding. Prejudice is an attitude and with cognitive components of belief. This can be dislike and negative behavior towards the targeted or the out-group (Dovidio, 2002: 31)

3.2 Construction of Enemy Images

Construction of enemy images is essential to stage of the whole concept of enemy images. There are very crucial components categorized into four, which is based on the creation of enemy images (Steiner, 2016:12). The four elements are delimitations between "us" and" them," our and their essence, our assets and their threats and finally legitimate responses (Steiner, 2016: 12-13). Each of these components will be discussed below so we can get a clear concept of how the enemy images are constructed within societies (ibid).

The first component is "Delimitations between "us" and "them." This component builds the bridge of distinction between the enemy and us. The next component that our and their essence creates and paves the way to describe who the enemies are and who we are. This is characterized by creating "us" versus "them" as discussed in the definitions chapter. It is not enough to construct the enemy just creating the two sides of "us" and "them," but we need to describe the enemy by projecting them to be the bad, violent, fearful, that pose a threat to us. While we, in this case, are the opposite of the enemies

we have described (ibid). As argued and discussed by other scholars that any war that happens today in the modern world appears to be a war of defense against the enemy, whom we have described above (Laswell, 40-47).

The third component which is "our assets" and "their threats" gives further clarification and constructs the enemy arguing the threat the enemy pose to our assets. Assets in the case of Daesh is religion, Islamic Sharia and strict practice of the Islamic religion. As Laswell discusses that "we" in this case believe that the beliefs of the enemy are a threat to our assets that we classified as our religion and culture. One crucial stage of constructing the enemy is creating a situation of fear whereby it will be easier for people to accept the image of the enemy. One central concept is that while people are in the position of fear and stress, it is easy to construct the enemy (Steiner, 2016: 10).

The last and fourth component of constructing the image of the enemy is a legitimate response. It is apparent that when enemies are defined and constructed a legitimate response is needed to counteract the threat from the enemy. This last component of constructing the image of the enemy is based on who has the legitimate response to act. The argument here is that destroying an enemy that is defined to be evil; violent appears to be rational and legitimate. Not only acting but the acting is considered to be legitimate. While the enemy had been constructed there will be the need of securitization where the need of security becomes an essential thing here (Buzan, Barry; Wæver, Ole; de Wilde, Jaap, 1998: 23).

When enemy images are present, there are consequences of enemy images within different groups. In his faces of the enemy, Sam Keen (Zur, 1999) coined the term consensual paranoia. He further explains that normal person who is a member of war-justifying society forms the template from which all images of the enemy are created. The term consensual paranoia suggests a pathology. When an individual or individuals experiences unrealistic fear, constant worries, sees the world in black and white and acts irrationally, we label this person paranoid (Zur, 1999: 13).

Wodak (2015) argued that one of the significant consequences of constructing enemy images is it influences the decision-making process. Not only decision making but also legitimate political decisions are profoundly influenced. What influences these decision-making processes are perceptions are changed through the construction. To this end, perceptions are important in understand issues and therefore one our perceptions are changed it will have an impact on decision-making processes. As discussed above enemy images are to depict the other as the urgent threat and legitimize hostile actions towards the "other." The construction of enemy images lies in the four components of constructing the enemy images. These are delimitations between "us" and" them," our and their essence, our assets and their threats and finally legitimate responses.

Therefore, enemy images theories could successfully answer the research questions of this research. By applying the enemy images as general and specifically their construction I would, thus, seek to explain how Daesh construct enemy images in their Dabiq magazine.

3.3 Operationalising the theoretical framework

The different theories of enemy images presented will serve as a guideline in analyzing our data. Since we have already introduced some concepts that characterize the construction of enemy images, we will look for this in the data. This introduced concepts such as definitions of enemy images, stereotyping, prejudice and othering will then make it easy to analyze our data.

The construction of enemy images follows a set of key stages. These stages are found to be very excellent for our research since they give us a set of characteristics to look for. These general steps are first, delimitation between them and us. The next stage deals with defining a set of values that separate the two groups. This is what is described as 'our' and 'their' essence. The next stage is the definition of the enemy as a key threat to these values. This is well captured in the section dealing with 'our' assets and 'their'

threat. With any enemy construction, the final aim is to legitimize war or violence. This will be based on the foundation built on the theory regarding the legitimate action. Our theoretical framework thus provides a set of tools that we can use to find elements of enemy construction in Dabiq. We will try and find evidence of delimitation, separation, prejudice and legitimate action in the data. This will be the framework we will use to answer our research question using the operational questions below-

Who are "we" and "they" in regards to the enemy?

What defines 'us' and 'them' as the enemy?

What assets belong to "us" and how do "they" as the enemy threaten it?

What are the legitimate responses suggested in the data?

Using this framework, we will find text and quotes from Dabiq that show enemy image construction. This could be all the 15 issues. We will limit our research to the data that shows a direct relation to our subject of study while using other parts as an indication of context.

4   Methodological Framework

There had been growing awareness of the importance of language and meaning for political analysis and of the power of mass media has produced a dramatic upsurge of interest in textual analysis (Halperin Heath, 2012: 309). In political research, two forms of textual analysis have become prominent: Discourse analysis and content analysis (ibid).

The discourse analysis is a qualitative type of analysis that explores how discourse gives legitimacy and meaning to social practices and institutions. Discourse consists of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is produced and reproduced in a particular historical situation (ibid). I, therefore, found the discourse analysis the most applicable method for this research. However, a central concept of the discourse analysis is that the elements of discourse can be brought to light through analyzing the language, semiotics (latent meaning in the text) and conventions found in a variety of texts. This can be written texts, oral, and visual texts (ibid).

The discourse analysis is an interpretive constructivist form of analysis that draws on diverse theoretical and methodological approaches from linguistics, anthropology, and sociology. This study is based on the constructivist arguing that Daesh in their magazine Dabiq construct the enemy images of their opponents to galvanize support and thus attract many recruits to their organization (ibid).

Discourse analysis is interpretive. It assumes that people act by beliefs values or ideology that gives meaning to their actions and that to understand political behavior (Halperin Heath, 2012: 311). On the other side, the discourse analysis is also constructivist. Discourse analysis does not only assume that people act towards objects, including people and by the meanings which those objects have for them. But the meanings of this case are socially and discursively constructed. Discourse analysis aims not only to reveal meanings through an examination of the language but in the discourse we employ in our interactions. Discourse analysis also seeks to uncover how discursive practices construct meanings, through the production, dissemination, and consumption of various of texts,

including formal written records, television programs, different forms of advertisements, and novels (ibid). I have therefore chosen the discourse analysis method and found to be the most applicable method for this research paper.

The discourse analysis method here will be applied practically by choosing some of the quotes that are relevant to answer my research question. Through the analysis, this thesis will not analyze the entire discourse in Dabiq magazine but instead focus on corresponding parts of the magazine that can fulfill the aim of this thesis and thus answer the research questions.

4.1 Data

This research paper will rely on Dabiq as primary data as well as other existing data to create context. This could include the news happening during that period. Dabiq was produced by Al-Hayat media center. The magazine was written by members of Daesh but does not state the author (s). Also, it does not give any information related to the author's background, education and nationality as well. There is one section however that was written by John Cantlie, a captive British journalist who wrote it as a western style opinion piece supporting Daesh. There is, however, discourse to the fact that the author was under duress. These opinions sectioned started appearing from the 3rd issue of Dabiq. The Dabiq magazines for this research was found in the Clarion project organization's website. The Clarion Project is a non-governmental organization that works on how to best counter-terrorism and is the brainchild of some academics with good knowledge in terrorism.

There are so far 15 issues of the Dabiq magazine published online by Daesh. The first issue was released in June 2014. Each issue of Dabiq magazine starts with a brief introduction of the magazine and covers a specific topic that then becomes the theme for the magazine. For example, the first issue of Dabiq magazine was given the name "the return of Khilafah." The magazine was published in different languages such as English,

Arabic, and French. I choose the English version for ease of reference and the audience of this thesis.

Throughout all the issues there are clear sections showing the concept of "us" and "them" and the in-group and the out-group dynamics. However, not all the issues will be relevant to the analytical material. To find the relevant sections of the magazine, we will use our enemy images theories and our operational questions as our guidelines choosing sections that are particularly relevant to our understanding of how enemy images are constructed. The enemy images in the Dabiq propaganda magazine is portrayed both with images and text. Some of the images that are mostly shown in the all the issues are Daesh soldiers carrying the black flag, enemies of Daesh killed in the war, images of children being killed. It is horrifying images aimed at capturing attention. In much of the texts, Daesh encourages all Muslims to emigrate to Daesh territory. There are also many Quranic and Hadith citations translated into English that enjoin Jihad as being obligatory to every Muslim.

There are many sections of the texts and numerous images that show a clear attempt at construction of enemy images by Daesh. This will form the core of our primary data. We will, however, limit ourselves to the analysis of the text using discourse analysis.

4.2   The Process of Collecting the Data

I began to collect and download the issues of Dabiq magazine the Clarion project organization website. The Clarion project organizations seem to be extreme in their views on terrorism, but my aim was only to obtain my data from their website. I downloaded all the fifteen issues of the Dabiq magazine from the Clarion project website. I started reading and making notes carefully understanding how Daesh defines and constructs the enemy images of their opponents.

Through the lenses of the different theories of enemy images, I tried to carefully identify the themes produced in the magazine to address some themes as being their

strongest arguments and chosen arguments for their targeted audience to understand. The themes that we are going to give attention are those that have been identified and highlighted in the theory section. This will include, delimitation of the enemy (who are we and who are they) identity (what is our essence and theirs), perceived threats (what is our asset and their threats) and eventually legitimate responses. Other themes could be available. However, we see this themes as the most relevant in answering our research question. We have thus limited our analysis to those we state here.

In the process of reading the 15 issues of Dabiq magazine, I have noted out the parts that are relevant and applicable to this study and intentionally excluded the other parts covered in the Dabiq magazine. I will look at the relevant sections with the themes that we are looking after. I will, therefore, analyze pieces of text and as required from Discourse Analysis, put this discourse in context to show how it is being used in a constructivist manner to influence the audience. We will thus look at all the 15 issues and gather these pieces of text and critically analyze them to be able to answer our operational questions and eventually our research question.

4.3   Validity and Reliability

The validity and the reliability of my data was my most crucial part of my research. I have chosen all the fifteen (15) issues of Dabiq, and all contents of the magazine were necessary for my focus of Daesh's construction of the enemy images of their opponents. The reason why the 15 issues were considered a reliable source of data was due to its consistency. The data is therefore consistent with what Daesh wanted to pass to the audience. It was a periodic magazine produced to a very high standard.

There are many quotes represented in all issues of the magazine my goal here was to include all the relevant themes in the Dabiq issues in my analysis. This was done to produce enough data that can answer my research question. I have therefore chosen the most relevant quotes from the fifteen issues. Also, these quotes chosen contained

the themes identified from my theoretical chapter on the construction of enemy images. However, as is called upon by methodology, discourse analysis requires the placement of this discourse in context. This, therefore, required the reading of not just the whole magazine but also other relevant happenings that will put this publication in context.

5 Findings and Analysis

Relying on the enemy images theories we have expounded on before as our theoretical base and discourse analysis as our method of analysis,we will investigate how Daesh constructs enemy images of their opponents in Dabiq magazine. The intention of this chapter is to reveal, highlight and analyze the findings and dig deeper into the discourse while focusing on how Daesh constructs enemy images of their opponents.

Using discourse analysis method and the four operational questions suggested in subsection 3.3, we will choose the most relevant quotes from our data. In our analysis we will limit ourselves to the themes related to construction of enemy images. Since all the data can not be included, we will choose some of the more relevant quotes for our analysis especially where there is some repetition. The thesis will however include an appendix with all the relevant data.it is expected that some major and minor themes will be repetitive and overlapping throughout the fifteen issues.

In order to provide a broader understanding of the underlying discourses and their interpretation, a discussion section will be presented that will further highlight the conclusion and the final points made from our analysis chapter.

5.1 Who are "we" and "they" in regards to the enemy?

The Dabiq magazines have a clear and consistent structure. Apart from the striking design, all the issues seem to have sections that are consistent. Dabiq had thematic focus on each of its issues. The layout was also the same throughout its 15 issues. For example, sections regarding what the enemy said was highlighted which named 'in the words of the enemy' through all the issues. Our focus however will be on enemy images in Dabiq. As discussed in our research question, we aim to find how Daesh construct the enemy image of their opponents. One way of doing this is through analysis of the magazine to find particular sections of text that are directed towards this purpose.

The separation of "us" and "them" appears in the first issue of Dabiq, where Daesh divides the world into two.

> "O Ummah of Islam, indeed the world today has been divided into two camps and two trenches, with no third camp present: The camp of Islam and faith, and the camp of kufr (disbelief) and hypocrisy – the camp of the Muslims and the mujahidin everywhere, and the camp of the Jews, the crusaders, their allies, and with them the rest of the nations and religions of kufr, all being led by America and Russia, and being mobilized by the Jews." (Dabiq Nr1:9)

This text was presented in the very first issue of Dabiq. The context was that Daesh had gained a lot of ground in Syria and Iraq. This could be seen as their days of expansion. By using the word 'ummah of Islam', Daesh were identifying an audience. The audience being all Muslims. Here we also find words that identify who the enemy is. That is everyone else who does not share their ideology. This was when they were bullish and needed to recruit members. The discourse being created being that of division between people and clearly identifying who was who.

From the quote it is very clear how Daesh uses the concept of "us" and "them". According to For Daesh the world is divided into two camps with no third camp. The two camps mentioned here are the camp of Islam and faith and the camp of Kufr (disbelief) and hypocrisy. Daesh portrays their enemies as those living with hypocrisy while calling their camp as the one of faith. As explained by Harle (2000) the enemy image emerges if and only if "we" and "they" are fundamentally different, that is when the distinction is understood to reflect the struggle between the good and evil, and when good is associated with "us" but evil with "them". From the quote it is very plain how Daesh portrays their enemies through negative prejudice. In light of this to define the enemy we need to define ourselves first and define our identity. We do this by describing our self as the good while our enemy in this case is the bad (Girard, 2013). This is very clear and presented in all the

issues of Dabiq magazine on how Daesh defined themselves a s the good and projecting the bad to their enemies.

In the quote Daesh also mentions who are their enemies. The enemies are mentioned to be America, Russia and the Jews. One more group included in the enemies group although not directly identified are those who are allies of those enemy nations. The theoretical explanation of Daesh division of the world into two can be connected to the definition of enemy images in a way where we define our self through the definition of the other. Daesh goes further portraying their enemies as those who are in the darkness, criticizing their rulers and arguing that the time of dishonor has gone and new era of honor has emerged.

> "The time has come for those generations that were drowning in oceans of disgrace, being nursed on the milk of humiliation, and being ruled by the vilest of all people, after their long slumber in the darkness of neglect – the time has come for them to rise. The time has come for the Ummah of Muhammad (sallallahu 'alayhi wa sallam) to wake up from its sleep, remove the garments of dishonor, and shake off the dust of humiliation and disgrace, for the era of lamenting and moaning has gone, and the dawn of honor has emerged anew. The sun of jihad has risen. The glad tidings of good are shining. Triumph looms on the horizon. The signs of victory have appeared. (Dabiq Nr1, :5)

From the above quote Daesh shows clear division of "us" and "them". According to Daesh their enemies have been drowning in oceans of disgrace while "us" in this case (Daesh) are the opposite of what their enemies are. Daesh also argues that their enemies were in darkness.

Furthermore, Daesh highlights an important concept indirectly communicating with their targeted audiences that it is time for the Muslim communities to wake up and re-move what Daesh calls 'garments of dishonor', those of disgrace and shake off the dust

of humiliation. According to some of the theoretical explanations given by Harle and Luostarinen there are two types of enemy images. These are malign and benign enemy images. Malign enemy images can be understood as describing the enemy being different from us, dehumanizing the other, describing the other as stereotypical and lastly describing the enemy as never changing and static (Luostarinen, 1989: 9-23). According to the different arguments given by Daesh the enemies are portrayed as being malign enemies that never change. A benign enemy being that there could be overlap between 'us' and 'them'. They are dynamic and open to change. Daesh has no interest in finding any common ground between themselves and the enemy.

From the quote Daesh argues and suggests that Jihad is the only option that can be used as a tool to take from the darkness their living and bringing them to the glad tidings that shines. For instance, Daesh idea of "us" and "they" is clear that the enemies are portrayed as being negative and bad and "us" in this case is referred to as the good people.

The enemy is not only limited to the far enemy. Daesh also addresses itself to the near enemy. These are other Muslim sects such as Shias. Other groups such as Yazidis and Suffis are considered enemies of Daesh.

> The Rāfidah are the insurmountable obstacle, the lurking snake, the scorpion of deception and malice, the prowling enemy, the deadly poison. We here wage a war at two levels. The first war is open and exposed with an aggressive enemy and clear kufr. The second war is a difficult and fierce one with a scheming enemy who dresses like a friend, shows approval, and calls to unity, while he conceals evil [...]. The precise observer and wise scrutinizer realizes that Shiism is the immediate danger and real challenge. They are the enemy, so beware of them. May Allah destroy them; how are they deluded? [Al-Munāfiqūn: 4]. [...] Shiism contains everything from blatant shirk, to grave worship, to circumambulating tombs, to takfīr of the Sahābah, to curs-

ing the Mothers of the Believers and the best of this Ummah, to claiming
distortion of the Qur'ān. (Dabiq Nr 12: 41).

From the above quotes, Rafidah is the term used for Shiias. They are described as
the hidden enemy who is nevertheless potent. Values in Shiism that can be used to create
a delimitation are highlighted. These include circumambulating tombs and cursing the
Mothers of Believers. The aim is obviously to paint them as an enemy who should also
be fought. They refer to two wars, one of which is that targeted to the enemy dressed
like a friend i.e Shiias.

5.2   What defines 'us' and 'them' as the enemy?

Throughout the fifteen issues of Dabiq magazine the definition of the enemy is very
clear. Daesh defines the enemy and construct their enemies in a negative way through
projecting all the bad on the enemy.

> Strangeness is a condition that the Muslim living in the West cannot escape
> as long as he remains amongst the crusaders. He is a stranger amongst Chris-
> tians and liberals. He is a stranger amongst fornicators and sodomites. He
> is a stranger amongst drunkards and druggies. He is a stranger in his faith
> and deeds, as his sincerity and submission are towards Allah alone, whereas
> the kuffār of the West worship and obey clergy, legislatures, media, and both
> their animalistic and deviant desires. For them it is strange that one mani-
> fests sincere submission to His Lord in word and deed. It is strange that one
> works for the Ākhirah, giving it priority to the Dunyā. It is strange that one
> does not pursue his animalistic desires like a beast and even experiment with
> perverted desires like a devil. 29-30 (Dabiq Nr 12: 29-30).

From the above quote it is very clear how Daesh construct the enemy image of their
opponents by portraying the enemy as filthy. Some of the characteristics that are be-

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ing highlighted are practices such as sex before marriage and homosexuality. Drug and alcohol addiction is highlighted as well. These are practices that are prohibited in islam which are tolerated in the West. Daesh uses this as a clear incompatibility between them and the enemy. (Aho 1994) explains a similar concept that the enemy image is constructed through regarding the targeted group or the enemies as the impure, filth and excrement that are to be flashed out from the society. From the quote Daesh tries to make the distinctions between Muslims living in the West and Christians. Daesh argues that Muslims living in the west will live in a strange situation as long as living among Christians. But the clear characterization of "us" and "them" comes through defining their enemies and calling them sodomites and fornicators. The Muslim, on the other hand, is sincere and submits to God. They should therefore never feel comfortable living among such filth.As (Zur, 1999) explains Stereotyping of the enemy is one of the major ways to portray its badness and essential first step in dehumanizing them so they can be killed without guilt.

Daesh goes further, mentioning that the west worships its animalistic and deviant desires. Daesh defines the enemy as those who are not manifesting sincere submission to their Lord,the kuffār . As explained by Kristian Steiner (2016), to construct the enemy image we need to build a bridge of distinction between the enemy and us. Elements of indirect characterisation can be seen here. By defining the muslims of the west, they are in essence creating a bond. Telling those muslim that they are one with Daesh. By praising them and characterising them, Daesh is characterising themselves.

Daesh goes further who are the enemies and defines them in a negative way. By stating that-

> "The flag of Khilāfah will rise over Makkah and al-Madīnah, even if the apostates and hypocrites despise such. The flag of Khilāfah will rise over Baytul-Maqdis and Rome, even if the Jews and Crusaders despise such. The shade of this blessed flag will expand until it covers all eastern and western

extents of the Earth, filling the world with the truth and justice of Islam and putting an end to the falsehood and tyranny of jāhiliyyah, even if America and its coalition despise such. (Dabiq Nr 5: 3)

Othering and prejudice are essential in the definition and constructing the image of the "other" as the enemy. Both othering and prejudice play a crucial role in the definition and construction of the enemy image. For example, othering defines that the enemy is different from "us" the major understanding underlying othering is that the whether the in-group or the out-group this leads to the aspect of inclusion and exclusion (Vuorinen, 2012: 3). While prejudice in this case is an attitude and with cognitive components of believes. This can be dislike and negative behavior towards the targeted or the out-group (Dovidio, 2002: 31).

From the above quote Daesh mentions the enemies are the Jews and using the word crusaders. The word crusaders are rhetorically used in all the magazine of Dabiq referring to all those who oppose how Daesh sees the world. The crusade refers to the medieval wars to recover lands under muslim rule by the church. In the quote Daesh praises their flag arguing that it fills the world with truth and justice and puts an end to the falsehood. in other words, one of our characteristics is that we stand for truth and justice while the enemy represents falsehood and tyranny. Peterson Bo (2001) explains that negative stereotypes are central towards upholding the borderlines that help collectiveness of people define who they are. It is often easier for a group of people to agree whom is not considered to be one of them. Marginalization is therefore essential for the construction of the in-group "us".

However, Daesh message in the above quote is that their opponents are those who are practicing falsehood and in a situation of Jahiliyah. The Arabic word Jahiliyah" is referred to the period before Islam and what people were worshiping idols. However, the enemy emerges only if and only "we" and "them".

For an effective enemy image, there has to be clear distinctions created. The enemy

has to be defined for what they are. This characterization includes definition of our essence as being different from theirs. They enemy has to be shown as filthy while we should be the clean. Dabiq goes a long way in exploring this theme.

5.3   What assets belong to "us" and how do "they" as the enemy threaten it?

Daesh uses religious and historical justifications as basis for their existence. A major theme throughout the material is how Islamic assets are being threatened by the enemy. Daesh refers to the enemies all those who oppose their ideas and approach of actions.

> This, in reality, was a result of secularism pervading the people's intellects in our era, separating between religion and state, and between the Shari'ah and governance, and treating the Qur'an as a book of chanting and recitation rather than a book of governance, legislation, and enforcement (Dabiq Nr1: 40).

From the above quote Daesh argues secularism is dividing in this era separating religion from the state. Daesh sees that religion and state cannot be separated into two and sharia has to be applied as the governing system. By bringing up the concept of religion and Sharia as the assets of Daesh the group confirms the theory of Laswell mentioned in the theoretical chapter that that "us" in this case believe that the beliefs of the enemy are threat to their assets, and these assets can be classified as religion, race and democracy.

From the quote Daesh's main goal is very clear. The Quran should not be used only as a book of recitation but rather the book should be used for governing, legislation and enforcement. Daesh sees religion as the most important value/asset which is threatened by their enemies through their secularist ideologies. Ideas that encourage separation of religion from the state and abandonment of Islamic sharia law as the governing system. This confirms to the explanation of enemy images given by Kristian Steiner (2016)that an image depicts the other as an urgent threat towards 'our' most important values and

assets. Daesh goes further, expressing their strong opposition to democracy by arguing that it does not fit as a legitimate alternative rule for the Muslim community.

> It's the same rubbish we hear from Obama, Hollande, Netanyahu, How Islam is great, we really like Muslims, but only "Muslims" who conform to our definition of what a "Muslim" should be, who fits neatly into the definition of a working democracy. And whoever does not conform to this new definition of "Muslim" will be persecuted (Dabiq Nr7: 78).

The above text connects us to the earlier claim of Daesh that Islamic Sharia law is the only governance system that can be accepted by the Muslim communities. Daesh expresses their view of the West through mentioning leaders who argue that they have no problem with Islam that is compatible with their democratic rules. Daesh message can be understood by expressing their concern on the distinction made by the West within the Muslim community that those who accept their democratic views of the world are not prosecuted while Daesh are prosecuted.

From the definition of an enemy image, being a belief held by a certain group that its security and basic values are directly threatened by some other group (Heikki, 1989: 125), we get a broader understanding on what Daesh sees as their core values. Democracy is the threat to those values.

Daesh also tries to make justifications for their actions through construction of the enemy image of their opponents. Daesh uses Islamic history as one of the tools. In Dabiq we find -

> "With the kuffār up in arms over the large-scale destruction at the hands of the Islamic State, the actions of the mujahidin had not only emulated Ibrahim's ('alayhis-salām) destruction of the idols of his people and Prophet Muhammad's (Salalah 'alayhi wa sallam) destruction of the idols present around the Ka'ba when he conquered Makkah, but had also served to enrage

the kuffār, a deed that in itself is beloved to Allah, The kuffār had unearthed these statues and ruins in recent generations and attempted to portray them as part of a cultural heritage and identity that the Muslims of Iraq should embrace and be proud of. Yet this opposes the guidance of Allah and His Messenger and only serves a nationalist agenda that severely dilutes the walā' that is required of the Muslims towards their Lord" (Dabiq Nr 8: 22).

From the above quote religion is used to justify the destruction of cultural heritages while the the outrage in the West is presented as being 'beloved' by Allah. Daesh neglects the notion of culture arguing that it does not exist within the traditions of Islam. Daesh's central argument is that such culture is not an asset to them but choose strict practices of the Islamic religion as the only acceptable idea. According to Daesh idol worship is an act that is forbidden in islam and should not be a valued in any cultural context . Daesh further strengthen their argument by referencing to both prophet Mohamed and Ibrahim. What Daesh did is likened to what the prophets did in destroying idols in Makkah.

From the theoretical explanations, the concept of enemy images is strongly attached to the notion of in-group and out-group identity which is presented throughout all the issues of Dabiq magazine. Some of the values that Daesh sees as being the most important for them is strict practicing the Islamic religion. This is the core asset that they are defending. The threat here comes from the out-group (all opponents of Daesh views) which is posed to the in-group (Daesh).

The other theoretical explanation on the emphasis and central concept of enemy images through our discussions of Daesh assets (in-group) and the enemies that threatens these assets (out-group) cannot simply be hostility, threat, or aggression among individuals. But there is also emphasis on the process of dehumanization which legitimizes violence against the enemy (Zur, 1999: 6-8). The next section will deal with this legitimization.

5.4 What are the legitimate responses suggested in the data?

Throughout the fifteen issues Daesh suggests violence as being the only solution and legitimate response to the threats they face from their enemies. Daesh argues their core values are being threatened by the West and all those who are against their views and supporting democracy as the rule of law. However, Daesh sees everything which is against their interpretation of the Islamic religion as the threat to their assets (religion) which has to be dealt with violently. One of the suggested solutions by Daesh as legitimate response is clearly stated on the fourth issue of Dabiq magazine calling for action against the Americans and the French. They accuse them of striking the lands of Muslim without differentiating, killing innocent Muslim civilians including women and children, and subjecting them to a life of constants fear. Daesh encourages and sends a loud message to their supporters making strong justification for revenge against their enemies. Daesh tries to shape this message to their targeted audience by stating reasons why action is necessary against their enemies. Daesh states that-

> "So, O muwahhid... O you who believes in walā' and barā'... will you leave the American, the Frenchman, or any of their allies to walk safely upon the earth while the armies of the crusaders strike the lands of the Muslims not differentiating between a civilian and fighter? They have killed nine Muslim women three days ago by striking a bus transporting them from Shām to Iraq. Will you leave the disbeliever to sleep safely at home while the Muslim women and children shiver with fear of the roars of the crusader airplanes above their heads day and night? (Dabiq Nr 4, 9).

From the above quote Daesh mentions that those who believe in Wala and bara has to accept their calls and defend the innocent Muslims killed by the enemies. The concept of Wala and bara (loyalty and disavowal) is referred so that Muslims should value Allah and Islam over all other things(Wala) and on the other hand, disavowal (bara) must be shown

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to anything deemed un-Islamic (Wagemakers, 2008: 3). A similar concept is explained Ahnaf, Muhammad (2006) in his book Image of the Other as Enemy, on how fundamentalists construct the image of the other as the enemy. Fundamentalists image of the other as the enemy is rooted in two sources: Passages from the Quran and Hadiths, and the history of conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims. Fundamentalists highlight the Quran confrontational pages regarding the other while ignoring or reinterpreting the conciliatory pages. They then reinforce the image by listing cases of conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims throughout history (Ahnaf, 2006: 11).

Daesh argues that as long as innocent Muslims were being killed by the air strikes by the French/American, it is logical and justifiable to kill innocent civilians without differentiating the fighter and the civilians. They present the number of women killed in a bus as a strong image for action. The section below is particularly powerful as a call to action. Will you leave the disbeliever to sleep safely at home while the Muslim women and children shiver with fear of the roars of the crusader airplanes above their heads day and night?

In light of this, Daesh portraying their enemies as the threat who that calls for legitimate response is quite evident. According to Vuorinen Marja (2012) destroying an enemy that has been defined as essentially evil and threatening will soon appear rational, legitimate, and even honourable. Daesh goes further calling for more violent actions against their enemies. Daesh states and references to Islamic teachings arguing that their actions are ways of showing obedience to God and emulating the prophet. Daesh also argues that to loot the property of their enemies is accepted in Islam and this takes them closer to God. Dabiq states that-

> "We will rub the noses of the kuffār in dirt, shed their blood, and take their wealth as ghanīmah by the might and power of Allah. And we do all that in emulation of the Prophet, not innovating anything. We do it in obedience to Allah and His Messenger, and to come closer to Allah. And we hope to attain

abundant rewards by this deed, as per His statement, Then kill the mushrikīn wherever you find them and capture them and besiege them and sit in wait for them at every place of ambush but if they should repent, establish prayer, and give zakāh, let them go on their way. (Dabiq Nr 10, 61). '

From the above quote Daesh and explains their actions against their enemies. Daesh states that they will shed the blood of their enemies. As discussed on the earlier chapters the enemies of Daesh are all those who oppose their ideologies and see their approaches and ways of interpreting the Islamic religion as something which is unacceptable in the true teachings of Islam. Shedding the blood of their enemy and taking their wealth is fair game. Daesh uses the Arabic word Ghanimah which refers to taking the wealth of your enemies after defeating them . Thus killing the enemy has physical rewards as well in addition to the spiritual one. Daesh also argues that they have no any other objective and their killings and taking the wealth of their enemies is done for the sake of Allah and their prophet. Referencing to one of the verses of the Quran and interpreting it according to how they view the world, they expect great rewards from God.

6 Discussion

I have sought, in this thesis, to investigate how Daesh constructs images of the enemy. In my findings, it became clear that some characteristics are present in Daesh's construction of enemy images that could be highlighted. I would try and discuss what my findings might mean and how valuable this results could be. To some extent, I will also try to explain how this value can be obtained.

Enemy images and their construction is vital in the field of Peace and understanding Conflicts because it is usually a prerequisite for war. Enemy imaging is a critical step that converts a neighbor, for example, to a lethal enemy that should be fought. It is, therefore, a good area of focus when we want to prevent escalation of hostilities. As Steiner claims, enemy imaging is already in itself a form of violence. This is an explanation that I agree. Furthermore, I would like to postulate that it is an act of war.

Through the results and analysis section, i was able to deduce through my operational question and the findings how Daesh first creates a delimitation between themselves and the enemy. Then there are are elements regarding the characterization of the enemy to define their essence. This then escalates to defining them as threats to the core values of Muslims. The loop is completed through the suggestion of legitimate response.

When war is seen by the rest of the world is when hostilities have already escalated leading to loss of lives. However, it is my suggestion that war begins even when enemy images have started their spread and legitimization. The results of this thesis can be used to show that enemy image creation is not just used to call to war but also to sustain it.

At the time of publication of Dabiq, even though we do not concentrate on this here in the thesis, the war had already broken out. Daesh was using Dabiq as a way to sustain and reinforce these particular enemy images. It was clear to them that without enemy imaging, the war could not be maintained.

This brings me to a very important link. That between enemy imaging and radicalization. In as much as the connection is undeniable, much research concentrates on these

elements of propaganda without linking them back to enemy imaging. To efficiently fight radicalization through propaganda, the characteristics of enemy images have to be studied. In essence, instead of concentrating on propaganda as a stand-alone subject, there is need to shift the point of view. The questions to ask would then be: Why would this propaganda be effective to the audience it is targeted? My theory is that the answer lies through analysis of how the enemy image has been created and is being sustained.

7   Conclusion

In this research project, I attempted to investigate the concept of enemy images specifically focusing on how Daesh construct enemy images of their opponents Dabiq magazine. Dabiq magazine was an English e-magazine that Daesh began to publish in June 2014. The magazine was first named Islamic state report but later renamed Dabiq. Daesh claimed that it had received a positive response from their audiences. Daesh produced fifteen issues before changing the name of the magazine to Rumiyah.

The production of Dabiq magazine was of high quality. It focussed on battle victories and was full of attempts to legitimize violence against their opponents and a call to armament. Dabiq magazine presents the Islamic state as a divinely inspired state-building project. It had the emphasis of legitimizing the project in political and religious circles calling supporters to arms while maligning and denigrating perceived enemies (Droogan, Peattie, 2017: 591-593). It is, therefore, very clear throughout the fifteen issues that Daesh constructs the enemy images of their opponents using Dabiq.

Based on the abductive study and using discourse analysis as the most suitable method to find the underlying discourses, we investigated how Daesh constructs enemy images of their opponents. Enemy images theories have been used as the theoretical base of this research project. Significant concepts discussed on that chapter included how enemy images were defined, the different core elements which were essential for enemy images; othering, stereotyping and prejudice and finally, discussed how enemy images were constructed and what impacts or consequences enemy images can have when present.

After critically analyzing the chosen data for this research project, It was tested using four different themes in our theory on enemy images to find their occurrence in the selected data, on how Daesh constructs the enemy images of their opponents. This was done regarding the primary research question of this study. The four themes were, first of all, delimitation between "us" and "them." The next theme dealt with defining a set of values that separate the two groups. This is what is known as 'our' and 'their' essence.

The next theme is the definition of the enemy as a key threat to these values. This is well captured in the sections dealing with 'our' assets and 'their' threats. Finally, the last theme deals with the legitimization of war or violence which seems to be the end objective of enemy image creation.

In light of this, the concept of enemy images has different facets as well as many theories. I have chosen to concentrate on a specific area of enemy image construction. The findings in this thesis can be generalized in many similar situations where a group actively seeks to call to violence. However, it has to be stated that most enemy images would be subtler in regards to calling to action. Dabiq is a particular case where there is no intention to conceal the final aim of the publication. The call to war.

Since the online material was also very prevalent as a tool for creating enemy images, a parallel analysis of video content online would have strengthened this thesis. Since using all the magazines gave an excellent comprehensive grasp, going through all the 15 issues required quite some effort and a delimitation to fewer publications could have been a reasonable choice.

In conclusion, the study of enemy images is crucial in studying war and its legitimacy. This work will hopefully add to the growing literature in this field and help with creating some understanding especially during these times when many parts of the world are in one conflict or the other.

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9 Appendix

Delimitation	Our and Their essence	Our assets and their threats	Legitimate response
"O Ummah of Islam, indeed the world today has been divided into two camps and two trenches, with no third camp present: The camp of Islam and faith, and the camp of kufr (disbelief) and hypocrisy – the camp of the Muslims and the mujahidin everywhere, and the camp of the jews, the crusaders, their allies, and with them the rest of the nations and religions of kufr, all being led by America and Russia, and being mobilized by the jews." page 9 issue 1	" Indeed, racism is a tool of Shaytān, which, like nationalism, is intended to divide and weaken the children of Ãdam and prevent them from uniting upon the truth. For just as nationalists would never wage jihād beyond their borders to spread Islam to the corners of the earth and wipe out shirk, likewise racists would not be inclined to disavow any members of their race except for those whom they deem "self-hating," let alone fight them for the sake of raising high the word of Allah. The Muslim, however, does not accept the Ummah remaining divided in the name of petty concepts, for he recognizes that the only acceptable line of division is that which separates between a Muslim and a kāfir, whereas any other course of division would only be a source of weakness: P20 issue 11	This, in reality, was a result of secularism pervading the people's intellects in our era, separating between religion and state, and between the Shari'ah and governance, and treating the Qur'an as a book of chanting and recitation rather than a book of governance, legislation, and enforcement.	The State is a state for all Muslims. The land is for the Muslims, all the Muslims. O Muslims everywhere, whoever is capable of performing hijrah (emigration) to the Islamic State, then let him do so, because hijrah to the land of Islam is obligatory." page 10 issue 1
The time has come for those generations that were drowning in oceans of disgrace, being nursed on the milk of humiliation, and being ruled by the vilest of all people, after their long slumber in the darkness of neglect – the time has come for them to rise. The time has come for the Ummah of Muhammad (sallallahu 'alayhi wa sallam) to wake up from its sleep, remove the garments of dishonor, and shake off the dust of humiliation and disgrace, for the era of lamenting and moaning has gone, and the dawn of honor has emerged anew. The sun of jihad has risen. The glad tidings of good are shining. Triumph looms on the horizon. The signs of victory have appeared." Page 5 issue 1	O Muslims everywhere, glad tidings to you and expect good. Raise your head high, for today – by Allah's grace – you have a state and Khilafah, which will return your dignity, might, rights, and leadership. It is a state where the Arab and non-Arab, the white man and black man, the easterner and westerner are all brothers. It is a Khilafah that gathered the Caucasian, Indian, Chinese, Shami, Iraqi, Yemeni, Egyptian, Maghribi (North African), American, French, German, and Australian. Allah brought their hearts together, and thus, they became brothers by His grace, loving each other for the sake of Allah, standing in a single trench, defending and guarding each other, and sacrificing themselves for one another. Their blood mixed and became one, under a single flag and goal, in one pavilion, enjoying this blessing, the blessing of faithful brotherhood. If kings were to taste this blessing, they would abandon their kingdoms and fight over this grace. So all praise and thanks are due to Allah." Page 5 issue 1	On the morning of Monday, the 25th of Sha'ban, the Nusayri regime carried out an airstrike in Ar-Raqqah, resulting in five shuhada' and multiple wounded, all of them civilian casualties. A second airstrike on the same day targeted the industrial district causing extensive damage to civilian property. Later in the evening, the mujahidin of the Islamic State launched mortars into the regime's Division 17 army base. The mortars made direct hits against the base. The following morning, two violent explosions rocked the Division 17 army base after being targeted once more by the Islamic State. page 42 issue 1	The obligation is now clearer than ever before for all Muslims to raise their voices and pledge their allegiance to Imamul-Muslimin and AmirulMu'minin – the Khalifah – Abu Bakr al-Husayni alBaghdadi (may Allah raise his allies and humiliate his enemies). page 40 issue 1

The Rāfidah are the insurmountable obstacle, the lurking snake, the scorpion of deception and malice, the prowling enemy, the deadly poison. We here wage a war at two levels. The first war is open and exposed with an aggressive enemy and clear kufr. The second war is a difficult and fierce one with a scheming enemy who dresses like a friend, shows approval, and calls to unity, while he conceals evil […]. The precise observer and wise scrutinizer realizes that Shiism is the immediate danger and real challenge. {They are the enemy, so beware of them. May Allah destroy them; how are they deluded?} [Al-Munāfiqūn: 4]. […] Shiism contains everything from blatant shirk, to grave worship, to circumambulating tombs, to takfīr of the Sahābah, to cursing the Mothers of the Believers and the best of this Ummah, to claiming distortion of the Qur'ān. P41 issue 12	" Strangeness is a condition that the Muslim living in the West cannot escape as long as he remains amongst the crusaders. He is a stranger amongst Christians and liberals. He is a stranger amongst fornicators and sodomites. He is a stranger amongst drunkards and druggies. He is a stranger in his faith and deeds, as his sincerity and submission are towards Allah alone, whereas the kuffār of the West worship and obey clergy, legislatures, media, and both their animalistic and deviant desires. For them it is strange that one manifests sincere submission to His Lord in word and deed. It is strange that one works for the Ākhirah, giving it priority to the Dunyā. It is strange that one does not pursue his animalistic desires like a beast and even experiment with perverted desires like a devil. P 29-30 issue 12	The call to defend the Islamic State – the only state ruling by Allah's Sharī'ah today – continues to be answered by sincere Muslims and mujāhidīn around the world prepared to sacrifice their lives and everything dear to them to raise high the word of Allah and trample democracy and nationalism. In contrast, the jihād claimants in Shām and other regions are prepared to sacrifice the principles of the religion and wage war against the Islamic State in defense of a jāhilī nationalism coated with a thin veneer of "Sharī'ah," knowing full well that should they succeed in taking any territory from the Khilāfah, that territory would no longer be ruled by Allah's pure Sharī'ah. issue 10	The jama'ah would use the absent obligation of jihad as its fundamental means for change, implementing Allah's command, {And fight them until there is no fitnah and [until] the religion, all of it, is for Allah} [Al-Anfal: 39]. Page 38 issue 1
" Shaykh Abū Mus'ab az-Zarqāwī (rahimahullāh) said, […] We perform jihād so that Allah's word becomes supreme and that the religion becomes completely for Allah. {And fight them until there is no fitnah and [until] the religion, all of it, is for Allah} [Al-Anfāl: 39]. Everyone who opposes this goal or stands in the path of this goal is an enemy for us and a target for our swords, whatever his name may be and whatever his lineage may be. We have a religion that Allah revealed to be a scale and a judge. Its statement is decisive and its judgment is not amusement. It is the kinship between us and the people, for our scales – by Allah's grace – are divine, our laws are Qur'anic, and our judgments are upon the prophetic tradition. P3 issue 8	Sadly, this shirk attitude (both minor and major) entered the hearts and minds of many supposedly "Islamic" leaders, scholars, and callers – in imitation of the Arab nationalists before them – as they began to describe the enemies of Islam with attributes bordering rubūbiyyah (Allah's lordship). To them, the kuffār had the near absolute knowledge, power, and ownership to plot and execute any grand conspiracy of their desire. It is almost as if they attribute to them the ability to create with the word "be"! Their evil became most apparent in issues related to jihad. If one desired to perform jihad, these leaders would warn that jihad now was a conspiracy to kill off the sincere Muslim youth and thereby leave the Muslims' lands to the secularists. If one wanted to join a jihad jamā'ah, they would warn that it was the creation of the kuffār so as to aid in achieving kafir interests. P15 issue 9	The crux of hijrah is to abandon sin and its people, including hajr (abandonment/ avoidance) of the caller to bid'ah, the sinful, and those who intermingle with them or aid them. Similarly, one who abandons jihad – the deed without which he can achieve no maslahah – should be punished by hajr, since he did not assist the Muslims in righteousness and piety. And so, the zunāh (fornicators/ adulterers), lūtiyyah (sodomites), abandoners of jihād, ahlul-bida' (people of religious innovations), alcoholics, are all harmful for the religion of Islam, and intermingling with them is also harmful. They do not assist in righteousness nor piety. Whoever does not abandon them has thus left an obligation and fallen into a prohibition" (Majmū' al-Fatāwā) P32.	"We will rub the noses of the kuffār in dirt, shed their blood, and take their wealth as ghanīmah by the might and power of Allah. And we do all that in emulation of the Prophet , not innovating anything. We do it in obedience to Allah and His Messenger, and to come closer to Allah. And we hope to attain abundant rewards by this deed, as per His statement, {Then kill the mushrikīn wherever you find them and capture them and besiege them and sit in wait for them at every place of ambush but if they should repent, establish prayer, and give zakāh, let them go on their way. p61 issue 10

The flag of Khilāfah will rise over Makkah and al-Madīnah, even if the apostates and hypocrites despise such. The flag of Khilāfah will rise over Baytul-Maqdis and Rome, even if the Jews and Crusaders despise such. The shade of this blessed flag will expand until it covers all eastern and western extents of the Earth, filling the world with the truth and justice of Islam and putting an end to the falsehood and tyranny of jāhiliyyah, even if America and its coalition despise such. P3 issue 5		Muslim families were killed under the broad definition of "collateral damage," which the US grants itself alone the right to apply. Therefore, if a mujāhid kills a single man with a knife, it is the barbaric killing of the "innocent." However, if Americans kill thousands of Muslims families all over the world by pressing missile fire buttons, it is merely "collateral damage" (P3)	"So, O muwahhid… O you who believes in walā' and barā'… will you leave the American, the Frenchman, or any of their allies to walk safely upon the earth while the armies of the crusaders strike the lands of the Muslims not differentiating between a civilian and fighter? They have killed nine Muslim women three days ago by striking a bus transporting them from Shām to Iraq. Will you leave the disbeliever to sleep safely at home while the Muslim women and children shiver with fear of the roars of the crusader airplanes above their heads day and night? P9. issue 4
			So, until we return to the correct state of Islamic affairs, it's upon us all to work together to eradicate the principle of "free choice," and to not deceive the people in an attempt to seek their pleasure, neither by calling to "free choice" directly, nor by alluding to it indirectly. Rather, we must confront them with the fact that they've turned away from the religion, while we hold onto it, grasping its purity, its clarity, its comprehensiveness, without any blemishes due to shirk, misguidance or heresy, and that we're completely ready to stand in the face of anyone who attempts to divert us from our commitment to making the religion of Allah triumphant over all other religions, and that we will continue to fight the people of deviation and misguidance until we die trying to make the religion triumphant. P11