



# TSAS

canadian network for research on  
**terrorism, security and society**

## Working Paper Series

---

No. 15-04

September 2015

### **No Sandwiches Here:**

### **Representations of Women in *Dabiq* and *Inspire* Magazines**

**Laura Huey**

Co-Directors: Daniel Hiebert, University of British Columbia  
Lorne Dawson, University of Waterloo

The TSAS Working Paper Series can be found at [library.tsas.ca/tsas-working-papers](http://library.tsas.ca/tsas-working-papers)

# The Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security, and Society

TSAS is supported as a national strategic initiative funded by **SSHRC** and **Public Safety Canada**, along with the following departments of the federal government:

- Royal Canadian Mounted Police
- Canadian Security Intelligence Service
- Citizenship and Immigration
- Correctional Services
- Defence Research and Development Canada
- Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development
- Security Intelligence Review Committee
- Office of the Communications Security Establishment Commissioner

TSAS also receives financial support from several Canadian universities, including the University of British Columbia and the University of Waterloo.

Views expressed in this manuscript are those of the author(s) alone. For more information, contact the Co-directors of the Centre, Daniel Hiebert, Department of Geography, UBC ([daniel.hiebert@ubc.ca](mailto:daniel.hiebert@ubc.ca)) and Lorne Dawson, Department of Sociology and Legal Studies, University of Waterloo ([ldawson@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:ldawson@uwaterloo.ca)).

## Table of Contents

|                                                   |    |
|---------------------------------------------------|----|
| <i>DABIQ</i> AND <i>INSPIRE</i> : SOME BACKGROUND | 4  |
| METHOD OF INQUIRY                                 | 6  |
| NUMERICAL RESULTS                                 | 7  |
| THEMATIC RESULTS                                  | 8  |
| Textual representations of women                  | 8  |
| Pictorial representations of women                | 10 |
| Women's voices                                    | 12 |
| CONCLUSIONS                                       | 14 |
| REFERENCES                                        | 16 |



**TSAS**  
canadian network for research on  
terrorism, security and society

## Working Paper Series

**NO SANDWICHES HERE:**

**REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN IN *DABIQ* AND *INSPIRE* MAGAZINES**

**Laura Huey**

Department of Sociology

University of Western Ontario



---

**ABSTRACT:**

**S**ocial media images of women within the Islamic State (IS) and Al Qaeda (AQ) often present very different ideas as to women's respective places within jihadist groups. In this paper I examine representations of women in *Dabiq* and *Inspire* magazines in order to better understand how women are viewed within official group discourse. What this examination reveals is that despite political, strategic and possible ideological differences between the IS and AQ, there is very little difference in how women's roles are constructed within group discourse. Indeed, analysis of women's representation within *Dabiq* and *Inspire* reveals that these magazines are almost interchangeable in content and tone. Simply put: there is little space within official pro-jihadist propaganda for the tough, gun-toting women often found on Twitter and Facebook.

Keywords: Islamic State; Al Qaeda; terrorism; propaganda; social media



*“For the Brothers who think it’s not my place to worry about the Ummah and talk about Jihad. Please shut up and go make me a sandwich.”*

– post from a female pro-IS Twitter user

Since its emergence as a unique identity in 2013, the Islamic State (IS) has become increasingly proficient at exploiting social media in order to actively distribute its propaganda and recruit new members. This is not accidental: social media-based efforts are seen as vital to its nation-building ambitions, which entail not only maintaining currently held territories as though they were part of a legitimate state, or caliphate, but also expanding into new lands. Both of these goals require not only a continuous influx of foreign fighters, but also women and children from other countries, who are encouraged to flock to IS territories in order to help form the population base of the new state.

One of the most intriguing aspects of IS social media use has been the significant role that women have played within pro-jihadist networks online. Contrary to other Islamic extremist groups, notably those numbered among the Al Qaeda inspired “franchises”, women of the IS have been visibly active as network members and as both creators and distributors of pro-IS propaganda. This active presence is likely due, in no small measure, to the fact that women on social media are a target audience for messages concerning *hijra* – that is, emigration to IS territories. Open interaction between genders being generally discouraged, female IS members can be more easily used to recruit other women. Pictures of females who have purportedly already emigrated (*muhajirat*), are also freely used to present idealized visions of life inside IS held territories. For those not attracted by images of meadow streams and fruit carts, there is the possibility of adventure, as depicted in images of gun-toting *niqabis*<sup>1</sup> practicing gun drills or wandering public spaces with Kalashnikovs in order to “keep the streets safe.”



PHOTO 1: TWITTER'S IS GUN-TOTING NIQABIS



The purpose of the present study was to examine the extent to which images of Kalashnikov wielding women found in IS social media are mirrored within the group's official outlet: *Dabiq*. Within the pages that follow, I not only examine representations of women within *Dabiq*, but also round out this analysis by exploring how women are represented within *Inspire*, the official magazine of Al Qaeda. What makes such comparative analysis particularly interesting is that not only does each group have different ambitions, and different visions of the current place of women within their plans, but these differences are reflected in their magazine's respective styles, tones and audiences. What we might expect to see, then, is very different patterns of engagement with potential female audience members, as reflected in whether, how and/or when women are represented within its pages. The answer as to whether or not this is, indeed, the case is presented shortly.



## **DABIQ AND *INSPIRE*: SOME BACKGROUND**

It is probably not an overstatement to suggest that the average Western citizen knows very little about the differences between Salafist-based jihadist groups, in particular what marks the IS, as an example, as different from its progenitor, Al Qaeda. If pressed, a likely response is that the IS is the group that was “too extreme” for Al Qaeda. While that may be the case, their differences go beyond their respective use of terrorist methods. Pared down to the most basic level, we can say that Al Qaeda’s leadership, notably Osama bin Laden, saw himself as locked into a lifelong struggle for a caliphate that would emerge in sequential steps, but only after a protracted battle with the west and other forces. To achieve that vision after 9/11 forced Al Qaeda into retreat, AQ leaders created a flexible structure, consisting of satellite groups and cells across the globe (Sageman 2008). They have also sought to “inspire” lone wolf attacks aimed at destabilizing enemy governments (Atwan 2012).

*Inspire* magazine was launched online in 2010 by Anwar al-Awlaki and Samir Khan for the purpose of speaking to a predominately Western audience. Drawing on earlier efforts by Kahn, who had previously published *Jihad Recollections*, *Inspire* deliberately adopted a subversively humorous tone intended to appeal to American readers (Lemieux et al. 2014). As an example, the first edition contained an article with the title, “Make a Bomb in the Kitchen of Your Mom.”

At the time of this study, there had been thirteen issues of *Inspire* produced. The first eight are believed to be predominantly the work of Khan, with assistance from al-Awlaki (Skillicorn and Reid 2014). After both men were simultaneously killed in 2011, the magazine continued under new, unknown editors (ibid). Despite the change in editorial leadership, the magazine remains known for quality production values and layout, and a format that seamlessly fuses “ideologically driven material with pragmatic instructional and skill-building content” (Lemieux et al. 2014, 355). Perhaps the best known example of *Inspire*’s “ideologically driven, skill building content” is an article from its inaugural issue entitled “Make a Bomb in the Kitchen of Your Mom” by AQ Chef. After explaining the fundamental differences between chemical and mechanical explosions, AQ Chef marries illustrations with step by step instructions, so that would-be bomb

builders could more easily create explosive devices for use by lone actors seeking to engage in terrorist activities.

Although *Inspire* has been in existence since 2010, and has been cited in relation to several high profile cases involving Western jihadists<sup>2</sup>, it has drawn little attention from researchers. Of available studies on *Inspire*, the focus has been on developing lexico-grammatical analyses of content (Skillicorn and Reid 2014); assessing the utility of particular theoretical frameworks for understanding its potential influence (Lemieux et al. 2014); or exploring the magazine's role in processes of self-radicalization (Sivek 2013). While this work has told us something of who *Inspire's* intended audience is – young males living within the West, either native born or members of diaspora communities, and what it is they are supposed to be “inspired” to do – lone acts of terrorism, there remains much more to be explored. For example, despite the fact that the magazine sheds light on its creators' underlying worldviews, few attempts have been made to develop insights into how women are viewed through the groups' official discourse. One notable exception can be found in the work of Sivek (2013), who observed that references to women in *Inspire* generally treat them as victims to be used as catalysts for exacting male revenge<sup>3</sup>.

*Dabiq*<sup>4</sup>, which was released on July 5, 2014, also relies on fairly slick imagery and layout. However, its content is very much tailored to the goals of the IS (Hashim 2014). Thus, what marks *Dabiq* as different from its predecessor is that “*Dabiq* exposes how ISIS rejects AQ's strategic sequencing, and has followed a different set of steps to establish its Caliphate” (Ghambir 2014). This can be seen from the very first issue, which focuses on leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's declaration of a caliphate.

As the IS is less focused on waging global jihad than in creating a viable state, the focus of much of its group discourse is on the need to populate their territories through migration. As a result, the IS needs women to raise families and to assist in approved state-building activities. Thus, whereas males were, at least in the beginning, the primary target audience for *Inspire*, in theory, both men and women from across the globe – potential foreign fighters and non-combatants alike – should be *Dabiq's* audience (Ghambir 2014). Some researchers have suggested that



this is, indeed, the case, as reflected in increasing efforts by *Dabiq*'s editors to include "female-focused efforts" (Saltman and Smith 2015, 18). In support of this contention, these authors note the inclusion of "sections written and dedicated directly to the female ISIS constituents" (ibid., 73).

## METHOD OF INQUIRY

To conduct this research I obtained PDF copies of each of the issues of *Dabiq* (n=9) and *Inspire* (n=13) magazines that had been produced by the time of writing. For *Dabiq*, the overall total of pages downloaded was five hundred and one (n=501); *Inspire*'s 13 issues totaled six hundred and twenty-two pages (n=622). Issues of *Dabiq* were obtained largely from my own files (as part of a larger study, I collect data on over 100 twitter users belonging to pro-IS networks). To locate legitimate versions of issues of *Inspire* and *Dabiq* not in my files, I downloaded copies from reputable research websites.

Once obtained, each issue was subjected to an initial coding using selected keywords, including: sister, women, and *ukhti/y*<sup>5</sup>. Then photographs found within each issue were coded according to whether they contained content or forms typically associated with women. To help in this portion of the coding, I drew on my knowledge of representations of females and female associated imagery within pro-jihadist circles, which often includes images of flowers, outlines of niqabis, and pictures of burqas, kittens, lionesses and food. For this project, codes used were: female image, form/shape of a woman, pictures of home and flowers. The third focus of this initial coding was content for/by women. Criteria for this category was simple: articles, columns, advertisements and/or comments that either speak directly to "sisters" (using language such as "O sisters") and/or were produced by women for female readers (columns addressed "to ukhtys" or "for our sisters"). This first step in coding resulted in a picture of the overall number of times women and/or representations of women appear within the pages of each magazine (see Tables 1 and 2 below).

For the second stage of coding, thematic analysis was employed: the codes identified above were developed into themes and reanalyzed. Subthemes and connections between themes were investigated and then mapped in order to develop a more coherent picture of how and when

women are represented in each magazine. The results of this analysis appear shortly.

## NUMERICAL RESULTS

What the numbers below in tables 1 and 2 reveal is an interesting picture: despite the fact that woman are a major target audience for IS propaganda, the editor(s) of *Dabiq* made little effort to include women, or content for women, until the magazine's seventh issue in early 2015. The two subsequent issues contain commentary by a woman, but overall representation in content or pictorial form remains low. Further, when women are represented within *Dabiq*'s pages, it is much more likely in the form of a passing comments ("mentions") than in material directed to a female audience.

**TABLE 1: REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN WITHIN *DABIQ***

| MAGAZINE/ ISSUE | IMAGES OF WOMEN | MENTIONS OF WOMEN | CONTENT FOR / BY WOMEN | TOTAL N   |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| Issue 1         | 0               | 0                 | 0                      | 0         |
| Issue 2         | 0               | 0                 | 0                      | 0         |
| Issue 3         | 0               | 0                 | 0                      | 0         |
| Issue 4         | 1               | 0                 | 0                      | 1         |
| Issue 5         | 0               | 0                 | 0                      | 0         |
| Issue 6         | 0               | 1                 | 0                      | 1         |
| Issue 7         | 0               | 8                 | 1                      | 9         |
| Issue 8         | 0               | 1                 | 1                      | 2         |
| Issue 9         | 0               | 1                 | 1                      | 2         |
| Total           | 1               | 11                | 3                      | <b>15</b> |

By way of contrast, issues of *Inspire* are nearly three times as likely to include content representing women. One possible explanation for this finding is that there have been four more issues of *Inspire* than of *Dabiq*. However, the overall total page difference is only 121 pages. Further, if one removes issues 10-13 from the equation, the results still show that women were more likely to be represented within *Inspire* (n=23) than *Dabiq* (n=15). A word of caution is, perhaps, warranted though: whereas *Inspire* has been in circulation for some five years, at the time of writing *Dabiq* is just over a year old.

**TABLE 2: REPRESENTATIONS OF WOMEN WITHIN *INSPIRE***

| MAGAZINE / ISSUE | IMAGES OF WOMEN | MENTIONS OF WOMEN | CONTENT FOR / BY WOMEN | TOTAL N   |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| Issue 1          | 3               | 6                 | 1                      | 10        |
| Issue 2          | 0               | 4                 | 0                      | 4         |
| Issue 3          | 0               | 0                 | 0                      | 0         |
| Issue 4          | 0               | 1                 | 0                      | 1         |
| Issue 5          | 0               | 1 <sup>6</sup>    | 0                      | 1         |
| Issue 6          | 0               | 1                 | 0                      | 1         |
| Issue 7          | 0               | 0                 | 0                      | 0         |
| Issue 8          | 0               | 3                 | 1                      | 4         |
| Issue 9          | 0               | 2                 | 0                      | 2         |
| Issue 10         | 0               | 7                 | 2                      | 9         |
| Issue 11         | 0               | 0                 | 0                      | 0         |
| Issue 12         | 0               | 5                 | 1                      | 6         |
| Issue 13         | 0               | 4                 | 1                      | 5         |
| Total            | 3               | 34                | 6                      | <b>43</b> |

## THEMATIC RESULTS

Results of the thematic analysis are presented under three main categories: textual representations of women; pictorial representations of women; and the voices of women.

### Textual representations of women

This category encompassed any references to women within the text. In the overwhelming majority of instances, such references were brief mentions, centred on one key theme: women as victims of anti-Muslim persecution in need of defending by males (see also Sivek 2013). For example, there are frequent references throughout *Inspire* to women who have been unjustly arrested, are being arbitrarily detained or who have been murdered. Published posthumously, Samir Khan (2012, 17) provides the following example, “I watched our sisters in Islamabad die because of the enemy’s animosity towards Islam.” In *Dabiq*, the idea of female persecution is specifically cited as a tool to incite would-be jihadis:

“Embolden your hearts, for doing so is a means of victory and triumph. Know that the most difficult thing for a soldier of Allah to train for is getting used to a lot of combat. Make frequent

mention of the grudges you have against the enemy, for they increase your boldness. Remember that the *enemy raped your mothers and your sisters ...*" (Abū Hamzah al-Muhājir 2014, 11; emphasis mine).

In a handful of instances the real and/or perceived oppression of Muslim women is used as justification to treat non-Muslim women as legitimate targets of jihadist violence. In an *Inspire* readers' column, one writer says to an imagined audience: "Now your children, your daughters and your sisters will die as our brothers, our sisters and our children are dying" (an-Najdi 2014, 50).

Issues of both *Dabiq* and *Inspire* also contain references to women in discussions of hijrah and women's roles in supporting jihad respectively. The *Dabiq* (2014, 26) reference is surprisingly short: "Libya has become an ideal land of hijrah for those who find difficulty making their way to Shām, particularly those of our brothers and sisters in Africa." Conversely, there's a more extended passage on women and jihad in the eighth issue of *Inspire* in which Ayub Siddiq (2011, 59) warns potential jihadists that "patience is the name of the game until death overtakes you." Among things Siddiq advises patience over is the desire of Western women to live in comfortable surroundings:

One time, I asked my Yemeni friend, "What do you prefer? A Western wife or a Bedouin wife?" He replied, "The Bedouin for sure!" His answer didn't surprise me seeing that he was a Bedouin himself. But what he said next was quite intriguing. "You can go and live anywhere with the Bedouin sister - like in the mountains or desert - and she'll be cool with it whereas the Western sister will find difficulty in the accommodations due to the circumstances." Now of course, not all of them are like that but there certainly is a trend amongst Western people in general where living a difficult life opens the can of complaints (ibid., 59).

The most sustained discussion of anything related to women and/or women's issues by a male author is an article in *Inspire* by the cleric, Yahya Ibrahim, on the importance of the niqab. A jeremiad against Western intolerance of the veil, the role of women within this debate appears limited to addressing the "need to dispel the Western myth that Muslim women need to be emancipated because they are being forced into wearing a garment they do not want to wear" (Ibrahim 2010, 20).



## Pictorial representations of women

Salafist ideology prohibits the display of women's faces and bodies. As a result, there are few images of females found within either magazine. One exception is a picture of a young girl in *Dabiq* – children being generally exempt from the prohibition – whose image is used to advertise the provision of medical services in IS held territory. Despite the ban, what makes the almost complete lack of representations of female forms in *Dabiq*, if not *Inspire*, noteworthy, is that social media avatars used by women in pro-IS networks frequently contain representations of women as niqab or burqa-clad forms in silhouette. In the pages examined, I could only locate three of these images and all three were in one issue of *Inspire* magazine (see Photo2 below) – in the article defending the niqab.

PHOTO 2: INSPIRE IMAGE



Images commonly associated with femininity in pro-jihadist groups – flowers, food, home, and backgrounds or text lettering in traditional female colours – pink and purple, were also found, but only in those few instances where women authors were given space. For example, in an *Inspire* column for ukhtys (sisters) by Umm Yahya, pink flowers are used to represent the feminine (see Photo 3 below).



PHOTO 3: WOMEN OF THE GLORIOUS UMMAH



Another image used to illustrate this same piece (see Photo 4) is intended to invoke a similar concept traditionally associated with women: home. As *Inspire*'s intended audience is Western, the style of furnishing is distinctly in keeping with Western tastes.

PHOTO 4: THE IKEA STYLE JIHADI HOME





## Women's voices

By its eighth issue, *Inspire's* editors had clearly perceived a need to include female authors to write on relevant women's issues. Evidence in support of this claim can be found in a small advertisement that appeared in this issue (see Photo 5 below):

PHOTO 5: LOOKING FOR A FEW GOOD WOMEN



Two issues later *Inspire* debuted a new feature: for Ukhtys, which included two contributions by female authors. Both of the contributions, as well as those found within subsequent issues, contain comments and imagery that make it readily apparent that the women within *Inspire's* pages were expected to conform in every way to traditional views of a woman's place within her jihadist home. Contrary to the example of gun-toting niqabis seen in Photo 1, a poem by Taiel Haya is a lament on the limitations of being born a woman and thus automatically denied the opportunity to engage in violence because of her "innate weakness":

But, Alas! This cannot be!

For a lion-hearted Mujahid warrior I am not,

In fact ... I am a fragile woman (Haya 2012, 31).

An accompanying essay by Umm Yahya reinforces the point that women's role in Jihad is limited to "arous[ing] the determination of the heroes ... by push[ing] your loved ones to the battle" and then, when the men have left for battle, "stay[ing] patient" (Yahya 2012, 32). In keeping with the image of home invoked by the accompanying picture of furniture, while "staying patient," women are also expected to raise future generations of children who will "fight for the sake of [their beliefs]" (ibid., 33).

Women fare no better within the pages of *Dabiq*. The first example of a woman speaking directly to *Dabiq*'s audience is found in an interview with Umm Basir (real name: Hayat Boumediene). Umm Basir is the widow of Abu Basir (real name: Amed Coulibaly), who was killed during an attack on a French kosher supermarket. When asked if she had any messages she wished to deliver to "Muslims in general and Muslim sisters in particular," her response, as quoted, is a religious screed that perfectly conforms to IS doctrinal positions on the need for subservience in women. Her "sisters" are abjured to study religious teachings and deport themselves according to jihadist ideology. What makes this interview particularly remarkable is that the speech attributed to a 26-year old French woman raised in the West is full of anachronistic terms and expressions. While it is not uncommon to see sprinklings of words like "verily" in social media posts by women, or tweets addressed to "O Sisters," the bulk of this multi-page essay is written in English that employs eighth century Arabic expressions. A similar phenomenon occurs in a column in *Dabiq* attributed to Umm Sumayyah al-Muhairah (2015, 33), which begins: "In the name of Allah who revealed an āyah about the muhājirāt and preserved it in the clear-cut revelation until the establishment of the Hour." Mixed in with religious commentary is the story of Sumayyah's journey to Syria and life within IS territory. These stories mark distinct transitions in the style of writing:

I met a sister who was six months pregnant accompanied by her husband coming from Britain. I was surprised by this adventurer, so I said, "Why didn't you wait a bit until you gave birth to the baby you are carrying and then perform hijrah!" She answered, "We could not handle waiting any longer. We melted yearning for the Islamic State!"

Although the language used to describe the journey is sometimes full of expressions that



might be unknown to some audiences, the change in tone above, among other such transitions, suggest that the article was not drafted by one author. In fact, like the interview with Umm Basir, it appears that Umm Sumayyah's writing has been subject to some significant revising and additions. The question of authorship similarly arises in relation to the most recent column attributed to Umm Sumayyah, a defense of slavery and rape entitled "Slave-Girls or Prostitutes." As with the earlier work, much of what is presented is dense religious prose couched in anachronistic language (concubines, swords of men). To the extent that I have been unable to find an actual identity for this person or any proven links to her on social media, the question remains open as to whether the writings of Umm Sumayyah represents a real woman's unedited voice.

## CONCLUSIONS

In the preceding pages I explored the representation of women within the pages of *Dabiq* and *Inspire*, official publications of the Islamic State and Al Qaeda respectively. What this examination highlighted was the fact that official propaganda produced by both groups has largely discounted women's voices and, when women are represented or given a platform upon which to speak, their thoughts and words conform perfectly to group ideology, including offering support for women's lesser status. One example of this is Haya's (2012) "fragile woman"; another is the extended justification of rape and slavery by Umm Sumayyah (2015). While this finding may appear unsurprising given the nature of the extreme Salafist views each groups espouses, it remains noteworthy given that propaganda officially and unofficially distributed through IS social media networks paints an entirely different portrait of women's lives under the IS. Within *Dabiq*, there are no female doctors or Jihadi Janes.



PHOTO 6: AL-KHANSA BRIGADE



Why is this important to know? If official discourse is to be taken at face value, then women who emigrate to IS held territories are not, as the title of one recently released report queried, likely to “become Mulan” (Hoyle, Bradford and Frennett 2015). Rather, contrary to the images flooding Twitter and other sites, they are as likely as their Al Qaeda counterparts to be leaving the West and other parts of the globe, for a life in which they will be entirely subservient to male will.



## REFERENCES

- Atwan, A. 2012. *After Bin Laden. Al Qaeda, the Next Generation*. New York: The New Press.
- Ghambhir, H. 2014. "Dabiq: The Strategic Messaging of the Islamic State." Background paper of the Institute for the Study of War. Available at: [http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Dabiq%20Backgrounder\\_Harleen%20Final.pdf](http://www.understandingwar.org/sites/default/files/Dabiq%20Backgrounder_Harleen%20Final.pdf)
- Hashim, A. 2014. 'The Islamic State: From al-Qaeda Affiliate to Caliphate.' *Middle East Policy*, 21(4): 69-83.
- Hoyle, C., A. Bradford, and R. Frenett. 2015. "Becoming Mulan? Female Western Migrants to ISIS." *Report of the Institute for Strategic Dialogue*. Available online at: [http://www.strategicdialogue.org/ISDJ2969\\_Becoming\\_Mulan\\_01.15\\_WEB.PDF](http://www.strategicdialogue.org/ISDJ2969_Becoming_Mulan_01.15_WEB.PDF)
- Lemieux, A., J. Brachman, J. Levitt, and J. Wood. 2014. "Inspire Magazine: A Critical Analysis of its Significance and Potential Impact Through the Lens of the Information, Motivation, and Behavioral Skills Model." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26:354–371.
- Sageman, M. 2008. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Saltman, E. and M. Smith. 2015. "'Till Martyrdom Do Us Part' Gender and the ISIS Phenomenon." *Report of the Institute for Strategic Dialogue*. Available online at: [http://www.strategicdialogue.org/Till\\_Martyrdom\\_Do\\_Us\\_Part\\_Gender\\_and\\_the\\_ISIS\\_Phenomenon.pdf](http://www.strategicdialogue.org/Till_Martyrdom_Do_Us_Part_Gender_and_the_ISIS_Phenomenon.pdf)
- Sivek, S. 2013. "Packaging Inspiration: Al Qaeda's Digital Magazine *Inspire* in the Self-Radicalization Process." *International Journal of Communication*, 7: 584–606.
- Skillicorn, D. and F. Reid. 2014. "Language use in the Jihadist Magazines *Inspire* and *Azan*." *Security Informatics*, 3:9: 1-16.
- Weimann, G. 2015. *Terrorism in Cyberspace: The Next Generation*. New York: Columbia University Press.



---

(Endnotes)

- 1 [ A term for women who wear the niqab or face veil.]
- 2 [ Examples include the Tsaernaev brothers, responsible for the Boston Marathon Bombings, Naser Jason Abdo, the US soldier who plotted an attack on Fort Hood, and Jose Pimentel, who was caught making a pipe bomb intended for one of several US targets (Weimann 2015).]
- 3 [ In 2011 Al Qaeda launched *al-Shamikhah*, a magazine intended for women. Few copies exist and those located are exclusively in Arabic.]
- 4 [ *Dabiq* is named for a town in northern Syria that is cited in a famous hadith, within which an apocalyptic battle will be waged between Muslims and the people of Rome (i.e. Christians).]
- 5 [ Arabic for sister.]
- 6 [ Every version of Inspire Issue 5 located was partially corrupted. In the uncorrupted text, women (sisters) were mentioned only once.]