Bu çalışmada özetle; erkek üstünlüğüne dayalı ve cinsiyetçi bir toplumsal radikalleşme örneği olmasına rağmen terörist örgüt DAEŞ’in bile kadınların kişiliklerini yönlendirecek, internet üzerinde bulunan sohbet odaları ve sosyal medyanın etkin kullanımının yardımcı ile kadınlar arasındaki örgütüne eleman kazanmayı nasıl başardığı incelenerek, bir tespit yapılmaya çalışılmaktadır. İlave olarak örgütün bu düzeyde bir eleman toplama için özel taktiklere ve personele olası olası olası olması hayli yüksek olduğu da iddia edilmektedir. Ayrıca bu çalışmanın, bir terör örgütünün eleman toplama stratejileri ile bu tür organizasyonlara katılmak potansiyeli olan insanlar arasında var olan nesnel ilişkilerin niteliğine bağlı olarak bir takım soruları ve sorunları da ortaya çıkardığına inanılmaktadır. Bütün bu çerçeveden ise, güvenlik politikası uzmanlarının, terörist kadınların pozitif bir ayrımçılıkla erkeklere kadar az tehditli olduğu yanişlığa karşılaştıkları, sıklıkla düşmeleri konusunda potansiyel bir uyarysa sahip olduğu düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: DAEŞ, Kadınlar, terörizm, şiddet, katılım
DAESH: GENDERED RECRUITMENT TACTICS?

Abstract

In this study of Daesh; despite promoting male supremacy and enforcing a sexist example of social radicalization, an attempt has been made to identify a pattern of recruitment by examining how they have succeeded in gaining women members with the help of the chat rooms and an effective use of social media. There is also a stark possibility of specific strategies targeted toward the recruitment of women. This study also reveals a number of questions and problems, depending on the nature of the objective relationships existing between the strategies of collecting elements of a terrorist organization and the potential for participation in such organizations. All of this is thought to be a potential warning from security policy specialists that they often fall victim to the fact that terrorist women are less dangerous than men with positive discrimination.

Keywords: DAESH, women, terrorism, violence, recruitment

Intro

Perhaps one of the most puzzling enigmas in security studies is why anyone would desire to join an insurgency group; but one extremely intriguing question is why women would choose to join Daesh, the so-called Islamic State which advocates for women to take on docile roles and serve men. While examining individual motivations may be of merit, for policy reforms it may be best to attempt to uncover if there are any recruitment tactics centred around encouraging women to join the organization. Thus, this paper aims to search through academic and modern news sites in order to obtain accounts on recruitment tactics, as well as engage with academic theories from various fields to understand their effectiveness. This paper also aims to address any shortcomings the paper itself may possess and inherent problems it may face throughout the research process. I will attempt to provide slight insight into the recruitment of men to showcase whether there is a gendered difference in recruitment strategies, but the paper will mostly be focusing on specifics of possible recruitment strategies pertaining women. I will discuss an Al Qaeda case study to highlight some differences. A few words on the formalization of the structure of the paper: cases and theories as added will be grouped by five concepts that are used by Daesh in their recruitment process to complement their strategies. There will also be an attempt to group based off of women from the West, Middle East etc. to have cohesive understanding of these identities in the puzzle, however given much of the data is on diaspora women this has proven to be difficult. Also, a few comments on terms that will be used to eradicate any confusion: Daesh instead of ISIS, and Daesh Islam v. Islam, the difference is important when looking at recruitment and combating islamophobia which can contribute to successful recruitment strategies.

My research method from a quasi-statistical standpoint is that I will consider a null hypothesis that Daesh does not incorporate any gender specific strategies into their recruitment efforts, and the alternative hypothesis that they do pursue specific strategies based off of gender. My assumptions are that my data will likely diverge from a simple sampling due to accessibility of data that I would be able to cultivate into a multiple linear regression model. Given that much of the data is reliant on specific incidents that researchers have been able to encounter throughout
their own research, and given the incapability of myself accessing raw data, I will assume that I will be looking at a sample population. Any resultant arguments from this paper will thus be handled purely on a theoretical level and will not be regressed into data. In the future, I hope that with a strong backing and potentially funding I will be able to continue my research with the ability to access raw data and more sources.

Daesh is seen by security scholars as fighting a more conventional war than its predecessors in the Middle East, and it is far more popular than they ever were with younger generations. With the rise of social media, the brutality that Daesh is spreading and this popularity, this paper finds it pertinent to take a gendered approach on recruitment strategies and analyse modern literature on jihadist terrorism. The modern literature available showcases a number of cases from intercepted individuals whom have offered accounts of how they came to attempt joining Daesh and what kind of interactions they had with recruiters. There are criticisms of why there is literature that sufficiently analyses women in insurgent groups; but some potential explanations can still be offered; such is what Drs. Elizabeth Pearson and Emily Winterbotham suggest that the lack of women taking on positions of violence, the minority status of women in said organizations, and the gender bias in security institutions that look to understand insurgency groups put studies of women at a level lower than accounts of men. With thousands of them travelling from their own countries to join these organizations, and namely the popularity of Daesh among younger generations has produced a desire to investigate recruitment strategies of these sort of organizations. Several accounts denote the promise of fulfilling work and according to intelligence officials, women recruits are even offered “sexual comfort roles” and the promise of a devout husband which appears to be a successful marketing tool, essentially a glorification of being subjected to rape and other types of sexually charged torture. One of the earliest academic analyses of a young woman who left a privileged upbringing in Glasgow, Scotland by the name of Aqsa Mahmood (AM) was done by Dr Leah Windsor. Windsor (2018) highlights several interacting components of identity and psychological responses which Daesh recruiters manipulate in order to successfully recruit members. Mahmood arguably became one of the most successful recruits in that regard, as she continued with a prominent role in Daesh as a blogging recruiter and became credible through her youth and approachability. Windsor argues that the language being used in communications and the sheer presence of women in the organization shape recruitment strategies pertaining to Daesh as an organization. She proceeds to highlight five components of this phenomenon that creates specific recruitment tactics special to women. Prof. Dr. Haydar Gölbaşı also categorises terror and media as feeding off one another. He specifically considers attitudes that media outlets use which make terror an appealing alternative (Gölbaşı, 2016). While these concepts seem more related to what kinds of women choose to join Daesh, I believe they are connected in a manner to the possible recruitment strategies target at women; which is a connection I intent on getting more into as this paper progresses. Ultimately, there is a possibility that there are no specific strategies targeted at the recruitment of women, but that women are certain walks of life prefer to join it independent of specialized tactic.

Telegram

Telegram is a messaging application that was developed by a pair of Russian programmers and is said to be monitored heavily by Russian intelligence for signs of radicalisation and anti-government organizing (Bloom& Tiflati, 2017). It is also one of Daesh’s preferred platforms for recruitment. Much of the Daesh chatrooms operate in Arabic, often using colloquial terms and cultural references. Some academics also suggest that there is covert messaging in the form of
encrypted language happening, in which the code is difficult to crack without any hints. Due to the level of encryption, it is difficult to crack the messages themselves, and researchers have been timid about engaging directly with those spreading Daesh messages across the application. Telegram does not keep logs of the chats that their members engage in and this has posed another problem for counter-insurgency organizations. In a study done by Dr. Mia Bloom and her colleagues, they sought to understand the signalling and language used throughout the application to determine how recruitment is done. There is evidence to suggest that many terror attacks across Europe were orchestrated via this application. This untapped source of information showcases various chat rooms that have different purposes. Some merely share information on Daesh events, some are created with the goal of recruiting people, and others showcase stories about people inside the organization; akin to the blog that AM was running on tumblr.com for some time after her radicalisation. Despite deletions from the application’s administrators, these chat rooms are still popping up. An important aspect that Bloom et al touch on is that this application appears to be structured in a way to foster an addiction to it, so people continually go on it and develop an emotional dependence.

There are two types of communication networks, channels and chat rooms. Daesh news outlets are based out of channels, and most of the recruitment takes place in the chat rooms. The news channels emit Daesh-favoured stories and discuss civilian entities of life in Raqqa and Mosul. The chat rooms by contrast they find are as any other chat room would look like, people using language that suggest familiarity and talking about day to day events, except with the subjects mostly being related back to Daesh. Many of the chat rooms come with clear instructions on who can join, and the gender segregation suggests that there are different types of conversations happening in each group. They did not find any levels of sophistication in the technology that was being used, it appeared to be simple interactions between people.

So, what does all of this mean for the recruitment strategies Daesh showcases regarding women? Firstly, it appears that in these chat rooms they are messaging for a specific group of women: “Sisters”. This means they are looking for women who have already either converted or were Muslims in the first place. While no distinction is made between Islam and Islamism, there is a strong possibility that the goal is to show these women that their notion of religion is wrong and that the Daesh Islamism is the superior religion. The assertion that Telegram may create an emotional dependence on a recruit is interesting, because it could add to how the recruit feels about the organization and potentially lead to them feeling as though they must join otherwise they will not be able to survive without Daesh. Perhaps a dramatic reading, however the place of psychology in recruitment is not heavily explored and associations between objects and people are a common phenomenon, therefore it seems possible that this could be happening for many who decide to radicalise. The notion that these conversations are not sophisticated is concerning, as this means it could be quite easy for women to find themselves in conversations that turn into asking questions about day to day life as a Daesh bride and beginning to feel sympathy for the women who have already joined, possibly going as far was changing some views regarding the organization by tapping into facets of personality. So, using women to recruit women in a manner that appeals to certain aspects of personality can be taken as a gendered recruitment strategy; as the men are recruited through all-male chat rooms and signalling that appeals to men.
Given that I am looking at whether Daesh has specific tactics designed to recruit or appeal to women, I will be comparing facets of identity and circumstance, as well as to recruitment strategies used on men and strategies used by a commonly accepted predecessor of Daesh, Al Qaeda. I believe this will allow me to more easily highlight whether recruitment strategies are specifically catered toward women, and potentially offer insight on how these can be operationalized in the field. Looking at research done regarding Telegram, one of the most commonly used messaging applications by Daesh in order to recruit members will allow me to understand the place of messaging and possible signalling in the recruitment process of Daesh, and from this I will be able to better understand how recruitment strategies can be manipulated toward a specific group.

Privilege

It is not abnormal for people of immense privilege to seek the one that AM chose as a Daesh bride and recruiter. Often times people of privileged backgrounds can find it difficult to relate to situations and largely do not have substance within themselves or their lives, thus they find meaning in the organization and reconcile themselves as being a part of something bigger than themselves (Windsor, 2018). This appeals to their desire of a chance to have power over a situation. Being able to see representation through social media can focus on the individual but this can be related to Daesh in which their strategy of using these women later for recruitment of similar women creates a cycle of positive recruitment. This leads back to representation in the group, if you see yourself in this kind of group it can indicate a place for you in the world. Windsor notes that in the literature researchers have found that some recruitment tactics seem to be akin to those of how child predators approach their interests. If in these chatrooms, the recruiter women are able to tap into facets of personality through which they can appeal to a desire to become someone, to put it in poetic terms, or be a part of something bigger than themselves – essentially to give them a purpose in life, then this would be a successful gendered recruitment strategy. This author conquers, as their research on women versus men in the sphere of social aid shows that men are more likely to be drawn to a cause due to prestige and glory onto themselves that feeds into their masculinity complexes, whereas women are more likely to consider the cause as a wide-ranging method of providing aid to an organization out of their internal concern at having a place in it. The strategic use of words to appeal to people of privilege and promote the organization in a manner which suggests they are fighting for the greater good of the oppressed peoples, in this case Sunni Muslims against the kafir Western world can be an effective gendered strategy to recruit women of privilege into Daesh.

Prof. Dr. Aisha Ahmad (2017) discusses a different definition of privilege in her studies of the industrialization of weaponry and the jihad, talks about the places people of privilege can take in these organizations. Privilege if not regulated accordingly can within organizations such as Daesh cause people of less privilege to begin to resent the group of privilege. This is why in AM’s and other recruiter’s posts, they stress the importance of a cohesive living style and that no privileges can be given; everything in their eyes is for the jihad and for the success of their mission.
Gender and Expectations

Windsor here moves into a discussion of gender and expectations, in which she highlights gender-specific components of Daesh and how recruitment strategies can be altered to combat societal expectations. She notes that female motivations for joining Daesh seem to be similar to those of suicide terrorists. This makes sense when you consider the possibility that you will die in this line of work, Martyrdom, gives a sense of pride and purpose in a time when many women may feel helpless. Researcher Clara Beyler (2003, p. 8) argues that women see suicide as an escape of their predestined life, which make an unintentional recruitment tactic: appealing to another type of gender role in suicide studies. Second hand post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) can also have an impact on formulating recruitment strategies: perhaps on the individual level there was in issue of how women perceive themselves in the world of terror which Daesh was able to appeal to in their recruitment. The girl uses social media as a platform of spreading knowledge on what it is like to be a member of this organization. She does note that the women do not participate in the “jihad”, but many girls on the internet still request more information from here. Gendered recruitment strategy appeals to the anti-gender norm of women wanting something more from their lives rather than what is offered to them in the societies they are living in.

Youth

Another component that impacts the formulation of gendered recruitment strategies is youth. Age is important factor in radicalization, example of AM and her writings show that many of her decisions are romanticized and her readings of jihadist texts are influenced but not deeply analysed. In some cases, AM seems to be regurgitating religious texts that she has come across, and sometimes she seems to be truly analytical and perspective of what she is absorbing throughout her blogging. Jennings and Niemi note that parental influence declines the older the person gets, and this would mean things taught at a younger age no longer hold as much meaning as they once did (Windsor, 2018). Research also suggests that children who grow up in politically indifferent environments can be more susceptible to the adoption of radical political beliefs, because now the void of parents’ political beliefs are filled with that of other, less controllable thoughts and could be possibility of when development occurs in the brain, but science is still a little vague on exact implications. The study of development in regard to radicalisation is not a component of psychology that has a heavy presence in the literature in fields of counter-insurgency studies. A large part is focused on linguistic analysis. Her blogging is accessible to teens and easy for them to understand, she is not a foreign subject to them. She is like them in the sense that she is young and, on the internet, and she responds to their questions in a way that makes her seem like a friend. Given these factors, I argue that by having women who are approachable and easy to communicate with is a factor that is different from how Daesh signals to men, as men are called into the organization through promises of masculinization and a sense of duty; specifically, toward single men. Whereas in this case, the women can come from all different backgrounds and often travel in groups to get to Syria. Thus, there are different recruitment tactics used by Daesh regarding the gender of potential recruits. This can lead into a discussion on social forces and factors.

As mentioned before, Dr. Bloom discusses the accessibility of language and the accessibility of it on the application Telegram (Bloom et al, 2017). I understand this as having a style of talking that is easy to understand as makes it feel like one is having a conversation with a close friend.
Daeş ve Hatunlar

can presumably create a bond between individuals. This makes sense, it is also I would argue an important case of youth representation. If teenagers feel like they are being represented in an organization, they may become more sympathetic to the members. Cultivating bonds with these members would allow them to have more “benefit of doubt” when considering the true intentions of an organization. I would suggest that people are less likely to consider one of their friends guilty in comparison to someone else’s’ friend.

Women are greeted in these chat rooms by younger, age appropriate women whereas the men interact with older counterparts. The conversations are also veered toward topics of interest depending on gender as well, and groups are clearly marked to prevent undesirable people to join. So, factoring in language and age, there is a suggestion that Daesh does have gendered recruitment strategies, and women are targeted by other women through these chat rooms via signalling and interactions that pose an appeal to them. I attempted to showcase this distinction by addressing recruitment tactics of men and how the group chose to address both interests, as well as brief discussion on a case study of AM and her blogging habits to illustrate.

Social Forces and Factors

Diasporic identity can be susceptible to being caught in between the West and the home identity, Daesh’s preachings of a homogenous Muslim identity may seem welcoming to some. By appealing to these identities, Daesh also shows them social inequalities and talks about how they will never have a place in Western society. Amplified by anti-Islamic sentiments across the Western Europe and North America can create a sense of social exclusion. Social exclusion can be the breeding ground for desires to find a place where they fit in, and the trauma of feeling out of place can lead them into the arms of radicalisation, especially if they already have someone vouching for a life of purpose on the other side. Many diasporas as a result find themselves on chat rooms and forums discussing problems they face in their newfound or born into cultures, which is difficult to mediate in this case who is posing for Daesh and who is there for their own interest of finding like-minded people. Bloom et. Al note that there seems to be more traffic in chat rooms where there is present someone with a female pseudonym that refuses to engage with “strange men”, which they have determined allows for interactions with people of possible Daesh connections (Bloom et al, 2017). Daesh can use the lack of knowledge or even the presence of knowledge surrounding Islam to change the purview of those the recruiters are speaking to in order to gain trust and allyship. The friendship may start off with a perfectly true account of Islam but diverge after a while into a conversation that benefits the representation of the religious identity carried by Daesh. Studies show that people are more likely to engage in behaviour if the information is coming from a source they trust. Often times Daesh uses one person to recruit multiple women, such is the case of sisters and groups of friends going off to join together. Daesh seems to aim for women or young girls that have a wider circle so to recruit more potential brides of the Jihad. Utilizing the idea that people are more likely to open up to strangers rather than people they know, Daesh uses female members to recruit girls through the internet. Men, on the other hand, are coaxed into asking questions, and many come in search of people with answers rather than an explicit need to recruit. In contrast, the women appear to be more timid and the process appears to take more time and require sometimes multiple recruiters, posing as other interested potential recruits. Research on social media shows that while it is not the deciding factor on guaranteed recruitment of young women, it is in conjunction with personal factors applicable to the context in which women chose to join. Influencing factors on re-
cruitment strategies do not stop there and can be pursued with an account on International relations.

International Relations

Those born in the 90s grew up in what is called the reign of terror, in which the surroundings of almost any given child was plagued by terrorism and war. Many children are now old enough to remember where they were during 9/11, and that shapes the context in which women especially see themselves. AM was born in 1994, so her and her friends know well the fall of Syria and Iraq/Afghanistan wars. These situations contribute to growing feelings of alienation, specifically for girls that grow up in the US under growing fears of Muslims and Middle Eastern people. As such, identity becomes a problem: reconciling what leaders are saying about respective countries with your own identity and needing a place to feel as though you can be yourself. Daesh uses stories and videos of recruits as well as “real life accounts” to demonstrate some kind of cohesive culture in their ranks, and the possibility of having a purpose for women outside of the gender roles: women like AM who move up in ranks are necessary for ensuring that women can be corrupted into joining Daesh to serve in several roles because they are in this context exemplary, they have found a purpose and maintained their femininity.

With there being no lack of brutality on the international stage, AM and her generation have been brought up in a manner that is almost desensitized to conflict and is no longer heavily impacted by it when it seems to be senseless, seeing men making the decisions on the internal stage is an impact on representation or in this case a lack thereof. As such, when Daesh frames their ideology surrounding a greater good and the sacrifice of one for the many, they not only provide the women with a sense of purpose but with also a sense of justification for the actions being committed. Having representation of women discussing what the men are doing wrong, such as women like AM do in their blog posts help Daesh encounter uncharted territory, insofar as they now become appealing to different groups not only in the realm of Muslim women in diaspora, but Western educated white Christian women as well since the emphasis is no longer on women being only brides and mothers, but actual decision makers and even martyrs (Windsor). I think it would be reasonable to suggest that creating an atmosphere in which people’s memories are manipulated through interactions, a type of gaslighting, can lead to younger and easier to influence generations to either imagine acts committed onto themselves or more vividly become aware of microaggressions toward them and their families. This can lead to a sense of anger that may motivate recruitment strategies to become successful – so we can perhaps even say that this in and of itself is a recruitment tactic.

Al Qaeda

Dr. Mia Bloom (2011) discusses in her book about Malika el Aroud, who would go onto be a well-known jihadist recruiter to many intelligence organizations around the world. In her case, el Aroud became a key resource after the death of her husband in a suicide bombing, as her resources on the internet and name in the media was used to portray “the perfect jihadi wife” that would be cultivated to bring in more like her. She was influential as her prose were concise yet poetic, and her views oddly verging on liberalism. She believed that women posed an important role in life and were being mistreated, saw the Moroccon secularism as sexist, and stood against American interventionism. She resented American troops for what she believed they were responsible of: the destruction and instability of Morocco. Being a Moroccon diaspora herself, Bloom talks about how el Aroud was searching for a place that she felt she could belong
in, as she felt neither Belgian nor Moroccan and suffered issues of identity as a result. I would like to argue that this is an example of a gendered recruitment tactic – telling men via social media that women are important or have a place in an organization such as Daesh would not mean much given the place of gender roles in society. However, to tell a woman who is already potentially struggling with identity and where she sees herself in life that she should have a place in an organization would be somewhat persuasive. Especially because, this is not an uncommon feeling for women to have – the sexist institutions that many countries are centred around, coupled with racism and the patriarchal notions that make them up can be hard for any given woman to swallow. Which is why, the effective use of al Aroud and her rhetoric on social media would have a potential, and according to Bloom’s book did bring many women to join Al Qaeda. While el Aroud is a relic of Al Qaeda, her tactics are similar to those of AM, as previously mentioned she kept her blog on tumblr.com active even after she made the passage into Syria and became radicalised. Social media appears to have become an active recruiting tool for Daesh in the place of mosques and other types of brotherhood organizations, which were the preferred method of recruitment hubs for Al Qaeda and the Taliban. It also appears that they have inherited the usage of women in the process heavily in comparison to letting them actively participate in the jihadist campaigns. AM served for some time a similar role to that of el Aroud, in which through her blogging she answered many questions and gave guidelines on how to prepare for the journey to Syria, as well as what to expect when one arrived there.

Other Roles

There are roles which are not commonly addressed in Daesh literature that Bloom et al come to notice in their research, along with Janos Besenyo (2016), such as human trafficking, gun trade, and money laundering that women are also used for. In conversations jihadi women have with potential recruits, sometimes there are hints to different jobs that the women can take on other than sires or sex slaves, which again are promoted in a far more appealing manner than discussed here. Jobs that are not directly on the frontline but do pose an important role in the Daesh regime such as the ones listed previously, can be appealing to women with expertise in different areas. This is why I mentioned the possibility that while there are recruitment strategies toward women specifically, it is possible that a number of factors can go into their radicalization. Offering these roles to women who may have felt unfulfilled in their previous lives can encourage them to be motivated to join in a level of desperation.

Shortfalls

Opportunities to interview women in these structures is limited and there is a possibility that there is a selection bias in the process. What if some women are not genuine in explaining what motivated them to join Daesh? They may be unreliable narrators that possess sentiments of confusion, distortions of why they are doing this, lack of understanding on the part of the women who join could be a problem in this analysis. A possibility that this is a Daesh strategy to divert attention from other forms of recruitment taking place. There is an emphasis within literature on certain types of women who join Daesh: the archetype of the “ready to be corrupted” Muslim diaspora women, doesn’t look at different types of women and how they are impacted by this. Many of the research does not make a distinction on Western-Diasporic women versus Western-Landed women, that is to say women who are not from Middle Eastern, North African, or non-Western Europe backgrounds. There seems to also be a lack of information on white women joining these kinds of organizations and how we are to understand their purpose in the organiza-
As such, I feel that this is a roadblock to the understanding of how recruitment can differ based off of the group from which the target is from. As such, I was unable to thoroughly investigate the impact of Western-Diasporic recruitment versus non-Western-Diasporic recruitment.

**Questions**

I have no claim that the research I have done here or the arguments I have presented hold that there is an absolute possibility of Daesh having gendered recruitment tactics toward women in which they use women recruiters to manipulate facets of personality in order to radicalise them over social media and chat rooms. That said, I do believe this paper presents a number of questions regarding the association between recruitment strategies and the type of people they are able to convince to join such organizations. This is a potential warning to policymakers to not fall into the positive security bias in which they give less merit to the possibility that women are as much as a threat as men.

**Conclusion**

Women radicalization seems to occur in isolation, whereas men are easier to spot and classify. It is important to thus recognize that many arguments regarding women radicalization is still in progress and not concrete by any means. This paper started with a desire to see whether Daesh has any specific recruitment strategies toward women, while evidence suggests that there are, such as using other women and signalling a different lifestyle to Western women specifically, it seems also that these strategies go hand in hand with different personality and life experiences of successful recruits. Therefore, we cannot inherently say that Daesh’s recruitment strategies alone are what make their numbers higher. This paper has largely investigated whether there are gender specific recruitment strategies toward women, discussed a research method which included different potential hypotheses, and the result appears to be that they use women of similar backgrounds and age groups to convince other women to join via chat rooms such as Telegram and social media outlets. The lack of first-hand accounts and information perhaps obtained by intelligence organizations makes it difficult to definitively argue whether we are on the right track regarding potential recruitment strategies at all. Evidently, this is a field which merits more research and analysis in order to formulate policies and counter-insurgency tactics, including de-radicalization techniques.

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