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## **AQAP *Inspire* Magazine as a tool motivating to terrorist activities**

### **Introduction**

Islamic terrorism is one of the major asymmetric threats to the countries in the present world. The increase of attacks by members of Muslim minority and the growing number of the *foreign fighters*<sup>1</sup> is a significant trend in Western countries.

Multicultural societies, their growing heterogenic nature and mass migrations caused an increase in terrorist organizations' activities and the higher need for candidates for attackers. This trend has been enhanced by the development of electronic media with a dominant role of the Internet, which is a cheap and efficient way of reaching the mass audience – unlimited in time and not subject to censorship. The media of communication are films, pictures, audio files or electronic versions of magazines. This report presents the analysis results of the content of 17 issues of the *Inspire* magazine, one of the best known electronic publications, authorship of which is assigned to the Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).<sup>2</sup>

The topic of the analysis is the substantive content of the magazine influencing the way the reality is perceived by its readers. The main research problem is to obtain an answer to the question: in what way do the authors of the *Inspire* influence the motivation of its readers to take up terrorist activities? The importance of the matter is confirmed by the cases described further in the article, when people inspired by the publication became perpetrators of effective or foiled attacks, which indicates the efficiency of its influence.

The aim of the analysis is to define social groups which are mostly threatened by the influence of the magazine propaganda and to characterize the constructions motivating to terrorist activities. It was assumed that the *Inspire* is addressed to a certain, possible to specify, circle of addressees in the Western countries and that it applies a mechanism of building antagonism against the neighborhood and providing stimuli for taking up terrorist activities. Establishing factors which initiate actions against the country of residence and its nationals can contribute to enhancing preventive procedures and thus lowering or minimizing the risk of terrorist attacks.

To verify the hypothesis taken, in the research process the analysis of the content method was adopted. Its results are presented in both quantitative and qualitative manner, indicating no particular articles with elements of a particular category, due to the volume limits.

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<sup>1</sup> According to the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism in Hague (ICCT), the term depicts individuals who join military conflicts in areas outside their place residence, with different reasons and with different ideological background.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.

## Reasons of terrorist activities

Referring to one of the ancient proverbs *Morbum evitare quam curare facilius est*, it should be stressed that preventive measures ought to be a significant element of procedures to lower the risk of terrorist acts. The selection of preventive measures should not be determined *a priori* by the analysis of the attacks and their effects but it should be a result of defining their reasons and the motivation of their perpetrators. Nevertheless, establishing the origin of the phenomenon, although regarded as important, is not a matter of the same interest of the researchers as the description of its forms, its schemes and its manifestations.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the growing number of works on terrorism, different authors point out that there appear crossovers regarding the phenomenon sources and in this way they are repeated.

R.A. Hudson suggested one of the most cross-cutting typological divisions in the field of terrorism, describing some perspectives on the terrorism origins.<sup>4</sup> According to Hudson the factors generating the phenomenon can be of political, organizational, physiological or multidimensional nature. A kind of compilation of the above-mentioned mechanisms was suggested by Bartosz Bolechów, who gave an increase in political awareness, negative effects of globalization, influence of mass media on their audience's awareness, common high education or an imitation effect as the examples of terrorism-generating factors.<sup>5</sup> Alex Schmidt and Albert Jongman said that the main causes of terrorism are of endogenous nature and they should be detected in mental or personality aberrations.<sup>6</sup> However, numerous scientific studies measuring the level of dependency between psychopathology and terrorism strictly ruled out any correlation between them.<sup>7</sup>

Terrorist activities carried out by Islamic organizations are unequivocally linked to a religion. Symbols used by the groups refer to the Quran, leaders are presented as religious leaders and most prominent Sharia experts, media coverage is full of emphatic declarations of faith, hadith and justifying attacks by the will of Allah. Riaz Hassan, who studied the phenomenon of suicide bombers, pointed out that perceiving the bombers only as lunatics and religious fanatics was wrong. Although the faith can have a significant role in the recruitment and motivation of the future bombers, the real "flywheel" is the mixture of different factors, such as political decisions, feeling of humiliation, desire for revenge or altruism. The phenomenon of suicide attacks is a result of confrontation of the above stimuli and a particular social and political situation in a particular country. A Palestinian lawyer, Hanadi Jaradat, is one example of a suicide attacker, who carried

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<sup>3</sup> S. Wojciechowski, „Sieć” przyczyn współczesnego terroryzmu – analiza czynników, mechanizmów i modeli, „Przegląd Politologiczny”, 2011, No. 3, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> R.A. Hudson, *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why*, Washington D.C., 1999, The Library of Congress, pp.15–19.

<sup>5</sup> B. Bolechów, *Terroryzm, aktorzy, statyści, widzowie*, Warszawa, 2010, PWN, p. 105.

<sup>6</sup> A. Schmidt, A. Jongman, *Political Terrorism*, New Jersey, 1988, Transaction Books.

<sup>7</sup> C.A. Pietz, C.A. Mattson, *Violent Offenders. Understanding and Assessment*, Oxford, 2015, Oxford University Press, p. 311.

out an attack in Haifa, in 2003. According to Jaradat family explanations, the attack was a form of revenge for killing two people close to her, i.e. her brother and her fiancé by Israeli soldiers and a reaction for Israeli actions against Palestinians. It is also significant to note that some interpretations of Islamic rules highlight the rewards for fighting with infidels, i.e. the promise of direct access to heaven and being awarded a status of a martyr. The Abu Ghraib prison outrage case from 2003 gives another example of an impulse caused by humiliation. American soldiers tortured and humiliated Muslim prisoners there. After the shocking photos from there were revealed, there was a significant increase in number of suicide attacks in Iraq.<sup>8</sup>

Randy Borum indicated that vulnerability to radicalization and greater tolerance to terrorist organizations and their activities increase with the following three factors: the sense of injustice and humiliation, seeking for identity and the sense of belonging.<sup>9</sup> The sense of injustice comes from the state's policy laying down the law incompatible with Islam rules. Lack of social acceptance for Muslim traditions and rituals and some xenophobic behaviours facilitate hermetic Muslim communities in western countries and the growth of humiliation feeling. Seeking the identity is particularly clear in the second and further generations of Muslim migrants, who try to use their freedoms and live according to the rules of democratic countries but, on the other hand, who encounter xenophobic behaviours from indigenous people. The isolation within the society (Muslim neighbourhoods) makes it very hard to obtain proper education and freely become active in the labour market. Such a situation causes inner personal chaos and initiates the mechanism of seeking simple solutions how to behave to feel self-esteem and raise appreciation among others. This factor is directly connected with the need of belonging, i.e. finding in a group of people who think in a similar way and have similar problems.

The concept of R. Borum was further developed by Sarah Lyons-Padilla, who focused her studies on the radicalisation process and the reasons of extremist activities within Muslim immigrants.<sup>10</sup> Like R. Hassan, she found religion as a secondary motivator, the role of which is to legitimize activities pursuant to personal or collective frustrations. The acknowledgment of certain interpretation of Islamic rules enhances only the belief that the choice made was right and is the reason why usually converts or people who had lived against the rules of faith, became bombers. The right examples of the above-mentioned reasoning are Cherif Kouachi or Amedy Coulibaly, who presented themselves as very devout Muslims just before the attacks in Paris (2015), but in the past they were sentenced by the court for drug

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<sup>8</sup> *What Motivates the Suicide Bombers?*, <https://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/what-motivates-suicide-bombers> [access: 23 II 2018].

<sup>9</sup> R. Borum, *Psychology of Terrorism*, "Mental Health Law & Policy Faculty Publications", 2004, No. 571, pp. 24–26.

<sup>10</sup> S. Lyons-Padilla, M.J. Gelfand, H. Mirahmadi, M. Farooq, M. van Egmond, *Belonging nowhere: Marginalization and radicalization risk among Muslim Immigrants*, "Behavioral Science and Policy", 2015, No. 1, Part 2.

offences. A study by S. Lyons-Padilla prove that the risk of radicalisation and assent for extremist activities among Muslim immigrants grows directly in proportion to the increasing sense of marginalization, discrimination and lack of self-esteem. These factors cause that extreme forms of Islam are the solution and they motivate for terrorist activity.

### **The assumptions of the *Inspire* analysis**

In view of the presented assumptions the author analysed the content of the electronic propaganda provided in the magazine *Inspire*. Its first issue came up in the Internet in January 2010, arousing much interest of those who study terrorism or counteract the phenomenon. This product of the AQAP publisher identifying themselves as Al-Malahem Media Foundation is an unconventional combination of propaganda and technical elements in one coherent product. It was something new on the market of quite often homogenous or limited materials.<sup>11</sup> Each *Inspire* issue is a complex form of indoctrination and a practical manual giving advice on planning and preparing a terrorist act. It gives the readers technical knowledge and encourages them to take actions by themselves. Samir Khan (American of Pakistani origin) and Anwar al-Awlaki (American national of Yemeni origin) are regarded as the authors of the magazine.<sup>12</sup> It is electronic, written in English<sup>13</sup> and it is spread via numerous web pages. To the moment this article was written, 17 *Inspire* issues had been published between January 2010 and August 2017.

Numerous criminal proceedings performed by the law enforcement in the USA and the UK confirmed that the magazine was a source of knowledge and was the modus operandi pattern for perpetrators of terrorist acts, which were successful or which were prevented in the planning stage. One of the examples is the attack carried out during the Boston marathon in 2013 by Tsarnaev brothers, who – following the instruction from the *Inspire* - managed to construct an explosive device using a kitchen steamer. The FBI investigation revealed that the perpetrators had on their private computers files with the *Inspire* content. The would-be attackers Jose Pimentel, arrested in 2011 in New York, Naser Jason Abdo, sentenced to double life imprisonment for planning attacks on a restaurants in Texas in 2011, Zahid Iqbal, Mohammed Sharfaraz Ahmed, Umar Arshad and Syed Farhan Hussain, planning to detonate bombs in Luton, the UK, all of them used also guidelines from the article „Make a Bomb in the Kitchen of Your Mom” (*Inspire*, 1/2010). It is worth noticing that having *Inspire* magazine without any legal reason is prohibited in the UK and in

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<sup>11</sup> The examples are *The Terrorist's Handbook*, *The Mujahadeen Poisons Handbook* – focused on technical aspects of attacks, *Sawt al-Jihad (Voice of Jihad)* – mobilisation to support jihadist movements, *Mu'askar al-Battar* (Sword's Base) – giving operational information.

<sup>12</sup> Samir Khan and Anwar al-Awlaki died on 30 September 2011 in Al-Jauf in Yemen in an American airstrike.

<sup>13</sup> Some issues are also available in Arabic.

Australia, which confirms that the magazine is treated as a source of security threat to nationals of those countries.

Following a direct message by the *Inspire* the author assumed that the target group for the magazine are English-speaking readers from the Western countries. This limited circle of addressees is justified by the foreword by the editor in the first issue. He points out directly that it is directed to English-speaking members of Muslim diaspora. The preliminary analysis revealed also that the authors happily use the term “the West” which is understood in accordance with the Huntington’s concept of different civilizations. His book *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*, published in 1996, Huntington argues that the identity is important and cultural differences being the main factors in shaping modern world, play a vital role. The key element of Huntington’s concept is the division of the world after 1990 into 9 zones, with a Western civilization as dominant, called directly “the West”. The western civilisation comprises Canada, the USA, Western and Central Europe, Australia and Oceania.<sup>14</sup> Apart from that, the primary aim of the study is to show the factors which motivate to terrorist attacks in similar environments, limited to territories in the above mentioned cultural zone.

The author studied 17 issues of the *Inspire* magazine, collected and published on [jihadology.net](http://jihadology.net)<sup>15</sup>, web page launched by Aaron Y. Zelin, the researcher at the Washington Institute for the Middle East Policy. For the purpose of the analysis the content of a journalistic unit was taken, regarding the size and substantive limits, i.e. the volume of at least 100 words and excluding articles referring only to tactics and physical fight techniques. So, the whole section “Open Source Jihad” was omitted, due to its instructions on how to construct devices for attacks, theory on methods of terrorist actions and the manual on using weapons. The analyses of the past actions were rejected as well as the guidelines on how to behave before the attacks, during the attack or after the attack. On the basis of the above limitations 224 selected texts from among the existing *Inspire* issues were chosen.

The analysis was conducted on the basis of the author’s key constructed on the assumption of hypotheses. It was assumed that reluctance to the state and the society is build upon marginalisation and discrimination, revealed in the above mentioned studies, then it was focused on the incentives to terrorist activities, which were separated from the present scientific literature. It was assumed that they can refer to self-awareness of an individual (identity, self-esteem), they can arise from duties towards a group (sense of belonging) or from other unknown reasons. Furthermore, entities described as a goal of potential attacks were also checked.

Below there have been presented different categories of the key with their detailed definitions. They provide guidance on what the categories include and reasoned topics which may rise any doubts. The categories are formed into questions

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<sup>14</sup> S.P. Huntington, *Zderzenie Cywilizacji*, Warsaw, 2007, Wydawnictwo MUZA, pp.15–21.

<sup>15</sup> Situation as of 28 January 2018.

to get the general sense and context the authors of analysed texts say, in the most precise way.

- Does the author point out the enemy? – the analysed text determines a particular region, country or social group which should be identified as an enemy.
- Does the author indicate recipients? – the article indicates directly the readers' identity, their nationality, culture, place of residence, or sex or points out individual people.
- Does the text enhance the sense of marginalisation – this category refers to immigrant communities, in which the risk of marginalisation is present, defined as lack of belonging to the society and lack of acceptance for the country of migration. The content of the article inspires reluctance to the country and its nationals and thus influencing the isolation of its recipient.
- Does the text enhance the sense of discrimination? - the article gives examples or directly suggests that the recipient or the social group he belongs to are the victims of discrimination, because of their cultural, religious or race affiliation. The text provokes feelings of injustice from a particular entity.
- Does the text rise a sense of identity? – the author emphasises the readers' affiliation to the Muslim culture and describes behaviours and values they should follow in their life. This category focuses elements of the Labelling theory by Edwin Lemert.<sup>16</sup>
- Does the text rise self-esteem? – the analysed material is addressed to people with low self-esteem. It contains examples and/or suggestions of how to behave to strengthen self-esteem and to be appreciated by others, and how to make one's life more significant.
- Does the text rise a sense of belonging to a particular group? – the article's contents directly show the readers that they are a part of a certain social group or organisation, stress the sense of solidarity, affiliation and the necessity of collective activities towards common goals.
- Other ways of motivating – the category reveals other than cited above but significantly visible ways of influencing the recipients, leading to the acceptance of terrorist activities and motivating to taking up direct fight with designated enemy.

The analysis based on the above category key is to show whether and how the *Inspire* magazine polarises its recipients and how it shapes self-image and the neighbourhood hence it influences the final decisions on potential physical actions of terrorist nature.

In his study the author points out the structure of the *Inspire* and its relevant features making the magazine unique. In the publication the following 4 parts can be distinguished: the foreword by the editor, the information part, the relevant part

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<sup>16</sup> The Labeling theory is based on seeking the sources of social deviations in situations that the social environment assigns such role to an individual. A man becomes a deviant in a consequence of labeling him as a deviant because they behave in a particular way.

and the “Open Source Jihad”. The foreword by the editor is not different from other magazines in terms of construction and is about the content and problems in the issue. The information part is about current events that are important according to the subjective opinion of the editorial office in the form of short texts or statements of chosen people. The relevant part contains different articles whereas it is notorious that war stories, transcripts of interviews, religious text exegesis, or texts by some sheiks approved by AQAP come up. “Open Source Jihad” is *sui generis* know-how for terrorists because it contains the information on tactics and technical aspects of preparations to attacks. This structure does not apply to special issues of the magazine (3,7,11,16), which are focused usually on one specific topic given in its title.

Another feature typical for the *Inspire* is the way different forms of English are used. Most analysed texts were written in the colloquial style, full of youth slang.<sup>17</sup> The magazine is to be modern, cool, fitting into the model of American pop culture based on comic books, action movies and their protagonist – a maverick fighting for the oppressed. There is also formal language, mainly in the religious texts or in interviews with people acknowledged as important. Most probably it is to raise the overall profile of the magazine. A relevant part of the magazine is also its graphics. Numerous illustrations and computer-modified pictures enhance the influence of the text by stimulation the recipients’ imagination. Information on the planning and tactics are often accompanied by pictures of tables full of flashcards and tables covered with items of equipment typical for fighters. Its aim is to give the readers impression of dynamic preparations or even the sense of taking part in militant debriefing. Articles are accompanied by the images of men with blurred faces, holding guns and images of blood drops to picture the content of the *Inspire*. Like the language, also the graphic fits into the Western pop culture patterns. These features confirm the intentional nature of the magazine and prove how legitimate are the studies of its content in accordance with the approved category key. The result of the study is given below.

### **Indication of an enemy**

In 145 articles from the *Inspire* the entities from the Western civilisation are clearly described as enemies. It is 65% of the whole empirical base. The category is present in each issue of the magazine giving usually the names of specific countries. The result is that the USA was unequivocally pointed out as the main foe – 86%, then France – 14%, the UK – 10% and Denmark, Australia, Belgium, Norway and Italy, with a small percentage. The USA is mentioned independently or in connection with other countries, while the rest are usually described together as a group, excluding France, which – in some cases – was mentioned individually. These countries are called allies, connected by the community of infidels’ faith, often with the use of the word “crusaders”

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<sup>17</sup> For example, using in the issue 4 of the *Inspire* the word “dis” as a slang word for “disrespect” or “UPS’d” – as a kind of coinage for bomb attack attempts by the use of delivery company UPS.

in a pejorative context. Presenting the USA as the enemy to the readers takes place on a regular basis in each single issue. There are also other expressions, like “the West” – 10% or “Europe” – 5% in the negative context. The most demonised country outside of the Western civilisation is Israel, which is presented as the main ally of the USA. Furthermore, the authorities in Yemen are mentioned because of the place where pro-independence fight of the AQAP is carried out and Saudi Arabia, which is presented as a low-level ally and the vassal of the USA.

The analysis of 17 *Inspire* issues revealed that Western countries are regarded as enemies in more than half of analysed materials, with the USA on the top of the list and the France and the UK. This tendency is reflected in the number of terrorist attacks carried out in the region. There are also other countries mentioned, which can be assumed as the possibility of spreading AQAP activity. The frequency of pointing out a chosen enemy is clearly determined by particular events or political decisions. France is pointed out most frequently in the *Inspire* 10/2013, issued in the spring of 2013, after the intervention in Mali started, and in the *Inspire* 1/2010, following President Sarkozy’s declaration on planned legal restrictions regarding Muslim face covers. The UK is defined as an enemy twice, in the issue 8/2011, after its black national Mark Duggan died in riots. Using the term “West” so frequently indicates that the catalogue of enemies is still open and that it does not comprise an exhaustive list.

## Recipients

In the context of the whole empirical basis, the foreword in the issue 1/2010 seems to be crucial. It points out the English speaking readers from *ummah*<sup>18</sup> all around the world as the target group and its religious message is précised as Salafi.<sup>19</sup> 32% of 71 articles targets as their recipients mainly Muslims “living in the West”, in *dar al-harb*<sup>20</sup> or *dar al-kufr*<sup>21</sup> and believers living in the USA, which is 85% of the total number. Recipients of the 6 texts are divided due to the sex – some messages are directed to women, due to the race – some message is directed to Afro-Americans. 15% of articles refer to ‘unfaithful’ US nationals and entities treated as enemies, like governments, soldiers and the Western administration.

The analysis results show the probable features of the targeted recipient of the *Inspire* magazine. In almost 1 in 3 issues it is clearly stated that the recipient lives in Western countries, mostly in the USA. The propaganda activities are oriented towards Afro-American environment. The incidents of 2014 and 2015 with black nationals are used, *inter alia*, death of Michael Brown and Freddy Gray following

<sup>18</sup> The word means “community” in Arabic.

<sup>19</sup> In the text “a letter from the editor” there is a promise of passing “the most accurate” version of Islam, according to preaching by the religious predecessors (al-salaf al-salih); *Inspire* 1/2010, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup> The term means territories of the non-Muslim world being in a state of war with Muslims.

<sup>21</sup> “Territory of unbelief”.



the police intervention<sup>22</sup> and mass murder of worshippers in Charleston church.<sup>23</sup> The events deteriorated the atmosphere in Afro-American part of the society and were reflected in the *Inspire* articles.

It seems that the aim of materials directed to women is mainly to eliminate the risk of potential revealing of terrorist activities carried out by their partners. The articles describe such activities as causing only positive effects, saving the honour of *ummah* and gaining respect by the whole family. Women are used as unconscious propaganda tools. Their role is to pass the members of the family the values of jihad, convincing unconvinced men to “mujahid’s path” and giving support to them with all available methods.

The results of the study suggest that the main recipient of the magazine lives in the USA and is a male. However, it is impossible to establish the precise target age group. Graphic structures and language forms can help in its establishing because they fit into current trends in the young generation. Also statistical data can help, because its recipient sphere is mostly prone to violent activities. The Statistical Office of the American judiciary provides that the average murderer in the USA in the period 1980–2008 was a male, aged between 18 to 24. Also most results of studies regarding suicide attacks worldwide show that the perpetrators are usually men aged between 17 and 27. Most content of the magazine is directed to men. The heroes of interviews are usually men, the articles feature war descriptions and pictures. Women are recipients of 3 articles only. The content is directed to individuals of specific and radical beliefs or those who seek justification for their religious activity in the past. The articles describe the degradation of natural environment and name the perpetrators. The eco-terrorism is promoted by enhancing attacks. Natural disasters are explained by the anger of Allah. The necessity of jihad is stressed and the rewards waiting for mujahideen after their death are described. This way the religious fanaticism is enhanced. The recipients of the message can also be criminals. Giving religious approval for unlawful action is dependent on the financial support to jihadists activities.

### **Marginalisation and discrimination**

Elements indicating the fact that the sense of marginalisation in readers is build, appears in 63 articles, i.e. 28%. According to the category theory, the antagonisms are created in relation to two entities. The first one is the country, in which the recipient lives. The *Inspire* stresses the cultural differences of the West which are not compatible with Islamic dogma, the USA are regularly given as an example. *Dar al-kufr* is based on wrong, sinful values and the social life is incompatible with Muhammad’s teachings. This is the reason why each Muslim should not identify themselves with the country of migration. The democratic political system is harshly criticised as immoral and

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<sup>22</sup> More at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-30341927> [access: 14 III 2018].

<sup>23</sup> More at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-33187779> [access: 14 III 2018].

propagating capitalistic values leading the society to moral filth. Non-religious system of law is regarded as incompatible with sharia law. Enhancing the opposition to the host country<sup>24</sup> is present also in articles that include exegesis of Muslim laws. According to the law any worshipper cannot be bounded by nationality with a country belonging to *dar al-harb* and does not have to comply with legal norms binding in the country.

The second entity – the group against which the *Inspire* builds antagonistic feelings is the society of the West. The readers are convinced that they should not identify themselves with the nation of the country responsible for tyranny towards ummah<sup>25</sup> and that hostility to infidels is desirable and justified by religion. Articles written by holy text interpreters justify the possibility of robbing infidels and claim that infidels from the Western countries, regardless of gender, can be targets of attacks of all kinds. The sense of individuality is enhanced also by other texts, interviews with idols, exemplary people or texts describing negative experiences from the times of living among infidels.

From the analysed empiric base 61 analysis units (27%) contained descriptions of discrimination, like persecutions and restrictions of Muslims living in *dar al-kufr*. Western governments are thought to make political decisions which harm basic Muslim traditions, like ban on wearing burkas and criticism of niqabs in France and Belgium or ban on any Sharia norms. The freedom of speech coming from the democratic system is described as unlimited anti-Islamic construction submitted through cartoon pictures of Muhammad in the media and other religion-related jokes. The Western state administration is presented as repressive and as assuming that each and every Muslim is a terrorist, which implies broad surveillance of the Muslim society in the effect. Behavior and attitude of the original society of the host country is shown as another source of discrimination. Its seemingly friendly nationals are in fact full of hatred to Islam and its believers. The *Inspire* is full of descriptions of burning the Quran, intimidating the Prophet by cartoon pictures in magazines, full of Islam values criticism in the Western media. Threats from xenophobic right extremist environments are stressed which regard to Muslims as the main goal of their hate speech.

Strengthening antagonisms by building in the readers' minds the sense of marginalization and discrimination is a significant element of the *Inspire* propaganda mechanism. Such elements are present in every issue of the magazine and they are enhanced by a direct indication of the enemy. This way they make the readers feel unwanted in a particular country, the existing legal bonds are destroyed and the sense of fear and mistrust is aroused. The content of the magazine causes destruction of neighbourhood relations by introducing uncertainty, suspicion and making normal interpersonal bonds impossible. Non-believers are dehumanised and criminal activities towards them are regarded as desirable. This gradually deprives the readers of empathy to their potential victims. The study by Sarah Lyons-Padilla showed that the phenomena of marginalisation and discrimination lead to radicalisation of religious

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<sup>24</sup> The host country is a country to which the recipient emigrated or in which they live as one of the first generation of immigrants.

<sup>25</sup> It refers to the presence of Western military forces in Muslim countries.

ideas and thus they foster extremisms. However, the analysis of the *Inspire* proves that the aim of using the antagonisms by authors is probably to create a dissonance between the reader and their host country and to eliminate empathy to potential victims. It seems therefore that evoking the sense of resentment and mutual animosity is a stage of mental preparations of the content's receiver to taking up terrorist activity. It does not only refer to the promotion of the acceptance of extremism, proselytism or religious beliefs conversion. The aspect of devotion is depreciated and religion is used as a tool for the main message of taking up fight. So, it is one of the motivation carriers.

### **Identity and self-esteem**

Indicating the readers their identity in connection with suggestions of behaviour is present in 41 analysed texts, i.e. 28%. The articles stress that the reader is a Muslim first, not the citizen of the country of totally different culture, and they are obliged to obey the rules of Islam with a dominating role of jihad. The directives of behaviours are called "the mujahedeen's path". They are clearly to encourage taking up activity, while passive support of fight with infidels is not appreciated. From the issue 10/2013 the *Inspire* regularly promotes the so-called "lonely wolf tactics" understood as individual actions on a territory of the enemy by initiated regardless of organised groups (Nesser, 2012).

The schemes of boosting self-esteem and becoming more important in the eyes of others are strictly linked to Salafis vision of Islam and putting the small jihad in the centre of it.<sup>26</sup> Elements of the above-mentioned category are present in 39 articles (17%), in which the readers are instructed that thanks to the fight with infidels they will be given respect and glory. Taking part in the "holy war" is fulfilling the will of Allah and those Muslims who should do so becomes a model for other believers. The magazine indicates the necessity of taking up "the mujahedeen's path" by showing its advantages like respect, fame, fear among infidels and by praising died martyrs or imprisoned fighters (Umar Farouk, Dzhokhar Tsarnaev). Furthermore, it warns that departing from Islam or living without its strict rules can lead to depression, or even – eventually, to suicide. Referring to the cultural identity and shaping self esteem of the reader is rather rare in the magazine, which lets us think that it is not regarded by the authors of the texts as important motivators for their readers.

### **Sense of belonging**

Elements of this category are clearly visible in 35 studied texts (16%). Most of the texts quote the argument of obligatory belonging to one worldwide *ummah*, which is naturally connected to the cultural identity of the reader. Every Muslim is obliged to defend it from invaders and be loyal to Islam believers, which is a priority.

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<sup>26</sup> The concept of jihad in Islam assumes the existence of the so called small jihad and big jihad. The big jihad refers to fighting with one's own weaknesses, while the small jihad refers to physical fight with infidels.

The loyalty is clearly more important than the feeling of love and attachment to non-Muslim parents or relatives. The authors of the magazine do not concentrate on arousing in its readers the sense of belonging to a particular group. The key issue in analyzing terrorist environment is the knowledge of the rules in a group which considers the community of faith as more important than bonds of blood. It prohibits testifying against brothers of the same religion which is parallel to the mafia rule of *omerta*<sup>27</sup> and obliges to defend the global *ummah*.

### **Other motivators**

The analysis of the articles revealed also other forms of influencing the readers' opinions and behaviour. The most frequent and visible method used in the *Inspire* is to arouse the will of revenge – 32%. There are descriptions of invasions and occupation of *dar al-islam* by the Western countries, harm done to civilians, examples of death of innocent people, stressing the cases of women, children and old people and publishing pictures of the dead and the wounded in each issue of the magazine. Crimes and tortures allegedly used against the arrested and imprisoned Muslims are indicated and old stories of the past from the colonial times are recalled, to encourage the readers to revenge.

The next quite popular method is to show the Salafi religious interpretation as the support for terrorist activities. The articles show not only benefits waiting for mujahidin in the paradise but it uses Islam to change the patterns of behaviour of some certain social groups in order to perform jihad. Individuals linked to the crime are praised, and – at the same time, they are directed against infidels. The rule of obligatory financial support to jihad activities is introduced. The religion justifies also eco-terrorism if its targets are facilities belonging to entities regarded by the *Inspire* as enemies. The structure of the magazine can imply that its editors strive for copycat effect. A significant amount of articles refers to terrorist attacks, their detailed analysis, stressing the mistakes done and suggesting other possible solutions. In case of unsuccessful attacks it stresses their positive effects, like – for example, showing the security vulnerabilities on airports, and then it motivates to further actions. The perpetrators are presented as heroes, examples to follow, to whom the prayers are dedicated and whose courage is praised. It is constantly stressed that they were the readers of the magazine (for example the Tsarnaev brothers or Taimour Abdulwahab al-Abdaly).

### **Conclusion**

The results of the analysis show that the authors of the *Inspire* use regularly specific arguments to motivate the readers to terrorist activities. The answer for the question

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<sup>27</sup> The silence order, particularly before judicial authorities.

put in the introduction of the article is the usage by the magazine's editors all premises indicated in the category key, to stimulate the recipients of the content by visible majority of specific elements proving that the hypothesis was right. The readers and the enemy are pointed among those from the Western civilisation, which proves unequivocally that the main goal of the magazine is to create internal threats in some countries, particularly in the USA. The articles targeted young males, prone to views modification by religious arguments or having already established radical beliefs. Based on the results of the study it was proved that the authors of the *Inspire* use a particular mechanism for motivating its recipients to terrorist acts. The mechanism consists of two complementary elements. One of the components creates the sense of hostility towards the place of residence and derives the reader of empathy for potential victims by their dehumanization. The second component uses arguments to mobilise the leader for taking action. Antagonising categories, like marginalisation and discrimination, were present in 40% of analysed units, creating a barrier between the reader and a host country and its society. Motivating elements mentioned in the category key, referring to the reader's identity, self esteem or belonging to a group are mentioned occasionally. The authors of the magazine do not use complex behavioural motives but most of all they refer to the simplest human feelings, like anger and revenge, which they initiate by articles and pictures showing the suffering of the innocent, due to invaders' attacks on *ummah*. The anger is aggregated by a religious affirmation of negative criminal attitudes. Furthermore, realised and possible to repeat schemes of terrorist acts are shown, supplemented by tactics and technical knowledge in the part called "Open-Source Jihad".

The mechanism described justifies the necessity of preventive measures directed to enhance assimilation processes of Muslim society with a host country and its society. It is particularly crucial that the *Inspire* magazine stresses the feeling of discrimination and marginalization, which should indicate the necessity of remedial actions to fit migrant societies into structures of democratic societies and to make residence. Achieving this goal is possible only by complex cooperation of relevant services and NGOs in the proper urban planning, not allowing the separated zones of migrants, education and aid programmes to gain possibly an early independence and involvement in society. Furthermore, the analysis revealed also that the authors of the *Inspire* articles use negative feelings – like anger or revenge as a motivation factor for terrorist actions. It seems that counteracting this form of stimulation is not possible because of its neurophysiologic nature, which makes the magazine simple and effective tool of terrorist propaganda.

### **Abstract**

The article presents the analysis of 17 issues of the AQAP propaganda *Inspire* magazine edited in the web. The construction of the magazine was described and

the profile of the targeted recipient, as well as the mechanism motivating the readers to taking up terrorist activities. Based on the results of the study specific precursors were indicated, which are supposed to initiate extremist behaviours in Muslim societies living in the countries belonging to the western civilization.

**Keywords:** terrorism, reasons for terrorism, Islamic extremism, Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, the Inspire magazine.