IS
The old or the new terrorism?

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Abstract

I have always been interested in understanding the structure and development of terrorist organizations and this interest is the driving force behind this bachelor thesis. The aim of the thesis is to classify the terrorist organization IS based on the theory of old and new terrorism by Peter Neumann (2012). This study is conducted through a qualitative, descriptive study with an idealtypsanalys framework. Idealtypes do not exist in reality but rather they are extreme images or ideas of a certain phenomenon with the aim of illustrating important aspects of the phenomenon being studied. The old and the new paradigm will function as the idealtypes for this study and each idealtype consist of three sets of variables aim, structure and method of the phenomenon terrorism. The variables within the paradigm of old and new will operate as two opposing polars and by placing IS on this linear, I will be able to describe and classify the terrorist organization IS in relation to the idealtypes This study was based on both primary and secondary sources; a careful consideration was taken into account when utilizing the secondary sources in particular newspapers. But due to the lack of broad academic data on the terrorist organization IS, newspapers and other non-academic sources were necessary in order to get a broader perspective.

This thesis conclude that IS cannot be classified within one frame in the old and new terrorism because IS has intertwined elements of the two idealtypes identified by Neumann. When looking at the structure variable we can see that in the early active years of IS, the organization contained the structure of new the terrorism paradigm but with the Syrian civil war, new opportunities altered the structure of IS from new to old.

IS, is a well structured terrorist organization with military discipline that knows the importance of carefully choosing its targets in order to maximize its profit, this differ IS from Al-Qaeda. The complexity and the structure of IS through this study has shown that in order to defeat the terrorist organization IS, one must understand its structure, aim and method. By studying the different component of IS through the theory of old and new terrorism, better strategies can be employed in order to dissolve IS.

KEYWORDS : Terrorism, IS, old and new theory, caliph, caliphate, Al-Qaeda, Iraq, Syria
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List of Abbreviations

JTJ- Tawhid wa´al-jihad
AQI- Al-Qaeda in Iraq
ISI-Islamic state of Iraq
ISIL-Islamic state of Iraq and Levant
IS- Islamic State
1. Introduction

On June 2014, the terrorist organization IS with its leader Al-Baghdadi announced the establishment of a Caliphate in areas extending across 423 miles of Iraq and Syria. A caliphate entails the governing of a state with the Islamic laws (Sharia) and Al-Baghdadi urged all Muslims around the world to pledge an allegiance to him and travel to the territories which are now under the control of IS. "Because hijra (migrate) to the land of Islam is obligatory...Where the Arab and non-Arab, the white man and the black man, the easterner and westerner are all brothers" (Atwan, 2015:9). Two months after Al-Baghdadi declared himself a caliph and announced the establishment of a caliphate, an U.S led air and missile attacks was initiated to target IS in Iraq and Northern Syria (Lister, 2014:4-5).

Although there is a lack of a universal definition of terrorism, IS is defined as a terrorist organization due to its fulfillment of certain elements in the definition of terrorism. IS uses violent methods in order to reach its aims and thus fulfill the basic requirement of the definition, terrorist organization. The group holds a radical interpretation of Islam and seeks to impose its view on Muslims around the world.

Although the awareness of the group's existence grew in 2014 as IS took control of 34,000 square miles in Iraq and Syria, it is important to understand that IS was established more than a decade ago as a branch of Al-Qaeda.

The world came to know IS as a terrorist organization active in Iraq and then extended to Syria in 2011 but IS was initially founded by a Jordanian militant with the aim of overthrowing the Jordanian government in 2000. But with the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, the Tawhid wa’il-jihad (JTJ) which is the original organization that later evolved to IS, shifted its focus to Iraq. However it is the recent uprisings and instability in the Middle East, particularly in Syria and Iraq that created an enabling environment for militant and terrorist groups such as IS to prosper. The horrific methods utilized by IS have not only showed the world its capabilities but also led to Al-Qaeda disavowing IS in February 2014 (River, 2014:39-40).

The goal of this research is to analyze the terrorist organization IS through the lenses of the theory of old and new terrorism and to see if changes had occurred within the organization that could shed light on the recent changes within the organization. The question to ask then is, what has changed in IS as an organization in term of structure and method that has enable them to
achieve such success in a short period of time? This study is done for the purpose of adding to the existing literature of IS which is relatively small.

1.1 Purpose and research problem
The terrorist organization IS has been apart of the Al-Qaeda network since 2003 but it emerged as an independent organization in 2014. The world had not been aware of the organization's existence to the same extent as today which leads to asking the questions what has changed within the organization? This fact has influenced the purpose of this study which is to identify changes within the terrorist organization IS and to be able to classify plausible changes using the theory of old and new terrorism.

1.2 Research question
How can we classify the terrorist organization IS using the theory of Neumann, Old and New terrorism?

1.3 Method
This study is conducted through a qualitative, descriptive study with an idealtypsanalys framework. The aim of the study is to classify the terrorist organization IS by using the Old and New terrorism theory by Neumann (2009). The choice of the qualitative method is motivated through the aim of the research, which is to reach a deeper understanding of a certain phenomenon by “studying things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them”(Creswell, 2007:36-37).

Once a qualitative method have been chosen, it is important to decide whether the study will be an explanatory study or a descriptive one. The nature of this study will be a descriptive which is related to the aim of the study, to classify the terrorist organization IS with the theory of old and new terrorism and not to give explanatory reasons behind the classification. Descriptive study is about classifying reality and one of the analytical frameworks to classifying reality within a descriptive study is a so-called idealtypsanalys. Idealtypes do not exist in reality but rather they are extreme images or ideas of a certain phenomenon with the aim of illustrating important aspects of the phenomenon being studied (Essaisson et al., 2004:158-159).
The old and the new paradigm will function as the idealtypes for this study and each idealtype consist of three sets of variables *aim, structure and method* of the phenomenon *terrorism*. The variables within the paradigm of old and new will operate as two opposing polars and by placing IS on this linear, I will be able to understand the classification of the terrorist organization IS in relation to the idealtypes (Essaisson et al., 200:160).

1.4 Analytical Framework

In order to discover if changes have occurred within the terrorist organization IS, the theory of Neumann (2009) will be used as an analytical framework and guideline. The theory of Neumann identifies two idealtypes, old and new terrorism and these two idealtypes consist of three sets of variables, *aim, method and structure*. The goal is to analyze the terrorist organization IS through the three sets of variables identified by Neumann in order to see if IS as an organization has changed from old to new. There is a fair amount of literature discussing old and new terrorism but limited amount of it review the changes occurred within terrorist organizations and almost no existing literature review if changes occurred within IS due to its recent uprising.

1.5 Limitations

The difference between limitation and delimitation is that delimitations are the boundaries set by the researcher in order to conduct a specific study. While limitations are barriers such as time frame, limited resources and other factors, which are not controllable by the researcher (Ekengren et al, 2012:46-47). The delimitation concerning this study is the choice of the theory due to the specific objective of the theory. The theory of old and new terrorism focuses on three sets of variables and this could neglect important factors concerning the categorizing of a terrorist organization as old or new. Due to the fact that IS, is an active terrorist organization up to date; it is a challenge to conduct a study with a linear timeline.

In order to conduct a meaningful and plausible research, I have chose to only focus on the terrorist organization IS from the period of early 2000 to 2014. The choice for the time period is motivated by the fact that IS was established in the early 2000 and in order to understand the
development of the organization, the research had to begin with the establishment of the organization.

The decision of conducting this research to the period of 2014 is due to the time constraint for the thesis; the possibility of conducting an ongoing research is limited. Further limitation concern the availability of information on IS. Although IS “is not a new” organization in the world of terrorism, the group has been relatively unknown before its reappearance in relation to the civil war in Syria in 2011. Due to the contemporary nature of IS as an active organization up to date, it is a challenge to stay consistent with the literature concerning IS. This challenge is one that I as a researcher had to keep in mind throughout this research. There is a lack of academic sources which discusses IS as a terrorist organization due to its recency and that was a challenge which I had to keep in mind while conducting this research.

1.6 Ethical consideration
The ethical considerations facing a researcher depend on different factors such as the topic of the study, the empirical data and the method utilized in the study. Ekengren et al (2012) points out particularly to the importance of ethical considerations when the study being done is concerned with individuals or a group of individuals, the researcher need to be aware of the importance of the integrity of those involved (Ekengren et al, 2012:108). The important ethical consideration for this study is regarding the religion, which the group being studied is affiliated with. IS although is classified as a terrorist organization, the group not only aim of achieving the establishment of an Islamic state but also is doing so in the name of Islam. It is important to distinguish IS as a group and not a representative of an entire religion.

1.7 Literature review
This section will both introduce the literature review necessary for the research but also link its relevance to the research problem.

Woolf (2005) discusses central questions relating to terrorism, how to define terrorism? What drives people to join terrorist organizations? Terrorism can be described as the use of violent methods against civilians with the purpose of achieving political goals. Terrorism is often used as a strategy by organizations or groups, which lacks military resources to declare a war against a state. Terrorist organizations have different aims, some groups aim at overthrowing the ruling regime of their respective states and others aim at strengthening their political ideologies. The
history of terrorism can be traced long where Woolf provides the example of the roman emperors such as Tiberius and Caligula 100 B.C with their ostracism and executions of political leaders.

The modern terrorism however came in 1968 in West Germany, Italy and Japan where terrorist groups targeted wealthy companies which they claim to be exploiting the working class of society. Woolf mentions some of the longstanding terrorist organizations, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) formed in 1917 and Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) founded in 1964. Since the 1980’s, Islamic fundamentalism has been the dominating force behind the international terrorism where the Iranian revolution in 1979 has led the way for the establishment of many terrorist organizations with the financing of countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Libya. Woolf distinguishes three main ideological branches of terrorism, Anarchism and right and left oriented. Woolf also discusses the role of the media where he argues that terrorist organizations aim at generating interest for their cause by utilizing the media. It is through the media that terrorist groups aim at creating insecurity and weakness.

Brown (2007) did a study to analyze whether the Palestinian political organization, Hamas can be classified as a part of the new terrorism paradigm. The author assesses Hamas by applying the essential concepts of the new terrorism to the structure and the different elements of the organization. The study concludes that the Palestinian political organization Hamas does not fit in the frame laid by the new terrorism as a paradigm. This argument is supported by the fact that Hamas is not motivated religiously but rather politically and this notion is more related to the old than the new terrorism. Brown also stresses the important fact that Hamas aims for a national liberation, which is another component of the old terrorism.

Neumann (2009) has also examined Al-Qaeda through the lenses of the new terrorism and came to the understanding that the structure of the organization was more hierarchical than its present form. The hierarchical system is a constituent of the old form of terrorism but the structural form is not the only component that changed within Al-Qaeda and that is due to the fact that its recruits became universally oriented than the usual domination of mostly Saudis and Egyptians. This international form of recruiting and the simultaneously bombings that were carried out by Al-qaeda around the world, showcase the transnationality of the organization. The literature on the identification of the changes occurred within terrorist organizations are limited while there
is fair amount of literature on the debate of old and new terrorism. There is no existence literature reviewing IS from the perspective of old and new terrorism and that is due to the recent up rise of IS.

David Tucker (2001) studied the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Red Army Faction (RAF), a German militant group that existed from the 1970’s to the end of 1990’s. Tucker aimed at understanding the relevance of the new terrorism as a concept by studying the cases of the above mentioned organizations. The argument in the new terrorism underlines the importance of looking at the structure of an organization because networks constitute the structure of new terrorist organizations and not the traditional hierarchical army structure of old terrorism. Tucker argues that it is insufficient to look at the structure of a terrorist organization in order to classify it within the frame of the new terrorism as a paradigm, because network as a structure can be identified in older terrorist groups.

Loretta Napoleoni (2003) analyzes the economy of terrorism and argues that the economy of terrorism has gone through various development phases throughout the history. What is evident to understand according to Napoleoni is the fact alongside our global economy; there exist a parallel economy, which consist of drug trafficking, money laundering and other criminal activities where terrorist organizations around the world cooperate in order to gain from this interacted economy. The author termed this parallel economy the gross criminal product and underlines the difficulties that come from distinguishing the legal global economy from the gross criminal product (Napoleoni, 2003:16-22).

In 1990 communism collapsed and former Muslim countries in central Asia who were ruled by the Soviet Union became independent and thereby Moscow withdrew their financial support to these countries. The legacy of the cold war has left many countries in the region in poverty and paved the way for Muslim banks and other actors such as Saudi Arabia to fill the vacuum with their investments. Political groups with intentions of terrorism gained influence in the region and according to Napoleoni this was the base for modern Jihad (Napoleoni, 2003:24-30).

Napoleoni conclude by emphasizing that the last fifty years the political and economic dominance of the west hindered the financial expansion of the Muslim world. This has led the ruling actors in Muslim countries to form an alliance with fanatic religious groups and leaders in order to unchain the Muslim world from the influence of the west. The crusade was merely
an instrument of recruitment and not influenced by religion, this applies to terrorism where the impulsion is economy and not religion (Napoleoni, 2003:30-40).

2. Background
This section is about the background and history of the Islamic state as a notion and also the background of IS.

2.1 The origin of the Islamic State
An Islamic state as a governing system was established for the first time in year 622 when prophet Muhammad migrated from the city of Mecca to Medina to form an Islamic political community. An Islamic state is a governing system where a set of Islamic principles and laws, sharia laws are utilized to govern the various aspects of a society. With the death of the prophet in 632, the newly formed Islamic community required a leader to take his place and it is from the prophet’s successor that the words caliph derives from. An appropriate title was necessary for the new successor and two titles were appointed by the first Muslims, Amir al-Muumin which meant the commander of all faithful and the second one Khalifat Allah, deputy of god on earth and it is from this term that the English word Caliph originates (Kennedy, 2004:52-53).

The rulers of the Ottoman Empire (1362-1924) were the last in modern history, which claimed to hold the legitimate power to govern the Islamic world as a Caliph. The Turkish state that was established after the fall of the Ottoman Empire invalidated the Caliphate and “in both symbolic and practical terms, the Islamic state died in 1924” (Feldman, 2008:2). In 2014, ninety years after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Al-Baghdadi the leader of the terrorist organization IS announced the establishment of an Islamic state and appointed himself as the Caliph.

2.2 IS today
Today it is inevitable to deny the threat posed by the terrorist group which possess several titles IS, ISIS, ISIL and the Islamic state of Syria and Iraq, with the aim of establishing “an Islamic caliphate encompassing the entire region of Levant, from Iraq and across Syria to Lebanon and beyond” (River, 2014:31). According to the international standard of the term Terrorism, IS is labeled as terrorist organization due to the violent methods of achieving its goals. This is
demonstrated by the killing of civilians but also its brutal methods such as beheadings which then are published on the internet for the world to witness.

IS has been condemned by several international actors such as the United Nations where the human rights chief of the United Nation stated “Grave, horrific human rights violations are being committed daily by ISIS and associated armed groups” (Alarabiya, 2014).

IS not only commit violent actions against Christians communities and those who are outside the Islamic faith in the territories they control but they also engage in the killing and the torture of fellow Muslims which led the Al-Qaeda core leadership to denounce IS in 2014. IS has also been identified by the world as being more horrific than Al-Qaeda with its brutality resulting in the death of a large number of civilians but also its strategic operations which is demonstrated by numerous factors such as the seizure of the second largest city in Iraq, Mosul in June 2014 (The Washington post, 2014).

Although the awareness of the group’s existence grew in 2014, it is important to understand that IS was established more than a decade ago. What is today known as IS was originally founded by Abu Musab al- Zarwaqi, a Jordanian militant named. Al-Zarwaqi founded the militant group Jam ál-Tawhid wa´al-jihad (JTJ) around the year 2000 with the intention of overthrowing the Jordanian monarchy and establishing an Islamic State. (River,2014:10). The JTJ grew as a network with recruits, which consisted mostly of recruits from Jordanian, Palestine and Syrians. Al-Zarwaqi shifted his intention to Iraq as a result of the 2003 invasion of the country thus creating a new aim, the expelling the U.S. and coalition forces from Iraq (River, 2014:12).

In 2004, the JTJ network undertook alliance with Al-Qaeda where Bin Laden officially declared Al- Zarwaqi as the commander (emir) of the Al-Qaeda subdivision in Iraq, and the network relabeled itself as Tanzim Qaidat al-jihad fi Bilad al-rafidayn (“Al-Qaeda in the land of two rivers”) but it was generally referred to as Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). (River, 2014:14). In 2006, the network gained a new leader and a new label, Abu Ayyub al-Masri was titled as the new leader of the reestablished ISI (Islamic state of Iraq). But the organizational changes did not affect the aim of the network, which remained to be “to oust foreign influence from Iraqi
territory, topple the current government and establish in its stead a pure Islamic state”(River, 2014:18).

In 2007 the network was severely weakened as a result of lost of recruits and funds, ISI was being funded by Al-Qaeda but the core leadership of Al-Qaeda disapproved the operational methods of AQI/ISI which resulted in the deaths of several Muslims casualties, thus abandoned funding the ISI. The weakening of the ISI was also a result of intensive military offensives conducted both by the Iraqi government and the foreign coalition forces in Iraq. But despite the weakening of the network it still remained in operation and continued its expansion to Syria with the leadership of the new leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi who initiated a branch in Syria after the Syrian civil war erupted in 2011. With the expansion of the network, the labeled changed once again to ISIL (Islamic state of Iraq and Levant), (River, 2014:21).

Al-Baghdadi expanded the group with more brutality than its previous comrades and this finally resulted in the end of the alliance between ISIL and Al-Qaeda where the core leadership of Al-Qaeda stated in March “ISIS is not a branch of the Al-Qaeda group, we have no organizational relationship with it, and the group is not responsible for its actions.”(Lister, 2014:13). The new leader showed its commitment to its own cause and network by appointing himself as ”Caliph” on June 2014 with the aim of establishing a Caliphate. The term Caliph refer to a leader as a successor to the prophet Muhammad and one that will govern a sovereign state of all the Muslims around the world, which explains the concept of a caliphate (Lister, 2014:4).

3. The concept Terrorism
This chapter looks at the broader definition of terrorism and discusses the lack of a consensus of the term terrorism. It also discusses the three variables of the theory of old and new terrorism.

3.1 Lack of a consensus definition of the term terrorism
Before defining the definition of old and new terrorism, Neumann start the discussion with first emphasizing the lack of a widely and consensus acceptance and definition of the Terrorism. This is due to the fact that the acts and events, which are labeled as terrorism, are differentiated through their aims and goals in the scope of time (Neumann, 2009:6). To demonstrate this
argument, I intend to showcase how The European Union and The United States department of defense chose to define the term terrorism.

The European Union definition of terrorism is: *Terrorism offences are certain criminal offences set out in a list consisting largely of serious offences against persons and property that; given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organization where committed with the aim of: seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act; or seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization* (The European Union, 2002).

While the United States department of defense defines terrorism:  
"The calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological " (Homeland security digital library, 2007)

This lack definition of the term terrorism is also stressed by Neumann where he states: “*There is no agreed definition in international law, nor is there a consensus among scholars*” (Neumann, 2009:6). This lack of a consensus for the definition results in the merging of the “Descriptive and normative” way of using the term in the public debate (Neumann, 2009:6). According to Neumann is what divides the public debate and leads to emergence of the idea that “one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter”(Neumann, 2009:6). Although the lack of an agreed definition on the term terrorism, “the deliberate usage of violence against civilians” *is a common denominator* (Neumann, 2009:6).

Neumann adopted T.P. Thornton´s definition of the term terrorism but the usage of Thornton´s definition is not of an explanatory kind of the phenomenon but rather as a method. Thornton defines terrorism as “*The deliberate creation of fear, usually through the use (or threat of use) of symbolic acts of violence, to influence the political behavior of a target group*” (Neumann, 2009:8).
3.1.1 Old and New Terrorism
When defining the gradual change from old to new terrorism, Neumann focuses on three variables that represent terrorism as a social phenomenon. These three variables are the Structures which define their organization, Aim of their actions and the Method which they use in order to reach those aims (Neumann, 2009:15-16). “As a social phenomenon, then, terrorism consists of small conspiracies (structures) aiming to achieve political objectives (aim) through symbolic acts of extra-normal violence (method)” (Neumann, 2009:16).

3.1.2 Structure (Variable 1)
Terrorist groups through time have always defined themselves as regular armies in which they defended their struggle as one that is legitimate. This fact is demonstrated in the way old terrorist groups were structured with hierarchical systems of command and control similar to the one utilized in the military. But the similarity of the structure to the military system hampered with the secretive function of terrorism. And this resulted in the adaptation of cell systems where a dozen terrorist group members compose each cell. This new system assured the survival of the central organization for if a cell member got into a compromising situation, the cell member could only jeopardize the safety of the fellow cell members and not the entire organization and hence ensuring the future survival of the organization (Neumann, 2009:17).

However, Neumann emphasizes the fact that adopting cell systems as a structure is not defining new terrorism because the chain of command is still in place. But the cell system operates with less visibility and thus the secretive operation of the organization is kept intact. Another distinction in the structure of the old terrorist groups is the existence of a “Physical center of gravity” (Neumann, 2009:17).

It is around this center of gravity that most of the intention of the group was focused upon. This center could vary from being a country to a part of a country, the center could function as a recruitment point and soldiers would be appointed both inside and outside the geographical center point, which demonstrates the international geographical linkages. It is at this center of gravity that the group members are able to carry out its operations with the aim of targeting the government or the authority of that specific geographical center. (Neumann, 2009:18).
What differs the new structure from the old is the way the hierarchical system has been replaced by personal relationships, the importance lies in having links to individuals who have the ability to facilitate vital connections for carrying out the operations. Neumann refers to two American analysts in describing the new form of structure, “There is no single central leader or commander; the network as a whole.... there is little to no hierarchy” (Neumann, 2009:19).

This new system contributed to diffusion, which transformed the new terrorism to networks instead of the traditional organization system. As an alternative to cell members, there emerged hubs, which consisted of individuals having frequent connections to other members of the network. And since the network is composed of many hubs, the removal of few hubs will not entail a threat to the network as a whole (Neumann, 2009:19). An additional feature of the new structure is the absence of permanent rules, the group do not require the approval of the network when initiating and carrying out operations, the chain of command is broken (Neumann, 2009:20).

The third feature of the structural change from old to new terrorism lies in what Neumann describes as “increasingly transnational in reach and orientation” (Neumann, 2009:20). This stresses the fact that transnational terrorist movements not only move across geographical borders but also bring about a new form of social space that is above the control of a single state or government (Neumann, 2009:20). This fact contributes to the ability of terrorist groups to recruit members from all over the world. In the new form of structure, new terrorists groups are not necessarily bound to a center of gravity, which is a prominent feature of the old structure. Terrorist groups are not only concerned with geographical positions but also “ideological emphases” (Neumann, 2009:20).

3.1.3 Aim (2 Variable)
The second variable that is identified by Neumann is the aim and ideologies of the terrorist groups (Neumann, 2009:21). The emphasis that is underlined is the fact that the political ideas and ideologies of terrorist groups tend to represent the radical ideologies of a given society. But what distinct terrorist groups from other movements in the society is their violent method of achieving their aims (Neumann, 2009:22).

The Marxist and nationalist ideologies dominated both the social movements and the terrorist groups of earlier decades. In the latter half of the 20th century it was the Marxist ideology that
dominated the political sphere in certain western and Latin American countries, which led to the emergence of radical political movements. And the nationalist ideology produced various terrorist groups as a result of radical outgrowth of wider political movements. The aim in that era was independence and self-determination but in the 1980s and 1990s the religious ideologies entered the political discourse and the religiously inspired political movements took a wider spectrum in the politics than it had in the 1960s and 1970s (Neumann, 2009:22).

The religiously inspired political movements were visible around the world and it reached the Muslim world in 1979 with the Iranian revolution where Ayatollah Khomeni seized the power (Neumann, 2009:23). Neumann cites Hoffman, a specialist on political terrorism “Whereas in the late 1960s not a single terrorist group anywhere in the world could be described as religiously inspired, the share of religiously motivated groups had risen to nearly a third by the mid-1990s” (Neumann, 2009:24). This of course does not imply that the nationalist and Marxist ideologies elapsed and only religious ideologies are remained. But today it is nationalism and religion that seem to be correlated where nationalism and Marxism used to be the dominating ideologies (Neumann, 2009:25).

3.1.4 Method (Variable 3)
Terrorist are traditional in their method of carrying out operations and to emphasizes this fact Neumann cites Brian Jenkins a terrorist analyst, “Terrorist blow up things, kill people or seize hostages”(Neumann, 2009:25). This method is still used by terrorist organizations in order to reach their aim but certain aspects has changed in these traditional methods in respect to who they are conducted against.

The death of civilians is a feature that can be found in both old and new terrorism but what has changed in this feature is the intention of the terrorist groups in the new terrorism. In the old terrorism, the aim was to showcase the act to a large public but to minimize the death of civilians but in the new terrorism that is not the case. But however Neumann stresses the fact that when looking at statistic of civilian deaths as a result of terrorism, one need to be cautious due to fact that different aspects might be neglected in certain statistics (Neumann, 2009:26).
The killing of civilians has become more of a tactic than a mistake, where in the old terrorism individuals who were outside the scope of the government, which the terrorists conducted its struggle against, were not recognized as a threat. But in the new terrorism, the government association has been replaced by “ethnicity and religious affiliation or the policies carried out by their government” (Neumann, 2009:26-27).

There exist a debate on whether terrorist groups would carry out operations using chemical weapons or not, but what is essential in this argument is the fact that the new terrorist organizations are more willing to encompass chemical weapons than the old terrorist organizations (Neumann, 2009:27). These arguments showcase how the killing of civilians increased but also the violence and brutality of the terrorist groups has escalated in the new terrorism (Neumann, 2009:28).

3.1.5 Criticism
The discussion of the new terrorism as a term is one that has been debated for a long time between scholars whom disregard the terms validity and those who see its relevancy. Walter Laqueur, one of the most well known scholars on the political violence stated that “a revolution was taken place and the new terrorism went beyond the terrorism as we know it” (Neumann, 2009:1).

The term new terrorism entered the political terrorism arena during the 1990’s with “the 1993 bombing of the world trade center in New York City and 1995 Sarin gas attack in the Tokyo subway by the Aum Shinrikyo cult” (Copeland, 2001:5). But it was the event of 9/11 that led to the increasing utilization of the term by both scholars and government analysts. Martha Crenshaw through analyzing the goals, methods and organization and resources of terrorists aim at demonstrating that today’s terrorism is not a fundamentally or qualitatively “new” phenomenon but grounded in an evolving historical context” (Crenshaw, 2007:2).

Crenshaw (2007) also stresses the fact that policy makers through top-down processing of information uses the term new terrorism lightly in order to avoid the deeper understanding of the phenomenon in its real context. Crenshaw demonstrates this fact by referring to the terrorist groups Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Palestine. And how the United States labeled these groups as terrorists in order to avoid to negotiate because according to new terrorism, it is not possible to negotiate with the new terrorist groups of today (Crenshaw, 2007:29-30).
The policy making process is not the only incentive for the adaptation of the new terrorism as the new paradigm. Institutions dealing with counter-terrorism issues may find new incentives to increase the funding of these projects where Copeland argues “prior to September 11, the idea of spending tens of billions of dollars a year would have seemed alarmist, but since that date it seems to be the universal expectation in the United States when it comes to funding counter-terrorism projects” (Copeland, 2005:11).

One critique that the scholars opposing the new terrorism have in common is the fact the history is neglected. The argument suggests that due to this neglect, the aspects, which are considered to be new, are in fact present in the history of the terrorism as a phenomenon. Neumann responds to this argument by explaining that not all terrorist groups have adopted these new methods with unprecedented aims but rather “the new terrorism naturally draws on themes and ideas which have existed in earlier period” (Neumann, 2009:17). Neumann (2009) also emphasizes the fact that it is through evolution that this change has gradually occurred and it is not a total transformation from old to new but rather this evolution is best understood by “newer versus older” where the degree matters more than the kind (Neumann, 2009:13).

5. Methodology

5.1. Qualitative and Quantitative methods

When conducting a research there are two methods available for the researcher, the quantitative and qualitative method. The differences between the two methods reside on the aim of the research where the quantitative method aims at observing both the frequency and the time and space of a phenomenon through analyzing a large amount of data (Creswell, 2007:36).

While the central aim for the qualitative method is to reach an understanding by “studying things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (Creswell, 2007:36-37). Due to the fact that this method involves studying a small number of individuals or events, the researcher is able to analyze these units thoroughly and achieve an understanding on the circumstances leading to certain actions within the units (Maxwell, 2013:30).
This is also influenced by the type of questions the researcher is asking where typically how and why questions are related to achieving and understanding, thus qualitative way of researching. There is however two methods of analyzing within the qualitative method, an explanatory study is conducted where the aim lies in reaching a deeper level of understanding thus the why questions are in place. But when the aim is to only describe, the questions used instead are how, when and where (Essaisson et al., 2000:35-37).

Due to the fact that I am interested in describing and classifying the terrorist organization IS with the theory of old and new terrorism, the research will be a descriptive study. Descriptive study is about “classifying reality” and in order to conduct a descriptive study, you need first to establish an analytical framework that is suited for the phenomenon being studied. The analytical framework will then assist in capturing the important aspect of the phenomenon (Esaisson et al, 2007:155).

One way of classifying reality within descriptive study is through an “idealtypsanalysis”. Idealtypes do not exist in reality but rather they are indented extreme images or ideas of a certain phenomenon with the aim of clarifying important aspects within the phenomenon. Which means that characterizing features of the phenomenon can be detected through a comparison between aspects of the phenomenon and an unmitigated idealtype in order to understand what has occurred. In the case of my research, the unmitigated idealtype will be the theory of old and new terrorism where the two variables old and new will function as two opposing polars. By placing IS on this linear, I will be able to detect whether IS classifies as old or new terrorist organization (Essaission et al., 2007:158-160).

Several important points need to be in place when conducting a case study, the first being “construct validity”, which means that suitable operational measures need to be in place for the concept being studied (Yin, 2014:46-47). Applying this to my study where the purpose lies in describing and classifying the terrorist organization IS with the theory of old and new terrorism. The three sets of variables of the theory of old and new terrorism, Structure, Aim and Method will function as operational measurements of the phenomenon being studied.

5.2 Validity and reliability

Validity in the nature of qualitative studies refer to “how well a constructed test measures what it claim to be measuring while reliability” (Essaission et al.2007: 64) is concerned with the
repeatability of the study by other researchers. If the test were done a second time using the same, would it produce the same findings? If yes, then the study is reliable (Essaisson et al. 2007: 64-6). This research is conducted in order to see if IS as a terrorist organization has changed since it was first established and this is done through the theory of old and new terrorism. This means that the validity of the study is secured but in order to continue ensuring the validity of this research, a data systematization will be presented in order to have a clearer understanding of the validity of this research.

It is important for the researcher to be aware of the possibility of imposing personal views on the study being conducted and in explaining the researcher’s bias, it is a way of keeping that awareness when conduct the research. Essaisson et al (2007) point to the fact that ”the scientific analytical tool should be distinguishable from the researcher who constructed the analytical tool” (Essaisson et al. 2007: 24). Even though the values of the researcher are often intertwined with the choosing the scientific issue to be studied, these values should not function as a guideline for the researcher. This argument is important to keep in mind due to the fact that I am a young Muslim woman trying to study a radical Islamic group. But in order to secure a high level of reliability, I have tried to conduct this study and interpreted the findings as objective as possible but also maintain a critical point of view.

In order to achieve a high level of result validity, two things need to be in place, concept validity that refers to the accordance between our theoretical definition and operational analytical tools and good level of reliability. Essaisson et al (2007) points to the fact that if the researcher fails to collect and operationalize data in a correct way, the reliability of the study will be low due to the fact that no matter how correct the measuring instrument (validity) is, we will still fail to achieve a high level of result validity. However due to the fact that this research is conducted with idealtypanalys as analytical tool, it is important to mention that idealtypes do not explain as other theories how reality is interrelated. Since idealtypes are not a reflection of reality, it cannot be rejected by the empirical data (Essaisson et al. 2007: 159).

5.4 Primary and secondary sources
Newmann (2009) bases the primary data used for this study on the theory of old and new terrorism. Three variables constitute the core of the theory, aim, structure and method and by applying the theory of old and new terrorism to the empirical data, the aim is to understand if IS has changed with time. The secondary data used in this study with the purpose of complementing and supporting the primary data is composed of already existing literature on IS, the history of terrorism and Islam.
The secondary data consist of both academic data and information outside the academic sphere that was necessary in order to add to the existing literature, which is virtually non-existing due to the recent uprising of the terrorist organization, IS. When acquiring the secondary data, academic research databases such as the university library’s browser system were used but it soon appeared to be a challenge when trying to find sufficient information on the subject. In order to get a broader perspective and a large pool of information, news articles and reports from different news agencies such as Al-Arabia and New York Times were utilized. It is important to be highly critical of information sources such as newspapers due to the influential interest of various actors, this means that I as a researcher need to both evaluate my and carefully consider the purpose of the sources and the effect these might have on the study (Ekengren et al.2012: 20-21).

6. Analysis

6.1 The structure of IS
When IS was established it had a diffuse structure and although Al-Zarqawi had established the organization, it lacked a hierarchical chain of command. IS consisted of numerous militants who were mostly Jordanians, Palestinians, Syrians and foreign fighters with the aim of conducting terrorist attacks around the world, this characterizes a network rather than an organization. A factor determining the structure of old terrorist groups is the center of gravity which varies from a country, to a part of a country or a territory joining several countries. It is at this center of gravity that the terrorist organization targets its enemy and carries out most of its operations (Neumann, 2009:17-18). IS developed into a well structured network due to the funding, expertise and support it receive from Al-Qaeda and the AQI (Al-Qaeda in Iraq) was established in Iraq (River, 2014:8-9). Today IS has an estimated income of 2 billion dollars, which it primarily derives smuggling of oil, kidnapping, and taxes on the territory it controls (BBC, 2014).

The lack of a clear chain of command and hierarchical system indicates that a terrorist organization is characterized as new terrorism according to the concept of old and new terrorism. The old terrorist groups do resemble the traditional military in their structure but IS consisted of “hubs” which involved members with personal relationships instead of formalized chain of command (River, 2014:10). This indicates that in the early active period of its
existence, IS was characterized as new terrorism. In 2003 the structure of IS changed from new to old terrorism and a determinant factor of this development was Iraq, the center of gravity for IS. After the invasion of Iraq, IS shifted its focus from Jordan to Iraq, which became the physical place where the group recruited most of their fighters, conducted their attacks and had an enemy to target. Which entails a qualitative shift for IS from new to old structured organization where Al-Zarqawi before shifting focus to Iraq was aiming on establishing a mobile militant units to conduct attacks around the world with no particular center of gravity.

IS established a branch in Syria and the inauguration of IS in Syria signified a development in the structure of the organization. IS adopted the traditional structure of military with power concentrated around Al-Baghdadi and two deputies, one in Syria and one in Iraq. The operations on the provincial level were delegated by Al-Baghdadi but the specific operational planning were handled by provincial governors appointed by Al-Baghdadi (Lister, 2014:10-11).

Friedland (2015) emphasizes the importance in the structural shift of IS and one example of the success of the new structure is demonstrated in the seizure of Mosul despite the 30,000 soldiers of two Iraqi army divisions (River, 2014:26). Many of the commanders in IS use to serve as high-ranked officers in the military during the time Saddam Hussein governed Iraq and the expertise of these commanders reflect the operational strategies utilized by IS and Al-Baghdadi (Friedland, 2015:16-17). The commanders which now employs their strategic expertise to IS were not only apart of the seven-year war with Iran in 1980-1988 but also the first Gulf war (Atwan, 2015:34). These commanders have both practical and strategic expertise and this demonstrates the second factor which showcase how IS under the leadership of Al-Baghdadi adopted the traditional military structure, an element that is a character of old terrorism.

The new terrorist groups are transnational both in scope and orientation and they create a social space, which lacks geographical borders. Neumann points out that members of the transnational groups or movements tend to create an identification with this social space and when looking at IS, this notion can be found in the foreign fighters joining the organization. (Neumann, 2009:20). It is estimated that more than 20,000 fighters from 90 different countries have travelled to join the terrorist group IS. The technological development and the rise of the Internet has had a significant role and by using the internet as a communication tool, terrorist groups can get their message across to people around the world (Neumann, 2009:54-55). It is through spreading the aims and ideologies of IS that the organization is able to establish a virtual
social space, one which foreign fighters identify themselves with. IS published a video showcasing some of their French members burning their French passport. This is a sign of renouncing their French identity and citizenship and claiming that now they are identifying themselves as a part of IS rather than their original nation (Dailymail, 2014).

6.2 The methods of IS

“Terrorist blow up things, kill people or seize hostages” (Neumann, 2009:25). The methods used by old terrorist groups in carrying out attacks were traditional in the sense of the targeting of members of the security apparatus and members of the government, which the terrorist group identified as the enemy. Civilians were not targeted intentionally and when operations resulted in the death of civilians, the terrorist group made efforts to legitimize those deaths (Neumann, 2009:25-27).

These concepts can be traced to the JTJ, the founding organization of IS in the early 2000. The group carried out three significant attacks in 2003 and all of them took place in Iraq. The first one targeted the Jordanian embassy in Baghdad and on August 2003, the group targeted the United Nations headquarters in Iraq, which resulted in 22 casualties. Al-Zarwaqi, the former leader of IS aimed at ending the involvement of the United Nation in Iraq through the use of violent attacks. In that same year, the group also targeted the headquarters of Italy's paramilitary police headquarters in Iraq (River, 2014:12-13). The targeting of the Jordanian embassy and the UN headquarters in Baghdad are elements demonstrating the old method in conducting operations which entails that IS in the early of 2000 in Iraq can be classified in the paradigm of old terrorism utilizing old methods.

Both the Iraqi government and security apparatus and the foreign coalition forces that were the product of the invasion of Iraq in 2003 were under constant attacks by IS where they killed hundreds of Iraqi security personnel and numerous pro-U.S Iraqi politicians. These facts also adds to the argument that IS utilized old methods in carrying out missions and achieving their goals, the group frequently targeted the Iraqi government but also the foreign coalition forces in order to intimidate the civilians from supporting the foreign coalition forces and particularly the United States.
In order to hinder the reconstruction of Iraq after the country had been shattered by the war, IS targeted and killed civilians, humanitarian aid workers and foreigners who had come to help reconstruct the country. The beheading of Nicholas Berg was a strategy used by the group to intimidate and prevent foreigners from coming to Iraq but also to discourage Iraqis from supporting the foreign coalition forces (BBC, 2004). In May 2014, IS initiated an online campaign showcasing grisly images and execution videos on different social media platforms with the aim of increasing the influx of its recruits. The beheadings conducted by IS, is the first strategy showcasing that IS conducted operations using the new method which meant the increase of brutality of its operations in order to demonstrate its capability as a terrorist organization (Lister, 2014:7). Old terrorist groups used media in order to showcase their capabilities but the length of brutality employed by the terrorist organization IS differ from the old terrorist groups (Neumann, 2009:27).

The second strategy employed by IS involved generating tensions between the Sunni and Shiite population in Iraq in order to initiate a sectarian war. The group targeted and killed 95 Shiite civilians when they attacked a Shiite mosque in Iraq in 2004 and on March 2004, IS conducted multiple bombings against Shiites celebrating a holiday, which resulted in the deaths of 185 civilians. While the method in the old terrorism consist of the targeting of security apparatus and government officials, the new terrorist groups as emphasized by Neumann, “have no hesitation in making whole population legitimate targets based on their ethnicity, religious affiliation or the policies carried out by their government” (Neumann, 2009:27).

IS legitimized the targeting of the Shiite population based on their religion affiliation, “they are the enemy, beware of them, fight them, by God, they lie” (River, 2014:11) which demonstrates the fact that IS did not only intentionally targeted security apparatus but also civilians, an element which is distinct to the new method of terrorism. With the Syrian civil war, Al-Baghdadi saw an opportunity to expand IS to Syria and established Al-Nusra Front, an Islamic militant organization in Syria in 2011. Al-Nusra front claimed to be responsible for the suicide bombing in Damascus in 2012, which resulted in the death of 40 civilians, which strengthen the argument of, IS utilizing methods of the new terrorism paradigm. In April 2013, Al-Baghdadi stated in an audio statement the merger of Al-Nusra front and IS by establishing the Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS). Al-Nusra front however rejected this notion and tensions between the two terrorist groups sparked and in February 2014 the core leadership of Al-Qaeda disavowed IS (Atwan, 2015:122-123).
There is an interesting observation to be made between the two groups, IS and AL-Nusra front. Although the two terrorist groups were employed under the same ideological umbrella for two years, they utilized two different methods in achieving their respective goals. The ultimate aim for IS, is to seize vast amount of territories and establish an Islamic state where the Al-nusra front aimed to overthrow the Syrian regime and free the country from what they believe to be an ”ungodly and un-Islamic” regime. When looking further at the religious outline of Al-Nusra, the group emphasizes the matter of gradually establishing Sharia laws over time which is not the view held by IS (Atwan, 2015:125).

One crucial point that differ old terrorism from the new paradigm is the usage of the information technology as a mean too not only present their cause to the world but also to maintain their movement (Neumann, 2009:157-158). With the availability of the internet, terrorist groups today have no use of the media to operate as the middle man due to the simple fact that terrorist groups such as IS are capable of spreading their propaganda through different social media platforms.

Atwan (2015) points to the fact that without its skillful use of the internet, IS would not be able to reach its current status both in its territorial success or its great number of recruits. In order to expand the message and information concerning IS, the group changed its strategy when the chain of command is concerned. Old terrorist groups used their leadership when conveying a message to the world but when IS is concerned, the spreading of its propaganda and appealing to recruits, the leadership entrust the task to every jihadist within the organization (Atwan, 2015:16-17).

6.3 The aim of IS
The aim of the old terrorism differs from the new terrorism in the sense that independence and self-determination was the aim of the old terrorist groups. But religion is a powerful aspect in the new terrorism, this is stated by terrorism analyst Hoffman ”In the late 1960s not a single terrorist group anywhere in the world could be described as religiously inspired, the share of religiously motivated groups had risen to nearly a third by the mid-1990s”(Neumann, 2009:24).
Different factors gave rise to religiously inspired movements and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1979 was one of the decisive occurrences when it comes to Islam.

The first leader of IS, Al-Zarqawi was among the many muslims who travelled to Afghanistan in order to be apart of the struggle against the Soviet occupation forces. Al-Zarqawi with the funding provided by the Al-Qaeda core leadership, was able to establish a training camp in Herat, Afghanistan. This paved the way for the establishment of the JTJ, which gradually evolved to the current, IS (Rivers, 2014:9-10). Al-Zarqawi initially aimed at overthrowing the Jordanian monarchy and taking over the government in order to establish an Islamic state in Jordan. Al-Zarqawi abandoned his objective of overthrowing the Jordanian government because of the lack of the interest by the members of his newly established organization to return to Jordan (Gambill, 2004). This entails that one of the reasons behind the establishment of IS was to institute an Islamic state which provides the mean to qualify IS as a terrorist organization with the aim of new terrorism, one that is driven by religion. And 2014 when IS took control of 34.000 square miles in Syria and Iraq was the first time IS came close to establishing its goal.

In June 2014, IS seized control of Iraq's second largest city and declared itself a caliphate and its leader Al-Baghdadi as caliph Ibrahim (Friedland, 2015:10-11). With the establishment of a caliphate, IS claimed to have the political and theological authority of Muslims around the world. The group published videos displaying the elimination of land barrier defining the border between Iraq and Syria (Lister, 2014:16-17). Adnani, the chief spokesman of IS stated that all jihadist organizations must now pledge their support to Al-Baghdadi (The independent, 2015). Neumann 2009) argues that “For ideological jihadists, the caliphate is the ultimate aim, and Isis - in their eyes - have come closer to realizing that vision than anyone else “ (The Independent, 2014)

The term caliph originates from the Arabic word Khalif, which means successor and in the context of Islam, a caliph is the legitimate successor to the prophet Mohammed. The caliphate is a government under a caliph and Al-Baghdadi claims to possess the legitimate right to govern over the occupied territories in Iraq and Syria and once this regional caliphate is established, a global caliphate is pursued (River, 2014:29-31). The aim is to govern the caliphate under Islamic law (Sharia law), which will govern all aspects of the society where “Islam is interpreted
as a political ideology rather than as a purely theological construct” (River, 2014:31). As Neumann (2009) emphasized
“Religious extremism has...become the most powerful motivational and ideological basis for groups engaged in terrorist activity”(Neumann, 2009:24).

The aim of IS, is inspired by the one upheld by AL-Qaeda where Usam Bin Laden aspired for the establishment of an Islamic state which to be governed with Sharia laws. The use of violence against all non-Muslim groups was justified as a mean to glorify Muslims and facilitate their unification in the caliphate. The ideology of IS is not one that is designed for self-determination as it was the case of the terrorist groups in 1960’s, 1970’s and 1980’s but it is an ideology which through the use of religion adopt violence means in order to pursue a particular political agenda (Neumann, 2009:21-23).

IS implemented new laws in the Iraqi city of Mosul, the laws implemented are according to IS the islamic Sharia laws in order to govern its new territory where the non-Sunni population in Mosul were threatened and persecuted which led to their escape to other parts of Iraq and other neighboring countries (Al-jazeera, 2014). IS has not only threatened and persecuted those they believe oppose to their cause but they also torture those who break the Sharia laws set up by the organization. Amnesty International reported that seven detention facilities were operated by IS in the cities of Al-raqqa and Alleppo in Syria in 2013, "those abducted and detained by ISIS include children as young as eight who are held together with adults in the same cruel and inhuman conditions,"(Amnesty, 2013).

The ”crimes” committed by those individuals who were detained by the terrorist organization IS, varies from a range of crimes such as ordinary crimes as theft to religiously forbidden acts such as Zina which entails having sexual relation out of wedlock. The various methods used by IS on their detains include beating with “generator belts, thick pieces of cable, sticks or other implements forcing detainees to remain in contorted stress positions, giving electric shock, solitary confinement and flogging (Amnesty, 2013). The targeting of Muslims is not only religiously motivated but it is also a political one, this is due to the fact that the group also targets Muslims for holding what they believe to be ”liberal views” (Amnesty, 2013).

The aim of IS, is one that is motivated by religion thus qualifying the group as a terrorist group within the paradigm of the new terrorism. The aim of establishing an Islamic state and the
means utilized by IS in order to pursue its goals are the bases of classifying IS as a new terrorist groups. Where IS justify their action as a mean to possess the legitimate right to use all means necessary in order to purify the new caliphate from all those who oppose to it.

8. Conclusion

In order to describe and classify the terrorist organization IS, the theory of old and new terrorism by Neumann has been applied as an analytical framework. The theory of old and new terrorism consist of three sets of variables on a linear line of two opposing idealtypes, aim, method and structure and by looking at IS through these sets of variables, the aim is to classify IS as an old or new terrorist organization. My research question states, How can we classify the terrorist organization IS through the theory of old and new terrorism?

What this study shows is that IS can not be classified within one frame in the old or new terrorism because it has intertwined elements of the two idealtypes identified by Neumann. When looking at the structure variable we can see that in the early active years of IS, the organization contained the structure of new the terrorism paradigm. IS lacked hierarchical chain of command and constituted of a diffuse militant groups capable of conducting operations around the world (River, 2014:10). The development from new to old structure first took place in Iraq in 2003 when IS made the country its center of gravity, the place where the group recruited most of its fighters, conducted their attacks against a specific enemy. In 2011 the Syrian civil war broke out which became an opportunity for IS to include Syria into the agenda and Al-Baghdadi reshaped the structure of IS into the traditional army structure which is a component of old terrorism (Neumann, 2009:17-18).

The method employed by IS, is characterized within the new terrorism due to its intentional targeting of civilians as emphasized by Newmann (2009), the new terrorist organizations “have no hesitation in making whole population legitimate targets based on their ethnicity, religious affiliation or the policies carried out by their government” (Neumann, 2009:27). It is not only the targeting of civilians which classifies IS as a terrorist organization but also the increase in
brutality which is a crucial element of the new terrorism. IS and its use of violent methods such as beheading showcase the violence and brutality it is capable of.

The most important component of the new terrorism when it comes to the Aim variable is the ideological agenda behind every terrorist organization. The old terrorist organizations are characterized by aiming at national self determination which was a driving force behind the political forces of the twentieth century, one that produced “national liberation movements” that utilized terrorist tactics and guerilla warfare in order to achieve independence (Neumann, 2009:22).

The world witnessed an ideological shift in the 1980’s and 1990’s were religiously inspired political movements made their way into the mainstream political discourse. When looking at the aim of IS, we can see that the aim variable has not changed since the establishment of the organization. Al-Zarqawi, the first leader of IS initially aimed at overthrowing the Jordanian monarchy and take over the government in order to establish an Islamic state in Jordan. And in June 2014 when IS seized control of Mosul, Iraq's second largest city it declared itself a caliphate and its leader Al-Baghdadi as caliph Ibrahim (Friedland, 2015:10-11). Neumann (2009) argues that “For ideological jihadists, the caliphate is the ultimate aim, and Isis - in their eyes - have come closer to realizing that vision than anyone else “ (The Independent,2014).

Cockburn (2015) points to the fact that today Al-Qaeda inspired groups are in control of large areas in northern and western Iraq as well as eastern and northern Syria. The amount of territories controlled by these groups’ todays is equivalent to hundred times larger than any territory ever seized or ruled by Al-Qaeda (Cockburn, 2015:1-3). On August 2014 the US Air force initiated a bombing operation on IS in Iraq and later expanded to Syria.

IS, is a well structured terrorist organization with military discipline that knows the importance of carefully choosing its targets in order to maximize its profit, this differ IS from Al-Qaeda. The complexity and the structure of IS through this study has shown that in order to defeat the terrorist organization IS, one must understand its structure, aim and method. By studying the different component of IS through the theory of old and new terrorism, better strategies can be
employed in order to dissolve IS. IS can not only be defeated through military interventions and operations, the structure of the organization needs to be diffused in order for it to crumble.
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