AUTHOR(S):

TITLE:

YEAR:

Publisher citation:

OpenAIR citation:

Publisher copyright statement:

This is the _____ version of an article originally published by _____ in _____ (ISSN _____; eISSN _____).

ISLAMIC "NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS"?
RADICAL ISLAM, AL-QA'IDA AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY[*]

Philip W. Sutton and Stephen Vertigans[†]

European new social movement (NSM) theory was developed to describe and explain the apparently unique character of the wave of collective action that began in the 1960s and continues to this day. Key characteristics of NSM theory are a post-industrial orientation, middle-class activist core, loose organizational form, use of symbolic direct actions, creation of new identities, and a "self-limiting radicalism." The theory's claims to movement innovation were later criticized by many as exaggerated and ahistorical. However, the filtering down of key NSM elements into social movement studies has led to changing definitions of what social movements actually are and opened up new opportunities for the integration of religious movements into the social movements mainstream. Using the case of radical Islam, and with particular reference to the terrorist social movement organization al-Qa'ida, this article argues that drawing on key features of NSM theory should lead to a better understanding of radical Islam as well as a more realistic explanation of its continuing development and transformation.

The field of social movement studies has, until very recently, not shown much interest in either moderate or radical Islamic movements. As Kurzman (2004: 289) argues, "Over the past generation, the fields of social movement theory and Islamic studies have followed parallel trajectories, with few glances across the chasm that has separated them." Evidence for this assertion can be found in the lack of integration of Islamic movement studies into the social movements mainstream. In introductions and edited collections of the last decade, studies of Islamic movements are conspicuous by their relative absence. McAdam, McCarthy and Zald's (1996) collection draws on many secular movements but not Islamist mobilizations. Tarrow (1998: 185) rightly identifies Islamic fundamentalism as one of three "transnational social movements," but does not pursue the characterization. Della Porta and Diani's (1999: 22) introduction is inspired by "the experience of 'new movements'" but these do not include religious movements and there are no indexed references to Islam or Islamic movements. Similarly, Crossley's (2002) introduction has no indexed reference to Islam and his list of representative social movements has no room for Islamic movements (2002: 1). Finally, Goodwin and Jasper's (2003) recent volume includes just one selection on Islam, Kurzman's (1996) analysis of the Iranian revolution, the one "Islamic" subject that has attracted the attention of social movement research, presumably because of its geopolitical significance.[1]

However, over the last five years there is evidence of an emerging interest in the application of theories and concepts from social movement studies to Islamic movements (Lubeck 2000; Wickham 2002; Wiktorowicz 2001, 2004; Clark 2004; Kurzman 2004; Oberschall 2004). This article contributes to this emerging research focus as well as to wider

debates on the integration of religious movements within social movement studies. The relative neglect of religious movements in general reviews of social movement studies, testifies to the widespread theoretical separation of the secular from the religious and the corralling of the latter into the specialized field of the sociology of religion where studies of cults, sects, and new religious movements mostly take place.[2] Oberschall's (2004: 34) explanation for the marginal status of religious movements is

> Many Western academics are fixated on a poverty-social injustice-exploitation interpretation of discontent and grievance in the third world and [on] secular ideologies and justifications for action. They are confused and bewildered by religious crusaders who dedicate their lives to realizing God's will on earth, by violence if necessary.

If so, then we might have expected European new social movement (NSM) theory, which shifted away from this mainstream materialism to focus on newer "value-based" social movements, to have found room for religious movements. Yet, with few exceptions, research into NSMs remained primarily focused on secular Western movements such as environmentalism, student movements, gay and lesbian movements, feminism, disabled people's movements and others. This is unfortunate as some of the central "new" features attributed to NSMs can be shown to characterise both moderate and radical Islamic movements, calling into question some popular assumptions regarding the character of the latter. In order to pursue this argument, the constituent elements of the NSM thesis can be analysed.

KEY FEATURES OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Although NSM theories are not homogeneous, six elements stand out as commonly recognized features of NSM activity.

1. Post-industrial and Postmaterial Politics. In Western Europe the emergence of a group of seemingly "new" movements amid a wave of collective action was seen as indicative of social-structural and economic change. Compared to industrial welfare-based and labor movements whose central concerns were class inequality, wealth distribution and lobbying the state for reforms (Habermas 1981; Offe 1990), NSMs represented the emerging post-industrial society and the displacement of class-based social movements (Touraine 1971, 1981; Melucci 1985, 1989). NSMs reflected the post-industrial rise of postmaterial values and goals related to the quality rather than the quantity of life (Inglehart 1977, 1990). In doing so, NSMs demonstrated a new expressive form of political engagement centered on the formation of identities that posed new challenges to existing political systems and parties (Kitschelt 1990; Dalton and Kuechler 1990). Arguably this link to post-industrial change was the central theoretical claim of "strong" versions of NSM theory.

2. New Social Constituencies. NSMs defied a simple class analysis. Their activist core was drawn from the "new middle class," those employed in welfare, creative, and educational sectors (Mattausch 1989). Since the 1960s student movements, a variety of social groups have engaged in movement activity, generating forms of political activity around quality of life issues rather than self-interest and rooted in workplaces. Beyond the core activists, large-scale demonstrations and collective protests brought together supporters in socially differentiated rainbow coalitions, not easily accounted for by social movement perspectives tied to materialist explanations. Such mobilizations suggested a form of politics emerging outside the formal institutionalized system (Offe 1985) that was not reducible to working-class interests.

3. Anti-Hierarchical Organization. Although NSMs are diverse, movement scholars have noted that they represent the emergence of a relatively new *type* of social movement characterized by loose networks, anti-hierarchical structures, and participatory approaches to organization (Olofsson 1987; Melucci 1985). NSM activists embraced relatively loose forms of

organization and operated in the sub-political world of everyday life in contrast to the hierarchical and tightly organized trades unions and mainstream political parties. Even within the new Green political parties, attempts were made to prevent the accretion of power including regular rotation of the leadership and participatory rather than representative policy making. A form of "anti-political politics" seemed to be emerging (Havel 1988).

4. Symbolic Direct Actions. NSMs created varied action repertoires, but the most striking element within these was their use of symbolic direct actions. Relying on mass media attention to bring new issues before the public, direct action symbolized the changes NSMs sought to bring about in the future. Newly formed groups such as Greenpeace quickly became adept at creating "eco-dramas" (Harries-Jones 1995) symbolising the struggles of relatively powerless groups against states and multinational corporations. Working outside established political processes and interest representation, NSM actions directly targeted problems at source. Adopting a non-violent approach to protest was itself symbolic of their attempts to bring about cultural change rather than attempting to take political power.

5. Self-limiting Radicalism. One significant difference between old movements and NSMs was the latter's limited political ambitions (Cohen 1985). Whilst socialist, fascist, and communist movements sought state power to shape societies according to their ideological programs, NSMs eschewed such grand schemes. Instead, the "radicalism" of NSMs was limited by their focus on the defense of civil society against state encroachment (Habermas 1981). Similarly, NSM organizations' attempts to combine radical aims with reformist strategies and to reconcile new-middle-class interests with those of marginalized groups distinguished the new movements as a group (Papadakis 1988). Their coherence consisted of a shared "ideological bond" centered on, "a humanistic critique of the prevailing system and the dominant culture . . . and a resolve to fight for a better world here and now with little, if any, inclination to escape into some spiritual refuge" (Dalton and Kuechler 1990: 280). This new form of political-cultural engagement encouraged the construction of new social identities.

6. New Identities. NSMs worked at creating new identities via an expressive politics promoting self-realization and the right to autonomy rather than the assimilation of movement demands into mainstream politics. Living out the lifestyle changes they sought for the future gave credence to the 1960s feminist slogan, "the personal is political." However, the NSM focus on the right to difference was at odds with the older assimilationist equal rights movements that fought for inclusion into mainstream society. Expressive identity politics flowed directly from the weakening of class identification in the emerging post-industrial society, thus befitting a society increasingly dominated by service-sector employment.

CRITICISM AND ASSESSMENT

The description of post-1960s activism presented above makes a strong case for the emergence of a genuinely new *type* of social movement. However, by the late 1990s, the weight of criticisms against NSM theory strongly suggested that the linkage of movement characteristics to post-industrial change had been exaggerated. Tarrow (1998: 202) summarized the views of many, arguing that that NSM challenges to existing social movement theories, "have paled as these movements went through life cycles much like their predecessors." In short, NSM theory failed to take account of the cyclical process of movement formation, development and establishment, mistaking the features of one formative stage in the development of movements for the emergence of a distinctive *new type* of post-industrial social movement (Brand 1990). Other critics noted that loose networks of activists, non-violent direct actions, postmaterial values and expressive identity-based politics can all be found within earlier social movements (Bagguley 1992; Calhoun 1995; D'Anieri et al 1990; Gould 1988; Sutton 2000). Hence, the argument that NSMs were evidence of the birth of a new *type* of movement lost much of its force, as NSMs did not seem quite so "new" after all.

Nevertheless, even if such criticisms are conceded, it can still be argued that the "bold conjecture" represented by NSM *theory* has contributed to new lines of research in some previously under-researched or neglected aspects of *all* social movements. The theory also focused attention on some key features of many movement mobilizations since the 1960s. Social movement scholars were alerted to the role of changing social values in the shaping of movement activity: the "horizontal" movement networks underlying public demonstrations and protest, the use of direct action and cultural symbols together with processes of identity construction. These elements formed the spine of NSM theorizing. Therefore, Tarrow's conclusion needs to be qualified. NSM theory *has* made a significant contribution to social movement studies, leading to revised definitions of what social movements actually are. Diani's synthetic definition illustrates this point (see also della Porta and Diani 1999: 14-16):

> A social movement is a network of informal interactions between a plurality of
> individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict,
> on the basis of a shared collective identity. (1992: 13)

While this definition looks for common ground in American and European approaches, it clearly owes much to the influence of NSM theorizing.

With its inclusion of central NSM features, Diani's revised definition also fits Islamic radicalism very well. The radical Islamic movement *is* organized through networks of interactions between a plurality of activists, groups and organizations that *are* engaged in both political and cultural conflicts on the basis of radical Islamic identities. In addition, some of these groups engage in symbolic direct actions linked to a strongly held religious ideology. They are also focused on post-industrial concerns rather than industrial or social class-based issues. With these features in mind, it may be that "new" movement activity will not be restricted to the secular, non-violent and "self-limiting" activities of Western NSMs, but will also include the growth of religious movements prepared to use violent methods in pursuit of their aims. The rest of the article outlines and evaluates this possibility.

THE TRANSNATIONAL RADICAL ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

The numerous groups involved within the broadly based Islamic resurgence cannot be considered as components of a homogeneous Islamic movement. This resurgence incorporates increases in levels of belief and practices of individuals and groups, often within predominantly secular social relations. The resurgence is characterized by increases in levels of moderate religiosity amongst individuals generally not connected to social movements. At the opposite or extreme end of the spectrum of the Islamic resurgence are participants and supporters who adhere to a radical interpretation of Islam that seeks to transform majority-Muslim societies into Islamic states and/or unite the ummah (global community of Muslims). Within this wider radical Islamic movement are social movement terrorist organizations (SMTOs) that use violence as a means to achieve their aims. Groups within the radical movement seek a greater role for Islam within social relations and institutions but vary in religious interpretations and strategic approach. For example, some groups, including Tablighi Jamaat focus upon improving individual faith and practice, predominantly in South Asia. Hamas and Islamic Jihad in the Palestinian territories seek to bring about an Islamic Palestinian nation-state, whilst the "hardcore" within al-Qa'ida and associated groups—including Islamic Jihad and al-Gamaat al-Islamiyya from Egypt, Harkat al Jihad in Bangladesh and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Pakistan[3]—emphasize achieving a global Islamic community, the *Ummah*, and adapting divine law to the modern world.

Within the radical movement, al-Qa'ida has become widely known for advocating violence to bring about revolutionary change and currently remains the most prominent group within the wider movement. Its methods and objectives can be distinguished from the more

moderate and popular Islamic resurgence. The prominence of al-Qa'ida, its participants' ability to attract media attention, oversimplified media reports and political opportunism on the part of some governments, have contributed to a popular misunderstanding that radical Islam simply is al-Qa'ida*, which is then held responsible for all acts of "Islamic terrorism." Drawing on social movement theories and concepts, particularly those features drawn from NSM theory, helps to place al-Qa'ida within the wider radical movement and bring into view the group's relations with other SMOs.

The emergence of al-Qa'ida can be traced to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the ensuing war (1979-1989). From an initial focus on welfare provision, the group has since sought to overcome divisions within Islam and then to provide an international army capable of defending Muslims from oppression (Bergen 2001; Burke 2003; Reeve 1999). Following the end of the war the "Arab Afghans" left Afghanistan trained in armed combat with higher levels of religiosity and the basis of an emerging international network, the cornerstone of al-Qa'ida before 11 September 2001. Fighters returned to countries with secular cultures and/or religious regimes widely considered to be corrupt, with which they quickly became disenchanted, reinforcing their radical interpretation of Islam (Orbach 2001; Rashid 2000; Vertigans and Sutton 2001). This radical religious interpretation of world affairs has arguably become more significant after the disintegration of communism and represents one possible configuration for a post-industrial politics.

Al-Qa'ida, Non-material and Postmaterial Politics

Ideologically, the roots of al-Qa'ida reflect its internal international coalition and can be traced to the growing militancy of radical Islamic thinkers and organisers. A range of both ideological and organizational influences, including Ibn Taymiyya (1268-1328), Wahhabism from the Arabian peninsular, Deobandis across the Indian sub continent, the Pakistani *Jamaat-i-Islami*, and the *Muslim Brotherhood* across the Middle East,[4] have been brought together in a unique fusion. Al-Qa'ida*'s* ideological position is therefore grounded in earlier radical thought that has been synthesized and adapted to contemporary events, providing a framework for life across economic, political, social, cultural, philosophical, and legal spheres. Radical groups' *non*-material motivations are similar, though not identical, to the rising *post*material values identified by NSM theorists in so far as these stand behind or form the backdrop to collective action and are not easily explained as purely economic grievances. Bin Laden's statements often exemplify this. Rejecting Western materialist explanations for the rise of militant Islam, bin Laden states,

> They [Western commentators] claim that this blessed awakening and the people reverting to Islam are due to economic factors. This is not so. It is rather a grace from Allah, a desire to embrace the religion of Allah. . . . When the holy war called, thousands of young men from the Arab Peninsula and other countries answered the call and they came from wealthy backgrounds. . . . We believe that this is the call we have to answer regardless of our financial capabilities (1998b).

Bin Laden's deputy, al-Zawahiri (2001) also points out that the values radicals hold exceeds material interests and personal loyalties as they, "have abandoned their families, country, wealth, studies and jobs in search for jihad arenas for the sake of God. " In 2002 bin Laden criticized moden materialism, stating, "I urge you to seek the joy of life and the afterlife and to rid yourself of your dry, miserable, and spiritless materialistic life" (2002a). Though they cannot be entirely separated from material issues, such religious motivations cannot easily be reduced to these either.

The development of the radical movement is also connected to political, economic, social, and cultural changes associated with post-industrialism and post-material values and the interrelated processes of modernization and globalization. In this respect, there do not

seem to be any conclusive reasons why the religious orientation of radical Islamic groups should prevent a mainstream social movement analysis. Tarrow (1998: 112) notes that, "Because it is so reliable a source of emotion, religion is a recurring source of social movement framing. Religion provides ready-made symbols, rituals and solidarities that can be accessed and appropriated by movement leaders." Framing protest and collective action in strongly religious terms, deferring to a higher power and tapping into highly significant culturally embedded ideas of "holy war," may even lend a stronger legitimacy to ideologically committed violent actions than that available to secular movements.

Radical Islamic Constituencies

Though social movement theories have previously neglected Islamic movements, this does not mean that the social sciences have ignored the Islamic resurgence or the rise in national and international terrorism. On the contrary, a large amount of research has been undertaken which has tended to be dominated by explanations grounded in the secularization paradigm. From this perspective, both the broad Islamic resurgence and minority Islamic terrorism are widely considered as short-lived phenomena related to economic exclusion (e.g., Ayubi 1991; Hiro 2002; Mehmet 1990; Paz 2001) and thus amenable to a materialist explanation. Certainly some members of radical groups are unemployed or have businesses and occupations threatened by modernization and many want a greater share in national wealth. But one of the surprising findings in recent studies of radical Islamist networks is the preponderance of middle-class individuals and those from professional backgrounds**.** For example, Sageman's (2004) study of biographical data of 172 Islamic militants has identified the over representation of the well educated, upper and middle classes. This is noticeable in the socioeconomic backgrounds of al-Qa'ida*'s* pre-9-11 leadership, which included bin Laden (a multi-millionaire), al-Zawahiri (a surgeon), Mohammed Atef (a police official), Khalid Shaikh Mohammed (an engineer) and Saif al-Adel (an army colonel). Al-Qa'ida has also garnered considerable financial backing from other wealthy donors. As outlined above, this is a similar finding to earlier surveys of West European NSMs. The element of surprise stems from previous neomarxist or materialist assumptions that the structural location of the middle class does not predispose it to radical politics, much less so to violent and terrorist activity.

At the level of operational management, the group relies on knowledgeable, educated and skilled recruits who provide communicative, technological, administrative and organizational qualities that are essential to their continuing international militancy.[5] Membership of al-Qa'ida and the wider radical movement is much broader, drawn from across Eastern Africa, the Middle East, Central, South, and South Eastern Asia, and the West. Many militants join the movement in countries other than where they grew up while others belong to the second generation of migrants to the West. Sageman's (2004: 92) study of international jihadis found that, "seventy-eight percent were cut off from their cultural and social origins." The movement also covers different socioeconomic groupings, ethnicities and nationalities and in the case of Hamas and Islamic Jihad in the Palestinian territories, involves many women activists. In this sense, the combination of a largely middle-class leadership and socially differentiated groups of movement supporters is similar to the structure of many other social movements, including NSMs (Bagguley 1992).

Organizational Diversity and Change

The transnational character of al-Qa'ida and the wider radical movement can be seen in the networks and coordinated actions directed at local and international targets across the world. Diverse organizational forms and an international emphasis have also been enabled by the ways in which activists have, "embraced the artifacts of globalization" (Bergen 2001: 21) by using satellite phones, computers, fax machines, and modern methods of transportation to

communicate, attract support, and carry out direct actions (Vertigans and Sutton 2001).

Al-Qa'ida, "does not have a permanent central command center." Individual cells have, "a great deal of autonomy in choosing their targets and organizing their planning" (Orbach 2001: 10). There is, "no 'top-down' organizational structure" (Martin 2003: 194). Such descriptions contrast with the documentary evidence from the abandoned Afghan training camps that showed, "a bureaucratic organization with administrative lines of authority and an insistence on budgeting," leading insiders to refer to al-Qa'ida as 'the company'" (Kurzman 2002: 17). Following the closure of the Afghan camps, Reuter (2004: 146) has argued that, "a*l-Qa'ida* has reorganized . . . exchanging the relative stability and openness of a Taliban-dominated Afghanistan for a vast, clandestine, decentralized underground operation with cadres based in cities and towns across Asia and Africa" and of course, Europe and North America. Such a transformation may be partly a consequence of the destruction of the Afghan camps with their militaristic structure. And as the International Institute for Strategic Study (2003) notes, "the counter-terrorism effort has perversely impelled an already highly decentralized and evasive transnational terrorist network to become more "virtual" and protean and, therefore, harder to identify and neutralize." The re-emergence of al-Qa'ida in diverse organizational forms demonstrates the commitment of activists to pursue al-Qa'ida's goals. In recent years a more decentralized and loosely organized activist network of has grown up with a polycephalous power structure in which local autonomy is becoming a key element.

At the center of al-Qa'ida is what Burke (2003: 13) calls the "hardcore," around 100 highly motivated and trained activists who have remained physically and ideologically close to bin Laden since the end of the Afghan war. Burke suggests that the hardcore operated as trainers and administrators in Afghanistan, fought in Bosnia or Chechnya (and in the latter case continue to do so), act as recruitment agents, deal with other radical Islamic SMTOs and very occasionally, run terrorist operations themselves. This group is part of a "vanguard" aiming to lead by example, providing direct and indirect support, guidance, financial assistance and training. The "hardcore" provide the link between the organized training camps and covert, decentralized, operational cells.

Beyond the hardcore, the composition of al-Qa'ida is less well defined. Through the Afghan training camps and relations with other radical groups, al-Qa'ida has recruited volunteers through the religious associations, mosques, community centers, and charities of the moderate Islamic movement to undertake activities on their behalf. Although al-Qa'ida is just one group within the radical movement, it has been able to tap into the wider movement through establishing "associate members" (Burke 2003: 207). Associates undertake activities and act as intermediaries or links to the, "vast, amorphous movement of modern radical Islam, with its myriad cells, domestic groups, 'groupuscules' and splinters, joining the 'network of networks' to the hardcore itself" (ibid). Since the onset of the "war on terrorism," groups within the radical Islamic movement have become more autonomous as the al-Qa'ida hardcore has become weaker through deaths, imprisonment, disappearances, and disrupted communication channels. The loss of hardcore members has not prevented the continuation of the al-Qa'ida network though and there are signs that lower level members and recruits are now becoming more prominent (Johnstone and Sanger 2004). Despite increasing financial restrictions on al-Qa'ida, terrorist attacks organized by other SMTOs have also continued.

The loose, decentralized arrangements within the movement have meant that attacks have often been initiated by people who consider themselves part of a single overarching movement but have no known connection to existing radical groups. Some may have requested and received some funding and training from al-Qa'ida, but remain operationally autonomous. In this sense al-Qa'ida has employed a bottom-up approach with contacts, recruitment and attacks initiated by individuals and groups wanting to join or carry out operations (Burke 2003; Sageman 2004). A case in point is the 1999 "millennium plot" to attack sites in Cali-fornia and Jordan. This relationship may seem in line with al-Qa'ida*'s* earlier strategy in which activists put ideas to the "hardcore" who then decide whether to give permission for a plot to

develop before allocating funding and support. However, the hierarchical relationship implied here seems no longer an adequate description. Of particular importance was the Bali bombing of 2002, which involved,

> sophisticated techniques and [was] motivated by a profound hatred of anything that represented the West. . . . [It] was an attack *in the style of al-Qaeda* [sic], but apparently not involving the group itself. . . . As there was no one, in Afghanistan or elsewhere, to go to for training and support, the Bali bombers did it on their own. (Burke 2003: 237)

Attacks on Western targets in Pakistan, Jordan, Kuwait, Yemen, Saudi Arabia and Spain have also been undertaken since 2001 and there is no evidence to suggest that these operations involved al-Qa'ida. As bin Laden's former bodyguard, Nasser Ahmad Nasser al-Bahri notes, "those who carry out operations are not necessarily Al-Qa'ida members. People without an organizational connection to Al-Qa'ida are perfectly capable of carrying out operations."[6]

Several commentators have recognized the internal transformation of al-Qa'ida and its lack of "normal" organizational form, but fail to provide adequate *explanations* of this transformation, relying instead on extrapolating from descriptions of the current position. Gunaratna (2004: 93) argues that after September 11, 2001 "the drastic increase in the terrorist threat has been a result of *Al Qaeda's* transformation from a group into a movement," while Al-Bahri (Middle East Media Research Institute, 2004) observes that, "today Al-Qa'ida is not an organization in the true sense of the word but only an idea that has become a faith." Such descriptions of al-Qa'ida as a "movement," a "faith," or an "idea" are ways of grappling with al-Qa'ida*'s* loose and flexible networks from theoretical positions outside social movement studies. In fact, this way of describing al-Qa'ida was also used much earlier in social movement studies to convey something of the novelty of many post-1960s NSMs (Dalton and Kuechler 1990). These accounts may help to identify al-Qa'ida's impact but do not locate the group within the wider radical movement of which it is a part.

The transnational radical Islamic movement is composed of networks and their relationships with other groups and loose associations. Although the movement is not the same as al-Qa'ida, it has been influenced and inspired by the SMTO's violent direct actions, ideas, and religious values that have now transcended the group. Bringing radical Islam within a social movement framework holds out the potential to better understand the way that SMTOs like al-Qa'ida have developed over time, as a result of adapting to the opening up and closing down of political and organizational opportunities, as in Afghanistan, and how the context is instrumental in producing the type of structure which ranges from loose networks of activists to much tighter, hierarchical organizational arrangements. It also helps explain why their action repertoire has become increasingly violent, given the symbolic value of successful attacks against a more powerful enemy in emboldening potential supporters and participants.

Uses of Symbolic Violence

NSM theory alerted scholars to the significance of symbolism within social movements for movement activists, supporters and the uncommitted public. Using direct actions to create dramatic and often theatrical demonstrations, NSMs forcibly made their point by adopting non-violence as their touchstone protest style. This then allowed NSMs effectively to draw attention to the state security forces' monopoly of the means of force and violence and to ally their own actions with peaceful action for change. In a similar vein, SMTOs such as al-Qa'ida have learned how powerful symbolic actions are. The key difference is that they use violent direct actions against carefully chosen targets to convey a symbolic message reflecting their interpretations of radical Islam. This marks them out as engaging in a unique form of direct action combining key elements of the NSMs with tactics that are highly meaningful to their own potential pool of support.

Many violent terrorist actions undertaken by al-Qa'ida and associated SMTOs have targeted highly symbolic sites, they are not simply opportunistic acts of violence. Abu Ayman al-Hilali, closely linked to bin Laden (cited in Paz 2002), argues with respect to the nature of *Jihad* that, "our solution is organized Jihad that sets at the head of its priorities the attack against American and Zionist interests. It should not just boycott their goods, but explode their headquarters, centers and industries, and everything that symbolizes them, such as MacDonalds, etc." Targets have included exclusive hotels, business centers, religious institutions, military complexes, foreign embassies and residential compounds across North America, Europe, Asia and Africa. These attacks have enabled small, internationally active groups of terrorists to gain global media coverage that has increased levels of support and provided the inspiration for similar attacks.

Such targeted attacks have a double symbolism, which bin Laden (1998b) recognized when lauding the suicide bombers who attacked sites in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia in 1995 and Al-Khober in 1997, "they have raised the nation's [*ummah*] head high and washed away a great part of the shame that has enveloped us as a result of the weakness of the Saudi government and its complicity with the American government." Hence, in addition to hitting the target itself, there is high symbolic capital in the *nature* of the attacks by the "underdog" against overwhelmingly more powerful forces, particularly when committed by suicide bombers who are seen as martyrs. First used in contemporary Islamic militancy by the Lebanese group Hezbolla, suicide attacks are theologically justified as ways of dying for the cause of Islam and the greater good and as a way to improve the individual's salvation chances.[7]

Awareness of the significance of symbols can also be seen in the simple, austere clothes and lifestyles of the al-Qa'ida hardcore that can then be compared to the "decadence" of the Saudi princes or the corruption within many Muslim governments. Bin Laden's presence with the Afghan Arabs in harsh conditions despite his immense wealth has been an important image contributing to his popularity (Bergen 2001; Reeve 1999). Such a portrayal has contributed to the perception across radical groups of 'bin Laden as a heroic figure, symbolic of their collective struggle" (Burke 2003: 14). This iconic status remains to this day, even though bin Laden's practical involvement has significantly diminished.

Radical Islamic groups adopt symbolic direct actions as a key part of their action repertoire, but unlike many other social movements, they are able to make the most effective symbolic statements through violent actions against Western targets. The careful selection of targets shows that SMTOs like al-Qa'ida have quite a sophisticated understanding of the media-saturated social life of modern societies. Their use of violent actions is certainly very different in degree and extent to the non-violent NSMs, though the animal rights lobby, radical environmentalist fringe and pro-life groups have all used aggressive fear-inducing tactics to intimidate opponents.

In some recent terrorist attacks, a more arbitrary and less symbolic approach to targeting has become evident. Indiscriminate attacks on Muslims in Saudi Arabia (2003 and 2004), Muslims killed in the Istanbul bombings (2003) as well as the ongoing violence against Muslims in Iraq and the targeting of Spanish commuters in 2004, may be evidence of the reduced involvement of the al-Qa'ida hardcore in the planning process. These attacks have produced considerable revulsion across Muslim societies and communities and seem unlikely to generate support for the radical Islamic movement.

The Goals of Islamic Radicalism

As al-Qa'ida has developed, particularly after bin Laden returned to Afghanistan in 1996, it has become increasingly international and multi-faceted in the attempt to rouse and unite Muslims in militancy against the West and corrupt Muslim governments. Martin (2003: 234) argues that al-Qa'ida, "has two overarching goals: to link together Muslim extremist groups throughout the world into a loose pan-Islamic revolutionary network and to expel non-

Muslim (especially Western) influences from Islamic regions and countries." Such goals could hardly be described as "self-limiting" in the same way that NSMs restricted their activity. Hence, once again, the al-Qa'ida network seems to draw selectively on the experience and successes of NSMs whilst at the same time pursuing its own global political agenda. Early al-Qa'ida pronouncements concentrated on the Saudi regime and its departure from the *Shari'ah*, corruption, economic weakness, poor social services and the presence of U.S. forces on the land of the two holy places. After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, militant Muslims concentrated upon liberating former Muslim territories in places like Kashmir, defending Muslims against attack (as in Bosnia), and attacking regimes considered irreligious and corrupt, predominantly in the Middle East. In the mid-1990s al-Qa'ida moved away from attacking the "near enemy" (local regimes) towards the "far enemy" (principally the U.S.). The change in strategy was a consequence of a growing belief within the militant movement that attacking local leaders was having limited impact. This is, they argued, because the West is instrumental in the problems within Muslim societies and is the main obstacle to the creation of an international *ummah* (Burke 2003; Sageman 2004; Saikal 2003). As a consequence the international militants believe the West has to be confronted. In interviews from 1996 and 1998 (declaring the formation of the *World Islamic Front*), bin Laden (1998a) signaled a move towards a more international or global perspective, taking in Israel, war against the Iraqi and Bosnian people, the deaths of innocent Muslims, and the use of nuclear weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The increasingly broad range of issues raised within the wider movement now includes the American refusal to sign the Kyoto agreement and the claim that natural surroundings are being destroyed and the environment polluted with Industrial waste, "whilst leaving a world barely inhabitable for our children" (bin Laden 2002b).

The breadth of coverage highlights the all-encompassing radical Islamic ideology that is critical of any aspect of social life not considered to be conforming to religious tenets. But as Halliday (2002: 50) observes, the issues of wealth distribution, poverty reduction or tackling the problems of the "world's poor" are not addressed. Since September 11, 2001, al-Qa'ida has become more vociferous in its anti-Western rhetoric, seeking to broaden its appeal through identification with populist issues such as the Palestinian and Kashmiri struggles (bin Laden 2001a), extending the focus to Bosnia, Chechnya, East Timor, the Philippines, Somalia, and Sudan (bin Laden 2001b). These are issues with considerable resonance across Muslim societies, particularly the USA's perceived unconditional support for Israel (Davis 2003) and negative aspects of "the civilization of the disbelievers" (stated in the letter left behind by the September 2001 terrorists).[8] This is an effective strategy because, while there are many disagreements within the movement, there is a shared hatred of America which holds out the possibility of uniting a diverse range of views.

Based on the statements of associated groups, it can be inferred that these goals should be set within the wider context of achieving the *Shari'ah* or divinely sanctioned law. The goals reflect the praxist character of radical Islam with its fusion of theory and practice (Vertigans 2003) aiming, "to inspire a movement of purifying, cathartic community rebirth" (Calvert 2004: 13). In this sense, similarities can be noted with movements associated with post-material values, a focus upon civil society, and attempts to reconcile the interests of middle-class and marginalized groups. However, al-Qa'ida and other groups also share similarities with Asbat ul Ansar in Lebanon, the Filipino Abu Sayyaf, the *Islamic Movement* in Uzbekistan, Indonesian Lashkar Jihad and al Ansar al Islami and al-Zarqawi's al Tawhid al Jihad**,** now referred to as al-Qa'ida in Iraq, in seeking to reshape social relations. The broader movement therefore consists of multiple associations and networks of support. Participants may agree (although this is by no means inevitable) with al-Qa'ida and bin Laden's statements and groups may undertake actions that contribute towards international *Jihad* ("struggle" at either the level of individual faith or interpreted by groups like al-Qa'ida to also mean "holy war"), but these groups also have their own concerns which may seem local or parochial in comparison with the internationalism of al-Qa'ida*,* to whom they refuse to cede con-

trol (Burke 2003). In this sense, radical Islam is not "self-limiting" in the same way that some Western NSMs have been. Some groups and networks *do* seek to take over states and to create a global Islamic revolutionary network to facilitate this.

Radical Islamic Identities

The NSM focus on processes of identity formation also provides an effective starting point from which to approach the study of radical Islamic identities. Militant internationalist Muslims do not share nationalist or nation-state centered ideologies (unlike groups fighting for national independence such as Hamas) and are opposed to many of the practices undertaken and principles held by non-Islamic governments. As a consequence, it is unlikely that the movement will be assimilated into mainstream national political life**.** Instead, like NSM activists, they aim to live out lifestyle changes and implement their religious interpretations within existing societies. But how they seek to do this varies across organizations. Some, like the *Tablighi Jamaat* concentrate on proselytising and living according to their interpretation of the key Islamic precepts and standards. By comparison, groups associated with al-Qa'ida, while also practicing what they believe in (within the constraints of secular societies), see this as too slow or ineffective in uniting the international Muslim community. Hence, they turn to acts of symbolic violence to force through change.

Like NSMs, militant groups emphasize their difference from others and espouse an expressive identity politics that provides clear behavioral guidelines. However, this emphasis is not a celebration of difference but an exclusionary approach based on their monopoly of truth and insistence on conformity. This does not make militants reactionary traditionalists though, as their construction of Islamic identities is very much a product of the contemporary era, developing in a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds through diverse socializing processes which synthesize the historical and contemporary, the secular and religious, and their global and local influences and experiences (Burke 2003; Sageman 2004; Vertigans and Sutton 2001). They are not, as some psychologists argue, simply brainwashed in religious schools.[9] As Sageman (2004) and Vertigans (2003) have pointed out, many militants have not attended such schools, instead initiating contact with the militant movement themselves.

The norms, values, behavioral parameters and guidance transmitted by socializing agents including friends, teachers, and family are proving attractive to those encountering directly or witnessing through the mass media, experiences and events that radical Islamic ideologies explain**.** Radical identities are then developing, often over a period of years, based around religious norms, values and behavior that contribute towards self-realization, attempts to live authentic Islamic lifestyles, and increasing social isolation from outsiders. Sageman's (2004) study of international *jihadis* discovered that the beliefs of many militants were gradually formed within friendship groups that became collectively radicalized over time. The dynamics within groups contributed to a growing intensity of belief and practices and led to group solidarity and collective identity transcending individual characteristics. At a political level, radical "Islamic" solutions to the longstanding corruption and weakness of Islamic states and the cultural, economic, and political threats seen to be posed by the West, especially the U.S. (Wiktorowicz and Kaltner 2003: 80), are internalized. Having accepted these praxist values, such identities orientate much more around radical interpretations of beliefs and activities with people becoming more willing to undertake violent actions.

CONCLUSION

The transnational radical Islamic movement and its constituent SMTOs and networks pose a challenge to social movement studies. Can they be analysed using theories and concepts from the social movements field? The argument here is that the assimilation of key NSM elements into the general social movements toolkit has opened up this possibility. If radical Islamic

movements emerged alongside Western NSMs and are amenable to analysis using concepts designed to study the latter, then instead of withering away, we may see rising support for religious movements and ideologies which are able to tap into post-Cold War fears and anxieties associated with post-industrial and post-modern conditions.

The al-Qa'ida network organizes in ways not dissimilar to secular NSMs, and is flexible enough to adapt to changing situations and national locations. Its connections to the wider radical Islamic movement are not fundamentally different to the networks that make up other social movements, though they are necessarily more clandestine than most. Its critique of the emerging U.S.-dominated international order bears similarity to that of anti-globalization mobilizations, whilst its planning of symbolic direct actions and use of modern information technologies rivals that of well-established but non-violent secular SMOs. However, unlike many NSMs, the radical Islamic movement is not self-limiting but pursues the transformation of global social relations. Al-Qa'ida should be studied as a SMTO that is part of this wider movement, rather than as simply an aggregate of individual terrorists. This does not mean that the wider movement is tightly organized or consistently acts in concert. Rather, it is a loosely organized "network of networks" connected by a shared ideological position and the identification of a common opponent.

The religious orientation of al-Qa'ida has served to keep it outside the mainstream of social movement studies, which strongly suggests that the *development* of the latter has primarily been through the analysis of secular movements. If so, then the postmaterialism of NSMs is a reminder that people can be spurred to action by intangible moral and religious values and perceived threats to these, in addition to material grievances. Bringing some of the central elements of NSM theory to bear on radical Islamic movements offers the potential to better explain their emergence and development as an alternative to currently popular, individualistic explanations of violence in the name of religion as the consequence of brainwashing by irrational madmen or the last resort of the materially deprived.[10]

NOTES

[1] A recent exception is Cohen and Rai's collection (2000), which includes two chapters on religious movements from the perspective of globalization theory.

[2] Although, Kurzman's work on Islamic social movements dates back over a decade (see 1994, 1996). See also: Moaddel 2001; Moaddel and Talattof 2002; Parsa 2000; Voll 2001.

[3] Representatives from these groups signed, with bin Laden (1998a), a statement announcing the formation of the World Islamic Front for Jihad against Crusaders and Jews, an umbrella organization linking radicals across the world.

[4] Wahhabism and the Deobandis are rigorously conservative strands of Islam. The Muslim Brotherhood, originating in Egypt and Jamaat-i-Islami were more moderate with political representation in periods when participation was permitted. Radicalization of the Brotherhood under Qutb's leadership (1906-1966) has been influential in the development of al-Qa'ida's ideology and structure.

[5] Mohammed Atta and Ziad Jarrah, the two most influential pilots in the attacks on America in 2001, are good examples. Both were well educated and from middle class backgrounds.

[6] Al-Bahri is quoted in Middle East Media Research Institute 2004.

[7] Disagreements exist about the legitimacy of suicide attacks in Islamic doctrine. Even radical groups disagree about the legitimacy of attacks by other groups. Hamas was extremely critical of the September 2001 acts for instance (see Davis 2003; Reuter 2004; Wiktorowicz and Kaltner 2003).

[8] The letter can be found at http:www.fbi.gov/pressrel/pressrel01/letter.htm.

[9] See for example Sofsky 2002.

[10] See Dawkins's (2001) inadequate response to al-Qa'ida's attacks on American targets in 2001.

REFERENCES

Al-Zawahiri, A. 2001. "Knights under the Prophet's Banner." Extracts available at *http://www.fas.org/ irp/world/para/ayman_bk.html*.

Ayubi, N. 1991. *Political Islam*. New York: Routledge.

Bagguley, P. 1992. "Social Change, the Middle Class and the Emergence of New Social Movements: A Critical Analysis." *The Sociological Review* 40(1): 26-48.

Bergen, P. 2001 *Holy War Inc*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

bin Laden, O. 1998a. *World Islamic Front Statement*. 23 February. www.fas.org/irp/world/para/docs/ 980223-fatwa.htm

———. 1998b. *Interview Osama bin Laden*. May. www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/ who/interview.html.

———. 2001a. Statements released by *al-Jazeera satellite TV*, aired 7 October.

———. 2001b. Statements released by *al-Jazeera satellite TV*, aired 3 November.

———. 2002a. *Bin Laden in his own words*, translated by BBC, last updated 15 April 2004. http:// newswww.bbc.net.uk/2/hi/south_asia/2827659.stm

———. 2002b. *Letter to America*, issued November 2002. http://observer.guardian.co.uk/worldview/ story/0,11581,845725,00.html

Brand, K-W. 1990. "Cyclical Aspects of New Social Movements." Pp. 23-42 in *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies* in R. J. Dalton and M. Kuechler, eds. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Burke, J. 2003. *Al-Qaeda*. London: I. B. Tauris.

Calhoun, C. 1995. "'New Social Movements' of the Early Nineteenth Century." Pp. 173-215 in *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action,* M. Traugott, ed. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Calvert, J. 2004. "The 'Mythic' Foundations of Radical Islamist Violence." Paper presented at the *International Conference on Muslims and Islam in the 21st Century*, Kuala Lumpur, 4-6 August.

Cohen, J. 1985. "Strategy or Identity – New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements." *Social Research* 52(4): 663-716.

Cohen, R and Rai, S.M. (eds). 2000. *Global Social Movements*. London: The Athlone Press.

Clark, J. 2004. "Social Movement Theory and Patron-Clientelism: Islamic Social Institutions in Egypt, Jordan, and Yemen." *Comparative Political Studies* 37(8): 941-968.

Crossley, N. 2002. *Making Sense of Social Movements*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Dalton, R. J., and Kuechler, M. 1990. "New Social Movements and the Political Order: Inducing Change for Long-term Stability?" Pp. 277-300 *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies,* R. J. Dalton and M. Kuechler, eds. Cambridge: Polity Press.

D'Anieri, P., Ernst, C., and Kier, E. 1990. "New Social Movements in Historical Perspective." *Comparative Politics*, 22(4): 445-556.

Davis, J. M. 2003. *Martyrs: Innocence, Vengeance and Despair in the Middle East*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dawkins, R. 2001. "Religion's Guided Missiles." *Guardian*. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/ Article/0,4273,4257777,00.html>

della Porta, D., and Diani, M. 1999. *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Diani, M. 1992. "The Concept of Social Movement." *The Sociological Review* 40(1): 1-19.

Goodwin, J., and Jasper, J., eds. 2003. *The Social Movements Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gould, P. 1988. *Early Green Politics: Back to Nature, Back to the Land and Socialism in Great Britain 1880-1900*, Brighton: Harvester Press.

Gunaratna, R. 2004. "The Post-Madrid Face of al Qaeda." *The Washington Quarterly*. 27(3): 91-100.

Habermas, J. 1981. "New Social Movements." *Telos* 49. Fall: 33-37.

Halliday, F. 2002. *Two Hours that Shook the World*. London: Saqi Books.

Harries-Jones, P. 1995. *A Recursive Vision: Ecological Understanding and Gregory Bateson*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Havel, V. 1988. "Anti-Political Politics." Pp. 381-398 in *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives*, J. Keane, ed. London and New York: Verso Press.

Hiro, D. 2002. *War Without End: The Rise of Islamist Terrorism and Global Response*. London: Routledge.

Inglehart, R.1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, R. 1990. "Values, Ideology, and Cognitive Mobilization." Pp. 43-66. *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*, R. J. Dalton and M. Kuechler, eds. Oxford: Basil Blackwell:

International Institute for Strategic Study, 2003. *The Military Balance 2003-2004*. Arundel House: London, 15 October.

Johnston, D., and D. Sanger. 2004. "New Generation of Leaders is Emerging for al Qaeda." *Middle East Information Center*. August 23. http://middleeastinfo.org/article4666.html.

Kitschelt, H. P. 1990. "New Social Movements and the Decline of Party Organization." Pp. 179-208 in *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*, R. J. Dalton and M. Kuechler, eds. Cambridge: Polity Press:

Kurzman, C. 1994. "A Dynamic View of Resources: Evidence from the Iranian Revolution." *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change* 17: 53-84.

———. 1996. "Structural Opportunities and Perceived Opportunities in Social Movement Theory: Evidence from the Iranian Revolution of 1979." *American Sociological Review* 61: 153-70.

———. 2002. "bin Laden and Other Thoroughly Modern Muslims." *Contexts* (1)4. Fall/Winter: 13-20.

———. 2004. "Social Movement Theory and Islamic Studies." Pp. 289-303 in *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*, Q. Wiktorowicz, ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Lubeck, P. 2000. "The Islamic Revival: Antinomies of Islamic Movements Under Globalization." Pp. 146-164 in *Global Social Movements*. R. Cohen and S.M. Rai, eds. New Brunswick, N.J: Athlone Press.

McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D., and Zald, M. N., eds. 1996. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martin, G. 2003. *Understanding Terrorism*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Mattausch, J. 1989. *A Commitment to Campaign: A Sociological Study of CND*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Mehmet, O. (1990) *Islamic Identity and Development—Studies of the Islamic Periphery*. London: Routledge.

Melucci, A. 1985. "The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements." *Social Research* 52: 789-816.

———. 1989. *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*, London: Hutchinson Radius.

Middle East Media Research Institute. 2004. Interview with Osama bin Laden's Former Bodyguard. 20/8. *www.memri.org/bin/opener_latest.cgi?ID=SD76704*.

Moaddel, M. 2001. *Jordanian Exceptionalism: The Alliance of the State and the Muslim Brothers*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Moaddel, M. and K. Talattof. eds. 2002. *Modernist and Fundamentalist Debates in Islam: A Reader*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Oberschall, A. 2004. "Explaining Terrorism: The Contribution of Collective Action Theory." *Sociological Theory* 22(1): 26-37.

Offe, C. 1985. "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics." *Social Research*, 52, Winter: 817-868.

———. 1990. "Reflections on the Institutional Self-Transformation of Movement Politics: A Tentative Stage Model." Pp. 233-250 in *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies*, R. J. Dalton and M. Kuechler, eds. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Olofsson, G. 1987. "After the Working Class Movement? An Essay on What's 'New' and What's 'Social' in the New Social Movements." *Acta Sociologica* 31(1): 15-34.

Orbach, B. 2001. "Usama bin Ladin and al-Qa'ida: Origins and Doctrines." *Middle East Review of International Affairs*. 5(4): 54-68.

Papadakis, E. 1988. "Social Movements, Self-Limiting Radicalism and the Green Party in West Germany." *Sociology*, 22(3): 433-454.

Parsa, M. 2000. *States, Ideologies, and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of Iran, Nicaragua, and the Philippines*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Paz, R. 2001. Radical Islamist Terrorism. *http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid+367*

———. 2002. Qa'idat al-Jihad. *http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid=436*

Rashid, A. 2000. *Taliban: Islam, Oil and the New Great Game in Central Asia*. London: I.B.Tauris.

Reeve, S. 1999. *The New Jackals* London: Andre Deutsch.

Reuter, C. 2004. *My Life is a Weapon*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Sageman, M. 2004. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Saikal, A. 2003. *Islam and the West*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sofsky, W. 2002. *Zeiten des Schreckens. Amok, Terror, Krieg*. Frankfurt: Fischer.

Sutton, P.W. 2000. *Explaining Environmentalism: In Search of a New Social Movement*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

Tarrow, S. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Touraine, A.1971. *The Post-Industrial Society: Tomorrow's Social History: Classes, Conflict and Culture in the Programmed Society*. New York: Random House.

———. 1981. *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vertigans, S. 2003. *Islamic Roots and Resurgence in Turkey*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Vertigans, S., and Sutton, P.W. 2001. "Back to the Future: 'Islamic Terrorism' and Interpretations of Past and Present." *Sociological Research Online* 6(3) http://www.socresonline.org.uk/6/3/vertigans. html.

Voll, J.O. 2001. "Bin Laden and the New Age of Global Terrorism." *Middle East Policy* 8(4): 1-5.

Wickham, C.R. 2002. *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Wiktorowicz, Q. 2001. *The Management of Islamic Activism: Salafis, the Muslim Brotherhood, and State Power in Jordan*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

———. 2004. *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Wiktorowicz, Q. and J. Kaltner. 2003. "Killing in the Name of Islam: Al-Qaeda's Justification for September 11." *Middle East Policy* 10(2): 76-92.