Contents

1	Introduction: Conducting Research on Militant Activist	
	Da ^c wa in Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany	1
	From a Radicalisation Perspective to a Relational Approach to	
	Militant Activism	6
	Securitisation, Secularism and Integration	10
	Militant Activism as Resistance: Counter-conduct, Da ^c wa	
	and Spectacles	13
	Ethics and Research Strategy in Politicised Environments	19
	Emotions and Identity Work in Fieldwork: 'Being There'	22
	The Boundaries of Research: Reciprocity	29
	The Dynamics in the Field: Trust and Empathy	31
	Producing Knowledge About Muslims	37
	On Data and Method	39
	Notes and Acknowledgement	44
	Reading Guide	44
	Note on Anonymity and Privacy	44
	Note on Transcription	44
	References	45

2	Iconic Resistance: Germany	53
	The Socio-political Context of the German Networks:	
	'Zusammen gegen den gewaltbereiten Salafismus'	58
	The Rise of the German Networks	67
	Dissociating, Fighting and Hating	81
	Dissemination: Social Media and 'Real Life' Activism	91
	Militant Activist Repertoire: Connective Action, Spectacle	
	Activism, Solidarity and Space Claiming	94
	Street Da'wa as Connective Action	94
	Spectacle Activism: Seeking Confrontation	97
	Solidarity with Muslim Prisoners	101
	Help for Muslims in Need	105
	Claiming One's Own Space	107
	The Demise of the Militant Da ^c wa Networks	108
	References	110
3	"Making the Unbelievers Angry": Sharia4Belgium	113
0	The Political and Social Context Surrounding	
	Sharia4Belgium	115
	The Police and the Justice Department	115
	Anti-radicalisation Policy in the Community	118
	Anti-radicalisation Policy in Cities	120
	Measures Against Sharia4Belgium	124
	Responses from Islamic Civil Society to Radicalisation	
	and Anti-radicalisation Policy	129
	The Rise and Development of Sharia4Belgium	132
	Authority and Membership	134
	The Departure for Syria	138
	The Politico-religious Ambitions of Sharia4Belgium	140
	The Fight Against Injustice and for an Islamic State	148
	The Significance of Practising Openly	151
	Building Up and Breaking Down Authority	153
	Takfir, Monitoring and Suspicion as Divisive Factors	158
	Collaboration, Conflict and Transnational Links	165
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	- 5 /

	Creating a Spectacle	169
	'Let's Turn Belgium into an Islamic State'	175
	Morel "Into the Dustbin of History Along with Hitler	
	and Stalin"	178
	Disruption of the 'Long Live God, Down with Allah'	
	Lecture, University of Antwerp, March 2010	180
	'Niqab Riots' in Molenbeek (Brussels, May 2012)	185
	Activism and Recreational Pursuits	189
	The End of Sharia4Belgium: 'The Time for <i>da'wa</i> Is Past'	
	and the Significance of the <i>hijra</i> to Syria	191
	References	202
4	'The War Has Begun': The Dutch Networks	205
	The Socio-political Context of the Dutch Networks	206
	The Ideology of Integration	206
	Securitisation and Anti-radicalisation	208
	The Opposing Voices from Muslim Communities	217
	The Rise of Behind Bars, Street Dawah and Sharia4Holland	219
	Free Saddik Sbaa: The 'War on Terror', Friendship and	
	Mobilisation	219
	Towards Street Dawah	224
	'This Is Exactly What We Need!': The Rise of	
	Sharia4Holland	226
	'Different Priorities': Transformations in the Activist	
	Da ^c wa Networks in 2012 and 2013	229
	Democracy and Hypocrisy	237
	The Banner	238
	The War Has Begun	245
	Authoritative Alternatives	251
	'The True Religion'	251
	The Superiority of the Alternative: al-Awlaki	255
	Da ^c wa: Creating Visibility on the Street and	
	in the Media	259

	Connective Mobilisation	263
	Fluid Networks	263
	Spectacle and Disruption	266
	Solidarity with Islamic Prisoners: Imprisoned	
	in the 'War on Terror'	269
	The Collapse of the Dutch Networks	277
	References	279
5	The Production of 'Radicals': 'Steadfast Warriors'	
	in the Netherlands	283
	Performing Steadfastness: The 'Battle for Hondius'	285
	The Flag Spectacle	285
	The 'Battle'	290
	'Lions': The Iconicity of 'Hondius'	297
	The Case of Abu Muhammed and What It Means	
	to Be a 'Fighter'	299
	The Collapse of 'Radical' Subjectivity	313
	References	317
6	A Comparative Discussion: The Counter-conducts	
	of Militant Muslim Activists	319
	Introduction	319
	Authority and Structure	324
	Ideology and Religion	326
	Alternative Worlds and Styles of Activism	327
	The Dynamics Within the Networks	330
	'Radical' Subjects	331
	The Strategies of the Da ^c wa Activists	334
	Reject	335
	Reverse	336
	Accommodate	337
	Evade	338

The Politicisation and De-politicisation of the Message of	
Militant Daʿwa	340
The Mixed Meanings of Resistance	342
References	345
Glossary	
Index	355