

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA**

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N°:



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES

STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE

OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

**ISIS Impact on the American Security
through the Use of Social Media**

**Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master**

By:

Souad ATMANI

and

Siham BENBETKA

Academic Year: 2016 /2017

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N°:



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES

STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE

OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

ISIS Impact on the American Security
through the Use of Social Media

**Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of Master**

By:

Souad ATMANI and Siham BENBETKA

Board of Examiners

Mr. Tayeb BOUAZID	University of M'sila	Chairperson
Mrs. Amel ZINE	University of M'sila	Supervisor
Ms. Chawki BOUNAAS	University of M'sila	Examiner

Academic Year: 2016 /2017

Declaration

We hereby declare that the dissertation entiteled; "ISIS' Impact on the American Security through the use of Social Media", is our own work and all the sources we have quoted have been acknowledged by means of references.

Souad ATMANI

Siham BENBETKA

Dedications

Every start has an end, except memories they last till the end.

In the name of Allah, the most gracious, the most merciful

I dedicate this success to those who bring me to life, and show me the best way to live it, my
great parents, my eyes in this world.

To the extremely helpful and fantastic sisters who pushed me to go forward.

To my lovely brothers, for whom, I would like to say every beautiful word.

To the person who was so patient with me, my fiancé wishing him the good luck till the end
of the world.

To the perfect girls with whom I spent exceptional moments Siham, Rahma and Hadil

To all persons who are in my memory and did not appear in my memoire,

Thank you so much.

SOUAD

In the name of Allah, the most gracious, the most merciful

I dedicate this dissertation to
my parents for their sacrifice, support and sympathy.

To my brothers and sisters.

To my friends; Souad and Rahma.

Thank you very much

SIHAM

Acknowledgements

All Praise is to Allah, The most Graceful and most compassionate the Almighty, Who gave us strength and good health for accomplishing this work.

We would like to thank our supervisor Ms. ZINE Amel for her insightful and invaluable remarks, for her help patience and kindness. Our deepest thanks and appreciations go for Mr. GOUFFI Mouhamad for his encouragement and guidance.

We would like to thank in advance the examiners for accepting to read and to examine this work.

Our heartfelt gratitude also goes to all our teachers in the Department of English of M'sila University.

Thank you

Abstract

This research intends to give an overview of the emergence of the Islamic State as the most powerful terrorist group. It sheds light on the different ways ISIS exploits social media communications to affect the American security. After the application of Relative deprivation, Framing and Violence concepts which are part of social movement theory, in addition to Hypodermic Effects, a concept from Media Effects Theory, the findings revealed that ISIS increases individuals' sense of deprivation and frames its message according to what fits those individuals to make them involve in jihad. Thus, those recruits may pose a threat to their homeland by radicalizing others, carrying out lone wolf attacks or raising funds to support the advancement of the terrorist group.

List of Abbreviations

AQAP: Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.

AQC: Al-Qaida Central

AQI: Al-Qaeda in Iraq

CPAI: Popular Arab Islamic Conference.

Daiish: Al Dawla l Islamiya fi Al Iraq wa Sham

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation

FTS: Financial Tracking Service.

IS: Islamic State

ISI: Islamic State of Iraq

ISIL: The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

ISIS: The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

JN: Jabhat Al-Nusra

LGBTQ+: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, questioning, and more (the plus)

MUKUB: Maktab al-Khidmat.

RDT : Relative Deprivation Theory

USD: United States Dollar.

Table of Contents

Dedications.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
List of Abbreviations.....	v
Table of Contents.....	vi
General Introduction.....	01

Chapter One: ISIS' Historical Background

Introduction.....	05
I.1. Al-Qaeda's Genesis and Development.....	05
I.1.1 Ideological Framework.....	07
I.1.2 Key Elements of Al-Qaeda's Continued Strategy.....	09
I.1.3 The Holy War (Jihad) against the United States.....	10
I.2. The Islamic State's Historical Background.....	12
I.2.1 The Birth of the Islamic state of Iraq and Syria.....	14
I.2.1.1.Factors of Emergence.....	14
I.2.1. The Divorce from Al-Qaida and the Creation of the New Caliphate.....	16
I.2.2. ISIS' Split.....	16

I. 2.2.2 The Establishment of the Caliphate.....	17
I. 2. 3 The Caliphate’s Framework.....	19
I. 2. 4 ISIS Ideological Implications.....	20
I. 2. 5 ISIS International Strategy.....	23
I. 2. 5. 1 Iraq and Syria	23
I. 2. 5. 2 The Near Part in the Middle East and North Africa along with Afghanistan and Pakistan.....	24
I. 2. 5. 3 The Rest of the World	24
I. 2. 6 Sources of ISIS Funding.....	25
I. 2.7 The Islamic State, a Threat to the American Homeland.....	27
Conclusion.....	29

Chapter Two: The Impact of Social Media on the American Security

Introduction.....	30
II.1. Exploiting the Americans’ Psychology.....	30
II. 2. ISIS’ Techniques of Manipulating Audiences.....	36
II. 2. 1 Social Media Platforms.....	39
II. 2. 1. 1 Facebook.....	39
II. 2. 1. 2 Twitter.....	40

II. 2.1.3 YouTube.....	41
II. 3. Violence and brutality as a means of propaganda	42
II.4. Social Media a Weapon to Recruit Americans.....	45
II. 4.1 why exactly teenagers.....	46
II. 4.2 Security Threat: between crossing borders and Breeding Terror within.....	48
II. 4.2.1 Effects from Recruited Americans Abroad.....	48
II. 4.2.2 Effects within the United States.....	50
II. 4.2.2.1 Lone Wolves.....	50
II. 4.2.2.2 Fund Risers.....	52
Conclusion.....	54
General Conclusion.....	56
Works Cited.....	59
Glossary of Key Terms	
Appendices	

General Introduction

General Introduction

Nowadays, the United States experiences various national security threats within a global increasing disorder. The most dangerous threat is terrorism. In the last decades, terrorism has evolved dramatically. In 2013, a new terror organization emerged, known as the Islamic State, or ISIS. Since then ISIS has claimed its place as the most successful terrorist organization in the modern world. Its main asset is its use of social media and the internet to extend territorial gains as well as to threaten its enemies like the United States of America.

Carrying out research on ISIS required an extensive review of all researches and theories previously discussed. JM Berger and Jessica Stern's book "ISIS: The State of Terror" is one of the major titles to come out on the subject of ISIS. It traces the circumstances under which ISIS came into sight and their ideological tools used to recruit huge numbers of fighters. In addition to that, it explores the way ISIS exploits technology on social media to spread violence and recruit more people.

On the other hand, Abdel Bari Atwan "Islamic State: The Digital Califate", was for 25yrs the editor of the London-based newspaper Al-Quds al-Arabi and he is one of the few journalists to have interviewed bin Laden in Tora Bora in 1996. Atwan highlights how propaganda distributed online, by the ISIS digital masters, is affecting young people and migrating to Syria or committing the acts of terrorism in Europe.

An article written by Jacob Amedie under the title of "The Impact of Social Media on categories. First, social media raises a wrong sense of online "connections" and superficial friendships leading to emotional and psychological problems. The Second harm of social media is that it can easily destruct families and waste personal time as well as it reduces interpersonal skills, leading to antisocial behavior. Finally, social media has become an instrument for criminals and terrorists enabling them to commit illegal acts.

"A Study in the Rise and Threat of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria" a thesis presented to the Faculty of the College of Graduate Studies of Angelo State University by

General Introduction

Michael G. Fisher explores the creation and transformation of ISIS and implications for global security. It examines the Salafist-Islamist ideology within Islam, the importance of the late Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and the leadership he still holds in ISIS. In addition, the work explains the political and security negative results from America's 2003 invasion of Iraq, how and why ISIS was able to reform after the Sunni Arab Awakening and American Surge; how and when our conflict with ISIS ends.

Further research realized by Mah-Rukh Ali " Isis and Propaganda: how Isis Exploits Women", have examined the ways in which women are exploited by ISIS through their propaganda; they use women for propaganda purposes because such reports guarantee media coverage and headlines in Western publications. The article also discussed the idea that, online posts and videos are an extremely efficient way of spreading news and information widely and quickly when journalists are forbidden entry to the ISIS-controlled territory.

All these authors bring their own perspective about ISIS, and all agree on one thing, that ISIS displays many attributes of an effective state and is here to stay. They all agree that the group probably makes the most active use of social media, and offers a good example of how a modern terrorist organization views the opportunities presented by social media. Further, the conditions for its emergence have long been building and have deep roots in Islamic history. Those works did not discuss how ISIS uses social media as a weapon that threatens the American security. Therefore, this research is going to ensure that social media is the primary material ISIS relies on, to impose its ideas and ideologies that threaten the American homeland.

This research sheds light on the most important subject dominating this era, ISIS, the world's most ruthless and powerful Jihadist army. The problematic we intend to state in this research is how is ISIS using social media as a new and effective propaganda weapon to

General Introduction

threaten American security. The questions we intend to answer in this research are: Where did ISIS come from and how did it become so powerful? And how is ISIS using social media as a new and effective propaganda weapon to threaten American security?

This research is qualitative. It relies on some concepts from two different theoretical frameworks. The first one is *Social Movement Theory* in which three concepts are applicable to our study. The first is Relative Deprivation, which was developed by the Pluralist Scholars; it explains that economic, political and social deprivation can lead to the creation of a social movement. The second concept is Framing which was created in 1986 by Robert D. Benford and David, A Snow, focuses on the way messages can be constructed, organized and distributed in order to be effective. The third concept is Political Violence which stands on the idea that in a social movement, radicals do not only cooperate with each other to develop their radical identity; rather, they depend on violence as a political strategy. The second theory is Media Effects Theory in which the Hypodermic Effects Theory, of Harold Lasswell, compared the message to a drug injected into the body of the receiver. That is in term of cause and effect; the media displays the message and makes the audience react.

This research is divided into two main chapters that will have a different substantive focus. The first chapter is divided into two sections. The first section sheds light on Al Qaeda's development, strategy, ideology and its threat to the United States, while the second section covers the historical background of the Islamic State, its evolution, structure, ideology, strategy, and its sources of funds. The second chapter explains how ISIS is exploiting the American psychology through using multiple platforms of social media. Then, it shows how ISIS frames its messages. After that it discusses violence as a means of propaganda, and the last part analyzes American recruits and fundraisers.

General Introduction

The significance of this research is that it tackles the dominant subject of the 21st century, ISIS. It is expected to give a review about the creation and transformation of ISIS and implications for American security. This work could be a caution to address individuals and families and make them aware enough about the threat of ISIS and other terrorist organizations' use of social media, mainly teenagers, as easy access to internet has widely spread.

Many obstacles have been faced during the conduction of this research what makes the study objectives somehow hard to be achieved. The most faced difficulty in this study is the lack of available data, this is due to the fact that the study tackles a new topic. Moreover, due to time constraints, we could not go through all the available data.

Chapter One
ISIS Historical Background

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

Introduction

This chapter deals with the historical background of the terrorist group, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. It is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the evolution of Al Qaeda as the basis from which ISIS raised. It begins with the origin of Al Qaeda, mentioning the group's strategy, ideology and its threat to the United States. The second section covers the historical background of the Islamic State, including the reasons behind the emergence of the group and the establishment of the Caliphate. In addition, this part sheds light on the ideology of the Islamic State, its interior and exterior strategy as well as the sources that the group depends on to raise funds.

I. 1 Al-Qaeda's Genesis and Development

Although the exact year of the foundation of Al-Qaeda is debated, it was generally founded in the late 1980s. Abdallah Azzam is the founding father of the organization. During the 1980s, he worked against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and contributed to financing, recruiting, transporting, and training Sunni Islamic recruits. In 1988, after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, Azzam decided to preserve army of Arab volunteers he trained for four years before, in order to be used in conquering the Muslim world. He gave it the name of *Al-Qaeda Al-Sulbah, the Solid Base* (Chaliand and Blin 314-315).

Osama bin Laden, a wealthy Saudi Arabian, has replaced Azzam after his murder in Peshawar in 1989. Bin Laden would give a different dimension to al Qaeda and a new strategy to the jihadist. He concentrated on fighting the Muslim governors instead of capturing the Islamic territory. The man went back to Saudi Arabia, where he was so respected and treated as a great Islamic hero (Shayovitz184).

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

In 1991, the Iraqi army invaded Kuwait what poses a threat to the Saudi government, which had no real army. Osama bin Laden proposed to the Saudi authorities that his army would offer help to take the Iraqi army out and asked Saudi not to accept help from America (Shayovitz 187). Saudi refused and half-million soldiers from different countries, most of them were Americans, stationed on Saudi soil. Bin Laden viewed the existence of Christians and infidels troops there as a humiliation for all Muslims because Mecca and Medina, the two holiest sites, are located there. According to him, the occupation of Saudi Arabia by American infidels has a double aggression: to exploit the country's wealth under the excuse of protecting it and to humiliate all Muslims. The United States of America thus became Al Qaeda's principal enemy (MAJ Sean 13).

Bin Laden moved to Sudan and Hassan al-Turabi, the secretary-general of the Popular Arab Islamic Conference (CPAI), welcomed him. During the 1990s, Sudan was a country of activism and its neighbor countries were ruined and dominated by economic instability and tribal conflicts. Bin Laden gained a large wealth and support in Sudan where he constructed new roads and housing, and, in return, the state connived on his secret terrorist activities, what pave the way for him to maintain a solid base for the jihdists. In addition, he succeeded to set up strong alliances with Islamist groups in the Horn of Africa, chiefly Somali Islamic Unity group, and the Aden-Abyan Islamic Army in Yemen. Gulf monarchies, mainly Saudi Arabia, were increasingly threatened by a jihadist army which sought to remove all Muslim government where corruption is dominated. (Chaliand and Blin 318).

In February 1998, bin Laden issued *The World Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders*, a statement which called Muslims to kill Americans and their allies whose troops were still present on Saudi territory. In order to apply the plan of attack against them, he modified al Qaeda's internal structure so that it is used by the majority of terrorist groups.

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

Majlis al-Shura which contained the well-skilled jihadists assigned Bin Laden as al Qaeda's emir (Chaliand and Blin 321).

I.1.1 Ideological Framework

Al Qaeda refers to Quran to carry its brutal actions. The group deviated from the real meaning of Quran in order to cover its acts. In its ideology, Al Qaeda calls every Muslim to defend and advocate Islam from the United States, Russia, China, Israel, and the wrong Muslim governments and this is what they called the notion of Jihadism. For the Jihadists, Salafist/Wahhabi Sunni Islam is the only true form of Islam. However, AlQaeda has preferred not to attack the other cults of Islam like Shi'a because it benefits from their great involvement in jihad. Rather, defeating the United States is the first concern of Bin Laden and after achieving that, the caliphate would be restored and Islam would be the worldwide religion (MAJ Sean 71).

A number of theories compare Al Qaeda's ideological basis and style to Marxism and, Leninism. Dr. Gunaratna states, "*Al Qaeda has built an Islamist organization full of vitality. The Islamic State's politically clandestine structure is built on the idea of internationalism. Using techniques drawn from Leninism and operating on the Marxist militant model*" (qtd. in MAJ Sean 72). V.I. Lenin's notion of revolution inspires Al Qaeda's leaders to build their doctrine.

Lenin sees that a small group could have sufficient support to encourage the majority to remove the Russian Czar and create a communist state. Lenin declared:

By educating a workers' party, Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat, capable of assuming power and leading the whole people to Socialism, of directing and organizing the new order, of being the teacher, guide and leader of all the toiling and exploited in the task of building

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

up their social life, without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie (qtd. in MAJ Sean 72).

In its ideology, Al Qaeda combined between Marx and Lenin's theories. Its recruits are educated in radical Islamic theory to drive the Islam towards the re-establishment of the Caliphate (MAJ Sean 72).

When recruiting new people, Bin Laden and al-Zawahiri, Bin Laden's successor, teaches them in Al Qaeda's ideology and in the same time they wish them to develop that ideology and perform actions to accomplish their objectives and this is one of the basic principles of Marxism. Karl Marx affirms:

Here and there the contest breaks out into riots. Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry and place the workers of different localities in contact with one another (qtd. in MAJ Sean 72).

These words are shown when Bin Laden benefited from the war in Afghanistan. He established made alliances with jihadists from Asia, North Africa, the Middle East, and Central Asia which helped in the creation of Al Qaeda. During the 1990s, many jihadists from the organization were involved in terrorist actions outside Afghanistan what provided the group with more recruits (MAJ Sean 72).

Furthermore, Al Qaeda was also inspired by Sayyid Qutb (1906–1966), a major thinker in the Muslim Brotherhood (Munir, Shafiq 03). His policies have a great impact on the ideology of al-Qaeda in Egypt. Qutb affirmed: *“violent Muslim resistance to regimes that claim to be Muslim, but whose implementation of Islamic precepts is judged to be imperfect”* (qtd. in Rabasa, et al 11). He means that it is important to create a harsh revolution in order to spread jihad and restore the true Islam because he saw that jahiliyyah, before the arrival of the

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

Prophet, dominated the world. Democracy, according to him, is a source of selfishness and exploitation of weak people as well as it calls for social class; this is why it must be removed (Schweitzer and Einav, 41). Ladan Boroumand and Roya Boroumand concluded: “*This was Leninism in Islamist dress*” (qtd. in Rabasa et al 11).

To achieve this goal, Qutb suggested using education and violence, when it is necessary.

He stated:

If the actual life of human beings is found to be different from this declaration of freedom [described by Qutb as Islam60] then it becomes incumbent upon Islam to enter the field with preachings as well as the movement, and to strike hard at all those political powers which force the people to bow before them and which rule over them, unmindful of the commandments of God. . . . After annihilating the tyrannical force, whether it be in a political or a racial form, or in the form of class distinctions within the same race, Islam establishes a new social economic, and political system in which the concept of freedom of man is applied in practice (qtd. in MAJ Sean 73, 74).

According to Qutb, Muslims should be educated in order to remove their corrupted governments, only after that, they can live within pure Islam. Ayman al-Zawahiri, Abdullah Azzam, and global jihadi movement are influenced by those ideas.

Another theory that affected Al Qaeda’s methodology is Maoist revolutionary war theory. Mao Tse Tung gained population support in his revolution against Chinese army, in the Second World War, because he provided them education. Al Qaeda’s leaders supported this notion and used mosques to teach their recruits by delivering lessons, displaying videos, and publishing pamphlets to support their cause (MAJ Sean 74, 75).

I.1.2 Key Elements of Al-Qaeda’s Continued Strategy

In its attempt to defeat its opponents, al-Qaeda mixed different strategies. It uses physical weapons as well as, ideological ones. In one hand the group follows a tactic that was

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

effectively practiced by Che Guevara, a rebellious communist, in the 1960s. The strategy implies that it is allowed for military individuals to use violence and brutality in order to preserve and ensure its powerful existence (Hart 119). On the other hand, al-Qaeda's leaders claim that it is necessary to mix violence with their own ideological frameworks to reach their final goal. They try to weaken the economy of their adversaries and encourage splits and divisions inside their enemies' alliances, especially the ones opposing the group (Hoffman and Reinares 02, 03).

Furthermore, al-Qaeda exploits its occupied states to link ties with local terrorists and enhance the group's existence. It helps local jihadists to perform terrorist actions by financing and giving instructions and guidelines. By doing that, Al-Qaeda seeks to reinforce its army; therefore, it gains personal as well as physical supports. Consequently, al-Qaeda proves its powerful ideology which goes beyond the old terrorist groups. This effective strategy serves to spread more fear amongst the local and the national law enforcements (Hoffman and Reinares 03).

Additionally, in terms of recruits, al-Qaeda focuses on the individuals who have the enemy's nationalities or lives inside the countries of the group's adversaries. More specifically, it targets those who were converted to Islam and owns clean passports that contain their birth names instead of their new religious names. The terrorist group benefits from such recruits because they would not face any troubles, from the side of borders security members, when traveling to and from their residence. Thus they could easily perform terrorist actions inside Western countries (Hoffman and Reinares 03).

I.1.3 The Holy War (Jihad) against the United States

Al Qaeda carried out a number of injuring attacks against its targeted enemy, the United State of America. In the year of 1993, Al Qaeda claimed the responsibility of two attacks. The

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

first was on January 25, in which the Pakistani Mir Aimal Kansi murdered two workers of CIA in Virginia and wounded three others (Chaliand and Blin 322). The second attack was carried on February 26; Ramzi Youssef bombed the underground car park at the World Trade Centre, New York City, resulted in the death of seven persons and injury of roughly 1,000 others (Haynes 07, 10).

American interests were also being targeted outside the country. Aden, Yemen, is the ground of the first Bin Laden's attack in December 1992 and the goal was US troops who were on their way to Somalia. No one of the US soldiers was injured because they left before the attack was carried. Soon after, Al-Qaeda shot down a US black hawk helicopter over Mogadishu, the Somali capital. Approximately 1,000 Somalis and 18 US soldiers were killed in the battle that followed in addition to 25 others were killed during 1992 and 1994, this period is considered as the deadliest one (Haynes 07, 10).

On April 15, 1993, seventeen terrorists planned to attack the American President George Bush during his visit to Kuwait but they failed and were arrested. Two years later, Al Qaeda assassinated two American diplomats in their way to Islamabad, Pakistan (Chaliand and Blin 323). In November 1995, Al-Qaida bombed the US-operated Saudi National Guard training center in Riyadh and caused the death of five Americans and two Indians (Haynes 07, 10).

On June 25, 1996, a suicide attack resulted in the lost of nineteen American armed soldiers forces located in Khobar, near Dahrn (Chaliand and Blin 323). Bin Laden stated, in an interview with CNN on May 13, 1997: *"I have the greatest respect for those who committed that act. It is a great honor that I cannot claim for myself."* (qtd. in Chaliand and Blin323).

Ayman al-Zawahiri announced on August 7, when America declared that it would put an end to al-Jihad in Egypt, in a proclamation that he had: *"received the Americans' message*

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

and that he would respond in the only language they understood: violence” (qtd. in Chaliand and Blin 323). On August 8, two suicide attacks took place in US embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi killing 301 people and injuring 5,000. During 1997-1998, more terror campaigns were carried out by al-Qaeda; the attack of Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, in June 1997, 19 US servicemen was killed. Two years later, the Yemeni port of Aden witnessed a suicide attack in which 17 US servicemen were killed and 39 were injured (Cronin 02).

In September 11, 2001, 19 al-Qaeda suicide attackers assassinated 2,976 people, captured and damaged four US commercial airplanes, two of them crashed into the World Trade Center in New York City, one into the Pentagon near Washington, DC, and the fourth into a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania (Haynes 07, 10). Choosing the World Trade Center in 09/11 attacks was on purpose; the will to tumble down the American tyranny and economic power, to indicate the beginning of an international war to eliminate the interests of foes and to reinforce the ties with the first mujahideen who had attacked American territory in the early 1990's. Since 9/11, Al Qaeda and its affiliates have not been able to conduct any successful attacks inside the United States because of the need for operational secrecy and the primitive tools offered to jihadists (Chaliand and Blin 330, 333).

I.2 The Islamic State's Historical Background

The group known as the Islamic State, or Daesh in Arabic, is not new. It existed since the 1990s but with several names and under different leaderships. The terrorist group first was founded by the Jordanian Ahmed Fadhil Nazar al-Khalaylah known as Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. He gave the group the name Jama'at al-Tawhid wa al-Jihad. In 1999, Zarqawi met Bin Laden, in Afghanistan, who helped him and asked him to join his group to Al-Qaeda but he refused (Spencer ch 01). Later on, the United State invaded Afghanistan what makes Al-Zarqawi run away toward Iraq (Hashim 4).

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

During his presence in Iraq, Al-Zarqawi wanted to unify Muslim people under his group Jama'at al-Tawhid Wa al-Jihad, and govern them practicing Shari 'rules. He was supported by few Iraqi civilians and some fighters (Hashim 4), however, the most of the Iraqis who were Shiites opposed him because of political reasons; after Saddam's collapse, the Shiites became the dominant power in Iraq (Ghosh 01). In 2004 Zarqawi joined his group to Al-Qaeda, he announced: *"By God, O sheikh of the mujahideen, if you bid us plunge into the ocean, we would follow you. If you ordered it so, we would obey. If you forbade us something, we would abide by your wishes. For what a fine commander you are to the armies of Islam, against the inveterate infidels and apostates!"* (qtd. in Spencer ch 01). Bin Laden together with Al-Zarqawi form a new terrorist group which they called: Tanzim Qai'dat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn, al-Qaeda in the Land of Two Rivers. The same group will be later called al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) (Stern and Berger ch 01).

The two groups profited from this alliance; from one side, Zarqawi feels satisfied because the coalition makes the group more powerful, thus it attracts more fighters from different nations to join it. (Stern and Berger 01). Bin Laden on the other side, stops the advancement of Al-Zarqawi, he took him as a friend instead of opposing him; especially in a time when Al-Zarqawi starts to be stronger and emerges as a powerful jihadist leader.

As time went on, Zarqawi was murdered in an American raid in mid-2006, and the group of AQI combined other groups to become known as the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI), under the leadership of Abu Omar al-Baghdadi who was killed in 2010. This last was replaced by Ibrahim Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri al Samarrai who named himself Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. The group's strategy was changed to be more aggressive and cruel under Al-Baghdadi's rule, and the tools to be used are not used before, including car bombs and beheadings. By 2011 the Islamic State of Iraq under the leadership of Abu Hamza al-Muhajir (Abu Ayyub al-Misri) gains more territorial expansion, and reaches different lands, as well as it joined other terrorist

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

groups in Syria which serve to change the name of the group to be The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (Barrett 10,11).

I.2.1 The Birth of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

I.2.1.1 Factors of Emergence

There are several reasons that help the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria. One of them is the instability of the Iraqi government. After the withdrawal of the American army from the Middle East in 2011, tensions between Sunni and Shia groups aroused; the Shiites took the throne and alienates the Sunnis. Therefore, terrorists took advantage from the Sunni-Shiia rift that caused a high degree of ethnic and sectarian violence and destruction and raised as a powerful group.

In 2009, Sunnis asked the government to improve their situations and provide more opportunities for jobs and more political integration. Their demands were simply ignored by Maliki who thought that they wanted to bring up the era of Saddam Hussein. In 2012, they faced more political marginalization, so that the Sunni politicians were eliminated from the political scene. Moreover, hundreds of them were kicked out from military, security and intelligence domains. In 2013, the Sunni provinces in Iraq entered in what is called Arab Spring and forced Maliki to react by using force. The Sunnis replayed by forming an army and many of them joined ISIS. The group then profited from the lack of security and imposed itself by starting attacks against the Iraqi government (Hashim10).

The death of Osama bin Laden in 2011, and his replacement by Ayman al-Zawahiri, is considered one of the helping factors that push the emergence of ISIS. Al-Qaida witnessed a decline under the leadership of Ayman al-Zawahiri who loses control of Al-Qaida's affiliations. He was not successful as Bin Laden; he had annexed many groups but he failed to

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

govern them all together. Each sub-group wants to reach its own purposes without paying any attention to other groups. Therefore, Al-Qaeda loses its unification, power, as well as its attraction to new generations. Because of this collapse, the young generations who are more dangerous, are concerned more by Islamic State. The latter have joined a large number of people from different classes particularly the youth who seek an adventure that is available within the new jihadist group (Hashim 10, 11).

The Arab revolutions that started in 2011 in Tunisia, or what is called Arab Spring, lead to the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War. Those rebellions spread out from Tunisia reaching several Arab nations including Egypt (twice), Libya, and Yemen, kicking out their dictatorship governors. Later on, by 2013, the chaos started in other Arab countries such as Bahrain, Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Syria, seeking for equality, honesty, satisfaction and justices. What began as Arab Spring turned violent in some countries, but the Syrian civil war, which is considered the initial factor of the rise of ISIS, is the bloodiest war (Stern and Berger ch 02).

According to the leader of ISI, Al-Baghdadi, the Syrian civil war is the open door for the group to spread out its operations and strengthen its authority. He considers the interference in the war as a chance to break down the secular regime of Bashar al-Assad as well as he claims that Syria was a suitable ground for improving battalions' fighting skills and war tactics (Hashim 11). ISI starts its intervention by sending a group of operatives, under the leadership of Abu Muhammad al-Jawlani or Golani, to prepare for its entry into Syria. This group would be known as *Jabhat al-Nusra (JN)* or, *al-Nusra Front*. The latter rapidly proves itself as one of the most powerful powers in the Syrian revolution (Gorkom 09). In April 2013, Al-Baghdadi stated that the two groups were unified under the name of the Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham/Syria He confirmed: *"We laid for them plans, and drew up for them the policy of work, and gave them what financial support we could every month, and supplied them with*

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

men who had known the battlefields of jihad, from the emigrants and the natives” (qtd. in Tucker 02). In his words, Al-Baghdadi wants to confirm that JN takes orders and guidelines as well as financial support from ISI. He added: *“It's now time to declare in front of the people of the Levant and world that the al Nusrah Front is but an extension of the Islamic State of Iraq and part of it...”* (qtd. in Tucker 02).

I.2.2 The Divorce from Al-Qaida and the Creation of the New Caliphate

I.2.2.1 ISIS' Split

When the Islamic State of Iraq and Jabhat al-Nusra, are meant to be one single group under the name of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria with the approval of Al-Baghdadi who declare it in an announcement, Al-Jawlani felt that his autonomy is threatened. He refused the annexation claiming that Al-Baghdadi did not inform him before and took this as a reason. As a matter of fact, Al-Jawlani announced his allegiance to Al-Zawahiri to oppose Al Baghdadi's decision. After this pronouncement, the two groups, ISI and Al Qaeda, engaged in serious conflicts. ISIS even killed a delegate sent by Al-Zawahiri, to solve the problem (Gorkom 09).

Ayman al-Zawahiri, the head of Al Qaeda, interfered to resolve the tension and ordered Baghdadi to go back and fight in Iraq while the Nusra would activate in Syria separately, but those reconciliations were in vain (Munir and Shafiq 09). Al-Baghdadi, after enhancing his power in Syria, insisted on his decision and refused completely to follow the orders of Al-Zawahiri justifying that Al Qaida has no authority over his group. This rejection marked the end of the coalition and forced Zawahiri radically to declare the divorce of ISIS from Al Qaeda. In February 2014, Zawahiri announced: *“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”* (qtd. in Hadra 56).

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

I.2.2.2 The Establishment of the Caliphate

After the separation, the group insisted on the necessity of establishing a Caliphate. Before doing that, ISIS, with the use of social media tried to test the water and made some research to know about the reaction of the world about the establishment of the Caliphate as well as to recognize who would support or oppose them. Taking in consideration those results, the group advanced its relationships with multiple jihadists (Barett 12).

And to gain more support, Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi stated: *“I have been appointed to rule over you, though I am not the best among you...If you see that I do right, help me, and if you see that I do wrong, set me right. And obey me so long as I obey God touching you. If I disobey Him, no obedience is owed me from you”* (qtd. in Bunzel 31).

In June 2014 the Islamic State started to put a step foot in Iraq as an unexpected move. The group took control over western Iraq, occupying most of Sunni’s regions, Mosul was among them. In 29 of the same month, Abu Muhammad al-‘Adnani appointed himself as the restored Caliphate spokesman of ISIS. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi appointed himself as its Caliph; someone considered to be a successor to Muhammad’s political authority. Al-Baghdadi revealed his ‘real’ name and became self-proclaimed Caliph Ibrahim II, ostensibly showing his lineage to Caliph Ibrahim I who ruled the Ottoman Empire from 1640-1648. The group changed its name from *the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham* to become known as *the Islamic State* (Bunzel 31).

An audio message was displayed, two days after the announcement of the Caliphate, in which Al-Baghdadi justified the restoration of the Khilaphat. He called for a global Islamic Caliphate, describing the Islamic State as: *“a state where the Arab and non-Arab, the white man and black man, the easterner and westerner are all brothers...Syria is not for Syrians, and Iraq is not for Iraqis. The east is Allah’s...The State is a state for all Muslims. The land is*

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

for the Muslims, all the Muslims” (qtd. in Hadra 61-62). On 4 July, Abu Bakr displayed his first address as a Caliph at the Grand Mosque of al-Nuri in Mosul at Friday prayers.

Now, with the declaration of the caliphate, Jihadists supported their new Caliphate and invited the whole Muslim communities to pledge bay‘a to Al Baghdadi. As Adnani said: *“We inform the Muslims that, with the announcement of the caliphate, it has become obligatory for all Muslims to give bay‘a and support to Caliph Ibrahim”* (qtd. in Bunzel 31). Moreover, Adnani expected all jihadi organizations in the world to accept the Islamic State as the supreme power and Al Baghdadi as its caliph. He stated: *“Void is the legitimacy of all emirates, groups, administrations, and organizations to which his [i.e., Baghdadi’s] authority extends and his army comes”* (qtd. in Bunzel 31). Even Al Qaeda’s affiliates were being invited to separate themselves from Al Qaeda and get attached to the Islamic State. In an audio addressed Muslims, Al-Baghdadi ordered all able Muslims to leave their homes and go to ISIS-controlled territories. He ordered: *“O Muslims in all places. Whose is able to immigrate to the Islamic State, let him emigrate. For emigration to the Abode of Islam is obligatory”* (qtd. in Bunzel 31-32).

Taking control over the whole Muslim Community was the first goal of ISIS’ Caliphate. The Sharia is the supreme law to govern and the caliph is the supreme leader to enforce that law. For them, Allah is the only one who can impose laws not a human; in Islam, man exists only to execute Allah’s law. Even the caliph has no authority, only to apply the orders of Allah. He must be a straight and a rightful person to be the representative of Allah on earth. Thus, they consider the caliphate as the best method of ruling and organizing political life in the earth in order to achieve happiness (Idachaba 04).

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

I.2.3 The Caliphate's Framework

The Islamic state or IS is ruled by a hierarchical structure. The Caliph is the supreme power followed by the councils who are responsible for the military and administrative institution of the Islamic State. They offer advice to Abu Bakr and direct the group's plans, army, and inhabitant. The Shura Council is the assembly that has the power to assign the caliph and even decides who should replace him. Supposedly, it also has the right to release the Caliph if he was unsuccessful when practicing his duties following the ruling sharia principles of the group. The rest of the pyramid consists of Saddam Hussein's Sunny militaries and loyal IS leaders (Freedman 23).

The IS has established councils in order to facilitate the ruling operation for its leaders. The Sharia Council is the main body of the Islamic State, ruled directly by the caliph. It has six members. The council's first duty is to establish a sharia policy according to its own interpretation, including the selection of the Caliph and ensuring that the other branches of the administration obey its laws (zgryziewicz 21). The sharia courts are not only concerned with religious issues, rather, it deals with political ones; impose law, select punishments, control the sharia judgment and courts, and run ideological affairs inside and outside the caliphate's borders (Barrett 29).

The second council is Shura council is governed by Abu Arkan al-Ameri and includes from nine to 11 members, who are either Iraqis or used to belong to the Ba'ath party. This Council's role is to declare the orders of the Caliph and ensure their performance (Barrett 29). The third is the Military Council which is ruled by Abu Ahmad al Alawani, a military man of Saddam Hussein's army, and consists of three members who are selected by the Caliph. Their mission is to arrange and control the military leaders, as well as, they drive the campaign to take control over more territory and protect what is already seized (Freedman 31).

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

The fourth one is the Provincial Council that is under the control of Abu Muslim al Turkmani. It runs the administration issues of the 18 provinces of the state (Wilayat) including: Anbar, Baghdad, Diyala, Fallujah, al Janoub (the South), Kirkuk, Nineveh, and Salahuddin in Iraq, and Aleppo, al Badiyah (Homs), al Baraka (Hasaka), Damascus, Hama, Idlib, al Khair (Deir ez Zour), al Raqqa, and al Sahel (Latakia) in Syria, plus al Furat (the Euphrates). Every province is governed by (Wali) who is helped by a sharia, military and security commanders (Barrett 33).

The Judicial Authority is the fifth council, is ruled by Abu Mohammad al-Ani, it tackles the high court issues as well as it is responsible for the group's propaganda. The last council is the Defense, Security, and Intelligence Council. It is headed by Abu Bakr (AKA Abu Ali) al-Anbar, together with three other officers who served during the rule, Saddam Hussein. This council is responsible for removing competitors to Abu Bakr and securing him from any opposing plan. The Security and Intelligence Council is not only responsible for the personal security and safety of the Caliph, but it can also apply orders, operations, judicial judgments as well as, it is responsible for the collection and distribution of intelligence. Moreover, the previous councils, there are the Finance Council, the Media Council, and perhaps a Council that takes care on soldiers and their families (Barrett 33).

1.2.4 ISIS Ideological Implication

ISIS is an Islamic Salafist-jihadi group. Salafism means a terrorist Sunni political religious movement within Islam which aims to re-establish the era of the prophet Muhammad and the caliphs who followed him during which Islam reached its peak of success. In his first appearance, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi declared the creation of the caliphate in the Grand Mosque of Mosul, wearing black clerical robe and turban, taking a twig and miswak to clean his teeth before starting to speak just as the prophet Mohammed did. In fact, the name

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is not his true name; it is his name of jihad. He named himself according to the first Caliph Abu Bakr Assidiq, the closest friend of Mohammed and the first one who entered to Islam (Gorka and Gorka 05).

ISIS adopted its ideology from two very different directions. The first and the dominant direction is the Islamic regulations that extend from the 14th Century scholar Ibn Taymiyya. Basically, changes were harshly prohibited since the Prophet's time. They argue that any deviation from the Islamic principles that they depict from the Quran and the Hadith is blasphemy, and must be removed. Therefore, Shi'ism, Sufism, and everyone that stand against their interpretation of Islam should be destroyed; this is the real meaning of takfirism. Relying on that, the Islamic State justifies its use of violence claiming that all its terrorist actions are for the benefit of Islam, purifying it, gathering Muslims under one Islamic government, and bringing up the dignity of Muslims and at the same time enforcing Allah's law (Barrett 18).

The second direction of The Islamic State is Ba'athism or ex-Ba'athists, who joined the group between 2008 and 2010, sought the restoration of the Arab race by purifying its principles as well as the aftermath of colonialism. Even though Ba'athism is a secular movement and defends the separation of religion from the administration, but it considers Islam as a proof of the credibility of Arab culture. The association of the two groups was reinforced when a lot of their members met in the United States prisons in Iraq. Abu Bakr maintained relations with some ex-Ba'athists who, later on, became leaders in the Islamic State. In the beginning of alliance, the Ba'athists brought military and governmental competencies as well as a network of skillful officials that ISI never has before (Barrett 18-19).

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

In its ideology, the Islamic State depends on the tribal support that helped Abu Bakr's Khilafat, not because of his ambitions but to oppose their governments. He led a campaign of assassination against opponents or potential opponents and those who show opposition to his plans. He is strong enough to impose his strength more successfully than anyone else. Moreover, the changes in the name from Al Qaeda in Iraq, first to The Islamic State of Iraq, then to The Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria, and later to The Islamic State or the Khilafa (Caliphate) was in purpose; it demonstrated geographical as well as religious expansion (Barrett 21).

The caliphate's aim was to control Muslims all over the world, under Islamic rules through occupying territories everywhere under the popular slogan *Baqiyya wa Tatamaddad* that means remaining and expanding. Al-Baghdadi rejected the boundaries between Syria and Iraq which were placed by the colonizers in the Sykes-Picot treaty of 1916, calling the Islamic State to destroy the borders that separate Syria from Iraq. In its high power, the IS depended on seduction as a propaganda for recruitment as well as to gain a public reinforcement and support (Barrett 23).

The ideology adopted by the Islamic State that stands on sharia law which is based on the Koran, the Hadith, and the Sunna put an end to democracy, which they regarded as the rule of man over man. ISIS has then listed number of punishments they would apply in the new Caliphate:

- Blasphemy against Allah: Death.
- Blasphemy against the Prophet Mohamed: Death—even if the accuser repents.
- Blasphemy against Islam: Death.
- Adultery: Stoning to death if the adulterer was married and 100 lashes and exile if he or she were unmarried.

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

- Sodomy (homosexuality): Death for the person committing the act, as well as for the one receiving it.
- Theft: Cutting off the hand.
- Drinking alcohol: 80 lashes (Gorka and Gorka 05- 06).

I.2.5 ISIS International Strategy

In November 2014, ISIS confirmed that its main focus is to remain and expand. The group sought to expand its territories outside Iraq and Syria. At the end of the same year, ISIS started to act in some Arab countries like Libya, and Sinai. This extension enhances ISIS's status in the Middle East as well as it improves the group's local and universal war. In order to achieve its goal and enlarges the caliphate, the organization shaped a strategy according to three geographic areas: Iraq and Syria, the near areas in the Middle East and North Africa along with Afghanistan and Pakistan, and the rest of the world including Europe, Asia, and America (Gambhir 09).

I.2.5.1 Iraq and Syria

Iraq and Syria are the heart of ISIS's movement. This involves also states like Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel-Palestine. ISIS strategy in those areas is merely violence; violence is used to defend its territories from enemies' attacks. ISIS's main concern in the Middle East is to smash Iraq, at the same time arranging for a war to remove the current Syrian regime of Bashar Al Assad. It takes advantage of the growing disorder in the two countries to spread brutality and widen terrorist propaganda (Gambhir 09- 10).

In the near states like Jordan, Israel, Palestine, Turkey, and Lebanon, ISIS is using propaganda to attract the marginalized Sunni populations and to cause security disorder. Ultimately, ISIS may try to spread out throughout the large Levant by sending its proficient

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

guerillas to fuel local rebellions and create jihadist groups. However, ISIS will not put at risk its operations within Iraq and Syria for this endeavor. Therefore, ISIS will keep Jordan, Turkey, and Lebanon just as supporting sectors in its near abroad operations (Gambhir 10).

I.2.5.2 The Near Part in the Middle East and North Africa along with Afghanistan and Pakistan

In the remaining countries of the Middle East, North Africa, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, ISIS was challenged by Al-Qaeda and Iran. The main task of ISIS in those territories is to expand by creating regional networks. After that it persuades local groups to declare bayaa to the caliphate, to be united under one flag, and to appoint a leader who regulates the groups' affairs. In November 2014, ISIS has started to spread its operations by establishing wilayat, or governorates in Algeria, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and later on in the "Khorasan," or Afghanistan-Pakistan region in January 2015 (Gambhir 11).

ISIS's strategy in those states aims to defend the organization and to raise attacks in the same time. Furthermore, Wilayats provides the group with flexibility in case it loses power in Iraq and Syria. Moreover, they create suitable conditions for ISIS's expansion efforts. ISIS's wilayat's are geographically separated throughout the region, and thus have the ability to depress powerful states from different sides, and at the same time preserving refuges within zones where conflict was already existed (Gambhir 11).

I.2.5.3 The Rest of the World

This part consists of the remaining regions of the world particularly Europe, U.S., and Asia. Europe is the focal point for ISIS because it includes a large number of Muslims and it is the nearest to ISIS's regions geographically speaking. In these areas, ISIS aims to polarize Muslim districts and isolate their followers while pushing enemies into an international war.

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

ISIS' first task there is to distract and prepare the combat zone. It is a challenge with al-Qaeda about the leadership of the worldwide jihadist movement in the area but its presence there is less concentrated than in the other territories (Gambhir 12).

ISIS objective focuses on supporting and financing terrorist attacks in the Western world. By doing so, ISIS seeks that Westerners will stand against Muslims and pushes them away so that they join the caliphate (Gambhir 12). In addition, ISIS seeks to create universal tone through the use of social media. Gambhir concluded that Syria, Iraq and the near territories are the central areas where ISIS focused its defense and expansion while it creates acts of terrorism in the rest of the world. In each ring, ISIS uses parallel and interlocking strategies (10).

I.2.6 Sources of ISIS Funding

Michelle Peters, a Junior Researcher, stated that ISIS is the richest terrorist group in history, having approximately \$2 billion USD. ISIS' wealth and its numerous resources of funding are incomparable with any other terrorist group. The organization finances its funds from several sources, including control of oil and Gas reservoirs, criminal and terrorist activity, kidnapping, foreign funding, and donations (06- 07).

ISIS exploits tens of oilfields in both Iraq and Syria. The organization of Raqqa is Being Slaughtered Silently (RBSS) argues that the best source of funds for ISIS is its sales of electricity and Gas, which the group captures, to the Syrian regime. In addition, ISIS practices oil smuggling and gets around two million USD per day, according to the U.S. Treasury Department. ISIS sells its oil less than its price compared to the world price (\$40 USD per barrel while \$80 USD per barrel in the world price) (crane 05). According to di Giovanni, Goodman and Sharkov:

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

ISIS's oil empire stretches across a landmass roughly the size of the U.K. (a quarter of a million square miles) and contains around 300 oil wells in Iraq alone...By contrast, ISIS possesses about 60 percent of Syria's total production capacity, which, before the civil war kicked into high gear, produced around 385,000 barrels a day, according to the Iraq Energy Institute (qtd. in Peters 08).

As a result, ISIS total production is generally 3 million oil barrels per day in 2014 (Brisard and Martinez 09). To get benefit from its oil, ISIS smuggles it into the near countries such as; Kuwait, Iran, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. In fact, ISIS has the largest market in Southern Turkey, where oil is expensive, because of its low prices of oil (Peters, 08).

ISIS' local criminal and terrorist activities include: banks stealing, selling drugs, looting, selling stolen products, and extorting local civilians and businesses through imposed taxes. These illegal activities in its controlled territories are considered as another so beneficial source of funding. The organization now takes advantage of these criminal activities to survive its Caliphate. As an example, ISIS benefited from \$425 million USD by stealing the central bank of Mosul. The terrorist group also steals people's belongings such as people's livestock, furniture, cars, and women's jewelry. Moreover, ISIS pillages and devastating more than 4,000 of Iraq's archaeological locations (Peters 08- 09).

Furthermore, ISIS gains roughly \$1 million USD for a day from taxes which are imposed on the local citizens. Peters informed: "*Citizens are taxed for operating businesses, importing or exporting goods, using Internet cafes, or for using public goods like highways, phones, and electricity*" (Peters 09). Besides, according to the estimations of the United Nations, ISIS controls 40 percent of Iraq's production of wheat which is used to feed the members of the organization as well as to starve those who oppose it. As a result, all of those violent actions of pillaging are the second main source of funding for ISIS (Peters 09).

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

Another way of ISIS to finance its organization is to kidnap and ransom. The group kidnaps businessmen, politicians, religious dignitaries, and foreigners and asked to exchange with money. Through these activities ISIS gathered \$120M in the year 2014. Even that this funding source recoiled in 2015 because the great part of wealthy foreigners departed, but ISIS keeps on fundraising significant profits (Brisard and Martinez 18- 19).

Estimations stated that ISIS wins \$40 million USD from foreign funding. According to Matthew Levitt, governments and private donors in countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates provide the terrorist groups with foreign funding. In 2013, Saudi Arabia faced great international pressure which obliged the country to stop financing terrorist groups such as ISIS which became the country's enemy (Levitt 05) but, still, there are private supporters who continued to finance the group. In the other side, Qatar and Kuwait continued providing funds so that U.S. called them permissive Environment for financing terrorist groups. Actually, ISIS could exploit the open banking systems of Qatar and Kuwait because they cover ISIS activities in siphoning money (Peters 11- 12).

What is more is that Daesh gets donations from fake charitable, help associations and unregistered donations. Those sources of funding are claiming to help Syria and Iraq but in reality, those funds directly serve ISIS. The terrorist group uses social media as a mean of propaganda to attract more donors. In Kuwait, some ISIS' financiers pretend that they are helping orphans and refugees but in fact, they are helping the terrorist organization indirectly (Peters 12- 13).

1.2.7 The Islamic State, a Threat to the American Homeland

Thanks to its successful ideology together with its effective use of social media, ISIS attracts and recruits more fighters from different nations, increases its wealth, and gains more territorial expansion. The group spreads fear and threaten the near and the far rings. By the

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

time of the Caliphate's establishment in 2014, Al-Baghdadi warned the Americans, the first targeted enemy for the group, directly saying: *"I'll see you guys in New York"* (qtd. in Spencer ch 02).

The United State, as it can be understood from the following words of Abu Muhammad Adnani, is weak and easily terrified. On September 21, 2014, in a discourse directed to the supporters of the group inviting those in the west to join the group he said:

a conceited and brash encampment of falsehood, which demonstrates itself to be powerful, and subduing, one that no conqueror can dominate nor any defender withstand. But the reality is they are fearful and terrified, humiliated and left with a weak plan, shaken and defeated, despite their uninhibited movement throughout the lands. (qtd. in Spencer ch 02).

Besides, ISIS threatens Americans differently. The threat is either posed by the Islamic State's actual soldiers or issued in its name by those who do not belong to the group. Just before the declaration of the establishment of the Caliphate, some jihadists use social media to display and spread different messages that warn Americans. For instance, some British jihadists released a video in which they promised that the black flag of jihad would speedily wave over Downing Street. Another case of an American citizen who menaced the president on Twitter, writing, *"Obama your days are numbered. You have nowhere to hide. Your family is first on our list. We will find you and remove your filthy heads!!"* he added: *"soon ISIS would encompass the entire world."* (qtd. in Spencer ch 02).

Social media is considered as a real weapon for the Islamic State that enables them to threaten and terrify their enemies putting the United State on the top of its targets. In April 2015 Islamic State, released simultaneously a video and a hashtag with the same title *We Will Burn America*. They warned to perform other terror attacks in the American homeland, like

Chapter One: ISIS Historical Background

that of 9/11, the content of the video and the hashtag are as follows: (spelling and grammar as in the original):

*America thinks it is safe because of the geographical location
Thus you see it invades the Muslim lands, and it thinks
that the army of the Jihad won't reach in their lands
But the dream of the Americans to have safety became a mirage
Today there is no safety for any American on the globe
The Mujahedeen before although they had fewer resources
Attacked New York and bombed the twin towers in
September Eleven attacks
That blessed incursion was a fatal blow
All praise is due to Allah, the American economy was shaken
In such way, Americans lived,
And By Allahs willing the fear will spread among them
again soon
Here its America now losing billions still to make sure
their country is safe
But today, its time for payback,
By the grace of Allah, today the Mujahedeen are much
more stronger and they have more resource than before
Thus they are able to burn United States Again (qtd. in
Spencer ch 02).*

Conclusion

The Islamic State or what is called simply ISIS emerges during the 1990s with the name Jama'at al-Tawhid wa al-Jihad. Its name was changed several times as a result of different associations with other terrorist groups; it was named Tanzim Qai'dat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn, al-Qaeda in Iraq, the Islamic State of Iraq, and The Islamic State of Iraq And Syria. The group becomes more powerful after its divorce from al-Qaeda. It created what is called the Caliphate and appointed Abu Baker Al-Baghdadi as a caliph or a head. Thanks to its successful ideology together with its effective strategy including the use of social media, ISIS expands and gains more power inside the Caliphate borders and abroad.

Chapter Two:
The Impact of Social Media on
the American Security

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

Introduction

The United State is regarded as the most targeted western enemy of the Islamic State. The latter threatens its foe using multiple tools; social media is one of them. In this chapter, we will apply some concepts of Social Movement Theory; Relative Deprivation, Framing, and Violence, in Addition to the Concept of Hypodermic Effects from Media Effects Theory in order to explain how ISIS is affecting the American security through using multiple platforms of social media and to what extent. At the beginning, the chapter discusses the reasons which pave the way for ISIS to influence American minds. Then, it explains how the group is framing its messages in a way that fits the group interests. The third element focuses on violence as a strategy which enables the Islamic extremists to attract sympathizers and frighten enemies. The last part tackles ISIS recruitment and funds from Americans providing some statistical data.

II.1 Exploiting Americans' Psychology

In spite of mainstream thinking, many individuals who are radicalized online are not dedicated Muslims. Instead, some of them are far from religion. In fact, those who are recruited through social media are not naïve as people thought. ISIS online radicalization reaches its targets who may not be interested in joining the organization. Those targets are from different levels of education, age, gender, as well as Relative Deprivation occurs within different social classes; it does not matter whether an individual is rich or is struggling financially. What those recruited people share is that they all sympathize with the group, and this feeling of sympathy, is derived from gaps in their life that make them the most targeted category (Hughes and Miklaucic 314). According to Relative Deprivation Theory (RDT), social movements emerge when a group of people feels deprived, disappointed or lacks the

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

sense of equality. This group could be excluded politically, economically or socially comparing themselves to other groups (Brzovic 16).

The Islamic State attempts to radicalize members, taking advantage of their feelings of dissatisfaction that they faced in their lives, environment, inside or outside their countries. Deprivation occurred when a set of issues are presented; absence of social and religious identity, incorporation and desire to perform something, jail, a need of others emotional care, financial destabilization and social class, restrictions of western governors, personal criminal experiences, globalization, racial discrimination, isolation, marginalization and mental circumstances. The factors listed above are viewed as significant patrons in the radicalization procedures of people (Dickson 08- 09). In other words, as Colin J. Beck mentioned: *“the relative deprivation of a group as a central factor in the emergence of contention”* (Beck 1567).

Relative Deprivation concentrates on the way a social movement exploits social circumstances, like deprivation, to pull individuals to engage within it (Brzovic 16). This exploitation is performed by increasing the individuals’ feeling of victimization, thus, they will be convinced that the movement is the solution (Hansen 65). ISIS as a social movement raises ones feeling of deprivation until he or she became seeing himself as a victim of his society. In that way, individuals consider Daesh as a resolution because the group uses specialized members to convince people that they will be provided with everything they missed in their lives (Gordon Meek 27).

The extremists promise to offer families and friends for those who suffer loneliness, provide a standard objective for people who have no reason in their life, guarantee a life in which a person lives like a hero and achieves victories for the benefit of Ummah, and

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

everything that they cannot find in the United States (Ristori 14). In addition, ISIS represented a higher degree of fraternity and harmony within its territory, as a strong form of addressing Americans to join the caliphate. That message attracted more Western women, those who lack the feeling of integration, love, and unity. When they travel to Syria, women inform that they find sentiments of friendship and solidarity that they did not have in America (Gartenstein-Ross et al 23). According to that, recruits engage in the organization. Lorenzo Vidino, the director of the Program on Extremism, said: *"They find the solution to their problems, real or imagined, in ISIS"* (qtd. Gordon Meek 27).

One of the American ISIS recruits is Abu Salha, 22 years old, whose origin is Florida. In 2014, he released a video in which he describes his old life in his mother country, America. He said: *"I lived in America... I know how it is. You have all the fancy amusement parks and the restaurants and the food and all this crap and the cars. You think you're happy. You're not happy. You're never happy. I was never happy. I was always sad and depressed. Life sucked"*. While he portrayed his new life in Syria as: *"the best I've ever lived"*. Abu Salha, died in in Syria as the first American to perform a suicide bombing attack (Vidino and Hughes 16). Other videos portray Western radicalized members entertaining and in the same time inviting their families, friends, and neighbors to travel into Syria. For example, ISIS released a video in 2013 filming one of its fighters singing a nasheed and others swimming and playing (Gartenstein-Ross et al 23).

As it is stated earlier, the Islamic state benefits from different issues of relative deprivation in recruiting new members. One of the issues that can possibly guide an individual to join a radical group like ISIS is depression and the lack of sentimental stability (Amedie 15). Ariel Bradley, an American teenager is one example of those who suffered depression. The young lady suffered from personal crisis and unlucky infancy, so she found

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

herself involved in jihadist terrorism. She is from Hixson and she lived in a very poor family. Her protestant mother taught her at home until she became an adolescent, then she revolted and left her family to spend many years searching for meaning to her life. Her friend said that Bradley was deprived of love and she was all the time seeking for that, as well as, for integration. The lady met a man from Iraq in August 2011 and married him. Her husband influenced her mind and convinced her to left to Syria in 2014. The couple stabilized in the territory of the caliphate and Bradley shares her life in social media like Twitter and Instagram where she expresses her happy life within the Islamic State (Vidino and Hughes 16-17).

Loneliness is another dangerous reason which is exploited by extremists to recruit Americans. An individual who experiences the feeling of loneliness can get him to abandon everything to join ISIS. Alex is one of the cases who fall as a victim of loneliness. She has 23 years old and lives with her grandparents in a province in America. The majority of her companions changed their city so she became alone without anything to do. Alex spent long periods of time on her social media accounts where she was always searching for ISIS' justification of its violence and crimes.

Jihadists made profound discussions with her about different aspects and at the same time offered friends for her when she feels alone and sad. She posted on twitter: "*I actually have brothers and sisters. I'm crying.*" (qtd. in Ristori 11). The girl experienced the sense of the family who thought about her and supported her. She became increasingly isolated and her terrorist friends started to encourage her for *Hijrah*, travel to the ISIS-controlled territory, arguing that it is the duty of everyone to do it, if he did not he would be sinful. Alex was also receiving Islamic books, gifts, and even sweeties and chocolate. In general, ISIS offers her an idea of a perfect life in which she can reach all what she wants (Ristori 11).

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

Another category of recruits is those who need to feel important. In fact, ISIS is providing this atmosphere for those people by making them feel strong; as a result, they join the group. Relative deprivation emphasizes on the idea that an individual who cannot achieve his expectations and realize his dreams because of his social conditions, may drive him to produce violence (Brzovic 16). The behavioral theorist James Davis argues: "*frustrations at both individual and societal levels intensify to become widespread and can turn to violent change*" (qtd. in Brzovic 17).

A person can also face frustration if he is politically excluded. That is how radical extremists exploit those who feel disappointed, weak, and dysfunctional, and make them believe that they are accomplishing something genuinely significant in their lives. The ideology of offering an important life proved its efficacy within European and American youth since lot of them were pulled into the organization (Amedie 16).

Dzhokhar and Tamerlan Tsarnaev brothers are one example of ISIS exploiting social media to convince people who suffer psychological problems to carry out acts of terrorism. According to FBI investigators, the two brothers subscribed to terrorist extremists, created through social media, in the Boston Marathon bombing of 2013. Tamerlan used social media to download terrorist belongings such as the book of *Disbelievers* which contains a foreword written by the radical religious man Anwar al-Awlaki. Their psychological instability and issues listed before can be easily observed since the two keep showing and introducing the terrorist beliefs through social media (Amedie 17).

Besides, Daesh can offer a sense of identity for adolescents (Vidino and Hughes 18). Another behavioral theorist Tahir Abbas explains that American Muslim youth can be radicalized because his western society deprived him of enjoying his rights of integration, or

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

opposes him using different types of racism. He added that relative deprivation makes him feel more attached to his religion and thus recruits him (Brzovic 17). This issue can be seen within Muslims, especially the youth, in non-Muslim Western nations (Vidino and Hughes 18) because of three reasons. The first is identity problems; Muslims in the west have to deal with multiple cultures. Islamophobia and anti-immigrant beliefs were widely spread in the West and were observed by Muslims there, what lead to the increasing of their sensibility to protect their Islamism. In addition to their attempts to preserve their identity, they also developed a great feeling of hatred towards those who assaults Islam and some of them interpret that by involving in extremist groups (Yusoufzai and Emmerling 70).

Furthermore, American Muslim adolescents have, all the time, the sense of isolation in their environment. Unlike their ancestors, those adolescents see the west as their opportunity to build their future. In the meantime, they encountered the lack of trust from westerners. They became searching for their personal identity as well as for a place within the west (Vidino and Hughes 18). As Abbas writes: *“in materialistic wealthy secular societies, where they experience all sorts of moral and personal crises young people might seek religious spiritual frameworks for their everyday lives, leading to extreme religiosity”* (qtd. in Brzovic 17).

In the process of searching for their identity, the young Muslims find themselves inside what is called the Internet which is well- known for them and so easy to log in. In addition to the huge amount of information they can get, they also involve in discussions with virtual Muslim groups in which they let themselves losing a little of disappointment with other similar people who share with them the same experience (Vidino and Hughes 18).

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

The second reason is that Western Muslims experience the lack of advantages and profits compared to other citizens. The former feels dissatisfaction, annoyance, and inequality, in addition to brutality and alienation. It is mentioned in Social Movement Theory that *“alienation from mass society motivates individuals to participate in collective action”* (Beck 1567). The United States’ foreign policy, which is characterized by discrimination and hate towards the Muslim world, is contributed largely in bringing disappointment and violence (Yusoufzai and Emmerling 72). The third reason is empathy; the Islamic State’s recruits, as Relative Deprivation argues, justifies their involvement within the group with the aim of finding the sympathy they lacked in the west (Beck 1571). ISIS holds the sense of sympathy among its members. Camaraderie and alliance are highly presented within the group together with the sense of hurting oneself to defend the community (Yusoufzai and Emmerling 74). All of those factors contributed in the Western Muslims’ engagement in Daesh terrorist organization.

II.2 ISIS Techniques of Manipulating Audiences

Terrorist groups adopted social media, instead of the mass media, as a new means to affect people’s minds. Framing theory claims that terrorist groups like ISIS are framing their messages according to persons’ circumstances, and views of life especially when an individual feels victimization what makes him complains and asks for change, consequently, he involves in a Social Movement. ISIS’ messages are widely spread and reach huge members much faster due to personal factors (Dubois and Niessing 02).

The Islamic State depends on the comments of those who use different sorts of social media to spread recruiting propaganda. It uses those comments to discover people’s point of view about certain topics and collect their specific data and inclinations. When ISIS finishes

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

gathering that information, it frames them differently when targeting special audiences. For example, the messages directed to male are unlike those directed to female, as well, young people did not receive the same messages like the old individuals. For instance, ISIS seduces teenagers, who are almost the time active on social media, by portraying images and high-quality videos of horsemen, heroic battles, brilliance and happiness of successes. Regarding women, ISIS propaganda displays more pretty images like sweet little cats and Nutella chocolate; this kind of propaganda can be found in tweeter accounts like the tweeter @ISILCats) and Tumblr, which is well known amongst women (Hoffman and Schweitzer 75).

Terrorist organizations also depend on propaganda framework in order to attract as much as recruits as possible through constructing, producing and disseminating meaning, as it is focused on, in the framing theory. For example, on one hand, a terrorist is a criminal person who perpetrates violent terrorist actions against people. On the other hand, a jihadi is a warrior that battles against an oppressive and unfair rival. The two expressions depict a similar activity, but the second one interprets violence as a legitimate activity and draws out individuals to enter in a terrorist organization (chang41).

“What is new and a distinctive competitive advantage for ISIS is its ability to match the medium to the preferences of the target audience, in other words, it chooses the medium and message that resonates best with the target audience” (qtd. in Ryan p 38). In the process of recruiting, the Islamic State frames its messages according to different cultural resonance, age, gender, location and circumstances for different audiences. This is the case of its messages that are sent to Muslims located in America and Muslims who are in the Middle East, they are totally different. The nature of messages that were sent to Westerners portrays

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

jihad as a personal success and the words which were used are softer but the messages sent to Muslims insists on the jihad to be a responsibility for all of them (Lieberman101- 102).

In addition, Daesh is all the time saying that it achieves continuous development and success in the war (Nilson 22). It stresses the exaggeration of its power and the victories of its army and even it takes the responsibility of actions and assaults which it has no relation with (Ross et al 16). For example, they widely spread the photos of the murdered Syrian warriors and armies; they show army parades, grounds of training, missiles, and views inside the battlefields. This strategy of messaging helps them to cheer up the psychological spirit of recruits, stimulate people who desired to make an adventure and spread fear within their enemies (Williams 4). In fact, this strategy of exaggerating success in messaging is used by many other terrorist groups such as Taliban and al-Shabaab but the Islamic State proved to be more successful in that. More than exaggerating in showing success, ISIS also hides its fatalities and weaknesses. It turns people attention far from their failure through carrying out crimes and cruelties. As an example, when ISIS failed to keep the Syrian city Kobani under its control in February 2015, it displayed a video showing the beheading of the Jordanian pilot Muath al-Kasasbeh so that the group turns the world's attention from its loss (Ross et al 16, 17).

Furthermore, ISIS language is roughly aggressive not peaceful, especially when speaking about its enemies. Its supporters are always described as victorious, skilled, and religious, whereas its foes are described as unfair and secular (Nilson 22- 23). They are named Kufar, unbelievers, or Rafidha (Lepink 20). ISIS is considered as one of the Social Movements that uses Islamic expressions like shahada, haram, halal, Will of God, Paradise and verses from the Holy Quran to encourage supporters to engage in suicide actions and further assaults.

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

(Hansen 27) In order to achieve that goal, the Islamic State exploits different social media platforms to its own benefits.

II.2.1 Social Media Platforms

II.2.1.1 Facebook

Statistics of January 2014 estimated that 30 years is the common age of facebook users and approximately half of them are using it every day. In April 2015, estimations reported that there have been nearly 1.3 billion facebook accounts activated each month, as well as, 54.2 million persons, group, and pages. ISIS concluded that this is a fantastic tool in order to contact and attract recruits especially youth, (Hughes and Miklaucic 317) who start purchasing ISIS toys, clothes and black T-shirts until accounts that were offering them were closed. Those T-Shirts hold ISIS' slogan and Arabic letters that were interpreted into English language (Chang 23).

In 2010, the Department of Homeland Security made a report in which it stated multiple techniques used by Daesh. Firstly, facebook is utilized as a tool to distribute terrorist activities and their strategic data, such as bomb formulas and bombardment tactics. Secondly, it is used as an open door to the sites of terrorists, as well as, to their online extremist propaganda by joining Facebook groups and pages, dialogue discussion. Thirdly, for them, Facebook is a rich source of information to achieve their objectives. Finally, the report concluded that these techniques are changeable and will be developed through time (Hughes and Miklaucic 317-318).

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

II.2.1.2 Twitter

Daesh exploits Twitter, another social media platform, to its advantage. In fact, Twitter targets not only recruits but, also the Western institutions, news media, and everyone who will respond to the group's tweet. The Islamic State utilizes Twitter to attract sympathizers and publish false information and events. In April 2013, ISIS hacked the Associated Press Twitter account and posted a message: "*Breaking: Two Explosions in the White House and Barack Obama Is Injured.*" In a very short time after this fake declaration, a huge number of tweets were publicized (Hughes and Miklaucic 318).

Twitter is used by ISIS as means which covers multiple data sources into one page easy to search in for data. The group has an adaptable system which enables it to integrate already learned lessons in a very short time. In Twitter, Daesh utilizes what they call hashtags hijacking which permits the jihadists to check the most recent news in their district whenever. The most significant thing in Twitter for ISIS is that it uses Twitter's community structure as a protective tool to replace the stopped and deleted accounts it means that the group can recoup rapidly from any online assaults. New accounts are immediately raised after the existed ones are attacked and closed down then the same community will share and follow those newly created accounts instantly (Zgryziewicz 39).

In April 2014, a Twitter application which called *Fajr al-Bashaer* was released in Arabic. Within only two months, approximately 5,000 to 10,000 individuals used it in order to reach ISIS' news and movement. One day after ISIS taking control of Mosul, 40,000 messages were tweeted through this application (Shakhir Khawaja and Hussein Khan 113). When ISIS launched such propaganda materials in foreign languages specifically Arabic language,

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

members of the American society often ask ISIS activists in social media for translation into their language (Vidino and Hughes 25).

II.2.1.3 YouTube

People posted tens of thousands of new videos each day on YouTube, and more than hundred million videos are watched in one day. YouTube estimated that 300 hours of videos are displayed every minute. As a result of this big number, the terrorist content became hard to be detected and even though their videos are removed but they are immediately replaced by others (Hughes and Miklaucic 318). Daesh uses YouTube as another useful social media platform. It even uses music such as hip-hop in its videos in order to achieve online recruitment. For example, a Swedish recruiter speaking in both Arabic and Swedish languages, convincing Western fighters: *“The door to jihad is standing there waiting for you. It is the fastest way to paradise”*. (qtd. in Bowyer 23)

ISIS’ propaganda including the postings of individuals who are engaged in the terrorist war encourages Americans to go to abroad clash zones (Smith et al 12). In producing videos, terrorists utilize the same techniques used in cinema, the same effects used in Hollywood production and produced narratives using drama and apocalypse to catch the attention of watchers and strengthen media coverage (Williams 03). Those individuals also make use of GoPro video cameras to show their personal experience in jihad *“their experiences on the battlefield live on social media”* (qtd. in Smith et al 12). In those videos, they support people who hope to join ISIS, more than that they guide them to travel to the battlefield.

In their videos, ISIS shows the murdering of innocent Muslims and their little children were slaughtered by enemies’ raids (Williams 04). Large part of videos posted by ISIS is describing life in their interior territories as a perfect life, for example, reserving people

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

natural right, offering different social services, enforcing laws and even sometimes they filmed their children playing (The Evolution of Daesh Recruitment Propaganda in Light of Territorial Loss 03). ISIS activists also employ photos and publications of friendship and solidarity to criticize the American principles and beliefs and call Muslim Sunnis to defend their identity (Williams 04).

Two videos made in Mosul city at the end of October 2016. The first one was under the title of The Ignition of War in which Daesh depicted the importance of jihad and described it as a holy war. It celebrated the war in Mosul and described it in a wonderful expression portraying ISIS' soldiers as victorious and heroic. The video pictured them devastating supplies of the Iraqi army and seizing their weapons. The second video, December 2016, under the title of Tank Hunters, narrated the jihadists' strategy in the battles, especially when using military automobile (The Evolution of Daesh Recruitment Propaganda in Light of Territorial Loss 03).

II.3 Violence and Brutality as a Means of Propaganda

Della Porta Donatella the author of *Social Movement, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany* views that in a social movement, radicals do not only cooperate with each other to develop their radical identity, rather, they depend on violence as a political strategy (Cross and Snow 117). The Islamic State relies on the concept of violence in the Social Movement theory to explain its use of savagery and ruthlessness in its propaganda for mobilizing new recruits (Chang 46).

In the Social Movement theory, political violence is the useful way to deny the political adversaries. Thus, the previous idea justifies Jihadists use of violence to defeat their enemies. If one terrorist member opposes the use of violence, claiming that it causes harm and ruin to

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

the Islamic State, he or she will be imprisoned. For the group, there is no way to avoid violence but the jihadist has to know his target, the method and the right time to perform violence (Ryan 39). The Islamic State depicts its association as greatly fierce in order to split the force of their territorial enemies. By doing so, they want to say that it is better to avoid fighting against them and that running is the best solution (Zgryziewicz 33).

Social Movement theory assumes that a social movement may use violence in its expansion strategy to take as much control over regions (Ryan 17). In this context, ISIS shows via social media that it uses violence to defend itself, (Chang 46) and to enhance the impression of organizational strength. The strategy of broadcasting executions and different barbarities can demonstrate (Gartenstein-Ross 16) that ISIS legitimizes its use of violence to stop westerners from fighting against it. Thus, jihadists want to convey the message that there is no place for westerners in the Middle East and that any arrested enemies would certainly face cruel punishments; decapitating, execution and even burning alive (Zgryziewicz 33). The world sees Daesh as savage and cruel when murdering innocent people, but for the group, that cruelty and savagery are the key instruments and medium for recruitment of people. Recruits engage in such groups because they consider the killers as champions and their acts of revenge as a symbol of strength. The organization can reach individuals and make them involved in terrorist actions through displaying killing and beheading videos (Ryan 39).

One of ISIS' beheading videos could show the group's higher ability in mastering social media. The video has been displayed on YouTube, but deleted later on; it shows a member of Yazidi captives being executed by ISIS individuals. Even that the video was deleted, ISIS' online army would display it on different social media platforms (chang 47). Generally, videos like those of the Yazidis, aimed at driving them out together with all other opponents. The Islamic State is showing that it can protect its territories from its adversaries within or out

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

of its boundaries. The propaganda of displaying the beheading videos is aiming to raise fear within social media users and western countries. It uses Yazidis as a harsh lesson for those who think and try to resist (chang 47-48).

Another example of beheading videos took place in August 2014, when the U.S. journalist James Foley was executed (Freedman 75). The beheading came as a reaction to the United State campaign against Daesh in the Middle East (byman and shapiro 17). The terrorists displayed the video as a warning letter to America blaming her for the murdering of the journalist and assuring that any attempt to hit ISIS, the Americans will pay it (Siboni et al 137). The language used in the video is English, intentionally, to target the Americans. Investigations realized that Mohammed Emwazi, a Kuwait- British citizen nicknamed Jihadi John, is the spokesman in the video (Cozine 06). Through the video, ISIS could spread fear within the western hearts (Siboni et al 128). Siboni et al stated: “...*not only because the victim seemed like their next-door neighbor, but because the slaughterer also represented the image of a neighbor*” (128). ISIS used social media to enter American homes and threaten her security by distributing horror within its citizens.

An alternative form of violence that IS applies is sexual violence which is used as a strategy to raise the rate of recruits and the incomes for its benefits. Daesh uses internet auctions to sell women who are pictured as sexual slaves and used as a decoy to attract foreign fighters both old and young men. Moreover, women are photographed wearing Islamic clothes with arms weapons and vehicles what make youth recruited to the group that creates the increase of families and stability in the state (Harkouss Hassan 11-12).

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

II.4 Social Media, a Weapon to Recruit Americans

The simplicity of using social media platforms makes them widely used by many terrorist and radical groups, like ISIS, to reach and recruit a large number of Americans. Such individuals may be targeted when they made a charitable contribution, download terrorist materials, visited jihadi online accounts and Facebook pages. Online mobilization is very helpful in the sense that it allows terrorist groups or radical extremists to reach a large group of individuals easily in a short time, with no need to large amounts of money, as well as it secures concealment of plans. What's more is that social media platforms do not require face to face meetings (Hughes and Miklaucic 314).

The Islamic State succeeds to exploit the deprived people and frames its messages in social media to affect Americans psychology making them react to its cause. Those messages are effective so that the group could recruit a lot of audiences, that is what Harold Lasswell expressed in his Magic Bullet theory or what is called the Hypodermic Effects Theory. He compared media message with the bullet or the needle. The message is like a drug injected into the body of the receiver. That is in term of cause and effect; the media displayed the message and make the audience react (Neuman and Guggenheim 171).

According to some studies that took place in all American states and according to FBI Director James Comey, the number of judicial issues related to ISIS in 2015, have augmented compared to 2014 ones. Some of those issues are related to those who attempted to travel to Syria, others provided financial support to ISIS while others engaged in plotting attacks inside U S (berkell 38). Further estimations conducted in October 2015, concluded that FBI was investigating in 900 investigations related to homeland terrorist activities, (Nathan 03) most of them are considered to be linked to ISIS. By May 2016, the number of investigations related

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

to ISIS- linked actions has increased to 1,000 investigations. Nearly about 80 percent are related to Daesh (Berkell 38).

ISIS tends to recruit Americans with different ages, but with a focus on teenagers, and from both genders. In a study realized by FBI in 2015, it seems that about 250 American individuals are radicalized online. Some of them traveled to Syria and joined the jihadi group there, others were arrested in their attempt to leave their homeland, and some others support the Islamic State from inside America and try to recruit their belongings. The current studies show that ISIS depends on online recruiting, whereas, face-to-face recruiting occurs only if someone was mobilized and tried to recruit others (Smith et al 59).

From all accessible investigation in appendix one, it seems clear that American males are highly attracted by ISIS online propaganda with 89 percent, and only 11 percent were female. As it demonstrates that 80 percent of the recruits were less than 30 years old, proposing that most ISIS agents are to be sure *military-matured males*. Appendix two shows that 45% from the American arrested were accused for trying to travel or succeeded to voyage abroad, and 30% were accused for helping ISIS to make attacks in U.S homeland (Terror Gone Viral: Overview of the 100+ ISIS-Linked plots against the West 07). Appendix three explains that Within those recruits, America estimated that 46 Muslims joined ISIS in 2016; 20% of them succeeded to travel to Syria, 30% were arrested before traveling, and 50% carried attacks against the home country (Kurzman 02).

II.4.1 Why Exactly Teenagers

The Islamic State recruiting of teenagers is one of the groups' major goals. It uses media to catch teenagers' minds to teach them its doctrine in order to increase its power and territories of control by gaining more fighters and recruits (Shakir Khawaja and Hussain

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

Khan 110). According to Berger and Stern, teenagers, especially young Muslims or those who are newly converted to Islam, are to have a high tendency to receive new things like new religions. They said: *“they are particularly vulnerable to fundamentalist ideas, often combining wild enthusiasm with a lack of knowledge about their new religion, making them susceptible to recruiters”* (qtd. in De Cuia 31).

Dr. John Horgan, a forensic psychologist, and expert in analyzing terrorist behavior at Georgia State University in Atlanta, said that the tendency of teenagers to join this terrorist group comes from their wish to be contributed in something which is stronger than them. For him, ISIS knows well how to attract those teenagers and make them involved in jihad. The group’s propaganda in media displays and portrays life within the caliphate and its advantages. Its online magazine, Dabiq, describes the peace and the kindness of people in the caliphate, and guarantees houses for all group members. ISIS supports its promises by displaying photos of its soldiers entertaining, drinking tea and singing, to show peace and friendship within its territories (Shakir Khawaja and Hussain Khan 110).

ISIS has an unimaginable force to steal the minds of youth especially those who feel annoyed and discouraged. The organization’s success in radicalizing teenagers is proved in the publication of some youths on social media. As an example, Asher Abid Khan from Texas who stated in facebook: *“I don’t want to fight for war booty or for nationalism. I want to just rise the laws of Allah and be [a martyr] in his cause”* (qtd. in Hartman Anaya 30). The young man was caught after the US government discovered his publications on his social media accounts (Hartman Anaya 30).

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

II.4.2 Security Threat: between Crossing Borders and Breeding Terror within

The numbers are shown before seem small but it does not mean that the harm is also low. The attackers in 9/11 events were few but they caused catastrophic casualties and economic losses as well as it harmed the United States' security. The more the caliphate expands and enhances its control in the Middle East, the more the group gains recruits. If ISIS gains strength in Iraq and Syria by consolidating its control over new territory, more foreign fighters will be attracted to its ranks (Kelly 10). After being recruited, individuals may turn to recruiters, fundraisers or they may plot for attacks in their homelands. Appendix four demonstrates that about 40 percent of attacks related to the Islamic State in the west are targeting the United States, its people, or its main international relations (Terror Gone Viral: Overview of the 100+ ISIS-Linked plots against the West 05). Concerning the main targeted areas; New York and Minnesota come in the first place, followed by California, and North Carolina, Texas, Ohio, and Mississippi (Gore 32).

II.4.2.1 Effects from Recruited Americans Abroad

What is called the Arab Spring has inspired many Americans and fueled them to join terrorist organizations like ISIS. These individuals leave their families, friends, and anything else behind them, to travel abroad and fight within the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), or other radical groups. By May 2015, several Americans joined the Islamic State and tried to radicalize others including friends, and family members using social media platforms, many of them had succeeded in their attempt (Hughes and Miklaucic 313).

Online radicalization helps those who joined the Islamic State, to keep in touch with their companions in the U.S. In their try of recruiting, the former radicalized fighters send different videos and images that portray ISIS-troop military acts, and the happy life inside the

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

caliphate's borders, advising their American supporters to join them by making hijra blaming them for being late to do their duty of Jihad (Vidino and Hughes 23). Abdi Nur, was one of the first Americans' online recruits, who succeed to travel into Syria at the age of 20 years old. He tried for a long time to recruit and convince other Americans, especially his companions in Minneapolis, to make their duty and join the Islamic caliphate fighters, instead of living in the land of infidels. Abdi Nur succeeded to recruit six of his friends, but, the FBI captured them in their attempt to travel to Syria (Bergen et al 09).

Radicalization is not merely linked to men; however, women play a noticeable role in enrolling and recruiting new elements to join the Islamic State. Hoda Muthana a Yemeni-American adult is one of those ladies; she was radicalized through social media, as a result of utilizing Twitter to interface with other Islamic activists online before leaving the US. In addition, Muthana was considered one of the most active recruiters in Twitter. After joining the Islamic State in Syria, she used tweeter to mobilize new American members. She exploits social media to display ISIS propaganda with the intention of attracting audiences (Bergen 12).

In many cases, those who joined ISIS in Syria may return to cause a more harmful threat to the American security after being well trained. Returnees plot attacks or recruit others for extremist networks. Attacks conducted by returnees are more deadly than those carried out by extremists (McCaul et al 13). One case is that of Abdi-rahman Sheik Mohamud, an American citizen born in Somalia, who joined the Islamic State in Syria in 2014. He was prepared there to engage in terrorism plots when he goes back to the US. Abdi-rahman was about to attack a military base in Texas when he was arrested (Curtis 03). However, American returnees are not the only threat to the United States. The latter can be threatened by ISIS recruits, from

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

different western countries, who can travel easily to U.S. territory without a need for a visa, including most European jihadists (McCaul 13).

II.4.2.2 Effects within the United State

II.4.2.2.1 Lone Wolves

The Islamic State uses the internet and social media platforms not only to recruit and convince new members to join them in Syria and Iraq. However, ISIS online propaganda can motivate and push supporters to make violent assaults inside their homeland as lone wolf attackers. These small groups of attackers have little to no direct contact with those pushing them, ISIS in most of the time (Texas Public Safety Threat Overview 10). The Islamic State instructs lone wolves, through different social media platforms, how to carry on assaults (Pantucci et al 11). The group uses guiding lessons and online videos explaining how weapons can be used, poisons can be produced or bombs can be composed. Gabriel Weimann discussed the strategic instructions which can be resolved through utilizing online communications: *“Jihadist message boards and chat rooms have been known to have “experts” directly answer questions about how to mix poisons for chemical attacks, how to ambush soldiers, how to carry out suicide attacks and how to hack into computer systems”* (qtd. in Pantucci et al 12).

Internet can be a resource of weapons and a pointer to the victims. Furthermore, it motivates, encourages, justifies the action and offers data about the victim. In performing the attack, ISIS motivated individuals to use bombs, as a primary tool, edge weapons, pistols and different simple arms. Those members are not organized and the government cannot recognize their attacks (Pantucci et al 11, 14). In April 2016, the Islamic state used Telegram to display a kill list that contains about 8,000 names. The majority of them are Americans

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

(Cozine 07). FBI agents are aware that the list could pose a threat and motivate lone wolf attacks but, they cannot secure all listed persons, in addition, the danger did not concern only those in the list, however, any opponent to the Islamic State would be in danger (Scott, Spaniel 02). The following cases are some of those who support ISIS from inside their homes. They have been online radicalized, and some of them are inspired to make lone offender attacks.

On June 13, 2016, a man called Omar Mateen, attacked a dance nightclub in Orlando Florida, where he shot about 110 individual. Just before the assault, Mateen called police receivers swearing his faithfulness and loyalty to the Islamic State in opposition to the west (Curtis 05 06). He said: *"I wanna let you know, I'm in Orlando and I did the shootings...My name is I pledge of allegiance to Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi of the Islamic State"*(qtd. in Bergan 02). From those 110 who were shot down In the Pulse of the nightclub, one of the Pulse chiefs and other 50 people died and, 53 others were injured. The attack is considered as the most injuring terrorist attack in American history after that of 9/11(Curts 05- 06).

After the assault, the Islamic state declared, on their Amaq News Agency application, that it is responsible for the attack. Mateen's attack inspired other lone wolves to target LGBTQ+ societies, motivated by ISIS, and after each attack, they displayed pictures of homosexuals slaughtered by ISIS as a success of their terrorist activities (Scott and Spaniel 01). Tashfeen Malik, a woman from California with Pakistani origin traveled to America to marry Syed Rizwan Farook (The ISIS Impact on the Domestic Islamic Extremist Threat 10). The two were radicalized through social media and made a similar attack in December 2015, as the one of Omar Mateen. 14 individuals were fired in targeting a party in San Bernardino, California (Scott and Spaniel 02).

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

Another example of lone wolf attacks is that of Elton Simpson and Nadir Soofi, the action took place in the Muhammad Art Exhibit and Cartoon Contest in Garland, Texas. The attack was a result of an online inspiration. After Simpson became an online active member, he received a post in tweeter from, Abu Hussain al-Britani and Mohamed Abdullahi Hassan was known as (A.K.A. Mujahid Miski), two Somali-Americans. The message was about the Garland attack, inviting Simpson and Soofi to do the same: *“The brothers from the Charlie Hebdo attack did their part. It’s time for the brothers in the #US to do their part.”* As a reaction to the tweet of Miski, Simpson tweeted using the hashtag #texas attack in his tweeter account "Shariah is Light". Few days after his message, together with Soofi, made a travel from Arizona to Laurel firing and shooting using a well-prepared vehicle loaded up with body defensive cover, and different types of guns (Vidino and Hughes 21).

II.4.2.2.2 Fund Risers

David Cohen (2014), a leading official in the US Department of the Treasury described ISIS as: *“the best funded terrorist organization we have come across”* (qtd. in Shostak 43). The Islamic State exploits social media, much of its platforms are in English, to extend its propaganda to gain finance resources (Peters 12). Thus, online propaganda worked to raise terrorist’s sources of finance such as channeled money and supplies, guns, prepared places for attacks and teaching techniques of carrying those attacks (Nathan 23). In March 2014, the US Treasury Department mentioned that al-Qaida, al-Nusra Front, and ISIS utilizes social media to gather sympathizers who provide them with that financial support.

Al Qaida and ISIS activates in social media to push their supporters to provide them with funds that help the jihadist groups to run their terrorist activities. Their adherents finance and raise funds for them instead of involving in the battles (Use of Social Media by Terrorist

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

Fundraisers & Financiers 01). In February 2015, the United State caught six persons in three cities, Illinois, Missouri and New York, for trying to supply ISIS with materials. Those individuals exploited social media platforms to gather materials which they bought for the sake of helping Daesh (Nathan 23).

In August 2014, the US government pointed some persons and considered them as *key terrorist financiers* who *play key roles in the external financing and facilitation of terrorists in Syria and Iraq* (Use of Social Media by Terrorist Fundraisers & Financiers 04). The Under Secretary of Treasury for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence said: *“Through fundraising appeals on social media and the use of financial networks, Shafi al-Ajmi, Hajjaj al-’Ajmi, and [Abd al-Rahman Khalaf] al-’Anizi have been funding the terrorists fighting in Syria and Iraq.”* (qtd. in Use of Social Media by Terrorist Fundraisers & Financiers 04).

Al-Qaida and ISIS have their co-facilitators that helped those who financed the groups through different areas of social media by extending their plans of fundraising. Those co-facilitators keep their accounts on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube online active. For example, Shafi al-Ajmi, Hajjaj al-Ajmi and Abd al-Rahman al-Anizi, guided financiers to make contact with their co-facilitator in their personal social media platforms to offer them support for their financial beneficiary (Use of Social Media by Terrorist Fundraisers & Financiers 04).

Aboites, f. stated: *“Israeli cyber intelligence has acknowledged that IS is using the digital currency Bitcoin for fundraising from US territories.”* The Bitcoin is not controlled in America, as Former Under Secretary of the U.S. Treasury, Jimmy Gurule said, this is why American ISIS supporters are utilizing it (Peters12). Ali Amin, 17 years old, a student at Osbourn Park High School, from Prince William County pleaded guilty of helping another

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

person travel to Syria to join ISIS. He exploited bitcoin to support the Islamic State by money. Furthermore, he utilized Twitter to pull Americans to join ISIS. According to the FBI investigations, Amin also helped Reza Niknejad, 18-year-old who lives in the same place as him, to buy a ticket to Syria by raising money on bitcoin. Then she could travel to the caliphate. Amin was jailed for eleven years because he offered material support to a terrorist group (Fitzgerald 17).

Another example is Maureen Conley, a young American lady, 19 years old. Conley provided ISIS with material support and she tried to travel to Germany and from there to Turkey but she was arrested. Conley met a Tunisian man who is an ISIS fighter, 32 years old, in one of her social media accounts and planned to marry him and to serve Daesh as a nurse. In January 2015, Conley was imprisoned for four years (Brumfield 21). Enrique Marquez is another American who was captured because he is the one who offered Syed Rezwan Farook and Tafsheen Malik with guns to carry out the terrorist act of San Bernardino in December 2015. In addition, Marquez had planned to carry an attack with Farook but he failed (Nathan 22).

Conclusion

From the previous findings, it seems clear that the Islamic State or what is called Daesh is widely using different social media platforms in order to damage the American security. Relative Deprivation theory explained how ISIS exploits the life gaps of American citizens showing a perfect picture of life inside the caliphate through online propaganda. Depending on Framing theory, it was clearly mentioned that the terrorist group frames its messages in different ways and uses violence to radicalize Americans especially teenagers. Those recruits would be affected by the group's messages that are compared in the Media

Chapter two: the Impact of Social Media on the American Security

Effects theory to an injection which makes the American citizens react; they may either travel to the war zone or keep supporting jihadism from inside America by fundraising or plotting attacks.

General Conclusion

General Conclusion

This thesis entitled *ISIS' Impact on the American Security through the Use of Social Media* discusses the emergence of the terrorist group ISIS, its development and the way social media turned to be a powerful weapon to affect the United State's security. The group raised in Iraq and Syria under several names; ISIS, ISIL, or Daiish. It has marked the start of a new jihadist era.

Two decades ago, the group was called Jama'at al-Tawhid wa al-Jihad. It was founded by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. In 2004, he joined his group to Osama bin Laden and announced the creation of a new jihadist movement: Tanzim Qai'dat al-Jihad fi Bilad al-Rafidayn. Later on, it became al-Qaeda in Iraq. This alliance served AQI to gain more international attention what led foreign fighters from different regions and continents to join the group in large numbers. The sectarian conflict between Sunni and Shia in Iraq after the American withdrawal from Iraq, the flaw of Al Qaeda after the death of Oussama Bin Laden in 2006, and the Arab Spring that inspired the Syrian Civil War are the main factors that led to the emergence of the Islamic State and the creation of the caliphate in 2014.

In its extensional ideology, ISIS depends on several strategies. The group uses violence to defend itself from its enemies, as well as, it establishes terrorist alliances to enhance its expansion all over the world. Moreover, the Islamic State focuses on the use of social media to spread propaganda and threaten the American security.

The direct impact of ISIS on the American security by using social media is the recruitment of its people; those recruits get trained to recruit others, commit acts of terrorism in their homeland and to help the group financially. In our research, we applied three concepts of the Social Movement Theory to demonstrate the different ways ISIS uses social media platforms to rich and attract American citizens.

First of all, Relative Deprivation concept demonstrated how ISIS exploits social media to recruit Americans through raising their feelings of victimization in their environment. The

General Conclusion

group's messages imply promises to convince them that they will be provided by everything they lacked in the United State. Different social media platforms portray a perfect life within the caliphate; love, harmony, fraternity and wealth to seduce deprived people.

After raising the one's feeling of deprivation, the Islamic State frames its messages according to persons' circumstances. Framing Theory serves to show the group's ability to use different techniques in manipulating audiences. The messages directed to males are unlike those directed to females, as well, young people did not receive the same messages like the old individuals. Simply saying, ISIS selects the suitable message and sends it to the suitable person. Tweeter, YouTube, and Facebook are used as the ground where ISIS spread its propaganda in different ways.

The concept of Violence shows that ISIS depends on violence as a political strategy to recruit more fighters. Violence attracts people who are violent by nature and those who enjoy seeing people being tortured. ISIS displays videos and images of murdering to spread fear and horror amongst the Americans; therefore, it affects their psychology and makes them feel threatened everywhere: in street, in offices and even inside their homes.

The previous concepts resulted in what Media Effects Theory called the hypodermic effects theory in which a message of ISIS is like a drug that makes the American individuals involved in terrorist actions. Until 2016, Daiish succeeded to recruit 250 American citizens. Some of those recruits joined the jihadi group in Syria and tried to convince their friends and family members to join them. Others were arrested in their attempt to travel abroad, and some others help the group financially as they perform attacks inside America. In one word, ISIS' use of social media is an ongoing challenge to the United State since any American holds a smart phone with an internet connection may face radicalization.

This topic was discussed from the point of view that ISIS uses different social media platforms to affect the American Security and it succeeds to recruit its people. The findings of

General Conclusion

the research could be an endeavor for further researchers to conduct future researches, discussing the issue of ISIS from different angles.

Works Cited

WORKS CITED

A-Books

1. Chaliand, Gérard, and Arnaud Blin. eds. *The History of Terrorism from Antiquity to Al Qaeda*. Translated by Edward Schneider et al. California: The Regents of the University of California, 2007. Print.
2. Freedman, Ilana. *Jihad! Understanding the Threat of the Islamic State to America*. The United States: the Center for Security Policy Press, 2016. Print.
3. Hughes, Michelle and Michael Miklaucic. eds. *Impunity: Countering Illicit Power in War and Transition*. The United States.
4. Rabasa, Angel. *Beyond Al Qaeda. Part 1. The global jihadist movement*. Santa Monica: the RAND Corporation, 2006. Print.
5. Schweitzer, Yoram and Omer Einav. eds. *The Islamic State:How Viable Is It?*. Institute for National Security Studies, January 2016. Print.
6. Spencer, Robert. *The Complete Infidel's Guide to ISIS*. the United States: Regnery Publishing, 2015. Print.
7. Stern, Jessica, And J.M, Berger. *ISIS the State Of Terror*. 1st ed. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States: Harper Collins Publishers, 2015.
8. Vidino, Lorenzo and Seamus Hughes. *ISIS IN AMERICA: FROM RETWEETS TO RAQQA*. The United States: Program on Extremism, December 2015. Print.

B-Journals

1. Beck, Colin J. "The Contribution of Social Movement Theory to Understanding Terrorism". *Sociology Compass* Vol. 02, No.5. (2008): 1566- 1581.
2. Berkell, Kelly A. "Off-Ramp Opportunities in Material Support Cases". *Harvard National Security Journal* Vol. 8 (2017):1-52.

WORKS CITED

3. Blaker, Lisa. "The Islamic State's Use of Online Social Media". *Military Cyber Affairs*, Vol.1, No. 1. (2015):1-9.
4. Cozine, Keith. "Social Media and the Globalization of the Sicarii". *Global Security Studies Vol.7, No.1.(Winter 2016):1-12.*
5. Cross, Remy and David A. Snow. "Radicalism within the Context of Social Movements: Processes and Types". *Journal of Strategic Security Vol. 4, No. 4. (2011): 115-130.*
6. Hart, Martin J. "Al Qaeda Refining a Failing Strategy". *National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies, No. 51, 4th quarter (2008): 117-124.*
7. Hoffman, Adam and Yoram Schweitzer. "Cyber Jihad in the Service of the Islamic State (ISIS)". *Strategic Assessment Vol. 18, No. 1. (April 2015):71-81.*
8. Idachaba, Enemaku. "ISLAMIC STATE TERRORIST ORGANISATION: A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE MOVEMENT'S IDEOLOGICAL POSTURE AND IMPLICATIONS TO GLOBAL PEACE". *Afro Asian Journal of Social Sciences Vol. VI, No 1 (2015) : 1-17.*
9. Khawaja, Asma Shakir and Asma Hussain Khan. "Media Strategy of ISIS: An Analysis" Vol. 36, No. 2. (2016):104-121.
10. Lieberman, Ariel Victoria. "Terrorism, the Internet, and Propaganda: A Deadly Combination". *JOURNAL OF NATIONAL SECURITY LAW & POLICY Vol. 09. (2017):95-124.*
11. Munir, Muhammad and Muhammad Shafiq. "Global Threat: A Comparative Analysis of Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State (IS)". *IPRI Journal, Vol. XVI, No.2 (Summer 2016): 1-16.*

WORKS CITED

12. Neuman, W. Russell and Lauren Guggenheim. "The Evolution of Media Effects Theory: A Six-Stage Model of Cumulative Research". *Communication Theory* 21 (2011): 169–196.
13. Shostak, Alessio. "Striking at their Core – De-funding the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria". *Journal of Terrorism Research* Vol. 08, No.1. (February 2017): 43-52.
14. Siboni, Gabi et al. "The Islamic State's Strategy in Cyberspace". *Military and Strategic Affairs*, Vol. 7, No. 1. (March 2015): 127-144.
15. Smith Allison Mc Dowell et al. "Beating ISIS in the Digital Space: Focus Testing ISIS Defector Counter-Narrative Videos with American College Students". *DJournal For Radicalization* Vol. 10. (March 2017): 50-71.
16. Yusoufzai, Khouwaga and Franziska Emmerling. "Explaining violent radicalization in Western Muslims: A four factor model". *Journal of Terrorism Research* Vol. 08, No.1. (February 2017): 68-80.

C-Articles

1. Amedie, Jacob. "The Impact of Social Media on Society". *Advanced Writing: Pop Culture Intersections*, September 2, 2015.
2. Barrett, Richard. "The Islamic State". *The Soufan Group*, November 2014.
3. Bergen, Peter et al. "ISIS IN THE WEST: The Western Militant Flow to Syria and Iraq". *International Security Program*, March 2016.
4. Bergen, Peter. "ISIS ONLINE: COUNTERING TERRORIST RADICALIZATION & RECRUITMENT ON THE INTERNET & SOCIAL MEDIA". *Homeland Security Digital Testimony*, JULY 6, 2016.

WORKS CITED

5. Berger, J.M. and Jonathan Morgan. "The ISIS Twitter Census Defining and describing the population of ISIS supporters on Twitter". *The Brookings Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World*. No.20, March 2015.
6. Brisard, Jean-Charles and Damien Martinez. 'ISIS Financing in 2015'. The Center for the Analysis of Terrorism (CAT) team, 2016.
7. Bunzel, Cole. "From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State". *Brookings Institution*, 19, March 2015.
8. Byman, Daniel and Jeremy Shapiro. "be afraid. be a little afraid: the threat of terrorism from western foreign fighters in syria and Iraq". *Foreign Policy at Brookings*, November 2014.
9. Crane, Keith. "The Role of Oil in ISIL Finances". RAND Corporation, December 2015.
10. Cronin, Audrey Kurth. 'Terrorist Attacks by Al Qaeda'. House Government Reform Committee, 31 March 2004.
11. Curtis, Lisa. ed. "Combatting the ISIS Foreign Fighter Pipeline: A Global Approach". *The Heritage Foundation*, January 06, 2016.
12. Dubois, David and Joerg Niessing. "The Dark Side of Social Media: Did Facebook, Twitter and YouTube Kill Charlie?". *INSEAD Knowledge*, 2017.
13. Fitzgerald, Tom. "New report examines ISIS recruitment of American teens". *In the Media: From "ISIS in America" to San Bernardino*. George Washington University's Program on Extremism, December 1, 2015.
14. Gambhir, Harleen. "MIDDLE EAST SECURITY REPORT 28: ISIS'S GLOBAL STRATEGY: A WARGAME". The Institute for the Study of War, July 2015. Print

WORKS CITED

15. Gartenstein-Ross, Daveed et al. "The Islamic State's Global Propaganda Strategy". *The International Centre for Counter-Terrorism- The Hague, No. 1. March 2016.*
16. Ghosh, Bobby. "ISIS: A Short History: The terrorist group's evolution from fervid fantasy to death cult". *The Atlantic*. Aug 14 2014.
17. Gore, Leada. "Alabama Woman one of 300 Americans using Social Media to recruit for ISIS". *In the Media: From "ISIS in America" to San Bernardino. George Washington University's Program on Extremism*, December 1, 2015.
18. Gorka, Sebastian L, Katharine C. Gorka. "ISIS: The Threat to the United States". Threat Knowledge Group, November 2015.
19. Hashim, Ahmed S. "From Al-Qaida Affiliate to the Rise of the Islamic Caliphate: the Evolution of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (Isis)". *S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS)*, December 2014.
20. Haynes, Jeff. "Al-Qaeda: ideology and action". *London Metropolitan University, UK*, April 2004.
21. Hoffman, Bruce and Fernando Reinares. "Al-Qaeda's continued core strategy and disquieting leader-led trajectory". *Elcano Royal Institute*, 10 September 2013.
22. Homeland Security Committee. "TERROR GONE VIRAL OVERVIEW OF THE 100+ ISIS-LINKED PLOTS AGAINST THE WEST", July 2016. Print
23. KURZMAN, CHARLES. "Muslim-American Involvement with Violent Extremism, 2016". *The Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security*, January 26, 2017.
24. McCaul, Chairman Michael. "FINAL REPORT OF THE TASK FORCE ON COMBATING TERRORIST AND FOREIGN FIGHTER TRAVEL". *Homland Security committee*, September 2015.

WORKS CITED

25. Meek, James Gordon. "Deadly Puzzle: ISIS's American Supporters 'Defy Easy Analysis'". *In the Media: From "ISIS in America" to San Bernardino*. George Washington University's Program on Extremism, December 1, 2015.
26. Nathan, Marvin D. "the ISIS Impact on Domestic Islamic Extremist Threat: Homegrown Islamic Extremism 2009–2015". *Anti-Defamation League*, 2016.
27. Pantucci, Raffaello. "Lone-Actor Terrorism Literature Review". *The Countering Lone-Actor Terrorism (CLAT) project*. No.1, December 2015.
28. Peters, Michelle. *Money Matters: Sources of ISIS' Funding and How to Disrupt Them*. Centre for Geopolitics & Security in Realism Studies, October 25, 2015.
29. Peters, Michelle. "Money Matters: Sources of ISIS' Funding and How to Disrupt Them". *Centre for Geopolitics & Security in Realism Studies*, October 25, 2015.
30. Ryan, Michael W. S. "ISIS: The Terrorist Group That Would Be a State". *Center of Irregular Warfare and Armed Groups*. United States Naval War College, 2015.
31. Scott, James and Drew Spaniel. "American ISIS: Analysis of the Orlando Jihadist & Lone-wolf Attacks". *Institute for Critical Infrastructure Technology*, June 13, 2016.
32. Smith, Erik R. et al. "American Foreign Fighters: Implications for Homeland Security". *HOMELAND SECURITY STUDIES AND ANALYSIS INSTITUTE*, 31 August 2015.
33. Texas Department of Public Safety. "Texas Public Safety Threat Overview". January 2017.
34. The Camstoll Group. "USE of social media by terrorist FUNDRAISERS & financiers". April 2016.
35. THE CARTER CENTER. "Research Brief The Evolution of Daesh Recruitment Propaganda in Light of Territorial Loss". January 2017.

WORKS CITED

36. Tucker, Colin. "The Islamic State Origins, Goals, and Future Implications". *The Eurasia Center*, July 13, 2014.
37. Williams, Lauren. "Islamic State Propaganda and the Mainstream Media". *Lowy Institute For International Policy*, February 2016.
38. Zgryziewicz, Rafał. "DAESH INFORMATION CAMPAIGN AND ITS INFLUENCE". *NATO STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE*, January 2016.

D-Dissertations

1. Bowyer, Claire Elizabeth. "TWITTER AND THE ISLAMIC STATE: WHAT IS THE GOVERNMENT'S ROLE?". Diss. American Public University, June 2015. Print.
2. Brumfield, Richard W. "Innocence Lost: An Analysis of Terrorist Cyber Operations Targeting American Youth". Diss. Utica College, March 2015. Print.
3. Brzovic, Aron. "THE CAUSES FOR THE RISE OF RADICAL ISLAMIC EXTREMISM". Diss. AALBORG UNIVERSITY, MAY 2016. Print.
4. Chang, Mark D. "TROLLING NEW MEDIA: VIOLENT EXTREMIST GROUPS RECRUITING THROUGH SOCIAL MEDIA". Diss. Naval Postgraduate School, 2008. Print.
5. De Cuia, Chiara. "IS (ISLAMIC STATE) AND THE WEST: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA". Diss. Luiss Guido Carli, 2015. Print.
6. Dickson, Lewis W. "LONE WOLF TERRORISM. A CASE STUDY: THE RADICALIZATION PROCESS OF A CONTINUALLY INVESTIGATED & ISLAMIC STATE INSPIRED LONE WOLF TERRORIST". Diss. Malmö University, 2015.

WORKS CITED

7. Dickson, Lewis.W. “Lone Wolf Terrorism. A Case Study: The Radicalization Process of a Continually Investigated & Islamic State Inspired Lone Wolf Terrorist”. Diss. Malmö University, 2015. Print.
8. Gorkom, Tom van. “Framing the World in Dabiq the propaganda of the Islamic State.” Diss. June 18, 2016. Print
9. Hadra, Dana. “ISIS: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE? Pro-ISIS Media and State Formation”. Diss. Boston College, April 2015. Print.
10. Hansen, Helle Hjort. “Salafi-jihadists in Syria: A Social Movement Theory Analysis”. Diss. 29 November 2015. Print.
11. Harkous, Major Hasan. “The Islamic State’s Tactics in Syria: Role of Social Media in Shifting a Peaceful Arab Spring into Terrorism Web Sites”. Diss. Lebanon, 2017. Print.
12. Hartman Anaya, Kala Kristina. “Persuasion Strategies in Terrorist Recruitment: The Case of ISIS”.Diss. Leiden University, 1 July 2015. Print.
13. Kelly, James Edward. “Not Our Fight Alone: An Analysis of the US Strategy Combating the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria”. Diss. Claremont McKenna College, 2015. Print.
14. MAJ Sean P, Wilson. “The Evolution of Al Qaeda”. Diss. American Military University, June 15, 2007. Print.
15. Nelson, Jacob M. “Foreign Fighter Recruitment Messaging and the Islamic State”. Diss. *Utah State University*, Spring 2017.
16. Patti M. Valkenburg et al. Media Effects: Theory and Research”. Diss. University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 2016. Print.
17. Ristori, Cristina Martin. “Online Jihad: ISIS’s Foreign Recruitment Strategies—Who, What, and How?”. Diss. Carnegie Mellon University. Print.

WORKS CITED

18. Shayovitz, Ronen. "The Evolution of the Islamist Ideology". Diss. Cardiff University, 2010. Print.

Endnotes

Bitcoin: is the currency of the Internet; a distributed, worldwide, decentralized digital money. Unlike traditional currencies such as dollars, bitcoins are issued and managed without any central authority whatsoever: there is no government, company, or bank in charge of Bitcoin. As such, it is more resistant to wild inflation and corrupt banks.

GoPro Cameras: small, tough and simple camera operates, with a lens that captures the world in high-definition video and in a wide-angle fish-eye perspective.

Hashtag: a word or unspaced phrase preceded by the hash symbol (#) used to add context to a message and allow users to track topics and keywords. It is used on social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Google+ and Pinterest.

Salafism: The name Salafi comes from as-salaf as-saliheen. The Salafis held that the early Muslims had understood and practiced Islam correctly, but true understanding of Islam had gradually drifted, just as the people of previous Prophets (including Moses and Jesus) had strayed and gone into decline. The movement admired the technological and social advancement of Europe's Enlightenment.

Social Media: an online medium, such as blog, wiki and social networking site that allows people to socially interact with one another or share information.

Tweet - an update or post on Twitter. Tweets are limited to 140 characters.

Wahhabism: came from Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab who claimed that the decline of the Muslim world was caused by pernicious foreign innovations (bida') including European

modernism. He emphasizes on tawhid (monotheism), condemning many traditional Muslim practices as shirk (polytheism).

Yazidis: a minority population lives in North Iraq worshipping fallen angel, Melek Tawwus. They are considered as devil-worshippers and they were denounced by ISIS as infidels.

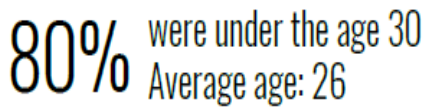
Appendices

Appendix 01

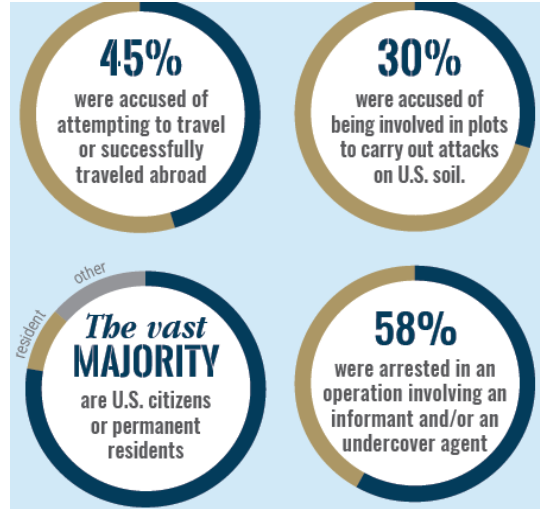
GENDER



AGE OF SUSPECTS



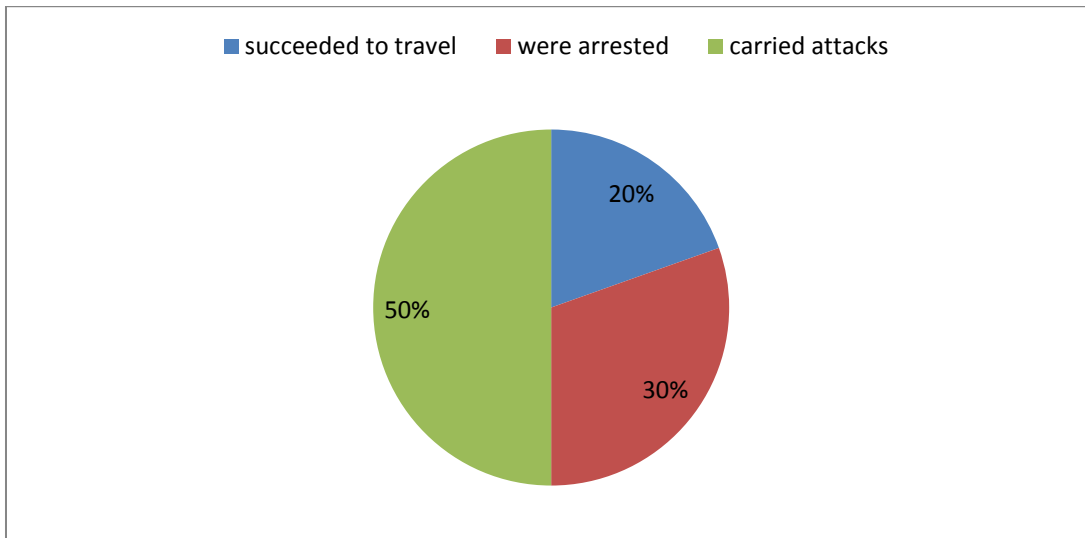
Appendix 02



Gender and Age of American Recruits

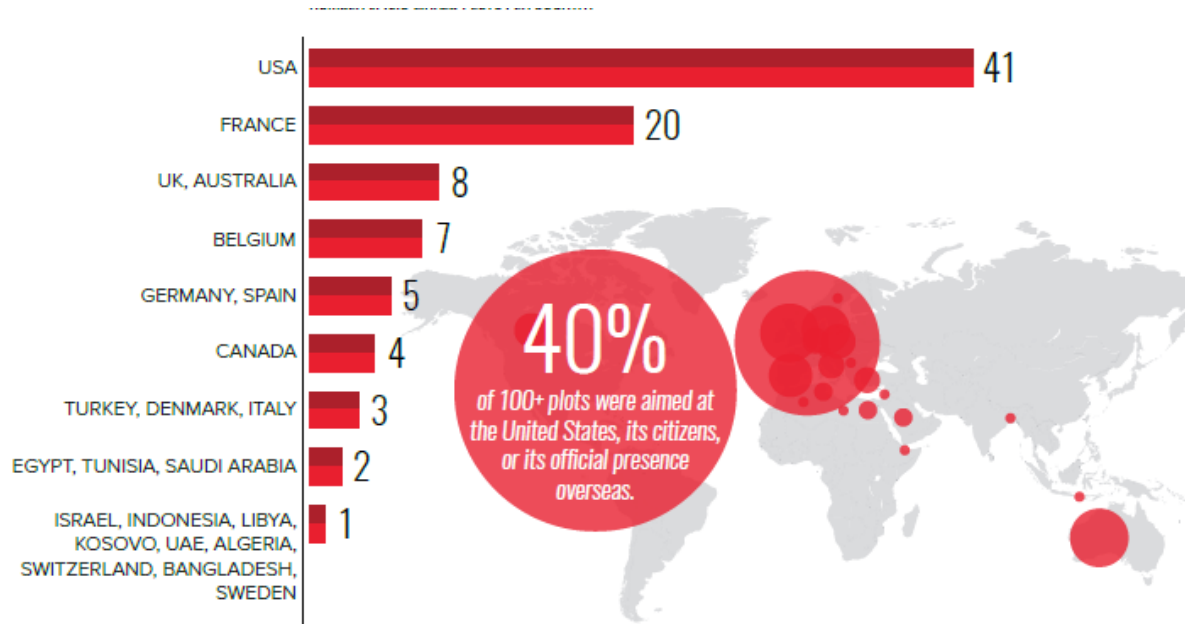
Isis Recruits in the U.S. Legal System

Appendix 03



American Muslim Recruits

Appendix 04



Total Isis-Linked Plots: the United States the Most Targeted 2014- 2016

Appendix 05

#trumprussia
#isis
#syria
#impeachtrump
#donaldtrump
#ypg
#mosul
#sdf
#opiceisis
#londonattack

الموصل
داعش
جبهة النصرة
الجبهة الإسلامية
دقت ساعة الأيمن
معركة الموصل
الفرغان كلنا دعم لعيون الانتصار
و الانتصاريات أستكهولم السويد
إعلام الخليج الداعشي
قبيلة شمر تبايع دولة الإسلام
رحم الله شهداء الخير

ISIS' Popular Hashtags

ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى إعطاء لمحة عامة عن ظهور الدولة الإسلامية كأقوى جماعة إرهابية. كما تسلط الضوء على الطرق المختلفة التي يستغل بها تنظيم داعش مواقع التواصل الاجتماعي للتأثير على أمن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. بعد تطبيق مفاهيم الحرمان، التآطير، والعنف و التي تعتبر جزء من نظرية الحركة الاجتماعية، بالإضافة إلى مفهوم تأثير الحقنة من نظرية تأثيرات وسائل الإعلام، توصلت الدراسة إلى أن تنظيم داعش يزيد من شعور الأفراد بالحرمان، ويرسم رسائله وفقا لما يناسب الأفراد لجعلهم يشاركون في الجهاد. و عليه، فإن هؤلاء المجندين قد يشكلون تهديدا لوطنهم عن طريق جذب الآخرين و شن هجمات فردية أو جمع الأموال لدعم تقدم الجماعة الإرهابية.