# **ISIS Hashtags on Twitter: A Content Analysis**

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# ABSTRACT

In the new media age, the impact of terrorism has been felt in every part of the world irrespective of geographical boundaries. After the September 11 (9/11) 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre in the United States of America, most of the countries started to come up with strategies to combat international terrorism. Major terrorist organizations like the Al-Qaeda, ISIS and Boko Haram have manifested their power through the use of social networking sites (SNS) such as Twitter, Instagram and Facebook. Social media is therefore seen as a panacea for terrorist activities. The research aims firstly at looking at the Twitter usage by major terrorist groups namely Al-Qaeda, ISIS and Boko Haram. Secondly, the research also examines ISIS Tweet hashtags in the month of January 2019. In conducting this research, the use of ISIS Tweets hashtags was accessed and analysed through a content analysis.

Findings from the study highlight that 575 tweets sent on ISIS hashtags contain ideological, violent, propaganda, new reports and theological messages. Ideological Tweets emerges as the most popular Tweets on ISIS hashtags on Twitter in the month of January 2019 with a percentage of 34%, followed by Violent tweets which is 28%, Propaganda which is 19%, news reports which is 14% and Theology which is 5% respectively.

**Keywords:** Terrorism, Twitter, ISIS, Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram and Social Media

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ÖΖ

Yeni medya çağında, terörizmin etkisi coğrafi sınırları aşan bir şekilde dünyanın her yerinde hissedilmektedir. ABD'deki 11 Eylül 2001 (9/11) Dünya Ticaret Merkezi'ne yönelik terör saldırısından sonra birçok ülke uluslararası terörle mücadele için çeşitli önlemler aldı. Al-Qaeda, ISIS ve Boko Haram gibi büyük terör örgütleri kendi tehditkar güçlerini Twitter, Instagram ve Facebook gibi sosyal medya platformları (SNS) üzerinden göstermektedirler. Bu nedenle sosyal medya terörist örgütlerin aktivitelerinin görünen yüzüdür. Bu araştırma öncelikle Al-Qaeda, ISIS ve Boko Haram terör örgütlerinin Twitter kullanımına bakmaktadır. Daha sonra araştırma ISIS terör örgütünün Ocak 2019 tarihli Tweeeter ISIS etiketi içeriklerini analiz etmektedir.

Araştırma için ISIS Tweeter hashtag başlığı altındaki 575 tweete ulaşılmış ve içerik analizi yapılmıştır. Araştırma bulgularına göre ISIS etiketi ile paylaşılan tweet mesajlarının içerikleri ideolojik, şiddet içeren, propaganda amaçlı, olgusal ve dini amaçlı olarak ayrılmıştır. Ideolojik tweetler ISIS etiketi altındaki en popüler mesajlardır. Ocak 2019 tweetlerine bakıldığında sırasıyla yüzde 34'ünün ideolojik, yüzde 28'inin şiddet içeren, yüzde 19'unun propaganda amaçlı ve yüz 14'ünün haber içerikli ve yüzde 5'inin ise dini içerikli olduğu görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Terörizm, Twitter, ISIS, Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram ve sosyal medya

# **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my late Father Mr. Abdoulie Sambou, may

Allah grant him Jannah.

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.U	African Unity
ISIS	Islamic States of Iraq and Syria
O.A.U	Organization of African Unity
RS	Research Question
SNS	Social Networking Sites

# **Chapter 1**

# **INTRODUCTION**

The internet is an active platform for violent radicalization that creates extremist ideologies at a very fast rate within a limited time frame in a global village of interconnected network (Hawdon, 2012, p.16). With the rapid advancement of technology and Social Networking Sites, the population become active agents in information gathering instead of been passive and wait news to be reported by media channels (Saib, 2006. p.78).

This research will highlight the contribution of Twitter as a social media platform towards terrorism activities. The research will look at ISIS hashtags on Tweeter and the content of these tweets will be analyzed through a content analysis. In 21<sup>st</sup> Century, terrorism activities are ubiquitous its impact goes beyond continent therefore it's a crisis that is experience in every part of the world (US country report on Terrorism, 2009, p 12). SNS like Facebook and Twitter on one hand contributes immensely in the interconnection of the world and eases communication process and on the other hand used as a catalyst for terrorist activities by various insurgence groups (Reda 2012, p.15).

In trying to define the concept of terrorism institutions like the Organization of African Unity (OAU) came into consensus that there is no single definition of terrorism that is an end in itself and there is no demarcation that exists between the term terrorism and other forms of political violence (Bogatyrenko, 2007). The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) now African Unity (A.U) in (1999) conceptualized the term terrorism as any form of action that is against the criminal law of any sovereign nation and has the potential of affecting individual's life such as loss of life, private property, natural resources and the environment and is projected to create: fright on the masses, disrupt community services and generate uprising in a State (O.A.U, 1999). Hoffman (1998) defined terrorism as the unlawful use of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce or intimidate governments or societies either to achieve political, religious or ideological objectives (Zalman, 2008 p. 3).

In a nutshell, the definition of terrorism therefore depends on the individual defining the term and the actions of the group been defined. The modern concept of terrorism came into U.N platforms after the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, but the genesis of terrorism can be traced during the French Revolution when terror was used by rulers towards their subject as a means of control (Halliday, 1987, p. 15).

Twitter as a social media platform was launched in 2006 by Jack Dorsey and it enables users to send short (140 characters) messages called Tweets to followers (Schroeder, 2006 p.11). The rapid advancement in technology and the development of the SNS have drastically change the activities of terrorist organizations from the use of the mainstream media to the online networking sites to recruit and carry out their radical activities and disseminate their propaganda messages (Weimann, 2011 p.3). The former leader of Al-Qaeda Terrorist Organization Osama Bin Laden once highlighted that the Social media platform is one of the strongest weapons in this modern 21<sup>st</sup> Century through which information can reach more than 90 percent of the population in preparation of their battles and activities (Klausen, 2015 p.25). Many terrorist organizations perceive the social media platforms in general and Twitter in particular as the ideal platform to send their messages and agendas to the masses since it is free from government control as opposed to the mainstream media. (Homeland Security Institute, 2009). Twitter is much advantageous to use by most of the terrorist organization because tracing and identifying the source of the messages becomes difficult (Trettiez, 2011 p.14).

# **1.1 Motivation of the Study**

Prior before venturing into this research I got influenced by previous scholarly researches conducted in this field such as the work of Dr. Jerom R. Corsi (2015) a political scientist who wrote an article entitle *terrorism as a desperate game*. This material has greatly inspired me to venture into this journey of research in relation to this subject matter. In reading this literature, it gives me knowledge on how terrorists groups are using social media as a platform to carry out their activities and spread their ideology and propaganda messages to the masses.

In this 21<sup>st</sup> Century, terrorism is a global crisis that is experienced in every part of the globe; it crosses geographical boundaries (Trettiez, 2011, p.11). Coming across various literatures in relation to terrorism and social media motivated me to look into how Twitter contributes to this global phenomenon (terrorism) that every nation is fighting against. Hence Twitter is among the social networking sites, it is also used by terrorist organization to send their ideological and propaganda messages to the masses.

Another contributing factor that motivated me in venturing into this research is the fact that throughout my readings and literature reviews I did not come across any research that specifically look at the use of Twitter by terrorist organizations, instead I came across scholarly researches dealing with social media in general in relation to terrorism. I therefore see it as a need to venture into this area of study to fill the vacuum to contribute to the advancement of knowledge.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

A research conducted by Reda (2010) highlighted that in today's global world, social media platform like Twitter contributed immensely to the spread of terrorist activities (Reda, 2012 p 23). Twitter also posted that in 2016, it has banned almost 235,000 active Twitter accounts in relation to terrorist activities (Chatfield et al, 2015). Numerous researches have shown how social media contributes to the advancement of terrorist activities but to what degree do Tweeter as a social media platform contributed to global terrorism lays the vacuum which my research aims to surface.

# **1.3 Aim and Objective of the Study**

This research will specifically look at ISIS hashtags on Twitter in the month of January 2019. The research will highlight the extent at which Twitter is use on ISIS hashtags as a social Networking Site. Many terrorist organizations used social media platforms in general and Twitter in particular to send propaganda messages and also engage in cyber-attacks (Homeland Security institute, 2009, p. 12).

According to a Twitter report (2015), starting from 2015, they have banned 1.2 Million terrorist accounts (cited in Reisinger, 2018, p. 13). As a communication scholar, my aimed of conducting this research is to contribute to the advancement of knowledge especially in the area of mass communication.

# **1.4 Research Questions**

In any academic research, the most important component of any research work is the research questions. It serves as the foundation of the entire research project that helps in finding the intended outcome of the research (Bardage & Dawson, 2003, p. 378). In trying to look at the relationship between Twitter as a social media platform and terrorism, my research will try to answer the following questions such as:

- What is the extent in which some of the terrorist organizations in the world use Tweeter as a social media platform?
- What is the extent of Twitter usage on ISIS hashtags on Twitter?
- What is the content of tweets on ISIS hashtags on Twitter?

# **1.5 Significance of the Study**

Social media in general and Twitter in particular contributed immensely to the activities of terrorism in globe. This is one of the logical assumptions that try to highlight the impact of SNS in contemporary media world.

This research can have a positive impact and contributes immensely in the field of mass communication especially in the area of political communication. Findings from this study can add to the existing data available on social media and global terrorism thereby contributing to the advancement of knowledge. The research can be used to create an awareness of how Twitter as a SNS is helping in terrorist activities. This research is not a critique of the negative impact of Twitter, it hopes to examine how terrorist organizations use Twitter as a platform to carry out their insurgence activities.

# **1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

In trying to conduct this research, there exist a boundary that hinders data collection and analysis. In other to narrow down the scope, the research is limited to the usage of Twitter on ISIS hashtags. The research creates boundary and look specifically at Twitter as a social media platform and no other social media platforms.

The research also is limited to ISIS hashtags on tweeter in the month on January 2019. Analysis will be based on tweet contents of ISIS hashtags sent in the month of January 2019. Another limitation that my research encounters is the inability to read tweet contents sent on ISIS hashtags written in Arabic language.

# Chapter 2

# LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

Literature review identifies, analyzes and synthesizes other available and relevant research to a particular research question or topic of interest (Kitchen, 2004, p.14). Literature review therefore comprises the study of previous academic and scholarly work done in a particular topic or field of study.

## 2.1 Global Terrorism

There is no single definition for terrorism, and there are no demarcations that exist between the term terrorism and other types of political violence and insurgency (Bogatyrenko, 2007, p.5). This is because what someone might term as terror might not fit in someone else's definition of terror. Therefore, the quest by scholars to defined what terrorism actually means is simple impossible. O.A.U (1999) defines terrorism as any form of action that is against the criminal law of any sovereign Nation which has the potential of affecting individuals' life such as the loss of life, private property, natural resources and the environment at large, and it is projected to: create fright on the masses, disrupt community services and generate uprising in a state (Gladstone, 2018, p 28). From the above definition, one can denote that terrorism acts are intentionally premeditated and their main motives of carrying out these actions are for recognition by the audience. The term terrorism is belief to have originated from a Latin word "*Terrorem*" which means panic, frighten and great fear (Gladstone, 2018, p. 13).

The Genesis of terrorism is belief to have dated from the French revolution around 1794 when governments where using terror against their own subjects (Halliday, 1987, p.17). According to Parry (1976) this was the period when Robespierre came up with the term State sponsored terrorism which involves the use of terror by the government or authorities to clinch into power and suppress its citizenry and other political opponents (Parry, 1976, p. 39). Arrest, torture and other horrors were seen as a curbing mechanism towards social and political stability (Griset & Maham, 2003).

The history of terrorism can be divided into three perspectives namely: the pre-history which ends around the 18th Century where individuals were alleging crimes and these crimes were normally justified thereby leading to their assassination (Halliday, 1987, p.14). According to Fred, (1987), this was a period when there was theology or morality of assassination which was happening in various countries like the Ancient Rome and Greece. The second stage of terrorism starts in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century during the rise of nationalism and anarchism which triggered the political assassination of Ferdinand of Austro Hungary in 1914 (Halliday, 1987, p.13). According to Fred (1987), the third face of terrorism can be traced after the World War II when most of the countries in both the Western world and the Middle East want to secede from governments (the quest for National independence), to form their own sovereign state such as the Red Brigades in Italy and the Japanese Red army Factions. Some of the groups were successful in the

cessation and gain international recondition such as South Yemen, Kenya and Cyprus (Halliday, 1987, p. 16).

A historical perspective of terrorism can be traced over 2000 years when a Jewish confrontation set known as the Sicarii Zealots carried some form of insurgence movements to vigor rebellion against the Roman in Judea through the use of assassins (Hudson, 1999, p.17). The main motive of this act was as a result of instilling fear in the minds of the Jewish people.

In the United States of America, (USA) September 11 2001 was believed to have been the turning point of contemporary terrorism after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre. This incident resulted to almost three thousand casualties of both American citizens and other nationalities (Garrison, 2003, p.11). Garrison (2003) argues that the number of casualties in September 11 continentally is much higher than the Civil War that America had experienced. Yoroms (2007) argues that international terrorism has been in existence in Africa even before carrying out attacks that gain international recondition such as the 2011 attack on Westgate Shopping Mall in Kenya and the 2011 Nigerian Bombing in Abuja at the UN building (Yoroms, 2007, p.11). The reason why there was no international recognized attacked in Africa was as a method of insulating their hiding place from interfering eyes of global society so as to enable them sustain their actions without been noticed (Yoroms, 2007, p.12). Going through the definition of terrorism by the O.A.U the genesis of terrorism in Africa can be traced during the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade which involved the forcefully kidnapping and shipping of Africans by Europeans to the Americas (Iliffe,

1995, P.17). Terrorism in the African continent is therefore a long existence phenomenon even before the modern  $21^{st}$  Century terrorism discuss.

# **2.3 Major Terrorist Organizations**

In this 21<sup>st</sup> Century, terrorism has impacted the entire globe, from America, Asia, Africa and Latin America (U.S country report on Terrorism, 2009). According to the U.S country report (2009) as of 2009, the Al-Qaida pose the highest form of threat in the world in general and the U.S homeland in particular (U.S country report on Terrorism, 2009).

In the year 2016, ISIS become the deadliest organization in the world with an increase of killing more than 50% in 2017 when compare to 2015 and 2016 respectively. They are said have been responsible of killing more than 9,132 people and most of these killings took place in Iraq (Global Terrorism Index, 2017, p.23). The Boko Haram terrorist organization which was ranked as the deadliest terrorist group in 2014 now stands as the third most deadly organization in the globe due to the frequent class with Nigerian military and the international community (Global Terrorism Index, 2017, there was a high decline in the number of Taliban terrorist militant. Almost 21 percent reduction of its militant this was due to the number of battles fought between the Taliban militants and the Afghanistan security force and the international community such as the U.N Security Forces (Schor Liang et al, 2017).

Starting from 2013 throughout the entire globe, countries like Iraq, Nigeria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Syria became the five most affected countries facing all forms of terrorist threats and dead attacks and as of 2016, Turkey became part of the 10 most affected countries in terms of terrorist activities (Global terrorism index, 2018, p.22). In sub Saharan Africa, The Boko Haram accounts for most of the activities such as killings and terrorist threats and insurgence activities. The Boko Haram is believed to have operated in various regions of Sub Saharan Africa such as Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon and is separated into three different factions. (Liang et al, 2017).

# 2.3.1 The ISIS Terrorist Organization

The Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS) also known as the DAESH was created in 2003 by Abu Musa Al Zarqawi with a proclamation of a caliphate under its territory (CAT, 2015 p.23). The Jama 'at Tawhid Wal jihad gives birth to the ISIS with the aim of establishing a caliphate. The genesis of ISIS is as a result of the war in Iraq, the Arab revolution and the war in Syria (Theo Oosterved & Bloem, 2017, p.6). The invasion of Iraq by USA and U.K resulted in the founding of ISIS terrorist group for the fact that the formation of ISIS was as a result of the Iraqi war (Theo Oosterved & Bloem, 2017, p.11).

In the late 2014, ISIS has a total number of 50,000 to 80,000 militants and they take control of approximately 30% of the territories in Iraq and Syria (Clancy, 2018, p.7). After the outbreak of the Syrian war in 2011, most of the civilian population in Syria decided to join the Rebel groups and some join the ISIS terrorist organization. It was estimated that almost 36, 500 people join the ISIS group and become active ISIS militants (Clancy, 2018, p.23). Clancy (2018) further argued that ISIS terrorist group control and area which is equivalent to the size of United Kingdom (U.K) with a population of

approximately ten million people (Clancy, 2018). The group controls a larger portion of natural resources such as oil and other valuable minerals which yield almost 2.9 billion Dollars annually (Charles & Martinez, 2014, p 23). In the area of financing their activities, the groups engage in illegal activities such as theft and also receive donations in the form of cash and other source of help such as humanitarian assistance mostly from non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) from Arabic states of Saudi Arabia and Qatar (Charles & Martinez, 2014). In a report made by Doctor Al Raqqawi, the ISIS organization acquired its finance to carry out their terrorist activities through some of their operations by using incomes from human organs trafficking and sometimes from stolen artifacts from Museums (Hamade, 2017 p.12).

### 2.3.2 Al-Qaeda Terrorist Organization

The Al Qaeda terrorist organization was established in 1988 by Osama bin Laden. The organization stems from most of veterans of Afghan insurgence groups which where against the Soviet Union (Thomas, 2018, p.15). The group is belief to have carried out several attacks both in Africa, Middle East, Asia and Europe. In a nutshell, they have belief to have carried out attacks in the entire continents such as September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks in the U.S.A and the 1988 US embassies bombing in Kenya (Thomas, 2018, p.6). With the killing of its leader Bin laden in 2011 by the US military force in Pakistan, the organization still continue to exist under a new leadership of Ayman al Zawahiri. The group is belief to have many affiliated groups in different part of the globe both in the Middle East and Africa; these affiliated groups are Al Sabaab and Nusra front (Thomas, 2018). The Al-Qaeda terrorist organization terms the western world as enemies of Islam and the only way to suppress

their activities is through wagging terror which involves arm conflict (Thomas, 2018, p.34). They perceive the US to be the triggering agent behind the disruption in the Middle East and their aim is to fight regimes and create competent Islamic states which are governed by Islamic laws (Thomas, 2018, p.21). The Al-Qaeda got most of its funding from the Golf States such as Saudi Arabia and Qatar who belief that the organization is fighting for a truthful purpose. The group also gets some of its finance from various kidnappings and other illegal activities (Jacobson, 2010, p.16). The organization continues to exist but there is a decline in its operations due to the frequent war waged against terrorism.

### 2.3.3 Boko Haram Terrorist Organization

There are a lot of controversies on the immergence of the Boko Haram. Most of the scholars are with the opinion that the emergence of the group can be traced in early 1995 (Omotola, 2014, p. 6). According to James & Olusola (2013), as of 2011 onwards, the activities of Boko Haram terrorist group has drastically change from been a religious sect to a deadly terrorist organization (Kelechi, 2014, p.3). The genesis of Boko Haram terrorist organization can be traced in the development of the Ahlulsunnawal Jama' ah hijra sect at the University of Maiduguri in the leadership of Mohammed Yusuf. This University serves as an indoctrination arena and the teaching of radical Islamic doctrines (Kelechi, 2014, p.14).

The organization is believed to be a Sunni Salafi Jihadist group and the name Boko Haram denotes people against western education, culture and civilization in a nutshell, the group is against modern science (Kelechi, 2014, p. 6). Boko Haram as a terrorist group pay allegiance to Al-Qaeda terrorist group hence they are all operating within the Same Islamic fundamental principles (Kelechi, 2014, p. 8). The current leader of Boko Haram terrorist group Abubacarr Shekau in one of his speech highlighted that the targeted group of the organization is not the civilian population but the Government and its security; he described the international bodies like the UN as evil (Omotola, 2014, p. 5). Lawal (2009) argues that Boko Haram terrorist organization recruits its members and target unemployment youths such as the graduates especially around the Northern region of the country. In the area of financing their activities, the organization collects tax from its members and the region of operation. The organization also engages on robbery and donations from individuals and other external sources such as affiliated organizations ((Omotola, 2014, p. 17).

# 2.4 Difference between Social Media and Traditional Media

Social media are computer mediated tools that allow individuals to generate, share and exchange data, through text and connect people in the entire globe (Buettner, 2016, p. 23). Through the use of social media platforms individual can share information to their friends and families and even run their business activities (Buettner, 2016, p. 16). Some of the examples are as follows: Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. The traditional media on the other hand can be defined as the mainstream media that communicate in a one-way direction through which information is taken from a source and then send to anonymous and heterogeneous audience (Asemah, 2011, p. 16). Examples of these traditional media outlets are television channels, radios and the newspapers. The social media are easily accessible throughout the globe and are free from absolute government controlled while the traditional media are

not easily accessible and are either controlled by the government or private companies (Hemkens, 2011, p. 20). The social media as a platform allow individuals to post different ideas and views, individuals can post virtually anything while in the traditional media due to control and regulations there is limitation to what individual can say (Buettner, 2010, p.11).

In terms of altering contents, it is virtually impossible to alter the contents in traditional media like the magazines while in social media, individuals can alter contents. Social media do not require many skills to operate by individuals. Individuals who can access social media sites can use most of the platform while in the traditional media skills are required by individual to operate such platforms (Hermken et al., 2011, p. 24).

## **2.5 Social Media and Social Media Platforms**

"Today after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and time as far as our planet is concern" (McLuhan, 1964, p. 4). In McLuhan's view the world is a global village through the interconnectivity of the entire globe in which social media also has a role to play. Social media has been defined differently by various scholars. It can be defined as a platform that enables users to create profile thereby enhancing visibility of relationship between users (Boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 4).

Social media can also be defined as a collection of internet base applications construct based on the concept of web 2.0 that enables the formation and haggle of consumer generated message (Kapkin A. et al., 2010 p. 61). Social

media can therefore be seen as platforms were individuals create and share information either for political, economic or social purpose which involves the use of internet technology. Social media plays a pivotal role in the society; it creates agenda for discussion ranging from politics, technology and the entertainment industry (Asur & Huberman, 2010, p.17). Social media enhance the sharing of personal information such as pictures and videos at a fast rate and within a limited time frame. Both the youth and the senior people often visit their social media sites as a way of linking to their friends, share essential information reinvent their personalities and glass show their individual lives (Boyd, 2007, p. 29). Social media has an enormous influence in our day to day activities, particularly in our face to face interface; the way we receive information and the dynamics of our affiliation (Asur & Huberman, 2010, p. 6). The most important achievement of social media in the 21st century is in the area of globalization. Taken reference from the Arab Spring, most of the countries like Syria, Tunisia and Egypt used the social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram to bring political and social changes (Yigit & Tarman, 2013, p. 75).

There are many types of social media platforms and all of these platforms differ in characteristics but sheared a common value that is enhancement of communication from sender(s) and receiver(s). The most vital aspect of social media platforms are the social blogs, content sharing platforms and opinion platforms and for individuals to access these platforms one needs a social device like smartphone and a desktop computer connected to Internet (Brem & Ivene, 2015, p.11). Many people used social media platforms for different purposes such as dissemination of information to the public,

business purposes such as advertisement, contacting networks as a means of socialization and searching for job opportunities (Hallikainem, 2015, p. 3). Out of many SNS such as Facebook, Instagram Snapchat and Twitter, the most common platform with a high number of users is the Facebook platform (Brem & Ivene, 2015, p.12).

### 2.5.1 Twitter

Twitter was officially launched in 2006 by Jack Dorsey and of 2012; it had over 500 Million registered users including the former President of United States of America Barack Obama, who has over 27.7 Million followers (Osborn, 2013, p. 24). Twitter is seen as a postmodern form of social platform and it involves different forms of communication method such as private messages, directed conversations through retweets and communication in general by simple through status report of the user (Ebue, 2016, p.17). Looking at the trends of how SNS are increasing, Twitter grows at a higher percentage even 6 times faster than Facebook, platform (Schroeder, 2006 p. 5). Kelly argued that Twitter is currently ranked as one of the leading SNS based on it active users (Kelly, 2016, P.16). At the beginning of 2017, Twitter had over 328 Million active users and as of March 2017, Katy Pery was the most followed celebrity on Twitter with more than 6 million followers (Kelly, 2016, p.17). Twitter can be used for different purposes such as economic activities, social activity and political activity respectively (Moody, 2010).

During the Presidential election in the United States of America Barrack Obama made best used of Twitter as a means of sending political campaign messages to the masses (Kelly, 2016, p.19). People are optimistic that the use of social media has unquestionable influence the manner at which interaction take place in the entire globe from the area of business political and other social interactions within communities (Moody, 2010, p.19).

### 2.5.2 Facebook

According to Tracii Ryan, et al (2014), Facebook is among the most visited social media platform and as of 2014, it accounts for almost 1.20 billion active users which made it the highest social Network platform (Ryan et al, 2014, p.34). As of October 2018, Facebook platform is still the highest SNS used globally with a number of 2.23 billion active users. Facebook creates a platform where users create their profile and communicate with friends and family (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Facebook as a SNS was officially launched on February 2014 by Mark together with Eduado Saverin, Dustin Moskovitz and Christ Hughes (Boyd & Ellison, 2007, p.16). The platform was made open to the general public in 2006 which enables people to connect with friends and families all around the world. Most of the people join Facebook to share personal information and also to learn about other people around them such as friends (Golder, et. al., 2005). Facebook enables individuals to create a profile so as to acquire friends who can post pictures of themselves, and also receive comments from friends. People can also post vital information and join groups of their interest (Seinfeld & Lampe, 2007, p.11). According to Ellison & Seinfeld (2007), the main purpose of creating Facebook is to create a platform where students can always get in touch and communicate so as to create friendship among them. One contributing factor that made Facebook popular is due to the fact that people always used the platform as a means of communication, the advancement of technology and the internet service made it accessible in the entire globe (Wilkinson & Huberman, 2005, p. 16).

#### 2.5.3 Instagram

The Instagram which is among the most popular social media platforms that enables users to share images and videos to followers was founded in the 2010 (Dennis, 2014, p. 12). The platform allows individuals to share photos and videos at any point in time and in any geographical location (Bevins, 2014, p.19). The word Instagram is connotatively derived from two words "Instant" and "Telegram" (Bevins, 2014 p.16). As of 2013, Instagram is belief to be the third most popular social media platform apart from Facebook and Twitter (Ting, 2015, p. 12). As a social media platform, Instagram also help in disseminating information to users' information such as: political messages, ideological messages and other social messages (Solomon, 2013).

Chaffey (2017) argues that in 2012, Facebook bought Instagram through a sign deal with Instagram which made Instagram to grow at a fast rate and its users are in the increase (Chaffey, 2017, p. 26). Instagram can be classified as a SNS due to the fact that it enables its users to create a personal profile and enhance the interconnection of users with the outside world such as friends and families (Chaffey, 2017 p. 16). A pew research conducted in (2018) highlighted that in the United States of America (USA), in terms of Popularity and the number of adults using Social Media, Instagram stood as the second most visited social media platform with a percentage of 35% (Pew, 2018).

### 2.5.4 WhatsApp

Just like other Social media platform, WhatsApp is a social medium that enhance the sharing of ideas and information and also enables the interconnectivity of friends and families in various parts of the world (Anshu, 2016, p.14). Andhu (2016) argues that in a daily basis the number of messages send on WhatsApp is approximated to over 10 Billion which made it to be one of the most popular messaging applications with the highest name recognition since the inception from Facebook in 2004 (Anshu, 2016). The Co- founders Brian Action and Jan Kowm established WhatsApp in 2009 in California in the United States (Jamakuma & Jisha, 2014, p.12). WhatsApp messages differ from SMS messages in the sense in WhatsApp, when a massage is sent to the recipient, he or she has the right to either accept or reject the message while SMS text messages deliver to the recipient with or without individuals' consent (Church & Oliveira, 2013, p.18). Through the interconnectivity of the world by the internet service WhatsApp facilitate and strengthen relationships among individuals and also spread both social and political messages. It is therefore seen as a platform for social learning (Rapanos et al, 2016). It therefore creates a sense of interconnectivity among friends and families in different parts of the World. As Marshall McLuckhan put it forward that due to da advancement of internet and technology, the world is becoming a global village. According to WhatsApp statistics and facts (2018), it is approximated that WhatsApp as a social media platform has a number of 1.2 billion active users monthly and it was ranked one of the most visited social media platforms in 2018.

## **2.6 Twitter and Global Terrorism**

A research conducted by Reda (2010) highlighted that most of the social networks like Twitter, Facebook and Instagram contributed immensely to the advancement of terrorist activities in the global world (Reda, 2012 p.16). Although social media contributed a great deal in the advancement of societies through the communication process, they can also be used for negative activities like terrorism activities (Reda, 2012 p.18). In 2013, the Al-Shabab terrorist organization used Twitter and claim responsibility of the Kenyan Westgate shopping Mall bombing (Weimann, 2011, p.15). Through the rapid advancement of technology, the activities of terrorist organization have drastically changed and involved the use of SNS to recruit and train its new members and disseminate their propaganda messages (Weimann, 2011, p.19). Twitter as a social media platform contributed greatly to the terrorist activities due to the fact that there is no government influence in its usage therefore, terrorist organizations can create fake accounts and profiles to carry out their terrorist activities such as the twitting of radicalized videos and images (Homeland Security Institute, 2009).

In the area of recruiting new members, terrorist organizations used SNS that are highly protected with passwords and encryptions to recruit new members and also the use of cartoons games to combine terrorist activities in video games as a means of targeting game users (Homeland Security Institute, 2009). Most of the terrorist organization used SNS to recruit its new members, exchange information, raise fun for their activities, send propaganda messages and engage in cyber-attacks (Homeland Security Institute, 2009). SNS in general and Twitter in particular can be seen as a catalyst in the spread of terrorist activities.

### 2.6.1 Twitter Usage by Terrorist Organizations

In 2013, one of Al-Qaeda insurgence group called the Andalus foundation has successfully created a Twitter account which gains approximately 14,500 followers (Kimmungayi, 2010, p. 30). The former leader of the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization Osama Bin Laden once wrote that "The media in one of the strongest weapons in these 21<sup>st</sup> Century and that its Message can reach more than 90 percent in a quest for the preparation of their prepared battles and activities" (Klausen, 2015, p.6). Starting from 2011, the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization and other terrorist groups break away from the mainstream Media outlets and now started using social media platform mostly on Twitter and Facebook (Klausen, 2015).

Twitter as a social media platform connects different terrorist organizations together in different part of the world and also link terrorist to the outside world (Klausen 2015, p. 9). Arquilla and Ronfildt (2015) came up with the term "Net war" which depicts the extent at which the Al-Qaeda terrorist organization is making use of the Social media platform in general and Twitter in particular to carry out their activities (Klausen, 2015, p.19). The Al-Qaeda terrorist organization used Twitter to manifest their group Magazine to the targeted audience since it was difficult to upload this Magazine content to their Jihadist platform due to the constant monitoring and counter terrorist activities of security agents (Weimann, 2014, p.16). Twitter accounts were also created by members of the Al-Qaeda to connect its group members and disseminate lectures and teaching on topics in relation

to their Jihadist movement and radical Islamic ideologies (Weimann, 2014, p.16). According to a 2008 U.S Military intelligence report, Twitter can also be used by terrorist organization as a means of communication and coordination whenever they want to launch attack in a particular place (Weimann, 2014, p.19).

The Boko Haram terrorist Organization like any other terrorist group used Twitter to disseminate their ideologies and activities to the masses and claim responsibilities of certain act such as bombing in their quest to establish an Islamic state especially in the Northern part of Nigeria (Chiluwa, 2012, p.18). Twitter is also used by the Boko Haram organization to recruit new members and radicalize militants. The Boko Haram organization responds to many Tweets and also has the potential to respond to others within a limited time frame (Cliluwa et al, 2012 p. 15). The group use Twitter to manifest their organizational agenda to gain support from the Nigerian communities especially in the Northern region of the country. Most of the Twitter messages sent by the Boko Haram organization are written in Housa slogans and some are written in English to target other people living outside the Northern Region of the country such as people living in the South and other part of the world (Chiluwa 2013, p. 12).

## 2.7 Conceptualizing Communication

"Great communication begins with connection. What makes us different from one another is so much less important than what makes us alike. We all long for acceptance and significance. When we recognize those needs in ourselves, we can better understand them in others and that's when we can set aside our judgments and just hear" (Oprah winfrey 2016, p. 15).

The word communication originated from the "communis" which means like communion. common. Words community, communism. and commonality are somewhat related words having the same linguistic roots (Muhamadali et al., 2011, p. 9). According to Wibur Schramn, when individuals communicate, they are trying to establish "commonness" with someone. Communication according to the Oxford English Dictionary is the transfer or conveying of meaning (Oxford English Dictionary, 2016). In the words of Louis Allen, "Communication is the sum of all the things one person does when he wants to create understanding in the mind of another". It is a bridge of meaning. It involves a systematic and continuous process of telling, listening and understanding (Allen 2015, p. 15). From the above definitions, communication can be conceptualized as the everyday activities of individuals that involves the sharing and transfer of meaning between and among individuals. Harold Dwight Lasswell an American political scientist, conceptualized communication based on five basic elements. He postulated that a convenient way to describe communication is to answer the following question: who (says) what (to) whom (in) what channel (with) what effect? (Lasswell, 1948, p.16). In this model, Harold Lasswell perceived communication to be a linear process which commence with a communication and finally ends with a receiver and creates effects (feedback).

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Communication can be conceptualized as the process of sending information from an individual (communicator) through a medium (channel) to a receiver which creates an effect (feedback). Communication is therefore seen as a chain in which the absence of one component may result to ineffectiveness and disruption of the communication process. For example, effective communication can only take place when the receiver understands the meaning of the message. If the receiver doesn't understand the content of the message been send due to either mechanical or semantic noise then communication is not been done.

Mett (2014) argues that communication is a process in which messages create meaning whether intentionally or unintentionally (Mett, 2014, p. 9). Communication is therefore the process of creating shared meaning. According to Wilber Schram, the process of communication has no end, it is a misconception that communication starts at a particular point and end at a certain stage (Shramm, 1954, p 11). Communication takes different form such as intra personal communication, interpersonal communication and mass communication.

Mass communication can be defined as the process in which information is send to large anonymous and heterogeneous masses (Schramm, 1954, p. 34). Mass communication can therefore be seen as a one-way process whereby messages are sent from a mass medium to individuals who are Anonymous (did not know each other in person) and heterogeneous (different in class and society). The genesis of communication can be traced around 800 A.D but modern printing technology that made individuals to effectively share information in written was due to the invention of the Printing press by Johann Gutenberg in 1455 (Mett, 2014, p. 7). The progressive invention of Information technology leads to the advancement of mass communication such as the invention of radio and Television. One can conclude that modern mass communication starts around the early 20<sup>th</sup> century when radio was invented and later comes the Television.

Political communication is an arena which involves different views and ideas that involves three actors namely: politicians, public opinion and the journalist (Norris, 2004, p.17). The rise of the internet has made a drastic change in the political communication process especially in societies that are postindustrial like United States, Australia and Sweden (Norris, 2004, p.5).

Norris (2004) argued that the internet promises a utopian world where there will be unlimited quality of data and transparency of government decision making process but these benefits came with consequences such as cyber-attacks and insurgence movements through social media (Norris, 2004, p.5). He further highlights that the spread of information undermines democratic regimes creates dictatorship dilemma in many countries and create terrorist movements and activities.

# 2.8 Media Representations of International Terrorism and Islamic Terrorist Organizations.

The coverage of media on a particular subject helps in increasing discussion pertaining to that particular subject which affects audience (Spencer, 2012, p. 19). The representation of terrorism by the media greatly helps terrorist organizations by spreading their messages to the masses, create fear and help in the recruitment of individuals (Spencer, 2012, p.12). Most of the terrorist organizations carried out their activities and claim responsibility of attacks to get the attention of masses through the media either through SNS or the mainstream media (Peresin, 2007, p.11). Peresin further argues that the activities of terrorist organizations will be meaningless if they are not covered by media outlets since their main motive of carrying out their activities is to gain attention by the international media. This will capture people's attention to their activities and it will also give these terrorist organizations international recondition (Fahmy et al., 2017 p. 16).

The media representation and portrayal of Islamic terrorism and terrorist organizations in contemporary news media make people think that terrorism is a conflict between Islam and the Western powers (Rapoport, 2006, p. 9). A research conducted by Fahmy et al., (2017, p.6) making a comparative study between the reporting of terrorist incidents by international mainstream media like the CNN, BBC and Aljazeera highlighted that most of these international media put great attention to major terrorist attacks (Fahmy et al., 2014). They further argue that international media have similar frames in reporting news related to terrorist attacks. Most of the journalist in trying to report major terrorist attacks condemned the attacks and label insurgence groups as terrorist, criminals, and barbaric (Fahmy et al., 2017).

Terrorism as a phenomenon is portrayed by the media as a geopolitical war that encompasses the liberal western Democratic societies which is under the leadership of the United States and Islamic terrorist network that comprises of Islamic states and the Maghreb region (Reese & Lewis, 2009, p.18). Many news outlets have a similar pattern in reporting terrorist attacks. In one of the studies conducted by Schafer (2015) highlights that most of the international media in reporting terrorist attacks highlights that most of the terrorist attackers did not differentiate age categories, gender and political position in carrying out their attacks (Schafer, 2015, p.11). He further argues that journalist in trying to report news concerning terrorist attacks always highlight the massive destruction cause by the attackers such as the casualties and the destruction of buildings. In trying to represent international terror, the news media depicts terrorism as an Islamic ideology which is based on Islamic teaching (Shoshani & Slone, 2008 p. 30)

The media outlets in trying to report terrorist incidents pay minimum focus on domestic assistance renders by the country such as rescue mission teams helping the victims which sometimes implicate governments and jeopardize diplomacy between countries, with the belief that the government has connection to the attack (Shoshani & Slone, 2008, p. 12). Example of media representation of terrorist attack can be seen in November 2015 Paris attack much of the news reporting was focus on victims and the destruction done and not the domestic assistance and rescue team.

The media coverage of International terrorism can be seen as a psychological warfare that affects our attitudes, behaviour and perceptions (Shoshani & Slone, 2008, p.19). They further argued that the real enemy to the society is not the terrorist but the psychological war that the media instill in our minds in relation to terrorism.

The violent images and videos shown by the media in relation to terrorism creates great psychological trauma in the minds of viewers thereby causing the avoidance of some public places, creating great fear and shock in the minds of the people (Shoshani & Slone, 2008, p. 17).

Chemmak and Gruenewald (2006) argued that thus some terrorist activities and attacks may be lethal but receive little media coverage while other terrorism activities may not be severe but receive international attention and media coverage (p.26). They further argued that this may be due to political reasons and gatekeeping of the media. There is therefore disparities and media coverage of terrorist activities which is based on personal interest and motives. The media only covers major insurgence attack and classified them as terrorist attack not cognisant of the fact that the term terrorism is complex and even among academic scholars there is no exact definition of the term terrorism (Schmid, 2015, p. 17).

Tajfel and Turney (2015) argued that there is a huge difference between media framing of insurgence groups in the western countries and insurgence groups in Arabic nations and other part of the world (p.6). They further argued that the media depicts white supremacist in the United States with a positive connotation while similar groups in other part of the world will be considered as terrorist group. This explains the media bias of framing and labeling different groups as terrorist and positively describing another group of people freedom fighters or civil right movements. Due to the correlation that the media portrayed between Islam and terrorism, most of the population will perceive an attack as a terrorist attack when the perpetrators of the attack are Muslims (West & Lloyd, 2017, p.18). This aspect can be seen in different country's reaction towards Muslim. In countries like United States, many of the Muslims are labeled as terrorist due to stereotype of the media classifying Muslims as terrorist groups (West & Lloyd, 2017, p.5). Sultan (2016) argues that the framing of the media towards Muslims classifying them as terrorist group may result to conflict and changing this narrative becomes difficult hence it is the dominance narrative of the society (Schmid, 2015, p.12).

Looking at the contents of some of Boko Haram tweets like Alurwa -Alwathqa this tweeter content revealed violent contents and videos such as the beheading of individuals captured by Boko haram Terrorist group. This tweeter account also revealed the leader of Boko Haram abubakar shekau reciting verses from the Holy Quran and claiming to fight for the truth and Allah. Most of the tweet's videos from the Boko Haram terrorist group are mostly in Hausa language a language common in Northern part of Nigeria. Looking at the contents of some of the tweets affiliated to the ISIS terrorist group like @Muhagideen this was a twitter account that captured some propaganda messages send by the ISIS terrorist group such as the showing of ISIS black and white flag with Arabic writing claiming to fight for the establishment of a caliphate that is based on the principles of Islam. This account also highlights propaganda message with ISIS slogan written on the flag stating -that "there is no god but Allah and Muhammad are the messenger of Allah". Most of the tweets sent from individuals affiliated to the three terrorist groups namely Isis, Al-Qaeda and Boko Haram were banned by Tweeter. Berger and Morgan (2015) argue that ISIS is the most active terrorist group when it comes to the usage of social media platforms such as Tweeter, Facebook and Instagram (Berger & Morgan, 2015). They further argued that they have an average of 1,000 followers in each of their Tweeter accounts such as @ Ahmed which has more than 1000 followers and @ mujahideen which also have more than 1500 followers respectively.

According to Cox et al. (2018) as of 2018, the use of Twitter by Boko Haram is not as sophisticated as that of ISIS and Al-Qaeda (p.11) Another reason for the low usage of Tweeter by Boko Haram when compared to ISIS and Al-Qaeda is due to the fact that Boko Haram mainly used Twitter for propaganda messages and claim battle victories not like ISIS group who used twitter to recruit foreign fighters (Berger & Morgan, 2015, p.8). The second reason that can be denoted is the fact that Boko Haram as a terrorist organization paid oath of allegiance to the ISIS terrorist organization which render its support in the area of technology (Berger & Morgan, 2015, p. 26).

In terms of sending propaganda messages, some of the tweets related to Boko Haram are for propaganda and to a lesser extend theological. Looking at the tweets sent by the Boko Haram terrorist group, they do not focus on using twitter platform for recruiting foreign fighters like the ISIS and the Al-Qaeda. Their main motive of using Twitter as a social media platform is to surface their might and to a lesser extend send propaganda messages and theological teachings. Mahmood (2017) argues that thus all the terrorist organizations used tweeter as a means of spreading their agendas to the public but since the beginning of 2017, there is high number of violence in the tweets of Boko Haram than other terrorist groups (Mahmood, 2017). He further argued that this may be due to the content attacked towards the Boko Haram terrorist group by the Nigerian army and the international community.

#### 2.9 Propaganda Model

This research will make use of Propaganda model of communication in trying to look at the relationship between ISIS hashtags on twitter. The propaganda model was developed by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (Mullen & Klachin 2010, p.13). In the book entitled Manufacturing Consent, which was published in 1988, Chomsky and Harman explain the impact of media in a capitalist system. Thus, this theory was developed in the United Sates and tries to explain the political system within a capitalist liberal democratic society, but it can also be used to explain the propaganda of terrorist organization in the media. The Propaganda theory seeks to explain the linkage between the Ideology, the power of communication and the social class interest (Klaehn, & Mullen, 2010, p.5).

There exists a linkage between terrorism and propaganda hence both seeks to influence the masses either through the mainstream media or the social media networks. Looking at the propaganda model of mass communication, it purposely talks about media effect in the audience. This theory was developed in an era of mass communication but non the less in trying to make a theoretical framework, my research will make use of this theory hence both the mass media and social media messages had impact in the

masses. ISIS hashtags on twitter contains propaganda messages that are manipulative to twitter users and followers of ISIS hashtags on twitter. In this model, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky argued that with the present of the new media, there is an incensement in the efficiency and the scope of individual and group networking which result in some important victories for protest movements (Klachin & Mullen, 2010, p. 17). In a nutshell the propaganda model highlights the individual and personal interest and agenda in sending media messages to the masses. This model is highly application in trying to highlights the agendas behind ISIS Twitter hashtags which contains messages that are aimed at achieving a particular desire outcome. In contemporary media world, the propaganda model can be use in the field of mass communication to highlight the propaganda of media messages thus the flow of information is not in a one way from a sender to the masses. In this age of new media information is sent from different individuals to different audience with the aim of sending a message based on agendas. Although the propaganda model was specifically design for the media in the USA, but it can be used to in the area of social media in contemporary media world. Barrett (2014) argues that there is an ideological filter in media messages sent to the masses through social media (Klachin & Mullen, 2010, p 22). This model provides a framework of analysis that offers insight in numerous important cases with large effect and cumulative ideological forces.

## Chapter 3

## METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

This research will make a content analysis of tweet hashtags of ISIS on Tweeter in the month of January 2019. The contents of these tweets will be use for my analysis to substantiate my research.

#### **3.1 Content Analysis**

Content analysis as a research methodology originated from the field of mass communication around the 1950s (Domas, 2006, p. 14). Berelson (1952) argues that content analysis as a research methodology originally was used in quantitative research technique to systematically describe the manifest content of communication (p. 18). He described content analysis as a research technique used for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. Many social sciencess make use of content analysis for qualitative researches, Berelson argues that this make it difficult to place content analysis either in the qualitative method or quantitative method hence it is used in both research approaches (Berelson, 1952, p. 18). With the development of qualitative methodology in research process, the use of content analysis process in the area of qualitative methodology makes content analysis not to find its unique identity (Dvorakova, 2010, p. 20). Berelson (1952) argues that individual interpret text in different ways and messages send to the public may not be interpreted in a similar manner. According to Berelson (1952), social situations in which messages are sent play a pivotal role in understanding the text.

In trying to highlight the significance of content analysis, Berelson (1952) stated some significance of content analysis such as: to analyze the text contents, to make a prediction of the text content and to make inferences to audience of text content (Berelson 1952, p 12). Neumendorf (2002) postulated that the main aim of content analysis is description of a text, to test a hypothesis and to facilitate inference (Neumendorf, 2002, p.19).

Neuman (1997) argues that content analysis is a procedure used by researchers and academicians to collect and analyze the content of a text. A text according to Neuman is anything that transmits messages for communication purpose (Neuman, 1997, p.23). According to Neuman, content entails ideas, pictures media messages and symbols that can be transmitted to denote meaning. Weber (1990) argued that the central idea in any form of content analysis of text is that the numerous words of a given text are categorized into much less contents groupings (Weber, 1990, p.4). Knippendorf argued that the meaning in a given text is a concrete unit which is later transfer from its original position to another through the researcher's impartiality method (Krippendorf, 2004, p. 20). In a nutshell the writer's meaning of the text and the researchers meaning of the given is the same. Most of the theories are with the view that content analysis should entail the manifest ideas of either a written or visual text rather focusing on the latent

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idea of the text (Merk-Davis et al 2011). Krippendorf (1980) argues that the materials used in the process of content analysis entails documentaries, newspapers, songs, symbols and objects (Krippendorf, 1980). He further emphasized that content analysis focus on three main values namely systematic, Generalizability and objectivity. In trying to analyze various text and concepts, most of the researchers are with the idea that the central concept is the application of variables that correlate with the main data or information that can possibly be analyzed by the researcher or through the aid of statistical software's. Since this research is a based on a social phenomenon it used scholarly articles and reports which can be analyzed through content analysis.

#### **3.2 Research Sample**

A report by MIT Technology Review (2017) stated that as of 2017, Twitter has blocked almost 25,000 ISIS accounts that are related to terrorist activities. To analyze ISIS hashtags on twitter a total number of 575 tweets were analyze through a content analysis. The contents of these tweets were analyzed in other to come up with the ideal codes that highlight the role of Twitter as a social media platform in terrorism.

#### **3.3 Units of Analysis and the Coding**

The unit of analysis used in this research entails ISIS hashtags on twitter. The recordings gain from the instruments were later written down and taken cognizant of the research questions drown earlier. The research questions aimed to highlight the extend of twitter usage based on ISIS hashtags on twitter. The recording instruments were used to help in answering some of the research questions stated in the research which contributed greatly to my

findings. In trying to make recordings from the ISIS hashtags, my research make use of codes in categorizing tweets based on the content of tweets. These codes were used to avoid a mixture of data and catagorization of tweets based on their contents. Analyses were based on the contents of tweets which entail both visuals and written text sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter in the month of January 2019.

## **Chapter 4**

## FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

#### **4.1 Usage of Twitter by ISIS**

The effective use of social media platform in general and Twitter in particular has made ISIS terrorist group stronger and extend its scope to other part of the world which enable the organization to recruit new members and even US citizens (Farwell, 2004, p.6). The Arabic language Twitter App used by the ISIS help the group to disseminate information to its group members and constant tweets post by members of the organization by using the hashtags enables messages to be trending on the Twitter platform (Farwell, 2014, p.11). A research conducted in 2013 highlighted that ISIS member sent 44, 000 Tweets daily to reach out to their targeted audience which shows up in most of the media platforms (Farwell, 204, p. 12). According to J.M Barger (2014), an Arabic Twitter account called @Active hashtags was created by the ISIS group that made over 72 retweets per tweet. In the quest to look for followers and new members, ISIS creates visionary fake kidnaps hashtags so as to gain access and recruit new members who are accessing the world cup Twitter search engine with the belief that those accessing these sites will also gain access to their radical videos and doctrines (Farwell, 2014 p 18). According to a Twitter report 2016, it has banned 235, 000 active twitter accounts in relation to terrorist activities and most of which is suspected to have connection with the ISIS terrorist organization (Chatfield et al, 2015).

J.M Berger a social media researcher highlighted that among all the social media platforms, Twitter is one of the mostly utilized source of platform by the SIS terrorist organization to carry out their radical activities through Twitting of messages to recruit new members (Chatfield et al, 2015).

In analysing ISIS hashtags on Tweeter, the research makes a content analysis of 575 written tweets on ISIS hastages sent between the dates of the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, to the 31<sup>st</sup> of January 2019. The research focus on written contents and also video images on ISIS hastages. In trying to analyze the contents, tweets were analysed and put into categories based on their contents these are as follows: Ideological tweets, theological tweets violent tweets, propaganda tweets and Tweets that entail reporting of incidents . The contents of videos and images were also categories respectively. Most of the contents of images and videos on ISIS hastages contain propaganda messages. In one of the Twitter user account @Nidalgazaui entails a representation of the President of Turkey Erdogan in front of ISIS terrorist group. This type of tweet contents and images were classified as propaganda tweeets, they were sent based on propaganda agendas.

Some of the tweets also highlights images of brutal killing of ISIS terrorist organization such as attacks and killings, and the putrayal of ISIS images carrying heavy weapons. These tweets are classified as violent tweet contents.

Looking at the number of videos and images of tweet contents sent on ISIS hastages on Twitter, a total number of 290 images and video was seen to

have been sent on ISIS hastages on Twitter. These image contents entails different forms of tweet contents ranging from ideological, theological violent and propaganda tweets.

A total number of 575 written content was seen to have been sent on ISIS hastage on Twitter in which majority of the tweets were written in English language. Out of the 575 tweets sent on ISIS hastags on, a total number of 24 tweets was written in Arabic language. These Arabic content tweets were mosly visuals and videos with little written text.

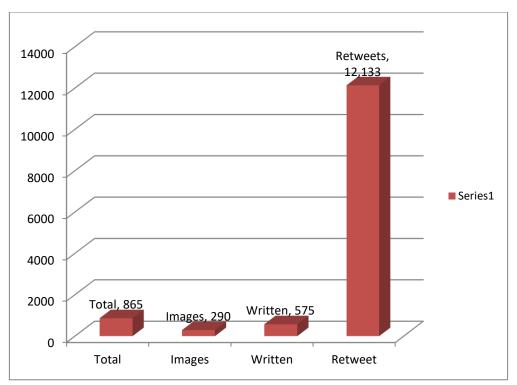


Figure 4.1: Histogram representation of the total number of tweets sent on ISIS hastags on Twitter in the month of January 2019.

Looking at the contents of the 575 tweets analyzed on ISIS hashtags on Twitter, out of the 575 tweets, a total number of 12,133 retweets was sent by various Tweeter accounts on ISIS hashtags on Twitter. Most of the retweets from various accounts on ISIS hashtags that receive the highest retweets entails News reports of pro-ISIS supporters. Example of one of the account usernames with the highest retweet is @Arch Kennedy which has over 1,050 retweets from various Twitter accounts on ISIS hashtags in the month of January 2019. Looking at the content of this tweet that has 1,050 retweets; the tweet highlights the reduction of jail terms of ISIS militants tried by a court of law. Tweets that are mostly pro-ISIS receive more retweets than tweets that are anti ISIS terrorist groups. From this phenomenon, one can conclude that most of the people retweeting on ISIS hashtag at a greater extent are mostly pro-ISIS supporters who are constantly retweeting pro-ISIS tweet contents.

Looking at the trends on ISIS hashtags on twitter, most of the trending tweets main focus is on Turkey's support of ISIS terrorist group. Some of the Tweeter accounts username like @Middle East Guy which is basically a news reporting Tweeter account is basically trending on reports that deal with Turkey at the center of ISIS terrorist activities in the form of visuals and written text. Some of the trending tweets are as follows: @KamalChomani Jan 26More When #Turkey helped #ISIS to invade, #Masul the #US helped #Iraq to win the fight against ISIS. US forces returned on Iraq's request. However, some Iraqi MPs working to evict US forces in the country. Isn't it better to unite efforts to expel #Turkish forces killing innocent people? The trends of ISIS hashtags on Twitter manifest that ISIS as a terrorist group is a global terrorist network with influence all over the world. Example can be taken from some of the trending tweets on ISIS hashtags on Tweeter such as @ Faafreebnews a news report account that deals with issues in Somalia that has connection with ISIS terrorist groups .The content of this tweet highlights that the one of ISIS leader Abdikadir Moumin is under siege by AS militants, recent fighting b/n #AS and #ISIS forces leads AS upper hand, AS Gave him three options, to surrender, to defect in Puntland State of face death, per sour. Looking at this trending tweet on ISIS hashtags one can denote that ISIS as a terrorist network has influence in all over the world irrespective of the fact that the group stems from the Middle East such as Iraq and Syria.

Another trending issue on ISIS hashtags on Twitter is the issue of reports of US military in the Middle East (Syria). This trend receives most of news reports tweets on ISIS hashtags on Tweeter. Looking at the contents of trending tweets sent on ISIS hashtags, most of the people tweeting and retweeting news reports in connection to ISIS terrorist group are all over the world and the activities of ISIS as a terrorist organization in not limited to one geographical region. Example can be seen from one of the tweets that highlight's the bombing of a Church in Jolo (Philippines) on the 28<sup>th</sup> of January 2019. This and some other tweets on ISIS hashtags highlight the global network of ISIS terrorist group.

In trying to analyze the contents of these tweets the research make an analysis of 575 written tweets which entails both written and images. Since content analysis entails the analysis of both written text and images the research will therefore also analyze image contents of tweets sent on ISIS hastages in the month of January 2019. As Neumendorf (2002) highlighted that content analysis entails both written an images of s text (p.20).

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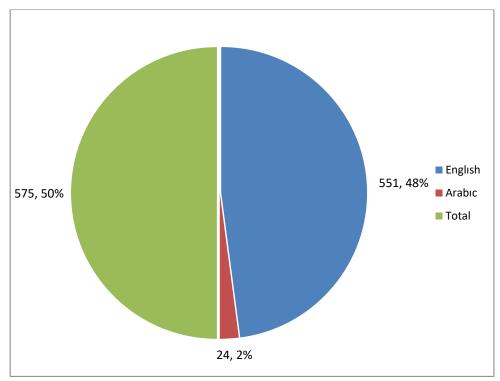
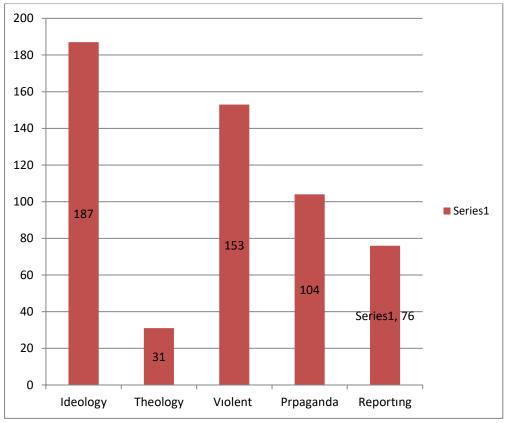


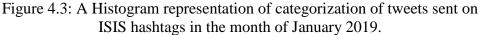
Figure 4.2: Pie Chart Representation of Percentage of Languages used of ISIS hastags on Twitter in the Moth of January 2019 based on written content of tweets.

The pie chart above is a percentage representation of both Arabic and English written tweet contents sent on ISIS hashtags on twitter in the month of January 2019. Looking at the percentage representation of tweets, out of the written tweets sent on ISIS hashtags in the month of January, almost 48% of the tweets were written in English and only 2% of the tweets are written in Arabic langauges. Thus most of the tweets are sent from different countries non English speaking countries but most of the tweets with ISIS hashtags are in English language.

Violent	Using or involving physical force that is intended
	to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something.
Propaganda	Information, especially of a biased or misleading nature, used to promote a political cause or point of view.
Theology	Religious beliefs and theory when systematically develop.
Ideology	A system of ideas and ideals, especially one which form the basis of economic or political theory and policy.
Reporting	Gives a spoken or written account of something that one has observed, heard, done, or investigated

Table 4.1: Themes and some sample words from the dictionary representing each theme





The histogram above is a representation of categorization of tweets sent on ISIS hashtags in the month of January 2019. Through the content analysis of ISIS hashtags on Twitter, out of the 865 tweets sent on ISIS hashtags on twitter my research analyze the content of 575 written Tweets which were placed in categories based on the contents. Out of the 575 tweets analyzed 187 of the tweets which is equivalent to 34% of the total number of tweets contain ideological messages. These tweets analyze comprises of both written text, images and videos sent on ISIS hashtags on twitter. Using the ISIS hashtags on twitter, I was able to read tweet contents and differentiate the time the tweet was sent. Ideological tweets are tweet contents that contain messages related to the belief of individuals and groups which make them think they are fighting for a purpose which is the spread of Islam. Reading

the contents of these tweets, most of the tweets on ISIS hashtags are claiming to fight for the establishment of a caliphate.

In trying to categorize and differentiate tweets I specifically focus on the content of the tweets and look at the central idea of the tweets. If the tweet contents contain visuals or written text that have violent utterance, I classified that tweet as violent and if the content of the tweets entails Islamic ideology, I classified these tweets as ideological tweets respectively. Berger (2014) argued that ISIS as a terrorist group used social media mostly to send their ideological messages to the masses (p.11). This statement is manifested in my finding on ISIS hashtags on twitter.

Looking at theological tweets, out of the content of the 575 tweets analyze, a total number of 31 of the tweets are theological which is equivalent to 5% of the total number of tweets analyzed. Theological tweets are tweets that deal with the teaching of Islam such as the belief of rewards of paradise in fighting for the spread of Islam. In the categorizations, tweet contents that entail the fighting for Islam with the idea of attaining an eternal life are classified as theological tweets.

Out of the 575 tweets analyze of ISIS hashtags on Twitter, a total number of 153 which is equivalent to 28% of the tweets analyzed contain violent contents. This entails written text visuals and videos of ISIS hashtags on Twitter. In trying to differentiate violent tweets from other tweets I focus on the contents of the tweets. Violent tweets are tweet contents which contain violent messages such as the utterance of abusive language and violent video

contents such as killing and torture. For example, one of the tweeter accounts from @VolunteerReport highlights that #YPG heavy weapons units provide mobile fire support for #SDF units under #IS counterattack. These types of tweets are classified as violent tweets due to their violent contents. Violent Tweets on ISIS hashtags on Tweeter entails mass executions of individuals and utterance of abusive languages in the form of written text.

Looking at the content of the propaganda tweets sent on the ISIS hashtags on Twitter, out of the total number of 575 tweets analyzed through the content analysis a total number of 104 tweets contains propaganda messages. In a percentage representation, this is equivalent to 19% of the tweets analyzed sent on ISIS hashtags. Propaganda tweets are tweet contents that contain deceptive messages in other to present a particular agenda to the masses. In trying to categorize these tweets, my research focuses on the contents of these tweets. Example can be seen from the portrayal of the President of Turkey Erdogan standing in front of ISIS militants and claim to support ISIS militants. These types of tweets are classified as propaganda tweets due to the propaganda message they depict. Most of the propaganda tweets sent on ISIS hashtags on twitter are in the form of visuals images with an agenda of supporting the ISIS terrorist group. Looking at the contents of propaganda messages sent on ISIS hashtags most of propaganda images sent on the ISIS hashtags are from individuals against the ISIS terrorist group. Example can be taken from some of the tweet messages sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter such as the portrayal of the Turkish President Holding the Turkish flag with a portrayal of black color representing the ISIS flag. The alignment of the Turkish flag beside the ISIS also highlight propaganda tweets sent on the ISIS hashtags on Twitter. Looking at the contents of these propaganda tweets, one will be realized that most of the tweets especially images are against the ISIS terrorist groups thereby making anti ISIS group to send propaganda messages and attribute Turkey as supporters of the ISIS terrorist group.

Looking at the tweet contents sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter, out of the 575 tweets analyzed, almost 76 of the tweets were based on news reports of incident in relation to ISIS terrorist group which is equivalent to 14% of the tweets sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter. Looking at most of the news reports sent on the ISIS hashtags on twitter, most of the reports are mainly focus on reporting incidents such as conflicts, and incidents that are related to ISIS terrorist groups. Looking at the contents of the news reports on the ISIS hashtags news reports are sent from various accounts all over the world mostly from CNN and individual accounts. Majority of the tweets are attributing Turkey as pro-ISIS supporters and also reporting about the conflict between Turkey and the Kurdish. Example can be seen from these Tweets sent on ISIS hashtags.

@VolunteerReport 22 JanuaryDaha fazla Most of the material coming to fuel the #ISIS war machine, frankly, was coming from across the border from# Turkey into #Syria. It was very frustrating because Turkey didn't take much action on the border.

@Partisangirl 16 January Daha fazla Recall: Kurdish Groups threatened the US with releasing 3,000 ISIS militants if they pull out of #Syria. Just as the

US was pulling out of Manbij, and #ISIS attack happens in Manbij, even though it has been peaceful for two years.

VolunteerReport 14 January Daha fazla"They got what they wanted," she says. "They used the #Kuds to get rid of #ISIS and now they're leaving us. America was supposed to have our back. They're going to leave us to [#Turkish President Recep Tayyip] #Erdogan. They sacrificed us and now they're leaving.

Some of the news reports on ISIS hashtags on Twitter also focus on the US security forces fighting against the ISIS terrorist group in the Middle East. Among these news reports, other contents entail propaganda news reports while others report factual incidents.

Tweeter		
Usernames	Content of the Tweets	Date
@AFP Beirut	Turkey to set up #Syria' security zone' suggested by Trump: Erdogan.	15-01-2019
@AFP Beirut	Two pelicans wait outside a fishmonger's to be fed in Oka.	16-01-2019
@MikellaMinistri	founding "fathers" of #ISIS pawns of #masonic sign gestures Across CHEST with 1 hand # masonic	18-01-2019

Table 4.2: Examples of Propaganda Tweeter accounts usernames and their contents sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter.

	blue ties that 33 looks in	
	their #serpentine eyes get it	
	straight #Trump is also in	
	their # satanic pact it's all a	
	big act for the international	
	bankin.	
	Boycott turkey! Tourism	
	funds Kurdish genocide!	
	Take actions to educate	
@SymbioticHorzo	your neighborhoods about	19-01-2019
	how tourist money will be	
	used to fund turkey's war	
	machine and their proxy	
	militia.	
	#Noah and #ISIS #goodish	
@Noahisis	"the only god and goddess.	22-01-2019

Table 4.3: Examples of Violent tw	eets accounts	s usernames and	l their contents
sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter.			

Tweeter		Date
Usernames	Content of the Tweets	
@smmsyria	#HTS also reports to have executed 12 #DAES #ISIS prisoners in #IDLIB Our sources beyond the line say, # Terrorist killed ordinary people resisting to their regime in the Province, rather than opponents.	20-01-2019

@mrubin197	"It's time to designate Turkey as a sponsor of terrorism" (my latest in# FreeoccupiedAfrin from The Jihad Driven, Fascist Turkish State & their Jihadi Brothers. End the Torture, Rape, & Murders. End the Forced Religious Assimilation & Displacement of Civilians.	18-01-2019
	Turkey is Exactly like #ISIS in this Way.	
@Imerabass	Today marks the 4th anniversary of the 2015 assassination of #Jihad and 5 other #Hezbollah fighters who were in #Syria to fight #ISIS & #Al-Qaida, but were martyred in a cowardly attack.	17-01-2019
@Know4life	John Bolton ignores @RealDonaldTrump at #Zionist Israel's request to pull troops from Syria. Israel admits to arming 'rebels' in Syria. Preparations to attack Iran for Israel.	19-01-2019

	Military warned Trump during	
	his visit to Iraq that #ISIS is	
	NOT defeated in Syria. Day's	
	earlier #Trump claimed that	
@Bill Maxwell	ISIS is defeated "badly" in	16-01-2019
	Syria. Then an ISIS suicide	
	bomber in #Syria killed 4	
	Americans as Trump	
	withdrawals of US forces.	

Table 4.4:	Examples	of	Ideological	tweets	account	usernames	and	their
contents ser	nt on ISIS h	asht	ags on Twitt	er.				

Tweeter	Content of the Tweets	Date
Usernames		
@Abdullmaleek	Omar Abdul-Aziz defended #ISIS in his Twitter account and claimed that he was looking for peace and freedom of opinion.	19-01-2019
@Aylinakilic 23	This is no time to retreat from the fight against ISIS. Will only embolden & strengthen them in fighting for Islam.	23-01-2019
@M-Delal	#brexit#Venezuela#crime#trum p#isis#terrorism can all take a back seat for a minute ISIS will never be defeated for fighting for Islam.	29-01-2019

	Anyone who is backed by the	
@Marwa-Osman	US is my enemy. The west is	23-01-2019
	enemy of Islam.	

Table 4.5: E	Examples of	Theological	tweets	account	usernames	and	their
contents sent	on ISIS hash	tags on Twitte	er.				

Tweeter		Date
Usernames	Content of the Tweets	
	The struggle may be hard but	
@Normcos	Allah shall reward you all	23-01-2019
	hereafter in Paradise.	
	The establishment of a	
@Eagle star yoga	Caliphate by ISIS is a reward	
	from Allah which will be paid	6-01-2019
	not in this world but Jannah.	
	Muslim arrested for jihad and	
@Arch Kennedy	fighting for the words of Allah.	
	Now charge with aiding #ISIS	18-01-2019
	but he shall be rewarded by	
	Allah.	
	But then again, there's a certain	
	Surah, Muslim hymn, where	
@NatGeo	husband with a particular tree's	
	stick is could softly touch his	19-01-2019
	wife and convince rectification.	

Theological tweets are tweet contents that talks about the teaching of Islamic doctrine. Looking at the tweets sent on ISIS hashtags on twitter only 5% of the tweets deals with Theology. Most of the tweets were focusing on spreading of ideological messages. One can conclude that ISIS hashtags on Twitter are mostly focus on the spread of ideology than any other form of tweet messages. Looking at the contents of tweets sent on ISIS hashtags Theology is not the central focus of tweets on ISIS hashtags.

Tweeter		
Usernames	Content of the Tweets	Date
@MalaliBashir	Nangarhar Deputy Governor Habiba Kakar "welcomed 20 Taliban and #ISIS fighters who lay down weapons to join peace process". "Welcome to the new chapter of your lives. #Afghanistan need construction not destruction,".	30- 01-2019
	Parliament in #Bashur #Kurdistan suspended for five years and today @masoud_barzani opened the parliament in #Bashar #Kurdistan for the organization called the #Isis terrorist Massoud Barzani's achievements receive #Isis terrorists in parliament would tell	

Table 4.6: Example of news report tweets account username and their contents sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter.

	you the same thing. As @PrayagrajKumbh takes place,	
	Maharashtra #ATS makes 10th	
@IdrisAlOso4	arrest with IS-links for plot to kill thousands by #Poisoning water,	26-01-2019
	food, etc. Conspiracy.	
	Exposed after IS-linked arrests in	
@WW3 info	UP and Punjab. Shows #ISIS has	
	spread its ideology well in India which liberals were denying.	30-01-2019
@Konstantiug	Remaining foreign #ISIS jihadists in the Euphrates River Valley are	
	trying to flee to #Turkey- Every	28-01-2019
	European intelligence agency.	

From the finding, looking at the tweet contents sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter on the month of January 2019, most of the tweet contents were attributing Turkey as one of the countries that is supporting the ISIS terrorist group. Through the content analysis of tweets, findings from the study highlights that most of the tweets sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter are ideological tweets. Propaganda immerge the second highest tweets on the ISIS hashtags followed by violent and theological. Finding from the research revealed that some of the tweets sent on ISIS hashtags are propaganda tweets which are either in the form of written text or visuals. For example, some of the visual propaganda images Highlight the portrayal of American Presidents such as Obama, George Bush and others as the fathers of ISIS terrorist group. This depicts the propaganda nature of tweets on ISIS hashtags on Twitter.

Violent tweets are also sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter. Looking at some of the tweet contents, the Twitting of abusive languages and the representation of violent visuals accounts for 28% out of the content of the 575 tweets analyze. These violent tweets are mostly representing in images and video contents with some of the contents written as text.

From the analysis, most of the tweets sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter entail both Arabic language, and English languages but majority of the tweet contents are written in English language. This highlights the dominance of English language in ISIS hashtags on Twitter. Thus, the genesis of ISIS terrorist group can be traced in the Middle East, but its influence is continental. Looking at this phenomenon one can conclude that most of the prominent language used by ISIS supporters on Twitter is English language. Thus, some Pro-ISIS supporters on Twitter may come from non-English speaking countries but most of the tweets are sent in English language.

Looking at the contents of the tweets sent on ISIS hashtags, most of the tweets are particularly focusing on Turkey accusing Turkey to support ISIS terrorist group. Example can be taken from these following tweets:

@KonstantinKlug Jan 20 what @brettmcgurk says is the complete truth; he is even kind to #Turkey. Turkey sponsored the rise of #ISIS in #Syria, carried out ethnic & sectarian cleansing in #Afrin and is now protecting the largest #al-Qaeda safe haven in the world, #Idlib @kylecmatthews.

My analysis is not flawed. We know Turkey has been supporting jihadists, including # ISIS. And your country has committed severe atrocities against Kurdish civilians in Syria. @MIbshino Jan 28Story of almost every #ISIS foreign fighter; "Called one of Ekhwa (a brother=ISIS member) in #Syria, took a flight to Istanbul of #Turkey, then a flight to #Adana of Turkey, then into a guest hotel in Gaziantap of Turkey, spent few days then crossed smoothly via border crossing.

Looking at the contents of these tweets sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter, most of the tweet contents relates Turkey as the main country that supports ISIS terrorist group in their fight to establish their so-called Islamic caliphate. Among the countries in the world, based on the content's analysis of ISIS hashtags, Turkey appears to be the central focus of most of the tweets sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter.

## Chapter 5

## CONCLUSION

This research aimed at highlighting the contents of tweets in ISIS hashtags. The term terrorism is an elusive word which depends on the individual defining the term. In trying to highlight the relation between terrorism and Twitter the research therefore makes use of tweets hashtags of ISIS terrorist group. Just like previous academic researches done in the area of terrorism and social media this research is also aimed at surfacing some of the early claims done by various academic researchers in this field of study. Klausen (2015) argues that social media platforms are used by terrorist groups as a global cyber war tactics. From the findings gathered, the trend of terrorism on Twitter as a SNS is in increase. Looking at the contents of the tweets send on ISIS hashtags on twitter, individuals sending tweets have different motives of tweeting on the platform. Some individuals' main motives of sending tweets on ISIS hashtags on Twitter is to send ideological messages to the masses, while others main motives are to send propaganda messages either as Pro-ISIS or anti-ISIS. To some degree, some pro-ISIS tweets are mostly propaganda ideological tweets while Anti- ISIS tweets are mostly violent tweets against the activities of ISIS terrorist group.

Looking at ISIS hashtags on Twitter, in the month of January 2019, one can denote that Tweeter as a SNS is mostly used as a platform for terrorist activities. Carter (2016) argued that with the high growing population of internet users and social media platform, the goal of combating terrorist activities on social media platform will be unattainable (Carter, 2016 p.12).

Terrorist groups like the ISIS have crossed borders and succeed in recruiting foreign fighters in other part of the globe. Terrorism therefore is a global phenomenon that is felt in every part in the world. In conducting this research, from the findings, one can conclude that tweets sent on ISIS hashtags on Twitter main focus is to spread ideological messages which amount to 34% out of the 575 tweets analyze on ISIS hashtags on Tweeter. violent which entails the use of abusive verbal languages and the use of physical force emerge as the second highest tweets categories sent on ISIS hashtags on Tweeter accounts for the second highest category of tweets sent on ISIS hashtags in the month of January 2019.

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# APPENDICES

#### **Appendix A: Recording Instruments**

#### The Tweets recording Instrument

Tweets will be recorded in relation to their contents. Each tweet content will be coded once and then analyze and put into category such as:

- 1. Violent Tweets
- 2. Ideological tweets
- 3. Theological tweets
- 4. Propaganda tweets
- 5. Cods uses in analyzing tweet contents during the analyzing
  - 0= cannot code
  - 1= Violent tweet contents
  - 2= Theological tweet contents
  - 3= Ideological tweet content

4= fall between Ideological and Violent cannot simple be placed under any category.

## **Appendix B: Tweets Sent on ISIS Hashtags in the Month of**

### January 2019.

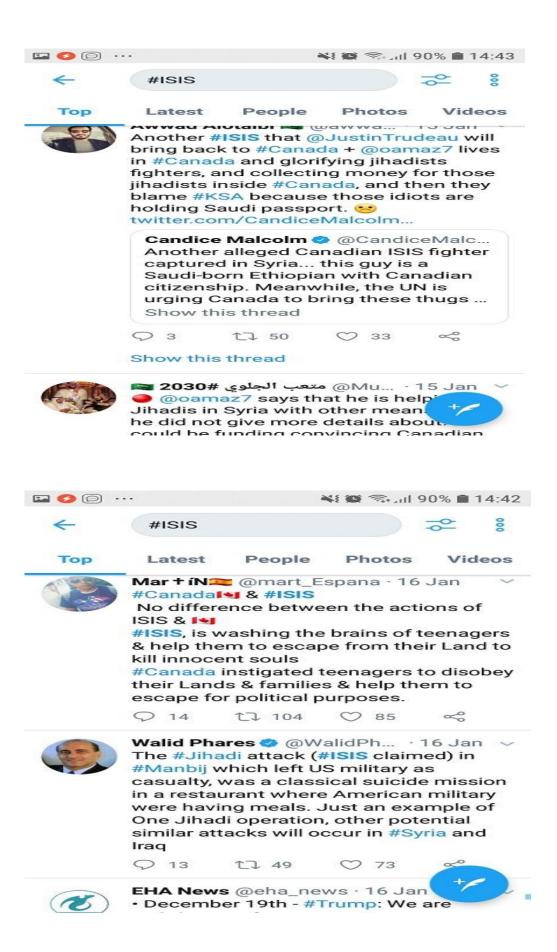


got all the locations of US @CJTFOIR

troops in #Syria...

74





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Тор	Latest	People	Photos	Videos	
	<ul> <li>Elijah J. Magnier @ejmalrai · 15 Jan ~</li> <li>#ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi is also on "a mission from God".</li> <li>It seems God is very interested in the Middle East these days by sending many of his ambassadors on various missions.</li> </ul>				
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~	#ISIS			۰۰۰ ۵۵	
Тор	Latest	People	Photos	Videos	
Fords 8 Aller	International Volunteers R · 14 Jan ~ Around 8,000 #Syrian #Kurds have been killed in the fight against #ISIS. They have been the United States' #USA strongest and most steadfast ally on the ground. While #Daesh is close to defeat, the fighting continues in the east, near the border with #Iraq.				



