Ultra-conservatism and Manipulation: Understanding Islamic State’s Propaganda Machine
Abstract
This master’s thesis analyses whether a propaganda model from 1986 is still applicable to understand the working of modern day propaganda of the Islamic State. The last three decades have brought many innovations with regard to propaganda and therefore a revision of the unchallenged model might be required. A broad analytical framework is developed in the third chapter of the thesis in order to analyse the video propaganda of Islamic State. This analysis helped to determine whether the elements of the old model are still used in modern day propaganda. Additionally, it tries to address a commonly made misconception with regard to the purpose of propaganda. By analysing all the video material it is determined whether the old model needs to be replaced with a new one, or whether it is still useful in its old form.
I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Jaap van Aalst and Margriet van der Zalm, for supporting me when the emotional and mental strain of the research became very tough.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to my thesis advisor, Jelle van Buuren, for his words of advice and care I will be forever grateful.

.....“Every word I said is something I’ve read”.....
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Chapter 1: Introduction

The middle-east, during the last century it has been a crucible of armed conflict and violence. With the conflict caused by the civil war in Syria and the rise of Islamic State the levels of chaos have reached new proportions. The chaos is only made worse by youngsters travelling and joining the countless fighting militias in the area. Western intelligence agencies were baffled to see the number of foreign fighters from Western Europe double between June 2014 and December 2015, as was reported by the Soufran Group (2015). It is estimated that between 27.000 and 31.000 people have travelled to Syria and Iraq to join the Islamic State or other militant groupings, which is, according to Hegghammer (2010), already more than the total number of fighters traveling to Afghanistan during its ten-year war. Which left many people to wonder: why are these individuals leaving their home countries in order to join the war, which is only contributing to the chaos? A factor playing an important role in this recruitment process is propaganda and especially the mass produced propaganda of the Islamic State.

Islamic State has been producing propaganda in the form of speeches; video’s and messages ever since it was founded in 1999 as ‘The Organization of Monotheism and Jihad’. Which was later rechristened to ‘The Organization of Jihad’s Base in Mesopotamia’, commonly known as Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). Many of the video’s contained violent footage of hostages and prisoners being executed and were spread around the world via internet chat rooms, thus Kirdar (2011). These video’s varied in quality and the amount of video’s produced ebbed and flowed with the strength of AQI. Berger & Stern (2015) noted that most of these videos were still of relative low quality and wouldn’t be remembered as noteworthy. Over time, AQI’s strength dwindled until it reached a new low in 2010. Together with the new name ‘Islamic State in Iraq’ (ISI), the leadership was also changed several times until finally Abu Bakr al Baghdadi took control. Determined to return Islamic State to its former glory, or even greater, Baghdadi took severe measures, going as far as severing all ties with Al Qaeda. According to Berger & Stern (2015) he passed on the burden of communicating ISI’s messages to the group’s spokesman, Abu Muhammad al Adnani. In 2011 the group started broadcasting its messages and this would become a defining moment. Al Adnani (2011) acknowledged the group’s setbacks but also promised to return the glory days, it was vowed, in fierce and defiant words, that ISI would fight on despite any setbacks. The word ‘Baqiyyah’, which is translated into ‘survival’, became the groups slogan and a popular battle cry among the fighters. From this point and onward the propaganda messages spread by ISI became more and more focused on waging a holy war, fighting the battle and making good on their promises, whereas their superordinate al-Qaeda was spreading a message that became more disillusioned from reality. The words of Al Adnani were electrifying and inspiring to those supporters listening. Berger & Stern (2015) claim that Adnani had laid the foundation on which, over time, ISI would refine and propagate its message.
According to both Berger (2014) and Weyers (2015) the result of the refining of their messages and propaganda can be witnessed in the countless videos, pictures, speeches and a magazine circulating the internet and even the development of a propaganda app for. All this available information is spread around in order to persuade Muslims all over the world to leave their homes behind and travel to the caliphate, which is obviously the perfect place to live since it is the land of Allah. But the lingering question is why this propaganda is so successful that is has managed to convince thousands of people to do just that. They must certainly be successful in their capability to influence the masses in travelling to Syria and Iraq, it isn’t without reason that the Souffran Group (2015) reported on so many people leaving their homes to fight for Islamic State. However, to determine how the propaganda of Islamic State is successful, a complex analysis should be made that requires historical research, examination of the messages and media, sensitivity to audience response and a critical scrutiny of the entire propaganda process, thus Jowett & O’Donnel (2012). However, this topic is far too broad to research, in the sense that one cannot look into every tweet and message posted on the internet and the fact that propaganda ‘success’ is very hard to measure and define. Therefore, this research will focus on examining and explaining the attraction video propaganda might have on its audiences, in essence asking the question ‘how does propaganda work?’ It seems Islamic State uses video footage as one of its main assets in spreading around their message, also becoming increasingly western oriented with videos being taped or subbed in English, among other languages. When researchers wish to obtain a full understanding of the working of propaganda and its elements, a model which explains just that process should be developed.

Some early researchers trying to explain the attraction propaganda has on its audiences were Ellul (1965) and Hazan (1976), focussing on the impact of propaganda on the masses and at the same time explaining how the individual is reached. Their research laid the groundwork for later researchers, such as Maurice Tugwell (1986), who wrote down the basic principles of propaganda in order for it to work. In contrast to his predecessors, Tugwell (1986) focussed on the more general impact of propaganda, leaving the individual mostly out of the picture. He came up with three broads themes needed in order for propaganda to have any effect on its audience, which are the virtue of a ‘promised land’, a common or great evil enemy and finally full confidence in final victory. Furthermore, he added a list of various techniques which could be implemented in order to reinforce the impact of the propaganda. His research turned out to be widely applicable in the time of release, which was the late Cold War, therefore focussing on social terrorist groups. However, Tugwell (1986) also mentioned radical religious zealots in his research as well, despite the fact that his main examples were socialist groupings. With the recent developments of Islamic State using propaganda in an unprecedented way, with respect to their predecessors, the spotlight has once again focussed on research into this field. It
is therefore imperative to wonder whether the research of Tugwell (1986), which has been carried out over three decades ago, is still applicable to the modern day situation. At first glance the three elements seem to be relevant for the modern day situation in the Middle East. A radical group establishing a promised caliphate, fighting the evil western enemy and believing firmly in final victory (whether on earth or in heaven) is exactly what Islamic State is doing, so those elements still check out. However, because the model dates back to 1986 one might wonder whether it isn’t too simplistic for the current situation. Especially with the rise of internet and social-media a whole new platform for the spreading of a message has opened. Cox (2014) reported witnessing al-Qaeda rushing to chatrooms and forums in order to spread their messages, video’s and recruit new supporters for their cause. Perhaps it is necessary to include such ‘new’ techniques of influencing as well. Therefore this research will focus on the following question.

**Research Question**
Is the traditional understanding of propaganda as epitomized by Tugwell’s (1986) three element model still applicable for understanding the working of current propaganda of Islamic State?

**Scientific relevance**
This research will contribute to the scientific debate in the sense that it is analysing whether the old knowledge from the 1960’s and onwards is still relevant for today’s society. Back in those days there was a lot of attention for the socialist propaganda and how it was used to influence the masses. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsiding socialist ideology, interest for the workings of propaganda diminished as well. That is, until a new form of propaganda with its own ideology appeared on the worlds stage. Religiously motivated terrorist groups, such as Al Qaeda, started using propaganda to influence people all over the world in supporting and funding their cause. It wasn’t until 9/11 that, according to Jordán, Torres & Jeep (2005) their use of propaganda became more than scarcely visible and thus more active. After September 11th, Al Qaeda’s true communicative and propagandistic nature emerged and it converted itself into a much more recognizable and communicative enemy. With all the media-attention given to the organization in the wake of 9/11, the organization transformed into some sort of standard-bearer for the fight against all evil enemies of Islam. However, over time this feeling would diminish with the destruction of AQ and new potential standard-bearers would rise, thus Jordán, Torrent & Jeep (2005). Especially with the rise of Islamic State in recent years and their move unto the social media platforms, or internet 2.0, they managed to, according to Gartenstein-Ross et al. (2015), overtake their predecessors of AQ in terms of both quantity and expertise in the use of propaganda. Because of the developments with regard to propaganda in the last decade, a renewed interest to look into the workings and influences of propaganda emerged.
Therefore, it is imperative to analyse whether the old models which were drawn up to understand the influence socialist propaganda had on its audiences are still applicable to today’s events. Therefore a conceptual methodological research is needed to find out whether the, perhaps outdated, model of Tugwell (1986) can still be used to understand the workings of modern-day propaganda.

Societal relevance
A research into the workings of propaganda can have great importance for the scientific world, however it can be important to society as well. Especially with regard to the last several years in which a constant civil unrest has been present with regard to (returning) foreign fighters. According to van Ginkel & Entenmann (2016) Thousands of young European individuals have travelled to Syria and Iraq to join Islamic State, among others, and 30% of them have returned to their European home countries. By looking into the workings of propaganda it could help us increase our knowledge of how it manages to influence individuals time and again. Not only would such research be a contribution for families, who are able to detect and protect their offspring against the working of manipulative influences. But it might also help a society to become more conscious of- and resilient against such propaganda.

Bookmarker
Hereby a short summary of the various matters which will be addressed in this master thesis. The next chapter will expound on the scientific body of knowledge with regard to propaganda and the analytical model which will be used in this research. In the third chapter all methodological choices made in order to conduct this research will be explained and defined. The fourth chapter will be an extensive empirical report of the analysis of all the used propaganda material. In the final chapter the thesis will finish with a conclusion of everything the research has produced and the research question shall be answered.
Chapter 2: Body of Knowledge

2.1 The Theories of Propaganda

Jowett & O’Donnell (2012) describe propaganda as the act of influencing a target audience insofar that it will attempt to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. Propaganda has been around for centuries and Taylor (2003) claims that the use of it does not restrict itself to state actors. To the contrary, non-state actors like terrorist organizations have fully embraced propaganda as a tool to reach their goals. According to Tugwell (1986) Terrorism and propaganda even have the same goal, influencing mass audiences, whether by the spreading of fear and terror or through a complex psychological game. Already in the 19th century terrorism was called ‘propaganda by deed’ by the anarchists who choose to act in a violent way. It goes without saying that both verbal and physical forms of propaganda are closely connected and according to the author Tugwell (1986), terrorism might even be seen as a physical manifestation of propaganda. However, for a non-state actor to reach its goal, a complex mix of psychological and military processes is required. According to Searle (1969) and Pattwell, Mitman & Porpora (2015) this process can be seen as a form of political communication, in which a message can be send by illocutionary acts of doing things with words such as propaganda (a verbal act) and through acts of terrorism, in which a message is send by acting in the physical world (Visual act). It is of importance to understand that terrorism and its propaganda are all communicative tools, used in order to get a message across. Recognizing these tools for what they are can create understanding of the goals and workings of disparate groups. When they are only seen as violent means serving violent ends the only answer to it can be violence. Therefore it is of importance to look beyond what terrorism and propaganda are showing on the surface and see what message is behind it. This will allow for more insight and therefore a more effective and nuanced response, thus Tugwell (1986).

Numerous authors have attributed to the discussion about propaganda and what it needs to include in order to be successful. One of these authors sketched a model in 1986 with which it could be determined whether propaganda was successful or not. This was the model of Maurice Tugwell (1986) and he claimed the following: When terrorism is combined with propaganda, one can speak of revolution. Revolution is a point of no return in which the goal is to overthrow the existing order, laws, beliefs and values and replacing them with some higher truth or ideology. The road to this revolution is paved with what Tugwell (1986) calls ‘The triad of propaganda’, which include a virtuous promised land, creating a common enemy to fight and the inevitable victory. Inspiration for this triad can come from anywhere, religion, nationalism, racism, political ideology, etc. However, the source of the propaganda isn’t as important as sparking the imagination by revealing the beauty of the Promised Land: Virtue. Furthermore the higher goal of the revolution must justify the resort to violence by
portraying the current regime as encumbered and unable to change or reform. This incapacity, or any other motivation, might be a justification to depict the regime as evil, because it stands between the terrorists and the promised virtuous land. Due to this evilness, the terrorists are not bound by the laws, customs and moral codes and can therefore use disproportionate violence against it. The terrorist is only answerable for its actions to the higher authority like God or any earthly leadership. On top of these two elements, Tugwell (1986) added a final element to his triad which is to have a fixed believe in the final victory. The terrorist organization will overcome all odds because their cause is the right one; it aims for greater glory. However, in order for this triad of propaganda to work, it is very important to create an inner circle of core believers who are able to create the propaganda. The propaganda can then be used to persuade others in joining the cause.

On top of the triad elements of propaganda, Tugwell (1986) also argues that central themes are important to be included in order for propaganda to be successful. What Tugwell (1986) calls themes can also be interpreted as media techniques, because they try to manipulate the audience. The following five techniques are described by Tugwell (1986) in his model as being vital.

- **Guilt Transfer:** Terrorists put all blame on the regime they are opposing and in doing so try to depict the enemy in the worst light as possible. They describe themselves as freedom fighters and all casualties on the terrorist side are portrayed as innocent or martyrs. Once the first blame is laid, the terrorists usually go even further in blaming the terrorist violence on the opposed regime as well. According to Clausewitz, Napoleon Bonaparte acted in the same way, by stating that his aggression was peaceful, war being the responsibility of those who resisted.

- **Invulnerability:** This idea is already implemented in propaganda as core element for consumption by those in the inner circle, the inevitability of victory is after all part of the ideological conditioning. By adding it as a general theme or technique it tries to rationalize the same message for the general public. It tries to show the powerlessness of the enemy regime, that their forces are ill-equipped to deal with the superior terrorists. The purpose of this theme is to demoralize the enemy government and its supports and to neutralize the mass. The masses are neutralized by counting on the fact that nobody wishes to back the losing or inferior side.

- **Spurious Justification:** This theme or technique is implemented as a whole to accumulate legitimacy for the organization. It also tries to protect its members from the full force of public wrath by legitimizing their actions, for example by referring to alleged and sometimes real political or social injustices. The intention is to confuse the masses and to produce an ambivalent or even supportive attitude towards the terrorist organization. Sometimes the
violence is also explained as a reluctant but inevitable reaction to violence caused by the enemy regime.

- **Disarming Themes**: Here the aim is to discredit and destroy anything that might threaten the terrorist integrity and freedom of action. Unlike spurious justification, which usually uses upside-down morality of terrorist logic, disarming themes usually stay within the limit of controversial morality.

- **Terror**: This is a very important technique for propaganda, it simply says ‘if you do not join us, you will die!’. The effect of this technique is the spreading of fear, people – especially those living in the area where terrorists are active – start to fear the terrorists. The only way to avoid death is by joining them, so for many it seems a simple choice. Furthermore terror can cause isolation of organizations and individuals, they are aware they will be singled out as targets and therefore fear to commit themselves to the fight. After all, they represent the evil regime and thus ought to be destroyed.

By properly incorporating these techniques in propaganda combined with a violent terror campaign, the techniques can, according to Tugwell (1986), be instrumental in shifting audience allegiance from regime to terrorist. That at least is the final goal of the combination of propaganda and terrorism, this combination seems vital for success. During revolutions in the 1940’s, 50’s and 60’s, success was observed when the two were combined, however when a freestanding terror campaign was launched they usually met with failure. When casting Tugwells (1986) idea into an academic model the following figure is the result.

### Successful Video Propaganda

#### Triad of Propaganda

- **Virtue**
- **Evil Enemy**
- **Inevitable Victory**

#### Media Techniques

- Guilt Transfer
- Invulnerability
- Spurious Justification
- Disarming Themes
- Terror

**Figure 1. Model illustration of Tugwell's theory**

This is where Tugwells theory ends, he concluded that by incorporating the three core elements forming the triad of propaganda with the above described techniques, one might expect for a
propaganda campaign to be successful. However, over time other authors came up with their own
ideas, challenging or adding to Tugwells (1986) theory.

First it is important to understand that the media techniques described by Tugwell (1986) are only a
few that the propagandist can use in its goal to influence the masses. The institute for Propaganda
Analysis (2011), pioneers in the work of educating the American public about the widespread nature
of political propaganda, described some of the following techniques which are still frequently used.

- **Appeal to emotions**: Making use of a logical fallacy characterized by the manipulation of the
  audiences emotions in order to win an argument. According to Labossiere (2014) and
  Boermans (2015) an emotion that is commonly appealed to is the one of fear, with which the
  propagandist tries to create support for an idea or cause by using deception and increasing
  the feeling of fear, prejudice and anxiety.

- **Appeal to force**: Is a technique that makes use of force or threats in order to change the minds
  of the audience in joining a certain cause, thus Boermans (2015).

- **Moral Panic**: The creation of a feeling that some evil threatens the well-being of a whole
  society, this form of propaganda is commonly used to influence the opinion of the masses
  against a certain regime or society. Scott (2014) states that the media are key players in
  spreading such a message of fear, simply reporting ‘facts’ can be enough to generate a feeling
  of anxiety or panic.

- **Name Calling**: Using derogatory names, titles and words to associate the target with
  something negative. According to the institute for Propaganda Analysis (2011) this technique
  is commonly used to discredit someone, because the target audience will associate their
  thoughts and feelings with the name that is propagated. Complex arguments aren’t always
  necessary to win a target audience over.

- **Glittering Generalities**: According to the institute of Propaganda Analysis (2011) this technique
  uses generalities that are interpretable by anyone with the aim to stir up feelings of approval,
  sympathy and support. This technique includes the appeal to emotions because each person
  will apply their own preconceptions, experiences and ideas as to what the generality means to
  them. It has a meaning to everyone, so it will reach each and anyone who views the
  propaganda in their own way.

- **Transfer**: Eaton & Gwinner (1999) claim that transfer is the act of using things like symbols,
  titles, memberships or associations to transfer an idea or belief to someone else.

- **Testimonial**: According to the institute of Propaganda Analysis (2011) testimonial is the using
  of social proof to influence the masses, those who haven’t made up their mind or aren’t
critical thinkers. It will use sources that are known to the audience, well known and trusted public figures. These individuals will promote a certain idea that the propagandist wants to promote.

- **Plain Folks:** According to the institute of Propaganda Analysis (2011) the plain folks technique is showing the viewer that the propagandist holds the same beliefs and values as the viewer, that they are the same. By using this technique the viewer is able to relate to the message of the propagandists because they share things like social status or misfortunes.

- **Card Stacking:** The propagandist using this technique is commonly downplaying all the negative events that threaten the coherence of the propaganda source. McClung & Lee (1939) claim that it is emphasising all the great things about the source of the propaganda. Pros, benefits, facts, and supporting opinions are brought into the limelight and stacked up, while cons, dissenting viewpoints, and counterpoints are pushed aside, not addressed, or repressed.

- **Bandwagon:** Colman (2008) states that this technique is used to create the perception that everyone is doing or thinking something that is in alignment with the propagandists agenda. If everyone is doing or thinking the same thing, it creates pressure to conform to this group. The aim of this technique is to ‘persuade people to follow a general trend by reinforcing the human need to participate on the winning side.’,

Besides the additional available techniques for the propagandists, a number of other authors have contributed and challenged Tugwell’s (1986) theory with their own ideas. Furthermore, other authors already went before Tugwell (1986) in terms of laying the groundwork of propaganda research. One of these authors was Baruch A. Hazan (1976), who tried to analyse how an individual might be influenced by propaganda.

### 2.2 Influencing the individual - Hazan

In order to reach an audience, according to Hazan (1976), it is very important for propaganda to penetrate several ‘screens’ in order to be effectively perceived by its audience. First the message must get through the viewers absorption screen, which is basically getting someone to perceive the propaganda. However, according to Hazan (1976), in order for propaganda to be effective it must also penetrate the personality screen. To do this the propaganda message must be relatable for the viewer, one’s personal beliefs, values, interests, attitudes, etc. must be more or less on the same line with the perceived information. When this screen is successfully penetrated, the viewer might form an opinion about it and become influenced by the message. Eventually this might change the viewers’ personality into acting in the name of the propagandist. This reasoning would suggest that certain propaganda can only influence specific people, who already have views that are in line with those of the terrorists producing the propaganda. In order to get the message across to a broader audience, a
different approach would be needed, in order to appeal to people who would normally reject the organizations propaganda. These people can also be reached with propaganda messages of fear, instead of convincing them, piercing the absorption screen may be enough to scare them or through anxiety convince them that their only option is to join the propagandist. For those touched by the terrorist propaganda the effect may, according to Hazan (1976), become irreversible. ‘*He who acts in obedience to propaganda can never go back*’. The individual who has been changed by the propaganda and is now acting in its name will have to justify the, usually horrendous, acts to him or herself. One must believe that the propaganda is real and true, because the individual has to consume it in order to justify the acts. Hazan (1976) claimed that for such an individual propaganda is extremely important, the deeper ones actions carry him or her into the world of reversed morality, the more this individual is depending on propaganda to justify the acts.

Jacques Ellul’s (1965) work, which was complemented by that of Hazan (1976), argued that propaganda was not a way to implement new ideas, but rather compounding and crystallizing them. The propagandists aim is to reinforce ideas and beliefs that are already present in the target viewers head. A key element to the success of propaganda, according to Ellul (1965), is its immersive nature. By flooding someone with messages that reinforce already present ideas the viewer might get lost within this wilderness of mirrors. This might eventually trigger participation in the propagandist’s agenda and, ultimately, derive satisfaction from it, thus Ellul (1965). This reasoning is in line with Hazans (1976) theory of the point of no return, once the influenced individual has moved into the world of reversed morality, there is no way out.

In more depth, Ellul (1965) argues that when it comes to sending a political message, there is no single propaganda, but instead a constant interplay and use of various forms and techniques. These techniques are structured on the lines of various targeted audiences. This is something which is still applicable for today’s propaganda of Islamic State. By using an interplay of varying themes and techniques the propagandists manage to influence a broad audience. However, according to Ellul (1965) the propaganda message cannot operate in a vacuum, for it to reach its target there should be a milieu of supporting ideas. Ellul (1965) calls this milieu the pre-propaganda and without it, propaganda cannot survive. Basically this theory is in line with that of Hazans (1976) absorption and personality screens, a propaganda message only has effect when the target individual can identify him/herself with it. The individuals supporting the projected message have usually already bought into it and depend on it to ‘survive’. This is where Ellul’s (1965) work is overlapping that of Hazan (1976) again, the individual who crossed into the world of reversed morality needs the propaganda to thrive. Because the message is usually justifying the acts perpetrated by the terrorist. For Ellul (1965), this dependence is called the ‘*mentality of the propagandee*’, in which the individual ceases to lose any
interest in anything but the propaganda approving the actions of the individual. To achieve this mentality it is important for the propagandist to reinforce the propagandees negative beliefs in order to detach the individual from reality. By reinforcing and multiplying negative prejudice thoughts the individual will become convinced he is right in harbouring them. Ellul (1965) believes that ultimately the individual will become so alienated from its peers that he or she will become another person, obeying to impulses and messages that were once foreign to him/her.

Basically, Ellul (1965) and Hazan (1976) tried to create some in-depth theories on the workings of propaganda and how its influencing its audiences, emphasizing on the individual. By doing so they only paid attention to one part of the propaganda process, whereas for example Tugwell (1986) mainly focussed on explaining how the propaganda process overall is carried out in order to be effective. Some of the elements used in their theories are still applicable to the current situation of Islamic State propaganda. One of these elements of piercing the different screens in order to reach a target individual, in essence this can be perceived as requirement of a certain supportive milieu in order to be effective. When conducting an analysis of IS propaganda it can be useful to look at the target audiences, how do they perceive and receive the propaganda, what is the current public mood, in what context is the propaganda received (current events etc.). By including such elements the analyst may create a better picture of the message and whether it is received well by the audience.

Research on the effectiveness of propaganda did not end here. In more recent years various researchers have created new theories on the use of propaganda. A duo of analysts created a framework which could be used to determine whether propaganda is successful in reaching its objective or not. It consists of a ten-step plan which incorporates the major elements of propaganda. Despite the great deal of information this model will provide it still makes it hard to determine the long-term effects of the propaganda, because the outcome may not be known for a long time. Furthermore, it will need a great deal of individual interviews in order to determine what effects the propaganda had on its audience, so success is still very hard to define despite the broad approach of this model. However, on the other hand, the model allows the analyst to observe media utilization and used techniques directly in actual settings. As will become clear, some of the already mentioned theories and their most important elements have been incorporated into this framework.

2.3 Describing the framework of Jowett & O’Donnell
The Jowett & O’Donnell (2012) framework is a ten-step plan that has incorporated the major components of propaganda and allows the researcher to look into the propaganda videos messages and audience response directly. It may have some overlapping points, but in doing so it provides the researcher with a broad, detailed look at the propaganda campaign. Finally, some of the new
propaganda techniques, as are also described earlier, have been incorporated in the ten-step plan, due to the fact that ‘the forms of new media and how they are used have always been significant in modern propaganda.’ There is however, one point of attention mentioned by Jowett and O’Donnell (2012), which is the fact that most of the long-term effects of propaganda may not be known for years. However, due to the fact that their framework also allows for a lot of insights and details on the short term, Jowett & O’Donnell (2012) claim that a researcher should be able to receive quite a bit of detailed information about the workings of the propaganda campaign.

**Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Video**

The first step in analysing propaganda, according to Jowett and O’Donnell (2012), should be analysing the ideology and goal of the propagandist. The purpose of propaganda may be to influence people or have them adopt beliefs that are shared by the propagandist. According to Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) the analyst, in locating the ideology, is looking for ‘a set of beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours as well as for ways of perceiving and thinking that are agreed on to the point that they constitute a set of norms for society that dictate what is desirable and what should be done.’ Furthermore, the analyst should be looking for messages that try to legitimize behaviour of institutions and organizations it represents and thereby ensuring the legitimacy of its activities. This final point is corresponding with the second theme of Tugwell (1986), who is also claiming that terrorist propaganda uses the element of the evil enemy. This enemy should be destroyed, therefore legitimizing any action necessary. Once such actions are accepted by the masses, the purpose of propaganda, according to Melching & Stuivenga (2011), has been achieved.

**The Context in Which Propaganda Occurs**

According to Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) the success of propaganda is depending on the socio-cultural context and the current mood in society. They compare propaganda to the dropping of seeds on a fertile soil; to understand how these seeds can grow and spread, analysis of the soil – the current time, events and social settings – is required. Basically it is essential to take societies prevailing mood, political issues, culture and history into account when analysing the success rate of terrorist propaganda.

**Identification of the Propagandist**

According to Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) the source of propaganda can be an organization or institution with the propagandist at its head, however it can also be the other way around, a propagandist working by order of an organization. In some cases identity of the propagandist is concealed in order to achieve its goals. It is important for the analyst to find out the source of the propaganda in order to determine if the true motivations can be determined. When the source of the
propaganda is concealed this might point at black propaganda, which has the goal of distorting and misleading the analyst.

The Structure of the Propaganda Organization
According to Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) successful propaganda tend to originate from a strong, centralized, decision-making authority, or in this case the Islamic State government, that produces a consistent message throughout its structure. Therefore, leadership will be strong and centralized, with a hierarchy built in the organization with an authoritative figure at the top. The structure of the propaganda spread usually includes goals, objectives and achievements. How different media outlets are used in order to spread these messages is a point of attention when looking at the structure of the propaganda organization.

The Target Audience
In traditional propaganda the target used to be the mass audiences, however in modern day propaganda this is not always the case. Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) state that sometimes isolated groups are the preferred target of the propagandist. It is important for the analyst to analyse how the audience is reached by the propagandist, what message is spread through the videos in order to recruit the audience. The propagandists usually use mass media in order to reach their audiences, this can be through internet, social media, journals/glossy and radio. Therefore the researcher should determine what techniques are used to select and reach the audience, because there may be a correlation between selection practices and success rate of the propaganda.

Media Utilization Techniques
According to Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) propagandists may use different media techniques in order to spread their message and reach their target audiences. These techniques may include internet, social media, journals, radio, flyers, etc. It is important for the analyst to compare messages coming from the same source to determine any consistent patterns or apparent purpose. Furthermore, the tone and visual messages of, in this case videos, should be examined, because they might have a conditioning effect on the audiences (for example creating a feeling that summary executions are normal). Finally the analyst should look into how the audience and media receives and interprets the message.

Special Techniques to Maximize Effect
As already described in the theory section, there are a great number of propaganda techniques which can be used to persuade the public. Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) argue that the use of propaganda techniques is way too complex to limit the techniques to a short list, which is exactly what the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (2011) did. The institute has divided propaganda in seven categories: Glittering Generalities; Name Calling; Testimonial; Plain Folks; Bandwagon; Transfer and Card-stacking.
Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) have opted for a broader categorical approach to examine the different tactics and techniques of propaganda.

- For a message to be most effective, it should be in line with existing opinions, beliefs and dispositions – it will create resonance.
- Source credibility is one of the contributing factors whether a message will be accepted and influence change. Opinion leaders, experts, celebrities or any other accepted authoritative figures are effective in establishing the legitimacy of change and are tied to information control. Once such a source is accepted as credible, another issue might be directed to them since they are credible sources of information.
- Face-to-Face contact will also contribute to a message coming across more effective, does the target audience have any location to visit where they can get more information on the matter?
- Groups norms are beliefs, values and behaviour derived from membership in a group, these factors can be used to the advantage of the propagandist. By exploiting the individuals tendency to conform to a group, the propagandist can try to create a herd instinct among crowd.
- Reward and punishment can be used to convince the target audience to accept a message.
- Create a monopoly over the source of communication, such as a single newspaper or television network. Using this to broadcast a consistent and repetitious message, people are unlikely to challenge the message.
- The use of visual and verbal symbols of power can influence the target audience. For example having a speaker using strong language while standing in front of a huge flag or other symbol of the organization may create a larger than life feeling among the public. It creates a sense of potency.
- Finally the use of music and lyrics are important propaganda techniques, people easily associate these tunes with emotions and are therefore easily aroused.

**Audience Reaction to Various Techniques**

To analyse the effect of propaganda on the target audience, Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) claim that the audience response should be examined. This can be done by creating or using public opinion polls and surveys as reported in the media, however it must be noted that the silent supporters will probably not fill in an online survey. The most important thing to look for is the behaviour of the target audience. This can be in the form of voting, joining the organization, making contributions, purchasing merchandise, forming local support groups or any other forms action that can be traced back to the propaganda.
**Counterpropaganda**
Counterpropaganda is an effort made to oppose the propaganda spread around by the terrorist organization. In countries with free media this will happen open and publicly, in opposed or controlled regimes this will happen underground. Jowett & O’Donnell (2012) try to make it clear to the public that counterpropaganda is a thing that exists and can be used to oppose propaganda. However, this element isn’t of much important for the video analysis, since this will focus only on IS propaganda and can therefore be left out of the analysis.

**Effects and Evaluation**
According to Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) the most important thing for an analyst looking into the effects of propaganda is whether the purpose of the propaganda has been fulfilled, have the goals been achieved? If the overall goal has not been achieved, maybe some specific goals have. If some goals have failed to be achieved it would be interesting for the analyst to look into the failure as well. In order to determine whether a propagandists message is effective, the analyst should be looking for the adoption of the propagandists language among the public, a rise in supporters or a change in behaviour among the target public.

The model of Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) can be very helpful in answering the research question whether the model of Tugwell (1986) ought to be updated in order to understand the workings of Islamic State propaganda. However, it is focussing on a great many details which aren’t relevant to the model of Tugwell (1986) and can therefore be left out. Therefore several elements of the model might be used for the analytical framework, but modification is necessary to include other important elements as well. One of the most recent researches focussed on Islamic State propaganda which should also be incorporated when creating a new model is that of Charlie Winter (2015). His research focussed on analysing the propaganda of Islamic State, how it developed over time with the ultimate goal of understanding its message in order to propose an effective counter-narrative strategy against the propaganda. Winter (2015) proposed that Islamic State is making use of six new themes which they combine in order for their propaganda to be effective. Due to the recent nature of this research, it would be recommendable to include these findings in my own propaganda analysis as well.

**2.4 Six themes of Islamic State’s Propaganda**
A common misconception about Islamic State propaganda is that it is all about brutal and excessive violence. However, the ultra-violent scenes are part of something bigger, a full propaganda campaign. According to Charlie Winters (2015) theory, brutality is just one of the six broad themes the organization is using to bolster its ranks and further its strategic goals. He calls the brutality theme a ‘red herring’, commonly viewed as the main focus of all Islamic State propaganda, however this is a misconception since their propaganda is focussing on various other themes as well. According to
Winter (2015) there are five other themes which are: mercy, victimhood, war, belonging and utopianism. According to Winter (2015) these themes are not discrete, they are usually employed together.

Brutality is one of the themes Islamic state takes most pride in showing in their propaganda. After all every time an execution is carried out, documented and published, it serves as a reminder of the organizations supremacy and its ability to exact revenge on behalf of Sunni Muslims against the Shiite community and their crusader allies. According to Winter (2015) the most brutal propaganda serves as a way to convey both vengeance and supremacy. This theme of propaganda is used to target Islamic States opponents, rather than to recruit others. For example, Berger & Stern (2015) mentioned the killing of James Foley, which attracted international attention, served to warn potential enemies of the unwavering ruthlessness which will be dealt to them if they are caught opposing the Islamic State. The use of brutality serves a number of motivations. Mainly to intimidate enemies, warn local populations of the punishment associated with resistance, provoke outrage from international media (and the consequent media attention) and cause knee-jerk responses from hostile regimes.

Mercy is a regularly featured theme in IS propaganda. In videos like the Clanging of the Swords; part 4, scenes of brutality are usually alternated with those of mercy. Scenes in which repentance before Allah and the Islamic State are shown. The message of this theme is clear, Islamic State can and will show mercy upon repenting. One past affiliation will be forgiven, provided it is wholly rejected by the individual in question and obedience to the caliphate and Caliph Ibrahim are guaranteed. If those conditions are met, Winter (2015) states that any individual may become part of the Islamic State, even civilians, former government employees and sworn enemies of the Al-Nusra Front and Free Syrian army.

Victimhood is, according to Winter (2015) the theme which tries to convey a message which states that the whole world is waging a war on Sunni Muslims. Like mercy, victimisation is commonly used alongside brutality. The perfect example is the video in which Jordanian pilot al-Kasabeh is being burned alive. Shortly before the pilot is immolated images and scenes of dead children as a result of coalition airstrikes are being shown. These images serve to remind the viewer that the form of brutality about to be shown is a retaliation for all the Islamic State civilians that have died as a result of western bombs. Therefore even the burning of a human is justified, because this is only retaliation for what people in the Islamic State endure every day. The IS propagandists commonly choose to show dead or mutilated children in their propaganda to show the crimes of the evil enemy. These images also serve to manipulate the theme of victimhood even further to play on the hearts of the audience.
War is the fourth theme shown in the propaganda of Islamic State. This theme is integrated in the videos through scenes of their mighty war machine, equipment, training and operations of martyrdom and sacrifice. Furthermore, scenes of frontline fighting and assaults are shown, naturally ending with the inevitable victory. According to Winter (2015) all these components are usually combined into a coherent display of power and supremacy over the enemy. Feeding on the idea that the Islamic State is a real country with a conventional army, able to overcome any obstacle thrown at them. These images will not only serve to raise fighters morale, but it also presents supporters and sympathisers with an inside view of the workings of the military apparatus. Thereby influencing people up to a point which depicts fighting for the Islamic State as a great and fun game.

Belonging is the fifth theme and distinguishes itself from the others themes by focussing on the brotherhood in the caliphate. Winter (2015) argues that it is the most powerful theme to draw in new recruits, especially from western countries. It focusses on showing fighters relaxing, fraternizing, singing and having fun together in the promised land. Especially the videos published for international recruitment purposes include foreign fighters from varying countries having a good time. This theme is very important to exploit, by showing new recruits how attractive living in the caliphate is, they will feel a sense of belonging that is powerful enough to draw them in. Thanks to this theme the propagandists have made the Islamic State accessible for everyone, surpassing al-Qaeda’s view of a small elite band of brothers, instead democratizing the Jihad.

Utopianism is the final theme implemented in Islamic State propaganda. According to Winter (2015) it is the broadest and most important of all the six themes, This theme constantly reminds the world of the fact that the Islamic State’s establishment is unique and above all other extremist claims. By producing as much propaganda backing up this claim, the more resilient IS becomes against claims of illegitimacy. The theme shows how the Islamic State is formed and operated in terms of state structure, but it also puts emphasis on the daily life in the caliphate. Especially the depiction of the daily life in the Islamic State serves the purpose of showing the world that, despite the war that is raging on all borders, they are able to provide security and stability. By declaring the establishment of the returned caliphate, Islamic State managed to seize the initiative over all other extremist Islamist claims. In combination with their successful military operations it asserted dominance to back up their claim of utopia. Furthermore, claims of loyalty to the Caliph Ibrahim and the caliphate are projected on all media in forms in order to show the world that, slowly but steadily, the Islamic State is getting momentum and will soon cover the world.

The above described authors all touch upon elements and techniques which are, in their eyes, vital parts of the propaganda process. Whether this be the form of a propaganda message or how the
masses and individuals are influenced, they all contributed to the body of knowledge. For example, Ellul (1965) and Hazan (1976) both focussed on the effect propaganda might have on the individual. Thereby explaining the workings of the several absorption screens which the message must penetrate in order to reach the target and also showing how a supportive milieu is essential in order for a propaganda message to be received well. With this research they laid the groundwork for later authors who frequently referred to- and challenged Ellul (1965) and Hazan (1976) works. It is important to note that these two authors both only addressed a small part of the overall propaganda machine, which is the target audience. Therefore it is hard to compare them to later authors such as Tugwell (1986), who tried to explain propaganda from a more abstract level. Ellul (1965) and Hazan (1976) thus focussed on details, whereas Tugwell (1986) takes the more Meta approach. His research tried to create a model which would allow later researchers to determine whether certain propaganda could be described as effective, this would be the case if the elements from his model could be aligned to the examined propaganda. His research should be seen in the timeframe of the 1980’s, a world without internet and social media and is therefore limited in current day use. However, due to the abstract nature of his triad of propaganda and the incorporated basic techniques his model can certainly be used to a certain extent. It actually becomes very interesting when his triad is compared to the recent findings about Islamic State propaganda of Charlie Winter (2015). His empirical research is connecting the made observations to more abstract levels: the six themes of propaganda. These six themes can be broadly linked to the triad of propaganda of Tugwell (1986). For example, Tugwell is talking about the virtuous Promised Land, at the same time Winter mentions Utopianism as the broadest and most important theme of Islamic State propaganda. This theme constantly reminds the world of the fact that Islamic State is unique and above all other extremist claims, they are the flagbearers and representatives of Allah. Furthermore, he also uses the theme of belonging to show the target audience how great life in the ‘promised land’ or caliphate is. By showing recruits how attractive living there is, they might feel a sense of belonging that is powerful enough to draw them in. This theme can also easily be linked to the virtue of the triad of propaganda. So basically these two themes are in essence the same as the element of Tugwell’s (1986) triad, in which case his model could still be applied whether it in a more complex nature. It doesn’t stop there, the themes of brutality and war mentioned by Winter can easily be connected to that of the ‘evil enemy’ in the triad of propaganda. Both these themes focus on destroying the enemy which stands in the way of reaching the Promised Land, therefore any means necessary to destroy this enemy are permitted. However, the theme of war can also be linked to the final victory, because it shows the mighty war machine IS has to its disposal. This will naturally result in only one outcome, victory. The remaining two themes of mercy and victimhood might not have such an obvious link to the triad of propaganda, however mercy might be linked to virtue as well since it shows the forgiving nature of the caliphate. Furthermore,
victimhood might be linked to the evil enemy, since it shows how the organization is the victim of the oppression under the evil enemy regime. Nonetheless, it becomes rather obvious that the more complex findings of Winter (2015) can generally be brought back to the more simplistic triad of propaganda of Tugwell (1986).

So it might be concluded that both Tugwell (1986) and Winter (2015) made the same contribution to the body of knowledge of propaganda and that their research, in broad lines, is compatible. There is however an important element in research of propaganda which Winter (2015) describes as being a ‘red herring’. He claims that researchers have been focusing on only a single element of propaganda, which is brutality. ‘That the violence depicted is a result of the propagandists desire to outrage hostile audiences abroad and gratify their supporters at home’. There is however, according to Winter (2015), much more to the propaganda strategy of Islamic State, which makes use of five other themes in order to influence its target audience. This finding, of a tunnel vision focused on brutality of propaganda can actually be acknowledged when looking around in various articles on the working of propaganda, Tugwell (1986) being one of them. Tugwell (1986) described the virtuous promised land as being a final state, a desirable end point for a revolution. ‘It must justify the resort to violence by depicting the incumbent regime as deaf to reason and incapable to reform’. So basically Tugwell (1986) is focusing on brutality as well, since the evil enemy and inevitable victory are means to achieve virtue, but virtue itself as means of propaganda is mostly left out the functional picture, it only serves as an ideal end result. Therefore, this research will try to avoid the red herring of brutality and take a more novel approach in terms of propaganda analysis. It will focus on more than just brutality with regard to understanding the propaganda process of Islamic State, focusing more on the utopia themes of the organization as well. It might turn out that these themes deserve a more complex place within the model of Tugwell (1986) than only being mentioned as being the ideal end state.

Finally, to determine whether the model of Tugwell (1986) is still useful in understanding Islamic States complex propaganda machine it is important to conduct a thorough research. In this research the theories of both Ellul (1965) and Hazan (1976) can be useful as background information, however since they are focusing on much details of only a small portion of this field, their knowledge will probably be of little relevance to this study. Therefore it will be dependent on an analysis of various IS propaganda videos. We already know, thanks to the research of Winter (2015), that various themes in the propaganda of IS match those of the triad of propaganda of Tugwell (1986). However, it would be useful to look into each of these themes with more detail, in order to determine if they touch upon other elements and subjects which might not be addressed or linked to Tugwell’s (1986) triad. Furthermore, a detailed analysis might bring other factors to light which have not been addressed by other researchers. The question then would be whether these factors can be linked to Tugwell (1986)
or not, if not it would mean the model would require some revisions. As already mentioned as an example, the Utopian element has been mentioned by both Tugwell (1986) and Winter (2015), but still hasn’t been fully appreciated in research, but seems to be very important for Islamic State since they are increasingly using it in their propaganda. Therefore extra attention should be given to these themes, in order to determine whether Tugwell (1986) isn’t too simplistic after all and in order to get rid of the red herring, known as brutality in the world of scientific propaganda research.

In order to carry out the propaganda analysis, a detailed model should be drawn up that addresses all the questions brought to light by this research. Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) created a ten-step plan of analysis that incorporates the major elements of propaganda. It allows for the researcher to directly study media utilization and audience response in an actual setting. Using this model would be useful for a researcher who is looking to study the complete propaganda process, including historical research, examination of the message, media, sensitivity of the audience, etc. However, this is not the aim of this research, since it is looking to find whether an older model is still applicable in today’s society with an emphasis on certain older and recently introduced themes, elements and techniques. Furthermore, this research is looking for evidence that perhaps there is much more to propaganda than the red herring, brutality, which was recently brought to light by Winter (2015). Therefore an analysis with emphasis on these factors should be conducted. Nonetheless, the framework of Jowett and O’Donnell (2012) might prove useful after all, in the sense that it lays the groundwork for thorough and detailed research and is actually focussing on some of the factors that have just been mentioned. For example the focus on the context in which the propagandist tries to influence its target audiences. Therefore it could be useful to include some elements from this framework in this research, or to modify the framework in such a way in order to make it relevant for this study. The analysis should include questions that are focussing on the triad of propaganda of Tugwell (1986), are the three elements of his model plus the five techniques he introduced used in the analysed video material? The six themes of Winter (2015) should be included as well, since they seem to be correlating with the triad of Tugwell (1986) and are giving us a clear understanding of the propaganda of Islamic State. Furthermore an emphasis on all the used propaganda techniques, not just the five of Tugwell (1986), but also the techniques as mentioned by the institute for Propaganda Analysis (2011), among others. Furthermore the ways of reaching and influencing the target audience should be included as well, what forms of media are used to reach the target audience? Much has changed since Tugwell (1986) drew up his model with regard to media techniques, perhaps this has also changed the way how the audience is influenced, thus meaning an extra attribution to the original Tugwell (1986) model. Finally the context in which the propaganda occurs, does it matter whether a propaganda message is spread in a socialist fearing world or one that is afraid of extremist Muslims? Or is the
process always the same regardless the ideology of the group that is spreading the message? By incorporating questions such as these in a cohesive analytical framework, one might expect to get a full picture of the workings of the propaganda of Islamic State and it can therefore be determined whether the model of Tugwell (1986) needs adjustments or is in essence still applicable to the modern day world.
Chapter three: Methodology

When carrying out video propaganda analysis the resulting visual data will be of qualitative nature and help us gain understanding of underlying reasons and motivations. Such data will be perfect for a case study, such as the one this research is looking to conduct. It will not only allow for comparison of variables, rather it allows for an in-depth analysis of the material provided by Islamic State. Furthermore a case study, according to Snapsurveys (2016), may provide insights into the setting of a problem, generating ideas and hypotheses for later quantitative research. Finally it may uncover prevalent trends in thought, opinion, or in this case propaganda. So therefore this research is opting for a qualitative multiple-case design which is part of the overall conceptual methodological research. Eight videos will be compared to each other to see whether the used components and elements align with each other and if they are also represented in the theories, as described in the theory section.

When carrying out a video analysis of video footage spread around by Islamic State, several things must be considered before an analysis is actually carried out. First and foremost it is important that the videos can actually be linked to the research question, it should be relevant for the social theories and themes. Therefore the videos should be carefully chosen. However, Knoblauch (2008) argues that since the videos are the unit of analysis, they should have some similar components in order for the data collection to be aligned. So basically, the video and the derived data have to be placed and understood in the proper context. Furthermore there should be decided on a scale of assessment and analysis strategies for managing video data and to prevent data overload, in this case a rather small sample will be taken. This small sample is due to time factors, the conducted research and consequent master thesis have to be completed in a matter of months, therefore a conceptual methodological research with a sample of hundreds is just not realistic. It is obvious that a larger sample would be better, this would increase the validity of the research, however the methodology is very extensive and time consuming and therefore a smaller sample has to be taken.

It is interesting to note that the use of visual and video material in scientific research has been something that has only recently been fully accepted. Outside the social sciences, the use of visual materials was usually found in a wide range of cultural spheres. Bohnsack (2008) states that visual material constitute an important part of the arts, broadcast, print and new media. However, the rapid development of information technology and the increased use of visual forms of communication caused for these elements to be more and more incorporated into social sciences. The digital storage of information and images, the availability of video technology and its digitally accessibility, the use of visual surveillance technologies or the transformation of textual to video forms of information and communication changed the way in which research could be conducted. However, not just the development and improvement of visual qualitative technologies are responsible for this acceptance.
into science. Christmann & Gabriela (2008) noted that the theoretical backdrop supporting the use of visual data in science have made it so that these data collection methods became a welcome addition to the already present research tools in various scientific fields. Today the application of visual research methods have become widespread accepted throughout the social sciences.

On top of these considerations there are several advantages and disadvantages to using video footage, as mentioned by Jewitt (2012). The first advantage being that video material can always be re-opened in order for a second analysis to be carried out, which might observe things that others did not notice at the time of being present. It enables the researcher to re-visit a moment not as being in the past, but formerly present. Furthermore, other researchers or participants can be invited to watch, reflect and discuss on the videos. Videos can, which is very important for this study, be used effectively to support empirical comparisons, strategies or theories. Finally it can be used to re-awaken the memories and experiences of a researcher, participant or in this case a witness of the atrocities carried out by Islamic State.

There are, however, also some disadvantages mentioned by Jewitt (2012) to using video footage which have to be taken into account when conducting a video analysis, especially when it’s analysing video propaganda. The first disadvantage is the limited and shaped decisions shown by the video, the propaganda videos show what the producer wants its public to perceive. It is therefore that the video data is partial: it includes and excludes elements chosen by the producer. It is usually edited to represent the order of events in a new way. Therefore the video isn’t objective and it will take quite some effort to separate the facts from fiction. The downside of this task is the fact that it takes time to watch and review a video, furthermore the researcher himself is also subjective in nature and therefore might dismiss some facts as being fiction and the other way around. For this reason a careful assessment and a meaningful summary should be made by those things shown in the video.

Concerning the data collection, to find an answer on the research question, it would be perfect to use various Islamic State propaganda videos. These video’s will vary in format and content and may show both violent and peaceful footage in order to get their message across. There are some videos out there on the internet which have been very clearly produced for recruitment purposes, ‘there is no life without Jihad’ is one of them. However, since many of the videos produced have various themes in them, both with the purpose of scaring the enemies of the caliphate and also recruiting people at the same time (for example the clanging of the swords videos) it will be difficult to give each video a specific label. Therefore it will be likely that videos with multiple purposes might be included in the analysis. But this doesn’t seem much of a problem since the analysis is so broad and detailed that at least some useful data will be derived from it. However, in order to get at least a clear image of the best videos, a thorough search on the internet has to be made before the analysis is carried out.
Tugwell’s (1986) research mainly focussed on terrorist propaganda spread around in order to draw more people to their cause, so recruitment videos. This is also described by Hazan (1976) and Ellul (1965) who published an in-depth analysis of the workings of persuasion carried out by propaganda. However, the research of Winter (2015), among others, shows us that the purpose of Islamic State propaganda is not just about recruitment, there is more to it. According to Williams (2016) and other media sources like the BBC (2016) Islamic State is also focussing on the spreading of fear and gaining legitimization for their ‘state’, therefore a broader approach to the analysis of the working of propaganda might be preferred. This is exactly what will be done in this research, a broad look into the working of videos with various purposes. By analysing these videos this research aims to find that the way in which IS has created their propaganda is perhaps more complex than previously thought by Tugwell (1986) and those who’ve gone before him.

3.1 The analytical framework

The framework of Jowett and O’Donnell (2012), as described in the theory section, may provide the basis for a broad video analysis. However, its purpose is an extremely thorough and detailed research into the overall working of a propaganda campaign. Since this is not the aim of this research, the overall model will not be used. Nonetheless, some elements of the framework might prove useful to understand the workings of propaganda, therefore parts of it will be used but with several modifications in order to make it more suitable for this research. For example, the part focussing on the structure of the propaganda organization. It is unnecessary to answer this question, since it is obvious who the commander of the propagandist is. The Islamic State propaganda is part of a hierarchical structure, therefore it is following a top-down command structure which is the same for every single video. It is, however, imperative to have some understanding of this structure and what expectations the command might have from the videos. Therefore an explanation of the state structure of Islamic State is included as an appendix in this thesis. The next part of this chapter will focus on the analytical framework, the elements that are included and an explanation for each of the used elements. The framework can be divided in roughly two sections, topics which provide us with background information which is required to understand the overall working of propaganda and the topics vital for the research question. The additional background information might provide the researcher with insights vital for modern day propaganda which weren’t around in the time of Tugwell (1986).
3.2 General & Supportive information

Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Video

According to Jowett & O’Donnell (2012) the ideology of propaganda provides the audience with a comprehensive conceptual framework for dealing with social and political reality. The ideology will determine how the arguments are received and interpreted by the target audience. It determines how the world is perceived, what is good, bad, right, wrong, etc. and its prescribing what society is actually like according to the organization spreading the propaganda. So in essence the ideology lays the groundwork for the message which propaganda will be spreading, it is the overall element of which propaganda is only a part. Therefore it is of high importance to use it in this analysis. Tugwell (1986) drew up his model in a time in which the socialist/communist ideologies were still perceived as big threats to the rest of the western world, during the Cold War. Tugwell (1986) claimed, in an abstract manner, that ideology driven terrorism was directed at democracies, because terrorism by its very nature proclaims that elected governments and their laws are subordinate to demands backed by violence or the threat of violence. He claimed that terrorist ideology would inspire the organization in question to attack the democracy with violence, no matter the ideological background. Nonetheless, he based the part of the examples in his research on acts of socialist terrorists and of the propaganda created by Marxist-Leninist states. Therefore a question remains whether his claim of ideology inspired attacks on democracy have been inspired by the environment he was living in. However, due to the abstract nature of his claim it can be generalised to today’s world, in which we still see ideology driven attacks on the west, but this time by religiously motivated terrorists inspired by ‘Islam’.

Therefore it is important to analyse whether the model of Tugwell (1986), which has been drawn up in a very different environment, is still workable in a time in which terrorist groups have shifted in terms of ideology and motivation. Therefore the following questions can be used or serve as layout in the analysis in order to determine whether there is any difference with regard to the spreading of a message, regardless of ideology.

- Is there a set of beliefs, values, attitudes and behaviours as well as a way of perceiving and thinking that are agreed on to the point that they constitute a set of norms for society that dictate what is desirable and what should be done?
- Are there any messages that try to legitimize behaviour of institutions and organizations the propaganda represents and thereby ensuring the legitimacy of its activities?

Context in which Propaganda Occurs

Successful propaganda, according to Jowett and O’Donnell (2012), relates to the prevailing mood of times, it is essential to understand the events and climate that are currently going on. This element of
the analytical model isn’t so much of importance or relevant to the model of Tugwell (1986), but cannot be overlooked in the analysis of Islamic State propaganda. It is imperative to be aware of the events that have occurred and of the expected states of the world social system. Is there a struggle over power within the target audience? What is the prevailing mood of society? What issues are identifiable? How widely are the issues felt? What events have contributed to lead up to this point in time? These are a few examples of questions the propagandist has to ask himself when they are creating their propaganda message. Because of this it is important for the analyst to be aware of this situation as well, to get a complete picture of the environment and prevailing social context in which the propagandist is operating. Understanding of the context in which propaganda occurs will help contributing to our understanding of the workings of propaganda, therefore the following questions can be asked.

- What events have occurred in society in recent times?
- What are prevailing attitudes in society?
- How is the propagandist responding to the current situation?

The Target Audience

The target audience is selected by the propagandist for its potential effectiveness. According to Jowett & O’Donnell (2012) the message is aimed at a target group which will most likely respond in a desired way, whether this be in a supportive or frightful manner is dependent on the goal of the propaganda campaign. Ellul (1965) claimed that traditionally propaganda has always been targeting mass audiences in order to influence as many people as possible, however in modern day we also witness other possibilities. Propaganda campaigns specifically oriented at certain target groups. Islamic State, for example, has been increasingly targeting western Muslim audiences in order to draw more foreign fighters to the caliphate. The propagandist can also target different audiences for different purposes. For example it might target the average western civilian with the purpose of fear, it may target Muslim audiences to recruit supporters and it may target anyone in order to gain legitimacy for its status as state. Furthermore the ways in which the audiences are reached have greatly changed since the time of Tugwell (1986). In his time socialist propaganda was mostly spread around on pamphlets and publicity was gained by carrying out acts that would reach the national news, thus Stefanik (2009). Nowadays the possibilities to spread a message are numerous, social media and the general internet being a few of them. It is therefore important to wonder if these new techniques have any influence on the audience and if the message has changed due to the use of these fora. Or if perhaps, people will always remain people, no matter what technique is used to influence them. In order to get a clear understanding of the target audience, why it was picked and with what purposes, the following questions will be asked.
• What audience is targeted and why?
• How is the audience reached?
• What techniques are used to reach the target audience?
• How is the public’s mood?

Media Utilization Techniques
At first glance it seems rather easy to determine how propaganda uses the media. The analysis examines which media are being used by the propagandists. This can range from the press, radio, television to the internet, social media, telephones, glossies etc. However there is more to it than just the media forms itself. The messages coming to the audience by various media outlets should be compared in order to determine any consistency of apparent purpose. Describing the media usage alone is insufficient in drawing a picture of how the propaganda message is spread around and how it influences the masses. The main focus should be on how the media is used. If a propagandist makes use of more than one media outlet is there a difference in the message it is spreading? Is there a difference in effectiveness of different media outlets, for example, is a pamphlet less effective than a video? Is media used in order to conceal the true purpose of the propagandist? Therefore contributing to the manipulation of the audience. After all, propaganda is associated with the control of the information flow. The organization using the best techniques and the most suitable media outlets will be able to maximize their influence over the public opinion. In order to understand how Islamic State is spreading their message the following questions will be asked.

• What media forms are used?
• What tone is set in the video?
• Are there consistent patterns in the video material?
• How is the video received by the target audience and media?
• Is the message consistent with ideology of Islamic State?

3.3 Vital Topics & Information

Triad of Propaganda
Since this research is focussing on Tugwell’s (1986) triad of propaganda it can certainly not be left out in the analytical model. Checking the various videos for the elements, which Tugwell (1986) mentioned in his article as the triad of propaganda, will give us insight whether the core of his model is still applicable to modern day propaganda. It will be interesting to see whether the triad will come forward in Islamic State propaganda or if perhaps innovations have been made which would call for a change in the model of Tugwell (1986). The following questions will be asked.
Central Themes in the Propaganda Video
Partly complementing the triad of propaganda are the six themes as described by Winter (2015). Winter (2015) distinguished these themes as being commonly present in various propaganda videos of Islamic State. Since these six themes are broadly connected to the triad of propaganda it will probably produce some similar results to the previous topic with regard to the triad of propaganda. Nonetheless it will allow for a more detailed and complex look into the working of the IS propaganda machine. Furthermore, what is interesting for this research is to see whether the red herring of Winter (2015) is really a red herring or perhaps a misconception. Since Tugwell (1986) himself has also been focussing on brutality quite a lot as main element in propaganda it would be interesting to find out whether the other five themes perhaps have a greater role than until now expected. Therefore the analysis will also focus in particular on all other forms of propaganda besides the commonly shown brutality. If it turns out that these themes play a bigger role than previously thought it will also be a direct indicator that Tugwell’s (1986) model will need a revision. The following questions will therefore be asked.

- What themes, as described by Winter, are used in the video?
- In what relation to each other are the themes used?
- Is there an emphasis on any of the six themes?

Special Techniques to Maximize Effect
This part of the analytical model will focus on the other part of Tugwell’s (1986) model, namely the used propaganda techniques. Tugwell (1986) mentioned only five for propaganda to have any effect on its audiences. However, chapter two has shown us that there are numerous other propaganda techniques to be used. Many of these were already long available before Tugwell’s (1986) time, dating back to the 1940’s in which The institute for Propaganda Analysis (2011) had already analysed a number of techniques. Therefore this analysis should look into the propaganda techniques that are applied by Islamic State. Are any of the five techniques, as described by Tugwell (1986), used in their propaganda in any way? Or has Islamic State moved beyond the meagre number mentioned by Tugwell (1986), implementing a lot more or newer techniques? This part of the analysis is of great importance due to the fact that will give prove whether Tugwell (1986) is outdated or still applicable to modern day propaganda.
• Are there any specific techniques used?
• Is the message in the video in line with existing opinions, beliefs and dispositions?
• Is the source of the message perceived as being credible by the target audience?
• Is the propaganda trying to manipulate its audience by appealing to group norms?
• Are visual and verbal symbols used?
• To what emotions is the video appealing?

In order to achieve a full picture of the workings of a propaganda campaign one might assume that audience response and evaluation of the propaganda might be included in an analysis. However, Tugwell (1986) did not pay much attention to the audience response in his model and theory. This was more the research area of both Ellul (1965) and Hazan (1976) who focussed on the individual and the impact propaganda might have on them. This would mean, if this research were to include audience response and evaluation of propaganda in the analysis, an individual interview/analysis of the target audience has to be carried out. In order to do this, trust, money and a very broad network are required. Due to the timeframe in which this thesis has to be carried out it is just not feasible to include such research and therefore it will be left out. This research will focus on Tugwell’s (1986) model, if it is still applicable and whether perhaps new themes need more attention in analysis than previously thought. The individual aspect will not get any extensive attention whatsoever. The next page will include the above described analytical framework in model form.

The next chapter will apply the above described analytical framework in practice on various propaganda videos of Islamic State. Not every question might be answered due to the lack of information in a video, its length or because the question is not relevant for the video. However, the broad framework will surely provide the researcher with enough information to create a detailed perspective of what elements and themes are reoccurring or essential for Islamic State video to work.
Analytical framework - Propaganda

General and Supportive information

- Ideology and purpose of propaganda
- Context in which propaganda occurs
- The target audience
- Media Utilization Techniques

Vital topics and information

- The Triad of Propaganda
- Central themes in the propaganda
- Special techniques to maximize effect

Figure 2. Analytical Framework
Chapter four: Empirical Findings

4.1 The Clanging of the Swords series

‘Clanging of the Swords part one till four’. This series of video’s greatly shows the transition made by a nearly extinguished group to the mighty war machine we witnessed capturing a lot of territory in the Levant in 2014. These videos vary in content between ultra-violent scenes to peaceful conversations, speeches, conversions and prayers to Allah. Especially the conversions shown in several of the videos should convince people that, when they’re no Sunni Muslim they are still welcome in the Caliphate, as long as they convert. The returning theme in this video is showing the great might and awesomeness of the caliphate, its leader and the mujahedeen. Certainly, anyone watching these video’s should be convinced of the necessity of traveling to- and joining the caliphate, therefore these can be labelled as recruitment videos and are very useful for this research. The series was started with ‘Clanging of the Swords, part 1’ on June 30th, 2012 and was published by al-Furqān Media. The second part was released shortly after the first video, on the 16th of August, 2012. The time-lapse between the second and third video was somewhat longer, which can be explained by the improvement in video-quality and production, it was released on January 11th, 2013. Finally the fourth part was, like all the videos in the series, released by al-Furqān Media on May 17th, 2014. The videos can easily be accessed on various websites, but I found and watched them on www.jihadology.net.

4.1.1 The Clanging of the Swords; part 1, 30-06-2012

A little more than an hour long, the first part, of what would become a four part series, is little more than the typical terrorist propaganda of the late 2000s: Random video footage of explosions, attacks and executions, quickly put together in a video with an Islamic hymn accompanying it. The video consists of random fighting footage followed up by lecturing, talking and arguing jihadists. The video was mainly aimed at Iraqi officials working with both the USA and Iran. This video is applicable to an old saying about war, stating that its usually long periods of boredom punctuated by moments of sheer terror. The video consists of long boring lectures, alternated with combat footage, explosions and dead...
bodies. All and all the video is a rather dull collection of scenes put together by what seems an amateur film maker.

**Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Video**

This video was released at a time in which Islamic State was an insignificant offspring of Al-Qaeda. The video has no clear message besides that of shocking and striking terror into the hearts and minds of those who support the USA and Iran. This is where the focus of the video lies, showing officials and politicians giving interviews or speeches about the future of Iraq as they envision it. Obviously, the tiny group, that will grow into the Islamic State, does not agree with the views of these pro-western politicians and therefore conduct a terror campaign in order to put a scare on these individuals. However, there already is one striking difference from al-Qaeda propaganda insofar that the video inspires its viewer to take up the offensive against the enemies. Whereas AQ propaganda, according to Berger & Stern (2015), mainly propagated a defensive campaign against both the far and near enemy. It can be questioned whether this video has been developed by the order of IS leadership. Due to the fact that in this point of time the group is still so insignificant, not yet controlling a large propaganda machine, it might just be produced by a random jihadist amateur video maker. Nonetheless, the video is an amateurish collection of scenes put together with the purpose of slandering and vilify Iraqi politicians. Furthermore, by showing some summary executions of captured Iraqi’s, the filmmaker is trying to show what will happen to those opposing the views of the ISI group.

**Context in which Propaganda Occurs**

The first video of the series was released on the 30th of June, 2012. At this point in time Islamic State held no significant territories in either Syria or Iraq and weren’t making big news headlines in the west like they do in the current days. Furthermore, the Americans had left Iraq and the government was trying to stabilize the country, while under constant attack from suicide bombers. In neighbouring Syria the civil war had been raging for over a year. There was, however, something important about to happen shortly after the release of the video. In July, ISI’s notorious and relatively new emir, Abu Bakr al Baghdadi, released his first audio lecture. Which can only be described as a defiant speech full of fire and energy, claiming a better future for the group, accompanied by a total victory over all their enemies. The timing of this speech seemed to be a bit off, since ISI had not been amounting to much in the recent years. However, according to Abu Bakr a new era was about to begin, one in which the walls would be broken down, walls of all the prisons holding the many jihadist prisoners languishing in Iraqi jails. Soon after this speech the second video of the series Clanging of the Swords would be released, showing that Baghdadi’s promises had only become very real.
Target Audience
The target audience during this stage of the propaganda campaign was still relatively narrow. ISI at this was only active in Iraq and therefore only targeting the Iraqi audience in joining them in fighting the corrupt and treacherous Baghdad officials. The video was mainly spread around on the internet and social media in order to reach its target audience. Several surveys and polls, started in 2010, showed that 65% of the Iraqis in 2010 perceived the country as headed in the wrong direction. According to the NDI (2015), between 2010 and 2015 78% of the Iraqis believed the Iraqi government was too corrupt, not providing basic services and non-responsive. When looking at these numbers it is easy to understand that ISI was targeting the Iraqi public in 2012, the public mood regarding the government was bad. The people were hoping for a better government, or perhaps a better alternative, therefore it is understandable that ISI was targeting this audience in the hope of persuading the audience in joining their cause.

Media Utilization Techniques
The video Clanging of the Swords; part 1 has mainly been distributed on the internet and social media. The video wasn’t much special with regard to media techniques, it looked and felt like many of the videos put out by al-Qaeda in previous years. Therefore it wasn’t received as anything special by its audience, it wasn’t until IS started to make a name for itself that the video became more frequently watched by the more general audiences. With regard to the message send in the video and whether it is consistent with the ideology of Islamic State it can be argued that the video is already in line with their later ideology. Due to its violent content and aversion for everything that is not following ultra-conservatism. However, because of the lack of information on the early days of the group it is hard to tell whether the message spread in the video is in line with their beliefs back then. Nonetheless, it seems the first video of the series does set the tone for the later sequels, with violent footage being alternated with scenes of conversion and debate.

Triad of Propaganda
With regard to the triad of propaganda some elements of Tugwell’s (1986) model appear in the video. The propagandists do not yet mention a real virtuous promised land, however they do make use of excessive violence against the evil enemies. In this case the enemy is the encumbered and corrupt regime of Baghdad, whose treacherous officials should be killed no matter what. On top of this there already is a fixed belief in the final victory of the ISI group. Several weeks after the release of the video, this belief would be strengthened by the first public speech of Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi.

Central themes in the video
The first video in the series of clanging of the swords was still rather simplistic in nature, but nonetheless some of the themes as described by Winter can be detected in the quickly succeeding
video footage. First and foremost victimhood, this theme stands out above all the other with regard to the fact that the ISI groups places great emphasis on how the Iraqi regime has abused its, Sunni, citizens for the last time. They are portrayed as being the underdog, the doormat of the regime, being blamed for all the faults and corruption of the country. Cleverly leaving out the fact that Saddam Hussein’s party, who ruled Iraq for 24 years, was Sunni Muslim and did abuse its power over the Shiite majority. The second and third themes in the video are those of brutality and war. Showing summary executions, attacks on checkpoints and a great deal of IED explosions. On top of this the video does already show off the weapons available to the fighters, but only in small proportions. All and all the video is making a combined use of the three themes, but with great emphasis on the victimhood through interviews with various fighters. Commenting on video footage of ‘corrupt’ Baghdad regime politicians.

Special Techniques to Maximize Effect
The video Clanging of the Swords; part 1 isn’t very sophisticated in terms of techniques to maximize effect. Only few techniques are used to influence the viewer, the spreading of terror being chief among them. By showing numerous scenes of attacks and executions the propagandist is trying to create an atmosphere of fear among those who oppose the group, therefore also the appeal to fear technique is also implemented. Especially Iraqi officials should fear what is coming to them, since they are traitors working with the ‘evil enemy’. Which bring me to Tugwell’s (1986) components of depicting the enemy as being extremely evil and therefore having permission to do anything in order to destroy this enemy. Furthermore the video does try to sow moral panic, insofar that it is trying to convince the viewer that Iraq is under threat of the enemies in Baghdad who will surely cause the utter ruin of the country. In a way the propagandist is also trying to implement the belief of invincibility, by showing scenes of mujahedeen telling the camera how the only road to victory is the road to Allah.

Other striking features of the video are for example the absence of black/white IS flag which, in later videos, is so lavishly displayed. This is another indicator that the group is still forming its true purposes and goals. They have no clear symbols yet, they aren’t using any clear patterns of propaganda, to the contrary, by this point it is still mainly build on AQ propaganda techniques of rapidly succeeding video footage. However, in later months it would become clear that both Islamic State and its propaganda machine had made a leap forward in both the verbal and physical art of war.
4.1.2 The clanging of the Swords; part 2, 16-08-2012
The release of the second video in the Clanging of the Swords series was a significant step forward in terms of professionalism and very different from its predecessor. The video is almost entirely made up of combat footage. But where the first video was made up of short random combat scenes, the second video follows a single operation, an assault on Haditha, Iraq. This is the first Islamic State video dropping the al-Qaeda ideology of Jihad as self-defence, but promoting the offensive. The video was released only weeks after the speech of Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi, in which he promised to tear down all the prison walls in order to free many captures Jihadists. This video came too soon after the speech to depict these actions, but it does show how ISI managed to step up their operations in Iraq.

Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Video
The second video in the Clanging of the Swords series is very different from its predecessor, in both camera work and message sent. This message, according to Berger & Stern (2015), is sent against the near enemy, which was usually a regime that could not be attacked due to the support it received from the far enemy. However, this video showed that the jihadists in it directly challenged the near enemy, it showed proof that the near enemy was vulnerable. Whereas the first part of the series is characterized with messages of oppression by the Baghdad government, the second video is one of action, in which ISI fighters are seen serving rough justice against deserving enemies. The main message of this video is that ISI is drifting away from al-Qaeda, who believed in Jihad as an act of self-defence against the apostate Arab regimes which are backed by the United States. ISI directly challenged these Arab near regimes by attacking those who deserve to be attacked, they challenge these encumbered regimes, these evil enemies and thereby showing the world how vulnerable they actually are. In a way, this video serves as a wake-up call to all those feeling disillusioned with the current regime.
Context in which Propaganda Occurs
The second video was released shortly after the first one of the series, so therefore it seems logical that the context in which the propaganda occurred is relatively the same. However, there is one significant event that was rapidly changing the situation, which was the speech of Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi and the consequent increased actions of ISI. While the first video was one which was very much like the thousands of other terrorist propaganda videos, the second part of the series showed something being done about the dragged out situation. It portrays ISI fighters attacking the near enemy, challenging the government and brawling with its forces for dominance over territory and check points. Therefore this actions portrayed in this video are actually contributing to a changing context, ISI was actively showing its audience that yes, the encumbered near enemy can be threatened or even removed.

Target Audience
The target audience by this point was still the same as in the first video, ISI did not yet have the capacity to engage in action outside of Iraq. Therefore mainly the Iraqi audience was targeted, especially due to the dissatisfaction among the population with regard to the Baghdad government, thus NDI (2015). The video was spread on the internet and social media. A new media technique on Twitter was also introduced, to boost the organizations reach and exposure online. Media releases followed a predictable pattern. After a video had been posted by ISI, a group of online supporters would retweet the original link with a hashtag, then retweet all the tweets of the other supporters in the group all using the same hashtag. It would soon spread outside of Twitter, with supporters spreading the message on other social media platforms as well. By repeating this process the original message would receive fame at a rapid pace, being spread around the global network in a matter of minutes. The technique was quickly referred to as a ‘Twitter Storm’ and would be perfected over the years, until the point where the Islamic State had its own media battalions.

Media Utilization Techniques
The video Clanging of the Swords; part 2 has mainly been distributed on the internet and social media platforms. As mentioned before, making use of the Twitter Storm technique in order to get it to rise in popularity on the internet. Furthermore, the quality of the video and the camera work were significantly better than its predecessor. Some of the scenes are comparable to a professional television program, telling the story in narrative form. It seems likely that the second video was made by a different film-maker, or the producer of the first video quickly studied a lot of media techniques in order to make such an improvement, but this seems unlikely. The video served to reinforce the message that was send by Al Baghdadi only a few weeks before the videos release and is therefore in line with the ideology of ISI at that point in time. It is not yet showing a consistent pattern in the video
material, since it is so very different from its predecessor. However the message propagated is the same of that in the first video, making use of the same themes of brutality, war and victimhood.

**Triad of Propaganda**

In the second video of the series the virtuous promised land is not yet mentioned, neither has it by the emir Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi who, in his 2012 speech, did promise a lot of victories. This message is mirrored in the video, which focusses on showing victories and the hunt for Iraqi officials. Therefore the third element of Tugwell’s model, inevitable victory, can be observed in the video. This also goes for the second element of the evil enemy, there is a great emphasis on the fight against the encumbered Baghdad government. It is again depicted as a treacherous corrupt regime, working with the USA and Iran, ‘seeking the destruction of the true Muslims’.

**Central themes in the video**

The first and second video show a stark contrast in terms of message and action, however in terms of used themes much of themes from the first video return in the second part of the series. Brutality is one theme which is very common in the videos of Islamic State in Iraq. Being occupied with spreading their influence in the land of Iraq through military operations, brutal actions were necessary to conquer new lands. The video isn’t restricted to military action against the Iraqi army, but also shows video footage of captured Iraqi soldiers being tied up and shot in the head. Such actions are justified in the video by claiming that they were high ranking Iraqi officials, figures representing the evil enemy of Tugwell. This is where the theme of victimhood comes in. ISI continuously claimed that the Baghdad regime was their mortal enemy, using the Sunni Muslims as scapegoat for their malcontent. They had been the victims of the Baghdad regime all the time, so now it was time to return the favour and take revenge. This revenge is brought by brutal actions and war. Which is the third theme being used by the propagandist. Showing long rows of white Toyotas, manned by heavily armed jihadists going to war. Close up scenes, pictures and interviews with soldier who carry sophisticated rocket launchers and heavy machine guns are used in order to show the world what might and military supremacy they have over their enemies in Baghdad. Usually such scenes are used to show the viewer that the enemy will never be capable to take on the mighty war machine of ISI, the enemy is not equipped like we are and therefore unable to beat us. Finally belonging already kicks in this early. Despite the absence of a virtuous caliphate to refer to, by this point in time ISI was far too small and insignificant, being one of many militias, to even dream of one day holding vast territories. Nonetheless, the brothers of ISI are shown fraternizing, talking and having fun amongst themselves before they head on to fight the Iraqi army. This theme is very important to exploit, by showing new recruits how attractive living among other jihadists is, they might feel a sense of belonging that is powerful enough to draw them in.
Special Techniques to Maximize Effect
The increased quality of the video was accompanied by a wide array of propaganda techniques, among which are the following. Guilt transfer is a very commonly used technique in this video, it is also observed in the reoccurring theme of victimhood, wherein the ISI members are portrayed as being the victims of the corrupt regime in Baghdad. It is therefore the fault of Baghdad that ISI is now taking violent action against it, they have become corrupt so therefore it is their fault that ISI is trying to get rid of them. This technique goes hand in hand with the use of spurious justification, which tries to increase the public attitude towards ISI. This is done by showing the public that they actually take action against the corrupt regime, that they, the fighters of righteous Allah actually try to provide the people with justice. Because of these actions the video is also showing the use of disarming themes and terror, by using terror to destroy and discredit the poorly equipped government troops the propagandist tries to turn around public attitude in favour of ISI. This is supported by the use of name calling, using degenerating names to make the Baghdad government look even worse. Finally the video tries to show the people that ISI is taking action against the government, therefore the video in itself is also a technique, the technique of testimonial.
4.1.3 The Clanging of the Swords; part 3, 11-01-2013
The third part in the series was released on the eleventh of January, 2013, leaving a large gap between the production of the second and third video. The new video revolved around the promised campaign to break down the prison walls, which Baghdadi had promised since his July 2012 speech. The video continues down the path which its predecessor had set out, in terms of video quality and professional cameramen. Some scenes are shot from different angles, using multiple cameras, whereas others also apply the handheld camera style of filming warfare, which was also seen in the second video. However, in terms of storytelling and focus the video is a step backwards, looking a lot like the first video in the series, which resembled a list of short fighting scenes. Instead of being a complete story like the second video had been, the third video’s storyline was not strong enough in order to hold together the video as a unified narrative. The high body count, complemented by action scenes, could not compensate the dry and boring parts enough in order for the video to be a complete success in terms of video content quality. Nonetheless, according to Berger & Stern (2015) the video was received well among its viewers and became very popular.

Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Video
From watching this video it becomes clear that it serves the purpose of showing how the ISI group makes good on the promises of its Emir; Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. The video includes footage of various prisons being stormed by ISI fighters in which actions Iraqi military personal are either captured or killed, while imprisoned jihadists are being freed. Some of these former prisoners are later interviewed together with their brothers of ISI on the current state of affairs. A large part of the video is filled with such interviews in which the fighters talk about their experience and what should be the next course of action for the group. The video is continuing the course that was already set in the first video by showing the audience that they are able to challenge and actually overcome the evil Baghdad regime.
Providing the audience with an alternative, that actually holds true to its promises, instead of the corrupt encumbered regime that’s still in power.

**Context in which Propaganda Occurs**
The context in which the third propaganda video occurs holds some relation to its predecessor in terms of continuing on the promise made in July 2012, as also depicted in the second video. The main event in the time of release, which are depicted on a timeline by the BBC (2016), are the still raging civil war in neighbouring Syria and the ISI group profiting from the chaos in Iraq. In December 2012 President Jalal Talabani suffered a stroke and had to be treated in Germany, while back in Iraq mass protests had ensued. Sunni Muslims rally across the country for several months, protesting against what they see as marginalisation by the Shia-led government. On top of these increased tensions the ISI group is starting to increase in size and capacity, Al-Monitor (2013) reported that ISI started attacking the state prisons with the intention to free imprisoned jihadists.

**The Target Audience**
Still a growing organization that would not spread into Syria until April of the same year, ISI was mainly profiting from disgruntled former Iraqi army personnel and civilians to bolster their ranks, reported by the Daily mail (2015). Therefore the videos, up to this point still being fully Arabic, would target those living in Iraq, however the videos did not limit themselves to this land. By spreading it through the Twitter Storm on social media, the video was quickly viewed by many millions, therefore reaching a far broader audience then just those living in Iraq.

**Media Utilization Techniques**
The video Clanging of the Swords; part 2 has mainly been distributed on the internet and social media platforms. As mentioned before, making use of the Twitter Storm technique in order to get it to rise in popularity on the internet. The camerawork and graphics are comparable to its predecessor, however in terms of content the video is lacking the punch the second video of the series had. The video is different in terms of consistent patterns when compared to the previous video. Where the second part of the series was a clear story which would not become boring, the third video is ones again an extensive series of action scenes interrupted by jihadists discussing among themselves. The duration of the video and the lack of a clear narrative to support it makes this video a bit dull after some time. Nonetheless, the video is consistent with the ideology of ISI at this point in time; it is showing its audience that they actually do break down the walls, delivering on their Emirs promise. Furthermore, this video did go a step further in terms of used themes, adding the utopianism theme to the list. This term should be interpreted on a different manner than the description given by Winter (2015). It should be interpreted as ISI showing their might and superiority over the Baghdad regime, this superiority would one day grow into the full utopianism which is still propagated by IS. This superiority
is also shown through shots of columns of white Toyota pickups and the spoils of war taken from the Iraqi army (including vehicles and heavy weapons). Concluding, it should be noted that this video, despite its long duration, does combine a series of themes with two of the elements described by Tugwell (1986). By combining these elements the propagandist has been able to propagate a message of conquest and victory over the Baghdad enemy, which was easily brushed aside in various combat scenes. Showing its audience that ISI had established itself as true contender for power in Iraq.

Triad of Propaganda
The following elements of Tugwell (1986) are observed in this video. Obviously the fixed belief in the final victory is still instrumental in the video, only showing scenes of the jihadists being victorious and making enemy prisoners. Furthermore, the enemy being fought, captured and killed are naturally members of the enemy regime. Finally, the promised land is not yet incorporated into the video, however this makes sense since ISI is not yet controlling any territories. This would not be until April 2013, after which an increased use of virtuous rhetoric can be heard in both video propaganda and audio messages of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (2013).

Central themes in the video
After the introduction of the video which is a Koran verse being chanted, the video immediately starts off with the theme of Brutality. ISI fighters are shown storming a regime checkpoint by car, swooping in and quickly dispatching the present army personnel. Those who survived the initial attack are quickly executed with a gunshot to the head. With this first action the tone is set for the rest of the video, which contains multiple scenes of checkpoints and prisons being stormed, in which the guards are all killed. On top of that the video portrays the typical explosions which are so common to ISI. This theme goes hand in hand with that of War. The video is showing, with great emphasis, the military capacity of the organization. What weapon they have, the quantity of it, the amount of explosions, etc. The video shows how the organization is able to put these weapons to use with great effect. Successfully storming prisons and blowing up whole regime buildings. This is where Utopianism already comes in, not so much in the sense of a virtuous promised land, but rather in terms of superiority over their enemies. It shows that ISI is able to take on and actually rout the government forces, sending a message of invincibility. They are here to take over and stay. In terms of Victimhood the interviewed jihadists still talk about the corrupt regime in Baghdad, using the Sunni Muslims as scapegoat for their own failures. Therefore they are now taking the action to the government, to show them they have to take responsibility for their ‘crimes’. However, the overall theme of victimhood which was very present in the first two videos is dwindling in the third. Finally the interviewed jihadists speak of why all true Muslims should join the fight of ISI, it is any Muslims obligation to fight for Allah
against the corrupt regime in Baghdad. Therefore they are speaking of a sense of Belonging for all good Muslims.

**Special Techniques to Maximize Effect**

Some of the techniques used to maximize the effect of the video and to influence the target audience are the following. **Invulnerability** is a much used technique, by showing only victorious jihadists overcoming the Iraqi army troops. **Disarming themes** are used together with **terror**, by taking out Iraqi soldiers and freeing fellow jihadists, threats to ISI are neutralized and at the same time terror is rained down upon those deserving. This video therefore also serves as **testimonial**, showing proof that what Emir Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi has promised is actually coming true. Furthermore, through debate and discussion, the jihadists tell the audience how they are fighting for a better Iraq, why all true Muslims should join in this fight. Therefore referring to the **plain folks** technique, showing the audience that they are the same as the jihadists, all Muslims, all with the same purpose. This could also be described as a form of **bandwagon**, because all good Muslims should do it, so should the individual watching the footage.
4.1.4 The Clanging of the Swords; part 4, 17-05-2014

The release of the fourth part of the series can be described as a graduation of sorts. The creators managed to produce a full professional movie including the use of drones and comprehensive camera techniques. The video is an hour long show of strength in which the narrator boasts of the vast area controlled by the Islamic State. The video consists of fighting scenes, executions and conversions to the faith of the Islamic State. Finally the video closes with the narrator referring to an apocalyptic prophecy ‘And so the flame was started in Iraq, and its heat will increase by the will of Allah until it burns the crusaders in Dabiq’.

Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Video

Several minutes into the video Clanging of the Swords; part 4, a clear message is being sent through a group of Kosovar Jihadists who tear up their passports and burn them. They dictate that the only acceptable behaviour for Muslims from every corner in the world is to emigrate and gather with the lions of the Islamic State. Every individual should follow wherever Allah leads and commands them, by doing so it will bring freedom from all the people who worship something besides Allah. These individuals should always seek hostility and hatred against those who have rejected Allah as the true Allah. They should seek to bring slaughter to all the Kuffar until the whole Arabian Peninsula is cleansed of the ‘filthy ones’. Finally, by following the exalted almighty Allah, the Muslims shall conquer the Jews of Jerusalem, Rome and Andalus (Spain). Allah commands it and therefor gives permission to slaughter all those who are standing in the way – Declare Allah the Greatest!

Context in which Propaganda Occurs

The latest video of the series was released in a period (May 2014) in which most common western audiences didn’t pay much attention to- or did not care for the war raging in Syria and Iraq. However,
during this period, ISIS had already captured large pieces of territory in both Syria and Iraq. It was shortly after the release of the last Clanging of the Swords video, in early June 2014, that ISIS’s major offensive commenced with which they seized Iraq’s second largest city of Mosul and other key towns. It is in the same period that the Sunni rebels declare the new Islamic Caliphate and change their name officially to Islamic State, as reported by Aljazeera (2014). This lightning campaign and conquest brought a lot of media attention to Islamic State, which makes it likely that the video might have become popular among audiences who were either interested or supportive in the actions of Islamic State. Therefore it is relatively safe to conclude that thanks to the major events sparking the declaration of Caliphate, the media may have functioned as a catalyst increasing interest in the video Clanging of the Swords; part 4.

**The Target Audience**

With the fourth and final part in the series, it becomes obvious that the propagandist have changed their target to be a much broader audience. A great difference with its predecessors are the interviews with jihadists which are conducted in English. Furthermore almost all actions have English subtitles. From these observations one can conclude that the propagandist is now targeting an international audience, hoping to draw in young jihadists from all over the world. Islamic State is no longer targeting a single group or audience, it tries to convey the message to a more general public. This message is not just one of recruitment and belonging, but with regard to apostates also one of dread and terror. This message is sent very clearly in this video by showing many scenes of summary and brutal executions of seemingly innocent Shiite men. The purpose of such actions is fear and intimidation and is usually transmitted into mass audience of Western media, sometimes even being available on news websites. After all, a fear mongering story sells, so western media will publish it, therefore playing in the hand of Islamic State propagandists. Nonetheless, whether the goal is to recruit or to frighten people, the main goal of the propagandists is to get their message across to as many people as possible. It is no coincidence that much of the propaganda seems tailored for international transmission, even being translated before being sent into the world wide web. Their most important videos usually only have one goal, which is cause outrage and international condemnation and in the meantime polarise the publics in such a way that a further division within society is caused. Furthermore, the propagandists acknowledge the need for various propaganda patterns. This is done through a set of sociological, political, official and unofficial, agitating and rational propaganda in order to feed, fertilize and expand the milieu in which the message is spread. By making as much content available as possible, Islamic State propagandists facilitate the production of a steady stream of official and unofficial material. In this manner they are able to create a carefully created image of the caliphate and intensify already existing beliefs, sharpen and focus them. This
perfected propaganda message is eventually spread around through different media outlets, with social media and internet being the leading media fora.

**Media Utilization Techniques**
The video Clanging of the Swords; part 4 has mainly been distributed through the internet, social media and the app Dawn of Glad Tidings. This app was released in April 2014 and served as a media news outlet, using follower’s social media accounts. The app would, after approval of the follower, use this account to post the latest news about the Islamic State on these accounts. By doing so, a broad audience could quickly be reached. The message spread around in the video is very consistent with the main goals and message of Islamic State. It reinforces the claim of Caliph Ibrahim by interviewing various groups of fighters who accept him as the ultimate authority. Furthermore these individuals continue to say that they have joined the caliphate to make sure that no-one will ever stand between the mujahedeen and their people in Iraq after this day. On top of that, the video mainly focusses on showing the might of Islamic State, sending a message saying ‘we are strong and we are winning’. This is done through scenes of brutality, mercy to those who convert, military operations and belonging. The element of belonging is new in the series of videos, showing foreign fighters who emigrated to the caliphate to accept and fight for their Caliph. Unlike the previous videos in the series, the video clips were shorter and punchier. The shift between fighting scenes, executions and noncombat events helped elevate the ultraviolent video, giving a sense that while IS was extremely brutal, it had more to offer than just violence. Therefore tone of this video is one of both leniency and hatred. Finally the video was received very well, it was a wild success, getting millions of views on various websites. These numbers might have been inflated by IS media techniques, it still shows that it created vast excitement among those who follow IS online and many who are vulnerable to its message.

**Triad of Propaganda**
In the last video of the series all three elements of the triad of propaganda are used. Soon after this video was released the declaration of caliphate was made by Caliph Ibrahim, therefore already in this video the virtuous land is hailed. Furthermore, by this point in time ISIS also captured a vast sway of land in both Syria in Iraq. Because of this they actually had a virtuous land to refer to in their videos. On top of this the evil regime has shifted to a more broad enemy, namely all the apostates fighting ISIS, not just the Iraqi or Syrian government. With the constant repeated comments on the crusaders who will burn and die in Dabiq, ISIS made it very clear that they hope to directly confront the ‘far enemy’. Finally, the inevitable victory goes hand in hand with the fight against the evil enemy. Because they are the soldiers of Allah who will overcome all enemies in the final apocalyptic battle in Dabiq, they are surely to be victorious, since Allah is on their side.
Central themes in the video
In contrast to its predecessors, the last video of the Clanging of the Swords series starts off with **Utopianism**, instead of brutality. Starting with a Google earth image of the caliphate, accompanied with a Koran chant, singing about the might and invincibility of the land of Allah and the soldiers who fight for him. This short scene is followed by video footage shot by a drone flying over the city of Fallujah. Showing the ‘beauty’ and the extensive lands the organization is now holding on to.

Furthermore, the promised land is continuously hailed by various interviewed individuals, who claim that their land is the land of the fighters of Allah. The video goes on showing both foreign and domestic fighters, joining the Islamic State, because they believe it is the land Allah has bestowed on his followers and thus therefore should be joined by any true Muslim. This is where the theme of **Belonging** comes in, shown through both speeches of fighters declaring loyalty to the Islamic State and through scenes of masses of men converting to the true path of Allah and also pledging their loyalty to their emir al-Baghdadi. These scenes of conversion are also in line with the theme of **Mercy.** Showing the world that the Islamic State isn’t just brutality, there is actually a way to avoid getting killed. All you have to do is convert to the true path of Allah, the path the Islamic State is following and you shall be pardoned and accepted to join the organization. Nonetheless, **Brutality** is still very much present and in the forefront of the last video of the series. A great deal of scenes in the video contain brutal images of summary executions, explosions, firefights and worse. Men in cars are ‘hunting’ for enemy soldiers, for young men who are suspected of supporting the Iraqi army, consequently they are hunted down and killed mercilessly. Other scenes depict ISIS death squads, travelling deep into enemy territory to visit Iraqi governmental officials at home, where they are quickly beheaded or shot. The theme of **War** is also very present. Already in the first minute the drawn images show the great amount of military vehicles the organization has to its disposal. Varying from the well-known white Toyota trucks to military vehicles like tanks and SPG’s. Surely nobody can stop the might of ISIS now.

Finally **Victimhood** is once again used in this video, especially during the hunt for Iraqi officials who were leading the so called ‘witch hunt’ for Sunni Muslims. As retaliation for their crimes against the Sunni’s they are now hunted down and killed. The killing of these individuals is justified by showing pictures of men in military outfits who at first glance look like the individual being killed. However,
closer observation shows that the persons in the picture are usually not the same as the one being killed.

**Special Techniques to Maximize Effect**

In the video the propagandist is mostly appealing to fear of the viewer, both in the enemy as possible recruit for IS. By projecting many images of those who tried to resist IS, and thereby failed, an idea of invulnerability and invincibility is created. “Anyone who opposes us will die, so you better join us”.

Which is in turn the message that is send to those in doubt whether to join the Islamic State or not. It is Allah’s land, so you should come and accept the new messenger of Allah and fight for him. These images of a victorious IS, killing all their enemies, is also contributing to the spreading of terror.

Furthermore it is using moral panic, by stating that all the enemies of Islam will come to face them at Dabiq. Therefore all Muslims should rally behind their Caliph and fight the evil crusaders of Rome and Jerusalem. Furthermore, by appealing to Muslim morality, the propaganda is more likely to penetrate more than just the absorption screen, because the message becomes relatable for all Muslims, it is their sacred duty to Allah.

On top of this, Card Stacking is also used, by praising and focusing on all the major successes of IS, but downplaying the losses they suffer from, among others, constant coalition airstrikes. These techniques are applied by the Al-Furqān Media Center, which is known to be the propaganda machine of IS. Therefore this source cannot be perceived as being objective and credible, but it might be perceived as such by those who support IS. Finally the video is making use of different symbols, the black/white IS flag being the most important one which is also constantly returning in execution and military scenes. However, the conversion of Muslims to the right faith and the burning of passports of those who came to the caliphate can also be seen as symbolic ceremonies performed for the video.
4.2 There is no life without Jihad, 19-06-2014
‘There is no life without Jihad’, which is basically a peaceful video in which several western Jihadists are sitting around, arguing and informing the public about why it is so important to travel to the caliphate, to fight for Allah. This video has a very strong recruitment message and appeals to emotions as well as the conscience. It is suitable for this research because it shows the different elements of both Tugwell and Winter in the video. The video was published by al-Haŷat Media Center, which is the IS media department and outlet, on the 19\textsuperscript{th} June 2014. This video can be freely accessed on various websites, including www.jihadology.net which is where I found it.

![Image 6. The British and Australian brothers speaking about travelling to the caliphate](image)

“When you live in the west, you feel depressed, the cure for depression is Jihad, believing. Come to Jihad and feel the honour and happiness we are feeling... “

These are some of the words uttered by interviewed Jihadists in the IS recruitment video ‘There is no life without Jihad’. This video was released by Al Hayat media center on the 19\textsuperscript{th} of June, 2014, quickly receiving international attention. It depicts Western Jihadists explaining why they left their homes to fight with IS and why others should do the same. One of the striking features of the video is the complete absence of violence, most of the video’s created by IS are full of firefights, explosions and gruesome executions. This video however, shows five young Jihadists talking in a seemingly peaceful area.

**Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Video**
During the video, three British and two Australians tell about their choices to leave their home country to fight with IS. It rather soon becomes clear that it is not just a simple interview, but a slick and
sophisticated attempt to persuade people into admiring the Caliphate as the perfect place to live. They try to convince the audience that joining the Jihad is ‘that what gives you light’ and therefore all Muslims should undertake it. And because the caliphate is the life of Jihad, the land of living, containing brothers from all over the world, the viewer of the video should be convinced that he too has a place in the Islamic State. Furthermore, the video conveys the message that Islamic State has the most mujahideen, therefore being better and superior to all other Muslim extremist groups fighting evil regimes. On top of that, the video propagates the message of implementing the law of Allah, stopping the Fitna, which could be translated into the cleansing of the impure. Finally, the video tries to convey the message that the Islamic State does not know any borders, because the land of Allah should cover the whole world, no borders will ever be needed.

Context in which Propaganda Occurs
The video is released only ten days before the official declaration of caliphate by emir al-Baghdadi. Nonetheless, the jihadists in the video already talk about the promised land and caliphate of Allah. Recent events made it possible for these soldiers to talk about the caliphate, since they themselves were in the process of capturing a greater deal of Iraq and Syria. The video was therefore released at just the right time, showing the world what it is like to be part of the conquest and formation of the land of Allah, instead of sitting home doing nothing. After the video was released these events would continue to unfold with the complete conquest of south west Iraq and bigger parts of eastern Syria at

![Figure 3. Expansion maps Islamic State – summer 2014 (van Aalst, 2016)](image-url)
the start of July (Figure 3, van Aalst, 2016). The media attention given to these events would certainly help to increase the popularity of the video.

The Target Audience
The target audience of this video is clearly the western public. Using English and Australian jihadists, talking in English about their depressing life in the west and how the Jihad brought them light is clearly a method to draw more western individuals to the caliphate. The audience is again reached, like most of their videos, through the internet, social media using the Twitter Storm technique and also the dawn of glad tidings app. It can be noted that the target audiences in modern times are commonly reached through social media and internet. The time of video recordings being spread around on tape are long gone and should be attributed to the al-Qaeda period, which can be considered overtaken by Islamic State by this point in time.

Media Utilization Techniques
The video There is no life without Jihad was, as mentioned already, distributed mainly on the internet, social media and the app Dawn of Glad Tidings. The message spread in the video is very consistent with the goals and beliefs of Islamic State, only reinforcing these beliefs by showing the audience how great the caliphate actually is. The tone in this video therefore is one of belonging and desire. The audience should be longing to join the caliphate in all its splendour. It is not without reason that the five interviewed jihadists are sitting in a seemingly lush oases of peace and beauty, it all serves to influence the masses of thinking that the caliphate is still the fertile crescent like the Mesopotamia of old. The most consistent message throughout the video is that of all the interviewed jihadists talking about how terrible their lives were back in the west and how enlightened they’ve felt ever since they crossed into the caliphate. All this message does is reinforce the ideology of Islamic State, which propagates the message of the land of Allah, which is the land for all Muslims and should therefore be visited by each and every single one.

Triad of Propaganda
Two of the three earlier described components of Tugwell are used, such as virtue and inevitable victory, as well as several propaganda techniques like appeal to fear, emotion in the form of Muslim morality.

The first component, virtue, comes forward in the second minute: ‘I know by Allah that this is the land of Jihad and the land of Living’. Examples such as these are used throughout the video for several times, for instance when one of the British Jihadists proclaims that he was depressed back in England, but when he came to the Caliphate he felt honour and happiness. “The prophet only chooses the best of people to join the Caliphate and the Caliph”, so undoubtedly this is the best place to live in the world.
The component of inevitable victory is used in two different forms, the first being that the Caliphate will easily wipe out all their enemies of Allah and end the Fitnah. “I don’t know anybody else who has as many mujahedeen as we do, we have people from all over the world….We understand no borders, we have participated in battles in Sham and we will go to Iraq in a few days and come back, we will even go to Jordan and Lebanon with no problems. “. The second form of inevitable victory is used in a more spiritual way, by telling the viewer how Allah will only allow those who sacrificed for him into heaven, so only they will reach a final victory by being allowed to join Allah. “When death reaches you, you will be judged in the way you lived your life. Do you want to show the lord your wounds, the things you sacrificed for Islam - Martyrdom. Look around yourself, where you sit right now, is this what you select and choose while you know your brothers are there on the front lines with bombs and bullets flying around, while you sit in comfort and sleeping. They sleep on the floor and in trucks, they fear death like you do, but they embrace it because they can show what they sacrificed for Allah. “

Central themes in the video
The video ‘There is no life without jihad’ is very different in terms of the used themes, especially the absence of brutality and war are striking. This video is in stark contrast with most of the propaganda of Islamic State in terms that it is completely peaceful. Utopianism is one of the main themes used in this video. With the start of the video the viewer is shown a beautiful lush land through which the later interviewed jihadists walk. We find these jihadists sitting and talking in a seemingly lush and green oasis of peace and beauty, but must keep in mind that this set is of course staged. Nonetheless, the utopianism of the caliphate is hailed by these young fighters. Speaking about the caliphate as a cure against depression, “ When you live in the west, you feel depressed, the cure for depression is Jihad, believing. Come to Jihad and feel the honour and happiness we are feeling... “ and ‘I know by Allah that this is the land of Jihad and the land of Living’. These jihadists show the viewer that this land of Allah is truly blessed and perfect, any good Muslim should come and join it. Which is where Belonging comes in. The jihadists speak to their brothers and sisters in the west about life in the caliphate and how only the truest of Muslims are allowed to live there. “The prophet only chooses the best of people to join the Caliphate and the Caliph”. They go on about how a good Muslim cannot possibly stay behind in the west and not feel any guilt, because they know in their heart that their brothers on the front of the caliphate are fighting for Allah and that is where they should be as well. There is a place for all good Muslims in the caliphate. This shows that the Islamic Stat also knows Mercy, because even though the viewer at first chose to remain behind in the west in the comfortable life, the propagandist hopes that, through this video, the viewer comes to see that it was a mistake not to join the Islamic State. They will nonetheless welcome anyone who comes to see that their place is with the caliph and the
caliphate and not in the west. These people are urged to travel to Turkey and find a place to cross into the caliphate.

**Special Techniques to Maximize Effect**

For the used techniques *appeal to emotions* and especially fear is the most prominently present in this video. The Jihadists call everybody to leave their homes behind to join the Caliphate, however it is done in a matter that also instills *fear* into these individuals. When these people refuse to leave their comfort lives in the west, Allah will surely judge them in a negative way when they die, because they didn’t join their brothers on the frontline. “*You should fear, because you stayed behind. The brothers gave their life and Allah will ask you where were you? And you cannot answer, because your tongue is tied. The advice of me: Believe in him and trust in him, he will show you the way.*” On top of this, Muslims should, when a Caliphate is declared, all move there because it is their promised land. Basically this video is also a call upon *Muslim morality* to do their duty, they owe it to Allah who finally gave them their own promised land to live. Further techniques used are *bandwagon*, everyone is joining the caliphate so there you should as well. “*I don’t know anybody else who has as many mujahedeen as we do, we have people from all over the world*”. The technique of *invulnerability* is also used, because they are the soldiers of Allah they will be sent to heaven when they die and therefore they will live forever, whether on earth or in paradise. Furthermore the video is appealing to the western Muslim masses, by showing them that these jihadists were once the same as the common western folk, they show that anyone can join the caliphate. Finally the technique *Card Stacking* is used a lot, by emphasizing on all the great and mighty elements of the caliphate. The use of this technique at the moment in which the video was released is understandable, the caliphate was rapidly expanding while the video was produced. Therefore the future seemed very bright and there was good reason to emphasis on all the good parts, however the future would bring a lot of death and destruction as well.
4.3 Join the ranks, 22-7-2014

‘Join the Ranks’, released on the 22th of July 2014, is a peaceful video in which Indonesian Jihadists who have travelled to the Caliphate are depicted. Their leader, Abu Muhammed Al Indonesi, is telling the viewer of the many reasons why one should join the Caliphate and why they should not let the people and material business at home prevent them from travelling there. This is clearly a video aimed at the recruitment of new members, in this case the focus is not on western audiences, but rather on Indonesian brothers. It is therefore a perfect video for my analysis, because it also answers the question whether the same propaganda components etc. are used for Asian audiences as Western ones. The video can be freely accessed on www.jihadology.net and was released by al-Haŷat Media Center.

Image 7. Abu Muhammed Al Indonesi and his brothers speaking about the caliphate

Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Video

The eight minute video posted online by Islamic State, titled Join the Ranks, has a clear message of recruitment and inspiration to it. Calling on all the Muslims to join the caliphate and pledge their allegiance, since it is an obligation for all followers of the prophet Muhammed. The main speaker in the video, Abu Muhammed Al Indonesi, is addressing his brothers in an emotional way. Asking them to ‘Put all your efforts into using your physical and financial strength to migrate to the Islamic State’. He questions those living in both Indonesia as in the west, asking them if they are happy the way they are living, being ruled over by the ‘Tawaghit’ also known as disbelievers or infidels. He goes on commenting that all have heard the call to Jihad, the call of Allah, so why isn’t everyone joining the Islamic State? ‘Are your wives the reason that you’re prevented from Jihad? Are your homes,
What becomes apparent by watching this video is that Islamic State is looking further and further for recruits. They are now directly appealing to Indonesians because they know its fertile ground. This is because a number of Indonesians have already joined the caliphate and they can see the potential to get many, many more, as reported by ABC (2014). The Indonesian Muslim Abu Bakar Bashir, thought to be the spiritual leader of the Indonesian Islamic terror group Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), swore allegiance to Islamic State. Due to this reason the concerns are that Islamic State will find many more willing members in Indonesia to join the Caliphate. Videos like this will only feed the already radicalized Indonesian Muslims that there is a better place for them to join. With the consequence, an increased flow of foreign fighters from Indonesia to the caliphate.

**Context in which Propaganda Occurs**

The video was made shortly after the declaration of Caliphate by the Islamic State at the end of June. It was released during an IS summer offensive which conquered parts of south west Iraq bordering on Saudi Arabia and Syria. The fact that the caliphate was only shortly before instated can also be made up from the fact that these fighters pledge their allegiance to caliph Baghdadi who had only weeks before been declared the leader of the caliphate. The prevailing attitudes with regard to the Islamic State expansion were one of mixed feelings at the time this video was released. Other Sunni fighters in Iraq had been fighting the central government of Nouri al-Maliki and did not feel like joining the caliphate since they did not believe the claim or perhaps they feared it would restrain their independence, as reported by Aljazeera (2014). However others in both Iraq and Syria enthusiastically joined caliphate, proclaiming: ‘This is not the first border we will break, we will break other borders. We are not here to replace an Arab cahoot with a western cahoot. Rather our Jihad is more lofty and higher. We are fighting to make the word of Allah the highest’.

The propagandist of this video responds to the mixed feelings of those fighting in Iraq and Syria by stating that all Sunni Muslims should unite in the land of Allah, again appealing to the theme of belonging. Rather than fight each other they should fight together against the enemies of Allah. As Al Indonesi also proclaimed: ‘Those who fear excommunication by the Islamic State should have no fear, because no such actions are undertaken unless prove has been found for infidelity. All Sunni Muslims are welcome to join in the fight against the Jew American backed regime in Baghdad’.

**The Target Audience**

The target audience of this video is obvious, it is targeting Indonesian Muslims and extremists. It is easy to understand why they are targeting this audience due to the high population of Muslims living
in Indonesia. Further still, the larger part of the Muslim population on Java is still following a conservative interpretation of Islam, as can be observed in the Indonesian population register: Badan Pusat Statistik (2016). This public will make for a ripe audience to influence with a propaganda campaign created by an organization which prides itself for following the ‘original ways’ of Islam. Furthermore, the fact that the video is taped in the Arabic language makes it more likely that it was meant for audiences who speak the Arabic language. At the point of release there were already some Indonesians who had travelled to the caliphate, so it left experts to wonder if this would perhaps start a wave of extremists leaving Indonesia. The expected exodus might have stayed away, but the video surely contributed to the emigration of individuals to the caliphate. The video has been distributed mainly on the internet, getting some media attention from various news websites, however beyond that it can be expected that the distribution was limited to social media and internet for a.

**Media Utilization Techniques**

This video is once again promoting the message and ideology of the Islamic State being the promised land of Allah. However, where most of the other propaganda videos try to convince its viewers with strong and materialistic actions, this video is rather calm. It is a lot like the video ‘there is no life without Jihad’ in the sense that even a verbal message can have great influence on those watching. The message of global Jihad is clearly brought home by Al Indonesi, calling on all Indonesian Muslims to join the caliphate, because it is their obligation as good Muslims. His other claims about the expansion and unifications of Muslims lands, whether through violence or not, are justified due to the fact that Allah promised the Sunni Muslims a land to live in. Therefore, the message is consistent with the ideology of IS. Furthermore, as mentioned already, the video was mainly spread around on the internet and social media. The most consistent message in the video is that of Al Indonesi talking about how great the life in the caliphate is. All the laws of Allah are implemented, the taxes are collected, schools are built and the inhabitants are taken care of. All this message does is reinforcing the ideology of Islamic State, which propagates the message of the land of Allah, which is the land for all Muslims and should therefore be visited by each and every single one.

**Triad of Propaganda**

The video ‘Join the Ranks’ is clearly a video for recruitment purposes, using a verbal message in convincing its watchers in joining the ranks of Islamic State. The verbal message spread within the video is using two of the elements as mentioned by Tugwell (1986). First and most obviously is the element of virtue, the hailing of the holy caliphate. During the video, the speaker Al Indonesi, frequently refers to all the great things he and his brothers have seen within the caliphate. ‘By Allah, O brothers, I give you the good news that here we have seen with our own eyes that the Islamic State implements the Sharia of Allah in the entire land. The prayer is established, the zakat (alms-giving and
He goes on to say that with the collected money the Islamic State has been able to fulfil its responsibility of teaching the people the book of Allah and the Sunnah. On top of that he claims that the caliphate has been able to unite Muslims lands, demolish the Sykes-Picot borders and freed thousands of Sunni prisoners. Surely a state able to do so many great things is the perfect place for each Muslim to live. It becomes very clear that this video was meant to show the Indonesian Muslims how great life in the caliphate is. This is not just done through the verbal message, but also by the environment in which the video is filmed. The video was filmed near a, at first glance, lush coastline full of beautiful plants. However, closer inspection reveals that they are actually just standing in between the reeds with buildings in the background. Nonetheless, for the untrained eye it seems like a pretty location, only contributing to the message of virtue.

The second element observed in the video is that of the inevitable victory. Abu Muhammed Al Indonesi makes great claims how the Islamic State is unstoppable in what it is doing. Not only referring to the thousands of Muslims liberated and the lands that have been united. But also that ‘the Islamic State will liberate all the lands of the oppressed Muslims from the Tawaghit who do not implement the Sharia of Islam.’ He goes on saying that the Sahwat (Sons of Iraq), who started fighting the Islamic State and wage war on its people are backed by the Jews of America. They are enemies who hate Allah’s sharia and may Allah curse them. Naturally a people who are hated by Allah will certainly lose a war against his followers. The only consequence of such a war will be the inevitable victory for the followers of the Islamic State.

Al Indonesi makes no claims with regard to violent conquest or occupation, he only mentions the fact that the enemies of Allah are doomed to failure and will be defeated. But besides those comments he seems to refrain from resorting to violent language. Neither does he try to justify the acts committed by Islamic State against the people of Iraq and Syria. It seems that the main purpose of this video is recruitment by showing its audience what a great and virtuous place the promised caliphate of Allah truly is.

Central Themes in the Propaganda Video

With regard to the themes of Winter, this video is focussing mostly on two of them, which are belonging and utopianism. As already mentioned in the theory section, these two themes can be linked to the element of virtue in Tugwell’s (1986) triad of propaganda. Since this element was already found it makes sense that these two themes are observed as well. The theme of utopianism is described by Abu Mohammed Al Indonesi in great detail, by focussing on all the things Islamic State has done to implement Sharia law, to make life better for its citizens. By building schools, building
houses and ‘Addressing social issues, the Islamic State provides help to those who need it, by the permission and support of Allah’. As already mentioned in the previous section, Al Indonesi urges all Indonesian Muslims to come and live in the promised land, it is their obligation. This is where the theme of belonging comes into the picture. Now that the Sunni Muslims have been given a place to live in peace, now that Allah has given them this land, they should do all they can in order to emigrate there. As Al Indonesi puts it in the video ‘Put all your effort into using your physical and financial strength to migrate to the Islamic State’. As was already mentioned as well in the previous section, the video shows the Indonesian fighters sitting and standing around their spokesman, the atmosphere is one of relaxation while sitting near shore. This is another element also addressed by Winter, it shows the audience that life in the Islamic State is beautiful and worth living. This video compliments one that was released shortly before it, both carrying the same name. In this prior video the men were also seen sitting and relaxing in a very pretty environment. It is all staged in order to make the audience believe the caliphate is their destiny, their true homeland.

Special Techniques to Maximize Effect

The video ‘Join the ranks’ is certainly in line with the existing opinions, beliefs and dispositions of Islamic State, due to the fact that is emphasizing on the perfection of the caliphate. This message is spread among its audience by making use of a various set of propaganda techniques. The first one being invulnerability. The idea of being immortal is propagated freely in this video. The inevitability of victory is after all part of the ideological conditioning and by adding this as a technique it tries to show the powerlessness of the enemy regime. Al Indonesi claims that the soldiers of the Islamic State are blessed by Allah, his messenger and his servant Ibrahim. Fighting the cursed sons of Iraq, those who are backed by the Jews of America will surely grant the soldiers of Allah victory, whether it be here or in paradise. The next technique used is that of spurious justification. Mainly focussing on the enemy regimes as being led by kuffar, or Muslims who do not follow the right path of Allah. The land of Allah is blessed and is therefore the only legitimate place on earth for Muslims to live, all other countries should be conquered and destroyed because they do not follow the true path. The technique of appeal to emotions is also used, Al Indonesi is not just appealing to others emotions, but he is actually very emotional during one part of his speech. Almost bursting into tears while talking about the perfect land of the Islamic State. But he is also appealing to those watching the video, asking them what is preventing them of joining the caliphate. Since it is all Muslims obligation to join the land that has been granted to them by Allah he is trying to appeal to feelings of guilt. Furthermore the technique of Name calling is used frequently by Al Indonesi, giving credit to the land of Allah and legitimizing it by calling the leaders of all the other lands Kuffar and Tawaghit. Testimonial is clearly used as well in the form of Al Indonesi who is describing all the beautiful things he has seen in the
caliphate, which is also contributing to the technique of **card stacking**. Which is of course observed in his speech about all the great things of the caliphate. Leaving out of the picture the fact that thousands were being murdered at the time when this video was created. Finally it is focussing on **plain folks** as well, showing its viewers that anyone can join the caliphate, as long as they follow the true path of Allah.
4.4 Although the disbelievers don’t like it, 16-11-2014

This video contains ultra-violent footage and on first sight would not seem like a recruitment video. However, this video is homage to the most successful foreign fighters in service of Islamic State and therefore sends the message of ‘this could be you when you join us’. Focussing on various themes of both Winter (2015) and Tugwell (1986) and using a number of propaganda techniques make this video suitable for research. The video was released by Al-Furqān Media on the 16\textsuperscript{th} November, 2014 and can be freely accessed on various websites, including https://archive.org/details/disbelievers.

As the name already suggests, this video contains images which any normal citizen would find repulsive and horrifying. The fifteen-minute video includes graphic footage of a mass beheading of captured Syrian soldiers and pilots and shows the beheaded head of the American aid worker and Islam convert Abdul-Rahman Kassig. On first sight the video would not seem like a recruitment video. However, the video is homage to the most successful foreign fighters in service of the caliphate and therefore sends the message of ‘this could be you when you join us’. Therefore, being partly focussed on recruitment.

**Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Video**

The video ‘Although the disbelievers dislike it’ was released three days after the audio message release of Abu Bakr al Baghdadi. The title of the video, which is the same as the audio release, is taken from the Quran, chapter 9,verse 32 and dictates the following:
“They want to extinguish the light of Allah with their mouths, but Allah refuses except to perfect His light, although the disbelievers dislike it.”

The first several minutes of the video are used to illustrate this message on a map, showing the light of IS, and therefore Allah, spreading around the globe. From its origin in Iraq to Syria, Africa, Europe, Asia and finally America. The intention of this illustration is to show the audience that the Islamic State will one day cover the whole world, as Allah intended. Furthermore it is used to inspire the audience into action and to convince them that there is a place for everyone in the international Jihad and global caliphate. The message of the video is clear, “The caliphate is the will of Allah and therefore unstoppable”. The video is also focussing on the history of Islamic State, trying to rewrite history in their favour. Making claims that the group, already in the early 2000’s, had the intention to strike out into Syria, in order to conquer Dabiq. However, when looking at the AQI capacity in the early 2000’s it seems very unlikely they were looking past the Sykes-Picot line. In the last part of the video the claims go even further, stating that IS is looking to rescue the Sunni Muslims suffering under the barbarous Assad regime. Finally focussing on the danger that the caliphate is facing from all sides, which is why everyone should join in the final struggle for Allah. Thus, Islamic State, by releasing this video, is increasing its efforts in being perceived as a legitimate global Jihadists community. Showing that they are fighting fire with fire, acting as the protective vanguard for the worlds Sunni Muslims.

Context in which Propaganda Occurs

The video was released shortly after one of al Baghdadi’s audio recordings in a time of great change. The caliphate had been established only a few months prior and was still on the offensive, capturing oil and gas fields in Syria, however the caliphate was also facing its first setbacks from the coalition airstrikes, Iraqi Army and the Kurds. While these events were developing the jihadists of the caliphate were busy murdering those loyal to the Baghdad regime, by means of attacks, suicide bombings and hunting teams (which were also depicted in the video Clanging of the Swords; part 4). These events were creating an attitude of fear among those living in the caliphate, but also outside of it. Because the hunting teams of IS would travel into unoccupied regions, dressed up like soldier of the Baghdad regime, dealing swift ‘justice’ to those loyal to their enemy. The propagandist is responding to the current situation beautifully, by reinforcing the feeling of fear amongst those watching, but also focussing on recruitment. By showing successful western jihadists, who were once like the viewer, therefore the second purpose of the video is to create a feeling of admiration of those who joined the caliphate.
The Target Audience

The video is targeting an international audience, the video being completely in English with the famous Jihadi John addressing the western audience directly. Sending a message to the American president Obama: “To Obama, the dog of Rome, today we are slaughtering the soldiers of Bashar and tomorrow we will be slaughtering your soldiers.” “And with Allah’s permission...the Islamic State will soon...begin to slaughter your people in your streets.” Later scenes of the video show a variety of foreign fighters carrying out the beheading of 22 Syrian soldiers. These jihadists have been identified as being of English, French, German, Filipino, North African and possibly Chechen origin. This shows the audience that there is a place for everyone in the caliphate, no matter where you come from. Only following the path of Allah is what matters. Furthermore, because this video is homage to these fighters, who have served the Caliph faithfully, it is propagating a message of pride. Those who join the caliphate can count on being rewarded when being faithful to the Caliph and Allah. The video has been distributed on the internet by Al-Furqān Media and has been distributed on social media accordingly. However, by this point in time social media platforms had implemented the whack-a-mole policy. Which was an effort, started during the al Shabab attack on Westgate Mall in Kenya, to close down any radical extremist social media account as soon as it turned up. Therefore the distribution of the propaganda videos on social media endured more hardships, being removed in a short period of time after being posted. Nonetheless, videos like this are still easily accessed on websites like jihadology.net.

Media Utilization Techniques

The video is very much promoting the message and ideology of Islamic State. Already in the first minutes, by showing an interactive expansion map of the caliphate, the message of a global Jihad is brought home. Furthermore, the beheading of 22 enemy soldiers is justified by the fact that they were standing in the way of the international caliphate. On top of this, it is also in line with the ethnic cleansing Islamic State tries to pursue, these individuals did not agree with the ideology of IS and therefore deserve to die. Therefore, the message is consistent with the ideology of IS. Furthermore, as mentioned already, the video was mainly spread around on the internet and social media. With some new difficulties on social media, as radical extremists are being banned from these platforms. The consistency in the video is in terms that it is combining the various themes to create a cohesive narrative for the target audience. Which is successfully accomplished in most IS propaganda videos. Finally the tone set in this video is one of both hate and pride, oppression and belonging. It tries to show the world that the enemies of Allah should fear IS, since they are the tool who will deliver justice. But those who wish to join them are also welcome, as long as they follow the true path of Allah.
Triad of Propaganda

As mentioned before, this video is an extremely graphic video as far as propaganda goes, it is partially focussed on recruiting people insofar that the video shows the watcher that they could become honoured jihadists like the men in the video. The major propaganda element used is the one of depicting the enemy regime as the evil empire. The enemies are Bashar al-Assad and president Obama, who are to blame for all the chaos in Syria and Iraq. Furthermore, they are standing in the way between the terrorists and their promised caliphate, so basically everyone fighting to resist the Islamic State should be destroyed. Therefore the element of a virtuous land is also hailed. Finally already in the first few minute the element of inevitable victory is used. By showing a map in which the Islamic State is gradually covering the whole of the world, the message is spread that their victory is unavoidable and inevitable.

Central themes in the video

As was already mentioned several times before, this video contains highly graphic video and therefore the theme of Brutality is the most consistent in appearance. The slow beheading of prisoners can be accounted to the most brutal manners of execution and therefore it is easy to determine why this theme is so present in the video. Furthermore the theme of Belonging and Utopianism are of great importance in the video. Showing the world the most successful jihadists of the caliphate, thereby sending a message to all possible recruits that there is a place for anyone in the Islamic State. If you want, this might one day be you, beheading prisoners. All which is expected from the viewer is that they travel to the caliphate themselves and join the fight. This way one might prove himself as a true fighter of Allah and his servants. The theme of utopia returns in the fact that these jihadists seem to be convinced that they are serving the promised land and its leaders. Therefore executing all those who stand in the way of this virtuous land is justified, al-Baghdadi himself called for the destruction of all the Kuffar so they are just carrying out his will. This is where the theme of War also comes in. The video isn’t so much focussing on showing the military might of the caliphate, however showing 22 captured Syrian prisoners does sent a message that the organization is still able to overcome their enemies. These men were probably forced to surrender due to the hopelessness of the situation they were in, but nonetheless it still serves as a reminder that the Islamic State is defeating its enemies.

Special Techniques to Maximize Effect

Several techniques are used to get the message across, the first being guilt transfer. The terrorists are jihadists are committing these crimes because of their enemies, the victims are resisting against the formation of a beautiful Muslim land and so they are to blame for all the people who get killed. After all, if they hadn’t resisted, there would be no need for war. Other techniques used are the spreading of terror, the appeal to fear and invulnerability, combined with a fixed belief in the final victory. This video
clearly brings home the message of ‘Join us or die’ and probably aims at achieving similar results in Syria as it did in Iraq. Here security forces fled as soon as IS soldiers came in sight. However, since many Syrian soldiers are being killed in this gruesome way it might also backfire. Syrian soldiers will think twice before surrendering to IS in order to avoid a death like this. It will however, very likely strike fear into the hearts of civilians, both in the middle-east and west. As far as the invulnerability technique goes, IS shows in this video how they once again managed to slaughter American civilians together with over twenty Syrian soldiers. Showing the world they are still capable to get away with their crimes, taking on conventional armies like that one of Syria without problems. It shows how the Syrian regime is unable to deal with the threat of terror spread by the Islamic State, it serves to confirm the message spread by IS that the enemy regimes are encumbered machines unable to deal with an external threat. Other techniques used are the Plain Folks techniques, showing how regular civilians have become heroic fighters of the caliphate. Furthermore, the video serves as testimonial for the message of IS, they are actually able to take on the evil regime and capture its soldiers. Finally it’s using spurious justification, justifying the horrific acts for the wrong reasons. The reason for the decapitation of these individuals is their own fault, if they had not resisted the formation and expansion of the caliphate they would still be alive.
4.5 Fisabilillah - Where are your troops?, 14- 4-2015
Fisabilillah was released on the 14th of April 2015 by Al-Haŷat Media Center. This video is not so much a call of travelling to the Caliphate, rather it calls Muslims all over the world to attack targets in the west, to become sleeper cells of IS. It is a noticeable push to influence people to incite attacks in the west and can therefore be labelled as recruitment video. Furthermore, the video serves as a spreader of fear among western audiences. Due to its graphic content the original video has been removed from most websites, however it can be accessed on the following websites:
http://www.barenakedislam.com/2015/11/19/slick-islamic-state-isis-rap-video-threatens-new-york-city/ and the censored version is still freely accessible on websites like http://www.vocativ.com/world/isis-2/isis-threatens-attack-on-new-york-in-gruesome-rap-video/. This video was probably the most challenging to analyse, due to the extremely graphic scenes succeeding each other.

![Image 9. A scene from the video Fisabilillah](image)

**Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda Video**
The video ‘Fisabilillah – where are your troops’ was released in cooperation with German Rapper and Muslim radical Denis Cuspert. In the video the rapper is threatening his home nation with a Charlie Hebdo-like attack. The propaganda video made by the 39 year old rapper, who now goes by the name of Abu Talha al-Amani, is filled with horrendous footage of numerous prisoners being beheaded and the Jordanian pilot Moath al-Kasabeh being immolated. In the slick and high quality video there is one clear message, which is sung in the following words: ‘In France it has been proven by deeds, in Germany the sleeper cells are waiting. The brothers operating, terrorizing the Kuffar. We want your
blood, it tastes so wonderful!’. Clearly this message is one of both the spreading of fear among German (and other European citizens) for the possibility of sleeper cells operating and planning among them. While at the same time it is also a motivational speech for those Muslims in Europe who feel the need to take part in the Jihad, because further in the video al-Amani is calling for exactly that. ‘Allah has called you, there is no way out. Your neighbour is a Kuffar, slandering the messenger, take a big knife and give him what he rightly deserves. Even while you are in Europe, make your Jihad, Allah is going to reward you for finishing the dirty dreck ones’. So there are already two purposes to this video, the spreading of fear and the recruitment of sleeper cells. Finally it also has a continuous taunting vibe to it. Al-Amani keeps on singing ‘Where are your troops? We can no longer wait, O Allah, Destroy them!’ . Showing the world that the Islamic State is ready to face the world, you can come to us, but we are blessed by Allah and therefore victory will be ours. Concluding, this video is very much in line with the ideology of Islamic State, propagating a global Jihad against all the enemies of the caliphate.

Context in which Propaganda Occurs

Several months before the release of this video, the Charlie Hebdo Paris attack and the consequent attack on the Jewish supermarket had shocked the western world. The attacks in the west were condemned globally by both western and Muslim countries, (Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Kuwait, Qatar, Egypt, Morocco, Bahrain, Iraq, Turkey and Iran) as reported by Al Arabiya (2015). Several Muslim communities stated that “There is nothing Islamic about such people and their actions are evil, and outside the boundaries set by our faith...there is no justification for such carnage whatsoever”.

Nonetheless, despite the fact that these actions have been condemned globally a rise in anti-Muslim sentiments can be detected in the west. According to a new analysis carried out by the Guardian (2015), 24 different far-right groups are currently attempting to whip up hatred towards Muslims and provoke a cultural civil war. Therefore it would not be surprising if already troubled Muslim youngsters in the west see the rise of anti-Muslim sentiments as a predicted prophecy coming true. Motivating them in joining an opposing, radical, faction. Propaganda video’s in a toxic environment of hatred as we witness it in Europe today can be the determining factor for youngsters to swing around into the radical camp and end up Jihadi. It is for this reason that the Islamic State propagandists make use of these sentiments in their video, claiming that the west has always been looking for the downfall of Islam and that all youngsters should join the caliphate to prevent this from happening. They promote a sort of democratization of Jihad in order to extent their influence, no longer does an individual have to travel to the caliphate. They call upon those disillusioned by the west to attack exactly those who caused them harm.
The Target Audience

The target audience of this video are clearly the German public. Being completely spoken in German, however subbed in English, makes it rather obvious that the main target audience of the video are German speaking Muslims. However, due to the English subtitles and the international media attention it received it is understandable that the video might influence people far beyond the German borders. It goes even beyond nationality, the video has a clear focus on disillusioned Muslim individuals living in the west who have been unable to join the Islamic State. It is actually sung in the video ‘Brother don’t be sad, I had to go, but even while you stayed in Europe, do your Jihad. By emphasizing on all the rewards Allah will bestow on those who wage the Jihad for him in the west the propagandist seeks to influence his target audience. These claims are reinforced with ‘heroic’ video footage of the brothers Chérif and Saïd Kouachi firing their Kalashnikovs in the streets of Paris and Amedy Coulibaly rushing to his death after the Porte de Vincennes siege.

Triad of Propaganda

With regard to the triad of propaganda of Tugwell (1986), all three of his described elements return in this video, but with an emphasis on the evil enemy and inevitable victory. The west is, naturally, depicted as the enemy of the Islamic State, in this video the German state in particular is used to fulfil this role. The German people should do well to remember that Islamic State is able to strike anytime and anywhere, they are cursed by Allah and will be defeated by the Jihad. Furthermore, the video shows many scenes of executions, varying from people being shot, beheaded and immolated alive. Serving as a grim reminder what is waiting for those enemies of the Islamic State. This emphasis on the evil enemy and their awaited faith ties in perfectly with the element of inevitable victory, which is shown in both materialistic as spiritual way. By showing the enemies of Jihad, being executed in the most horrendous ways one might imagine the propagandist seeks to tell the story of victory. ‘Look, this is what happened to those who stood up against the mighty Islamic State, against the soldiers who are blessed by Allah. They will never defeat us, we will be victorious because it is the will of Allah.’ So this is the way in which the propagandist tries to convince its viewer of the inevitable victory for the Islamic State. The spiritual way in which the propaganda tries to convey the message of victory is by telling the viewer what his reward might be when he joins Jihad ‘The paradise is waiting, do it with sincerity, brother hurry up, struggle hard, deeds make the difference and will grant a favour from Allah – Allahu Akbar’. So basically al-Amani proclaims that by joining Jihad one is assured of a spot in the paradise of Allah. The video does suggest that is expected from the individual that he might sacrifice himself in order to reach paradise, by showing multiple scenes in which suicide bombers are preparing vehicles and bomb buckles in order to detonate themselves later – which is also shown. Finally, the element of the virtuous promised land isn’t directly depicted in this video, there are no scenes of the
‘beautiful’ land, relaxing fighters etc. However, the fact that the propagandist is constantly referring to the land, being ready for their enemies, being the promised land of Allah which everyone should try to join and if they are unable should still serve, makes it so that the element of virtue is present.

Central Themes in the Propaganda Video

**Brutality** is the first theme that comes to mind when watching this video. The propagandist made great effort to show its viewer what terrible things await the enemies of Islamic State. Mass executions such as shootings, beheadings and immolations are shown in quick succession in between the images of suicide bombers preparing themselves up to the point where they detonate their charges. These images are combined with the theme of **War** by showing the soldiers of Allah fighting the regime of both Iraq and Syria. On top of that, media images of the successful Paris terror attack of January 2015 are also used in order to show its viewer how far the influence of Islamic State is now spreading. ‘We can get to you and we will’ is one of the messages spread within the themes of war and brutality. No use is made of the themes of mercy and victimhood in this video, it is a full-scale horror show of blood, gore and terrible things to come in the form of German sleeper cells.

Nonetheless, the two themes of **Utopia and Belonging** are certainly touched upon in the form of recruitment. The video is appealing to those western Muslims, disillusioned and seeking a way to serve or join the caliphate. Telling them that it is their obligation as Muslims to join the land of Allah and if they cannot do so still serve him by carrying out attacks in the west. ‘Allah has called you, there is no way out. Your neighbour is a Kuffar, slandering the messenger, take a big knife and give him what he rightly deserves’. In this way a Muslim in the west, bound to the borders of Europe, is still able to belong to the Islamic State and perform his or her duty for Allah. Therefore not directly mentioning the virtuous caliphate, but still touching upon the subject through the recruitment of western Muslims, asking them to serve the land of Allah by carrying out deeds in the west.

**Media Utilization Techniques**

The video ‘Join the ranks’ has been distributed on the internet and social media. By this point in time, 2015, it had become challenging for Islamic State propagandists to spread their message on social media due to the ‘whack a mole’. This concept was introduced by Berger and Stern (2014) and it’s about social media platforms taking down accounts which showed radical content immediatet. For this reason the video has been mainly distributed on the various internet fora and the Al-Haṭṭ media outlet. As mentioned before the video is focussing mostly on brutality and war, the tone is one of both superiority and fear. The Islamic State propagandists is showing the west that they are able to get away with their attacks, they suggest they even have sleeper cells right under the nose of the western security services. They are feeling confident that they will gain victory over the west and are even
going as far as taunting them in sending troops to fight the caliphate. Furthermore the video sets a tone of fear, due to all the graphic content of executions and brutal suicide attacks.

**Special Techniques to Maximize Effect**

Several propaganda techniques have been used in the video ‘Fisabilillah’. The first one of them being **Invulnerability**, as already mentioned earlier this technique has been closely tied to the inevitable victory and is used in both materialistic as spiritual way. The propagandist shows the viewer that Islamic State is still, despite the attacks on different fronts, gaining victories over their enemies. By showing the execution of new prisoners it is implied that IS is still gaining ground and expanding its caliphate, however quite the opposite is true. By also focussing on the ‘what might be if you join us’ the video tries to draw in new recruits by promising them the greatest reward of all, a spot in paradise. The next technique used is **Terror**. It is a very important technique for propaganda, since it sends the message of ‘join us or die’. This is certainly the case with the video Fisabilillah, in which the scenes of many brutal executions are shown to spread fear in the west and inspire people to join the Islamic State to avoid befalling to a similar fate. **Appeal to emotions** is the next one in line, especially appealing to both fear and guilt. Fear with regard to the western audiences who are to be scared by watching this video, guilt for those who wish to join the caliphate but have stayed behind. **Appeal to force** is also used, threatening the western audiences with a possible attack in Germany should certainly spread the fear among these audiences. **Name calling** is also used in order to discredit the western regimes, especially by calling them ‘kuffar, dreck and cursed ones’ should help to inspire the viewer that the western audiences are unworthy in the eyes of Allah and should be destroyed. **Testimonial** is given by showing videos of the January Paris attacks on both Charlie Hebdo and the Jewish supermarket. It shows the viewer what heroes they might become by carrying out Jihad in the west. **Plain folks** is used as well, especially the images of a suicide bomber texting his mother farewell before taking off in his bomb car show the viewer that he too is just a normal person who was once part of a family. Finally **Card Stacking** is used in great amount to show all the good sides of becoming a Jihadi, the fact that you will instantly be killed when carrying out a terror attack is subtly left out of the picture. The focus lies on all the glory that will await you when you join the cause of the Islamic State.
Conclusion

This research has been carried out in order to find an answer to the question "Is the traditional understanding of propaganda as epitomized by Tugwell’s three element model still applicable for understanding the working of current propaganda of Islamic State?". During which another dilemma came to light, which was the focus on the red herring of Winter. Therefore the study also looked for an answer to the question whether the theme of ‘brutality’ is always dominant in propaganda, such as Tugwell’s (1986) model leads us to believe, or if other themes play a vital role as well.

With all the findings of the analysis, the research question can certainly be answered. The answer to this question would be that the traditional understanding of propaganda as epitomized by Tugwell (1986) in essence is still holding true, however modifications with regard to his triad of propaganda would be recommendable. Furthermore some new elements ought to be added and the amount of propaganda techniques should be greatly expanded for it to be applicable to the modern day propaganda. So in short, the model needs a complex revision in order to remain relevant. The next section will expand on the findings that led to this conclusion.

The first finding, which at first glance didn’t seem very significant or obvious, has been the use, and dependence on the internet and social media. This point has also been mentioned very briefly as a suggestion during the introduction and turned out to be quite significant for modern day propaganda indeed. When looking around on the internet it becomes very clear that the Islamic State propaganda machine has become fully dependent on the internet in order to reach their target audiences, whether this is to scare or to recruit them. This stands in contrast with the days in which Tugwell (1986) drew up his triad of propaganda model, in which propaganda was still mainly distributed by pamphlets, television and hard action. Tugwell (1986) only briefly mentioned this by stating that it was vital for propagandists to have access to television and newspapers in order to influence the masses. However with the changing of times and the invention of the internet the terrorists have become increasingly dependent on it. As already mentioned, Al Qaeda took to the forums in order to start spreading their message and Islamic State has perfected it. Every single form of their propaganda is dependent on the internet. Their videos are spread through social media accounts, their glossy Dabiq is published online and even audio recordings are only accessible on the internet. Therefore it can be claimed that the internet has become extremely vital for this organizations survival, without it they could never have reached the proportions they reached during their prime days. Without the internet they would be limited to the days of old, in which propaganda videos were videotaped, shipped to another country, where they could be watched by a handful of supporters in a living room gathering. Basically, the internet has revolutionized propaganda. Thanks to it the material to motivate someone to Jihad can now be accessed by anyone, anywhere in the world, a clear example of this was the video
of Fisabilillah in which the video called up on the sleeper cells in the west to take up arms and wreak havoc. Thus internet has established itself as the main tool for propagandist communication, access to it is vital, and should therefore be included in a new propaganda model.

The second finding of the research stands in direct relation with the triad of propaganda model of Tugwell (1986). It regards the question whether the triad of propaganda is still observable in modern day Islamic State propaganda. The answer to this question is: yes, in most videos the triad of propaganda can still be observed. The propagandists of Islamic State have gone a great lengths in order to propagate the beauty of the virtuous promised land, this element of his triad of propaganda can be observed in almost every video they produce. There are some exceptions with regard to the earlier videos which have been released by ISI during the times in which it was still an insignificant terrorist group. Nonetheless, soon after they started growing in size the organization started propagating the beauty of the promised land. At first it is portrayed as a goal to fight towards, but after the caliphate became established the videos start revolving around how great the life in the caliphate is. It is remarkable that this process was set in motion shortly after the first speech of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in which the emir promised a lot of victories for the group. It is also striking that the videos from this point on become more professional. Therefore it can be concluded that this was a combined effort from the organization top to inspire their followers, give them a goal to fight for. This goal combined the ever present motivation of fighting the enemies of Baghdad, with a more spiritual end, a goal that its fighters would gladly give their lives for due to the fact that they were now fighting to establish the land of Allah here on earth. It is important to note that a transition on the use of this form of propaganda can be observed, where first the virtuous promised land is used as an end state, a final goal, such as Tugwell (1986) also described it, after the declaration of caliphate it becomes more than that. After this point in time it becomes an active tool for propaganda recruitment purposes. The spiritual message of the promised land combined with a materialistic enemy makes for great propaganda messages and was likely to draw in more fighters than just the message of fighting an enemy in Baghdad. Nonetheless, this second element of the triad of propaganda, the evil enemy, has not been neglected and shifted several times with the development of the propaganda. During the early days of the organization the evil enemy is very clearly and simplistically depicted as the politicians in Baghdad. Those Shiite politicians who are portrayed as the puppets of America, oppressing the Sunni population of Iraq, being corrupt at heart and should therefore be destroyed. This part of the evil enemy will always remain in the message of Islamic State propaganda, even today they still propagate the fight against Baghdad, however the amount of enemies have grown steadily. With the cross-over into Syria, the organization gained a new enemy, the regime of Bashar al-Assad. He too became portrayed as the leader of an evil empire, an example of this can be seen in the video
Although the disbelievers dislike it’. This enemy was backed by an ever greater enemy: The Russians, they too had to be destroyed by Islamic State. Along the way they would start fighting more and more different enemies on multiple front and thus expanding the target audiences of their propaganda. Until it would eventually reach all the way to the dogs of Rome and America. Finally, the third element of Tugwell’s (1986) triad of propaganda, the inevitable victory, has been ever present in the videos of Islamic State. Already going back to the earlier videos of the Clanging of the Swords series in 2012 we witness jihadists proclaiming victory of their enemies, which are back then still restrained to Baghdad. Nonetheless, all the analysed videos contain interviews with jihadists who, full of confidence, proclaim that fighting for Allah is something that can only bring you good things. “When death reaches you, you will be judged in the way you lived your life. Do you want to show the lord your wounds, the things you sacrificed for Islam – Martyrdom”. Examples such as these riddle the videos, combined with images of the caliphate stretching the globe, only reinforcing the belief that they’re invincible. By combining such messages with great show of military might, anyone should be convinced of the inevitable victory that Islamic State will achieve. So concluding, all the three elements of Tugwell (1986) can still be observed in the propaganda of Islamic State, however a remark should be made about the virtuous promised land. Where Tugwell (1986) only used this as a final end state, an ideal end point for the terrorist organization, Islamic State has gone beyond it. They have, indeed, used the idea of promised land to inspire their soldiers and to recruit others. However, once the ideal end point of Tugwell (1986) was reached they’ve gone on and used it as a propaganda tool, to show the world how great the life in the land of Allah is and therefore all Muslims should follow their obligation and come join His lands. Therefore this element of Tugwell (1986) should be changed, since his view on virtue is just too simplistic.

Thirdly, the themes which Winter (2015) has attributed to the propaganda of Islamic State and which can be broadly linked to the triad of propaganda of Tugwell (1986). Winter (2015) notified the world that researchers are emphasizing too much on one theme in propaganda, brutality, whereas according to him five other elements are also vital for propaganda to be effective. During this research it became apparent that his themes can be linked to the triad of propaganda in some way. This implied that perhaps Winter (2015) found some new elements, which Tugwell (1986) hadn’t paid enough much attention to. During the video analysis four of the six themes of Winter were constantly reoccurring. It became obvious that brutality, and to a lesser extent, war are the pet subjects of the Islamic State propagandists. These two are reoccurring in six out of the eight videos that have been analysed, which checks out because the same findings were found with regard to the evil enemy element of Tugwell (1986). Nonetheless, the themes of belonging and utopia did return in quite a lot of videos as well, linked to the promised land of Tugwell (1986), this makes sense because the same was found with
regard to the triad of propaganda. It is interesting though, that these two themes are used in a very active manner to draw people to the caliphate, they are active tools for recruitment. This was also observed with regard to the virtue element of Tugwell (1986) after declaration of caliphate. With regard to these two themes Winter (2015) might have been right in saying that more attention should be given to themes besides brutality. However, when it comes to the remaining two themes of mercy and victimhood something different was found in this research. These two themes seem to be used when it suits the propagandists, whereas the other four are being implemented constantly as core stones for the propaganda message, the remaining two of are only sporadically used when the need is there for an extra punch. Concluding, the themes of Winter (2015) might be of added value to the model of Tugwell (1986), in the sense that it takes a more complex and detailed approach to the analysis of the propaganda message. However, not all the six themes are of equal value and importance and. Nonetheless since all themes can be linked to the triad of propaganda in way or another and since they do reoccur, whether as core or needed theme, they should be included in a new propaganda model.

With regard to the used techniques to manipulate the audience in believing the spread message, the following has to be stated. The five techniques of Tugwell (1986) are too few for propaganda to be effective when we analyse the propaganda of Islamic State. Of the proposed 19 techniques in the theory section, at least 14 different ones have been observed in the various analysed videos. Therefore the five of Tugwell (1986) are just too few for propaganda to be effective, at least in the eyes of the propagandists of Islamic State. They seem to be of the opinion that more than five techniques are needed for their message to come across. This makes sense, since the propaganda machine of Islamic State is producing hundreds of different videos and they would probably become very dull if the same five techniques are used over and over again. Not to mention that the more observant among us would certainly be able to see the same recipe being used over and over again. Therefore reducing the effectiveness of the propaganda. More techniques allows for more different combinations, thus for more seemingly ‘new’ propaganda videos.

Finally, propaganda video’s need purpose, The message should have a goal, or motivate someone into taking action against a set goal. This is where the propaganda of Islamic State differs from that of, for example, Al Qaeda which usually only show fighting and executions. Tugwell (1986) never mentioned anything about purpose in his model, he only focussed on three standard elements which set a more ideological goal. However, the videos of Islamic State each have a small time, or individual, goal as well. They call upon people to travel somewhere, kill someone, take a certain action, which is in some way related to the three elements of Tugwell (1986). However where the triad of propaganda takes a meta form, these purposes and messages are of different posture, but of no less importance since

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they can be seen as the main goal of an individual video. This purpose sets the tone for a video, it will determine what elements and themes are used, what techniques should be included in order for it to become effective. For it to carry out the act of influencing a target audience insofar that it will attempt to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist; Propaganda.

The following page will depict a new model showing the workings of modern Islamic State propaganda, according to van Aalst (2016). It uses the triad of propaganda as inspiration, but with modifications, adjustments and new elements. This model has been created as a result of the empirical findings in this thesis. First and foremost, when looking at the model it becomes clear that it differs a great deal from that of Tugwell’s (1986) model. The first new element introduced in the model of van Aalst (2016), with regard to the Tugwell (1986) model, is that of purpose. The empirical findings in the thesis show that every video created by Islamic State has one purpose or another. It is the foundation on which the rest of the propaganda for them is built, it will determine what techniques, elements and themes are used to reach the audience. Therefore it is placed above everything else, it is where the process of propaganda commences. However, in order to reach the audiences one thing is almost as important as the purpose of the video itself, which is access to the internet. Therefore, this requirement is placed directly under the initial purpose of the video.

When the propagandist has the means to reach its audience and has a clear goal set out for the propaganda, it is time to implement a theme. Which is where Tugwell’s (1986) model comes in. As the empirical findings of this research show, the three elements of Tugwell (1986) are still used in modern day propaganda, however it can easily be broken down into more diverse themes, as introduced by Winter (2015). These themes, which can be used in combined fashion, allow for a diverse array of videos. So for example, when the main element of a video is focussed on virtue, the core themes will usually focus on utopianism, belonging and to lesser extent mercy. However, themes from other elements might be used as well, as was observed in the Clanging of the Swords video’s three and four, which both combined almost all themes and elements into two coherent videos. Therefore the model included the ‘possible combination of propaganda themes’, allowing for interaction between the three elements and six themes. Finally, as mentioned before, the propaganda techniques in order to reach the target audience. Tugwell (1986) focussed on only five of them, however the empirical data from this research show that a great deal more are used. Therefore this great array of propaganda techniques have been included in the model. It will depend on the purpose of the video what techniques seem most suited to the propagandist to use. Combining all these elements, themes and techniques should make for an effective propaganda campaign.
Figure 4. The working of Islamic State’s propaganda in model (van Aalst, 2016)
Limitations and recommendations

Every research has its limitations and one might expect that a research which has been conducted in a master’s thesis will have even more. A limited timeframe, resources and network might refrain a master student from reaching its full potential. Which instantly sheds some light on the limitations of this research.

First and foremost, the timeframe. This master’s thesis has been conducted in a matter of months, which is relatively short for conducting a thorough research into a topic which is so broad. Due to time pressure the researcher was forced to analyse a limited number of propaganda video’s, there simply was no time to analyse more of them with such an extensive analytical framework. On top of this extensive framework it must be noted that analysing, the often horrendous, videos created by Islamic State took quite a mental and emotional toll on the researcher. Therefore each analysis took some time to finish, due to the fact that analysing one video was quite a task indeed. Nonetheless, due to the fact that only a relatively small sample could be used for analysis, the external validity of the research has gone down. One cannot easily generalise a sample of eight to reality, this is one of the points in which the research is lacking. It would be recommendable for further study to take a more extensive approach towards the number of videos analysed. To determine whether all videos are created in the fashion as is suggested in this thesis, an analysis of numerous, maybe hundreds, of videos should be carried out.

Other limitations which were encountered are the focus on Islamic State propaganda itself. The researcher has opted to use the propaganda of Islamic State due to the fact that its modern in nature and very up-to-date. However, Tugwell’s (1986) model takes a more abstract approach, in contrast with the master’s thesis which is testing only one form of propaganda (religiously motivated). Therefore, if the model of Tugwell (1986) is to be tested on a meta level, future studies should include propaganda from all kind of different organizations, with different motivations. This research is therefore limited in its approach, in focussing on only one form of propaganda. However, with the relative short time which is available for a master’s thesis, there was really no alternative here.

Furthermore, the overall research tried to look into the working of propaganda, however there was a constant urge to mention something about the success of the propaganda. After all, success of the propaganda campaign is part of the overall working process. However, the words like ‘success’ and ‘effectivity’ caused the researcher great problems due to the fact that they are very hard to define. In order to be able to mention something about the ‘success’ of propaganda, interviews with individuals who have been exposed to it are required. This would take a great deal of time, networks have to be established, trust should be won with the individuals in question. Therefore the researcher came with
a solution to this problem, by determining that the propagandists make constant re-use of certain elements, themes and techniques in each video. Therefore it was concluded that the propagandists probably think of these elements as vital for success, why else would they constantly use them. Further research into this topic of ‘success’ would be extremely interesting, to establish understanding of how the individuals are influenced by the propaganda message would grant us a lot of insight in the overall process. This would certainly complement Ellul (1965) and Hazan’s (1976) research. This was the initial idea of this researcher as well, however due to limited time it was decided to take a more abstract course into the overall working process of propaganda. Nonetheless, for future studies it would be very interesting to gain some understanding of this phenomena.

Concluding, this research encountered some limitations with regard to external validity. First and foremost is the small sample that has been used, with only eight videos being analysed the external validity of the research isn’t very high. On top of that the research is very oriented on one organization, with their own motivation. This is a vital point due to the fact that Tugwell (1986) in his 1986 model takes a more abstract approach. By only focussing on one organization the researcher is only describing their propaganda machine and leaves out the possible various others in the world. However due to time pressure it was impossible to take all the different organizations into consideration. Finally, there has been some struggle with the description of the working of propaganda. This research is trying to describe the full process of the propaganda apparatus of Islamic State. However, therefore something should be mentioned about success or effectivity as well. This has been done through the eyes of Islamic State themselves. The researcher concluded that, if Islamic States propagandists constantly use the same techniques, elements and themes in their propaganda, they must be convinced of the fact that these elements are vital for ‘success’. So the conclusion of effectivity or success is drawn on the presumption that the propagandists re-use certain elements constantly because they think they are effective. However, to really determine whether someone is successfully influenced by the propagandists message, extensive interviews should be conducted which will be very time consuming.

Finally, with regard to future research several interesting possibilities have arisen. The most interesting one would be research into the effectivity of propaganda, whether this be that of Islamic State or not. An extensive research including interviews with perhaps returning jihadists would create understanding and insight in the manipulative working of propaganda on the individual. Such research would be a contribution to the current body of knowledge and could perhaps continue where Hazan (1976) left it in his research. Today there are so many more ways to reach the audience then back in the 70’s, surely some interesting new findings could be discovered when looking into this topic.
However, with regard to the overall working process of propaganda some options for future research are also available. Follow-up studies could be done with this thesis as the basis. Taking a more broad approach, including an analysis of many more videos would only contribute to the external validity of this research and perhaps reinforce its findings and introduced model as well. Or future researchers could try to challenge the model of Tugwell (1986) again, but in different fashion. Taking a more abstract and meta approach, like Tugwell (1986) did himself, analysing not just video propaganda of Islamic State, but also include that of many other organizations which are perhaps motivated by different ideals. This will allow for a re-creation of the original conditions of Tugwells (1986) research and should allow for a strong position from which to challenge his findings once more.
Appendix A

The Structure of the Propaganda Organization

When analysing the command structure of Islamic State it becomes clear it has a top-down structure, Caliph Ibrahim is the sole decision-maker in the Islamic State and his decisions are implemented with no room for recourse. According to Berger & Stern (2015) he sits on top of a pyramid of power and as the representative of the Prophet Mohammed, he holds absolute power and does not share authority with any of his lieutenants. A sole exception is Abu Muslim Al Turkemani who is reported to have served as the Caliph’s deputy until his death on August 18, 2015. Turkemani was mainly responsible for overseeing the Iraqi provinces of the Islamic State, he served as a lieutenant-colonel in the Iraqi intelligence corps before joining IS, as reported by the Telegraph (2014). It seems that many of the leading officials of the Islamic State are former Iraqi military officers who served in the Iraqi army until the Americans disposed of Saddam Hussein. These individuals are working in various councils which are occupied with managing and supervising both public and military departments of the state.

Islamic State articulated specific goals right from the beginning. The first priority was to form the caliphate and have all Muslims in the world swear loyalty to the Caliph Ibrahim. This is the most important goal of IS, they want all Muslims to accept the authority of the Caliph and travel to the caliphate to live in the land of Allah. The name Islamic State was given to the caliphate in order stress the fact that the caliphate is not to be limited to Iraq and Syria, but that its ambitions lie well beyond those limited borders. According to the maps published by IS, the caliphate will one day stretch from
Andalus in the west (Spain) to China in the east. It will include the Maghreb, parts of central Africa, Libya and Egypt, the middle east and Arabian peninsula, the southern Balkan states and Khurasan.

While working and fighting to form the worldly caliphate, several other priorities came to life. One of these was the waging of an ethnic cleansing to eliminate any potential foes and opposition as well as to observe its religious creed, thus JCPA (2014). After a conquered area was cleansed the second phase in pursuit of the final goal was implemented, Islamic education according to the Islamic State philosophy. Furthermore they seek to eradicate obstacles to restoring Allah’s rule on earth and to defend the Muslim community against the kuffar, as reported by BBC (2014). According to Berger & Stern (2015) a full confrontation with the west is sought and expected at the town of Dabiq, which would set in motion the apocalyptic end battle between all good and evil. These messages are constantly repeated in all the propaganda released by IS. This is done through radio, video’s, social media, interviews, magazines and even in the musical reciting of the Koran which accompany many videos. For those riled by the propaganda or impressed by the swaths of land captured by IS, there is only one option. Travel to Turkey near the Syrian border, then log on to Twitter and ask for someone to come and pick them up, this seems to work on a regular basis.

Figure 6. IS map of 5-year plan to spread from Spain to China (Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs, 2014)
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Articles & Books


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