Countering ISIS's Propaganda: Islamic Piety, Belonging, and Exposure of Life under ISIS's Rule

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Abstract

The Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham's (ISIS) recruitment tactics have yielded substantial results in the Western world. Recruiters use a variety of push and pull factors to separate potential recruits from their society while drawing them in to ISIS. Radicalization is especially prominent in Western Europe due to the host countries' failure to assist Muslims with integration into Western society. This paper examines why ISIS's recruitment has been successful by analyzing how each push and pull factor influences radicalization and makes the target susceptible to recruitment. In particular, this paper focuses on the importance of a sense of belonging and the ways in which all other listed factors relate to it. This paper also discusses shifts in the rhetoric of ISIS's propaganda and the effects that those shifts have had on recruitment. In addition, it analyzes a few case studies and argues that the effective usage of Western media will reduce the number of radicalized individuals.

Introduction

The phenomenon of Western recruits of ISIS leaving their host countries—places often defined by freedom and equality—to go into active war zones, or carrying out terrorist attacks in their host countries, appears perplexing on the surface. However, these recruits, many of whom are Muslims, are frequently isolated from their societies and encouraged to shift their lifestyle, often in detrimental manners. For example, a young Muslim girl subjected to bullying in school for wearing her hijab is essentially pushed to the margins, just as an adult Muslim man could resent the West for its supposed "War on Islam." Both cases allow ISIS recruiters to easily prey upon these individuals via messaging systems by appealing to their desire for community and the development of relationships, all while promoting the idea of being a pious Muslim that fulfills one's supposed duty in this "War on Islam." This paper seeks to provide a detailed explanation for this phenomenon, while comparing and contrasting the changing rhetoric of ISIS's propaganda, which needs to be closely monitored in order to continuously discourage radicalization. Western governments and media can assist in diminishing ISIS's recruitment pool while acknowledging that a widespread ban on the viewership of ISIS propaganda is not only incredibly difficult, but also discourages further research on the topic. Therefore, I suggest that the radicalization of most jihadis can be prevented by creating a better sense of

belonging amongst Muslims in the West, in addition to focusing Western media coverage on exposing the violent and sexual practices within ISIS's communities.

Literary Review

Jessica Stern, a prominent scholar in the field of ISIS recruitment, argues that highlighting ISIS's hypocrisies will assist in combating radicalization. She provides brief examples such as the murder of gays and the beating of unveiled women.[1] This paper, however, delves into the commonalities within ISIS's society, such as the beheadings of infidels and the mandated marriage of women. Then, this paper suggests that Western media expose these practices by a small minority of Muslims in order to disassociate them from the majority of Muslims.

There are multiple reasons for radicalization, such as the need for a sense of belonging, a pious life, adventure, monetary support, and divisive rhetoric within one's home country. In Fahd A. Alghofaili's article "ISIS Propaganda: A Sophisticated Policy to Achieve Publicity and Enhance Recruitment," he discusses how ISIS previously depicted its community as a utopian society with "beautiful sunsets, plentiful food, [and] shopping centres so as to attract people looking for better lives."[2] His analysis enables readers to make the connection between ISIS's propaganda and its appeals to adventurism. In his dissertation "Homegrown Violent Extremism: Designing a Community-Based Model to Reduce the Risk of Recruitment and Radicalization," Erroll G. Southers focuses on potential radicals' need for a sense of belonging due to perceived injustices, arguing that it is often the most important factor in radicalization. He describes how cognitive openings can lead people to enter into a new and supposedly supportive environment.[3] In "ISIS Is Not a Terrorist Group; Why Counterterrorism Won't Stop the Latest Jihadist Threat," Audrey Cronin states that media exposure of al Qaeda members killing Muslims helped to delegitimize the terrorist group. However, she argues that the same tactic will not succeed against ISIS because Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi's claim to be a caliph grants him legitimate religious authority.[4] This paper argues that all of these factors relate to a sense of

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[1] Jessica Stern, "Radicalization to Extremism and Mobilization to Violence: What Have We Learned and What Can We Do About It?" *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 668, no. 1 (2016).

[2] Fahd A. Alghofaili, "ISIS Propaganda: A Sophisticated Policy to Achieve Publicity and enhance Recruitment," (research paper, University of Birmingham, 2015), 21, http://www.academia.edu/23501402/ISIS_Propaganda_A_Sophisticated_Policy_to_Achieve_Publicity_and_enhance_Recruitment.

[3] Erroll G. Southers, "Homegrown Violent Extremism: Designing a Community-Based Model to Reduce the Risk of Recruitment and Radicalization," (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2013), 132, ProQuest (3610087).

[4] Audrey K. Cronin, "ISIS Is Not a Terrorist Group; Why Counterterrorism Won't Stop the Latest Jihadist Threat," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2015, LexisNexis.

belonging and their impact on radicalization can be severely diminished by using the Western media to explain the impossibility of living as a "pious" Muslim under ISIS according to the Muslim majority's interpretation of Islam.

Sense of Belonging

ISIS currently seeks to persuade citizens to radicalize regardless of their economic status, gender, and age. However, different techniques and appeals are utilized to target individuals with struggles more frequently than, for example, a wealthy Muslim man who has lived the majority of his life in the UK. Factors relating to radicalization are placed into two general categories: push and pull factors. Push factors refer to negative or degrading circumstances that are likely to encourage a Westerner to exit his current country of residence due to immense dissatisfaction. Push factors often include discrimination, bullying, and isolation. Pull factors, on the contrary, are often defined by incentives.[5] For example, a recruiter may offer promises of sexual reprieve and monetary compensation while highlighting supposedly adventurous outcomes.

The creation of a sense of belonging is both a critical push and pull factor, because the recruiter develops a seemingly positive relationship with the recruit by empathizing with his/her current state of isolation while exaggerating the possibilities of communal participation under ISIS's rule. An analysis of interviews with captured radicals, such as Joseph Farrokh, reifies the importance of community. Farrokh redefined his image multiple times throughout his life, transforming from a "hardcore" Christian into an Italian, followed by portraying a stereotypical Hispanic male, before pledging himself to Islam and eventually deciding to join ISIS. In fact, after being arrested in Virginia, Farrokh admitted in court that he was beguiled by the sense of belonging portrayed within ISIS's propaganda.[6]

Sense of belonging is best defined as "the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment."[7] This indicates that the individuals must self-identify as being part of the community. The desires to be valued by others and to be able to fit in with a group of people are the primary defining qualities of sense of belonging.[8] This enables one to best analyze their own situation and determine to which community they believe

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[5] Louisa Tarras-Wahlberg, "Promises of Paradise?" (master's thesis, Swedish Defence University, 2016), 13.

[6] Rachel Weiner, "Who Wanted to Help the Islamic State? A Gamer, a Cop, a Cabdriver, Prosecutors Say," *The Washington Post*, September 3, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/a-need-for-belonging-led-virginia-man-to-the-islamic-state/2016/08/31/17da25e0-5e44-11e6-af8e-54aa2e849447_story.html.

[7] Bonnie M. Hagerty, et al., "Sense of Belonging and Indicators of Social and Psychological Functioning," *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing* 10, no. 4 (1996): 173.

[8] Ibid., 236.

they belong according to membership, influence, integration, and a shared emotional connection.[9]

Research in the US on community engagement for youths at risk for gang recruitment, as well as research on current gang members, displays the effectiveness of sense of belonging on behavior. Although this study does not specifically focus on Islamic radicalization, it is applicable because it depicts the overarching idea of recruitment into a cult-like society. Gang Prevention Through Targeted Outreach (GPTTO) and Gang Intervention Through Targeted Outreach (GITTO) are activity-based clubs that utilize the community engagement approach.[10] Throughout a yearlong evaluation period, Amy Arbreton and Wendy McClanahan found in their report, *Targeted Outreach: Boys & Girls Clubs of America's Approach to Gang Prevention and Intervention*, that members of the GPTTO had fewer delinquent behaviors, better grades, and a decreased "likelihood of starting to wear gang colors."[11] They also discovered that high attendance rates in GITTO youth resulted in "disengagement from gang-associated behaviors and peers."[12] Their research clearly shows the relationship between community and preventing gang recruitment in addition to ending gang involvement. The foundation of ISIS's recruitment propaganda and the anti-radicalization proposal suggested is rooted in the same idea: establishing a sense of community.

A similar analysis to Farrokh's case can be applied to the case of Jake Bilardi, a young Australian high school dropout. Bilardi became extremely alienated from his society after his mother passed away, turning to ISIS's community. Prior to carrying out a suicide bombing in Iraq, he posted a picture online with his fellow ISIS members and emphasized the communal support that they provided him. During the same time period, three teenage girls described as being "normal" fled Britain to become "jihadi bride[s]" in hopes of entering a new community.[13] It is not extraordinary to see recruiters targeting teenage outcasts, even if they are not Muslim like Bilardi. Therefore, it behooves the West to promote inclusivity and reduce bullying.

ISIS began propagating the idea of sisterhood in January 2015. These young female recruits act as "good" wives and online recruiters under

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[9] David W. McMillan and David M. Chavis, "Sense of Community: A Definition and Theory," *Journal of Community Psychology* 14, no. 1 (1986): 9.

[10] Amy J. A. Arbreton and Wendy S. McClanahan, *Targeted Outreach: Boys & Girls Clubs of America's Approach to Gang Prevention and Intervention,* (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2002), 26.

[11] Ibid., 27.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Wilson, Lauren. "Fresh-Faced Westerners are Being Lulled into Terrorism by ISIS Propaganda," *NewsComAu,* March 16, 2015, http://www.news.com.au/national/freshfaced-westerners-are-being-lulled-into-terrorism-by-isis-propaganda/news-story/8448148e3a0c33c01b95db4dc1bab492

ISIS's sexist society.[14] Visual propaganda represents marriage in a contradictory way, according to the Institute for Strategic Dialogue and the International Center for the Study of Radicalization's report:

> Online, images of a lion and lioness are shared frequently to symbolize this union. This is symbolic of finding a brave and strong husband, but also propagandizes the notion that supporting a jihadist husband and taking on the ISIS ideology is [an] empowering role for females.[15]

As a terrorist group that advocates for governance by Shari'a, ISIS's rhetoric opposes the empowerment of women, despite its promotion of a utopian society.[16] Therefore, it is crucial that Western media continuously expose the flaws within ISIS's claims to dissuade the youth from falling prey to its sexualized rhetoric. It is also necessary to expose the truly terrifying lifestyles that these wives undertook during their time in ISIS.[17]

Recruiters are directing their attention to the "'fake' and 'shallow' relationships" formulated between women in the West while pulling these recruits into their grip with promises of authentic relationships derived from a true form of sisterhood.[18] This is especially prevalent in Western Europe because American Muslims are, in general, more satisfied with their community and the levels of acceptance within the United States. In fact, a 2011 poll displayed that 56 percent of American Muslims "were satisfied with the way things were going in the United States" while the overwhelming majority of Western European Muslims were dissatisfied.[19] This is the result of discriminatory rhetoric and policies that alienate local Muslims, such as the banning of the hijab and the burkini. Polls suggest that approximately one-third of Muslims in Western Europe face discrimination, most of whom are teenagers or young adults.[20]

Brutality

ISIS also depicts ideas of adventure and brutality as pull factors. Due to people's inherent curiosity and media coverage of "shocking events," ISIS easily disseminates pictures and videos of brutal beheadings. It seeks to instill fear within its enemies and tap into the rage and excitability of potential recruits while causing policymakers to react emotionally in ways that further

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[14] Karla Adam, "Report: Western Women Are Attracted to Islamic State for Complex Reasons," *The Washington Post*, May 28, 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/report-western-women-are-attracted-to-islamic-state-for-complex-reasons/2015/05/28/123e407e-0541-11e5-93f4-f24d4af7f97d_story.html.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Stern, "Radicalization to Extremism," 113.
[18] Tarras-Wahlberg, "Promises of Paradise?" 16.
[19] Stern, "Radicalization to Extremism," 110.
[20] Ibid.

isolate Muslims living in the West.[21] This is evident in France, where the burkini ban has been enacted partially in response to large-scale terrorist attacks. The Western media should detail the hypocrisy of these executions in an Islamic society while emphasizing the importance of remaining calm. All news outlets must also reiterate the disassociation between Western Muslims and members of ISIS to discourage racially charged backlash within Western society.

ISIS also demonizes modernization by labeling it as synonymous with "Westoxification," or the perceived takeover of Westernization in a nonwestern society. For example, a piece of ISIS propaganda claims that stabbing another person is difficult, "especially after modernization distanced males from partaking in the slaughtering of livestock for food and striking of the enemy in war."[22] This is in relation to ISIS calling for potential jihadis in the West to carry out stabbings rather than shootings, because it is easier for the perpetrator to escape, and therefore carry out another attack in the future. ISIS continues to speak to potential radicals in a sympathetic way about the difficulties in taking another life, especially with a knife. Naturally, the goal is to create a sort of friendship between the recruiter and the recruit in order to manipulate the recruit into actually killing someone.[23] ISIS recruiters further state that jihad must be carried out regardless of a recruit's fears, threatening the newly formed friendship to pressure recruits into committing heinous acts.

Brutality, in addition to some other push and pull factors, can appeal to a recruit's psychological state of mind. ISIS attempts to force its recruits' feelings of empathy into recession by normalizing brutal killings. The repeated viewing of beheadings, for example, can lead observers into seeking a similar desire. Therefore, merely viewing some of ISIS's propaganda can alter unstable people, causing them to act upon their newfound aggression. This plays off of the same idea that violent video games or movies can be destructive for children; however, this only applies to certain aggressive individuals. However, this is incredibly frightening for Western governments due to the ease of information sharing via the Internet. As a result, both companies and governments are monitoring websites such as Twitter, Tumblr, and Facebook at all times in order to ban users that are trying to spread terroristic propaganda.[24] Unfortunately, recruiters are capable of making multiple profiles due to the absence of personal information required to create a profile.

Brutality appeals to both men and women. Indeed, women have been drawn to ISIS due to its romanticized murders as well, despite the fact that they are not permitted to participate in combat unless ISIS's existence is being threatened.[25] A young European female recruit even detailed the execution of an American aide as "gut-wrenchingly awesome," showing how

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[21] Charlie Winter, *The Virtual "Caliphate": Understanding Islamic State's Propaganda Strategy* (London: Quilliam, 2015), 23.

[22] Nick Gutteridge, "NEW TERROR TACTIC: ISIS Orders Western Jihadis to Become SERIAL KILLERS to Spread Fear," *Express*, October 6, 2016, World RSS. .

[23] Gutteridge, "NEW TERROR TACTIC."

[24] Alghofaili, "ISIS Propaganda," 13.

[25] Ibid.

deeply engrained brutality has been in her mind. Another Western recruit recounts that she was eager for more videos of beheadings after seeing a nonbeliever murdered.[26] Essentially, these women have lost their sense of humanity through the reiteration of ISIS's justification while viewing brutal occurrences on a regular basis. Studies have concluded that there is a statistically significant correlation linking exposure to violence and aggression amongst youths. Repeatedly witnessing violence often leads to "positive outcome expectancies for aggression" and aggressive fantasies as exemplified above.[27] Also, the aggressive youths are more likely to rationalize the use of violence in general. These social cognitions and normative beliefs are more subject to change within youths than adults.[28] As a result, ISIS is more easily able to alter the violent tendencies within teenagers by repeatedly exposing them to violence.

Romanticized brutality cannot be overstated because it is a prominent pull factor that trumps even a woman's freedom, as these female recruits opt into the submission of ISIS knowing that they will be required to veil and marry at a young age.[29] Unfortunately, preventing an individual's infatuation with violence is far more difficult than preventing radicalization, because it is based on one's past experiences with violence. However, minimizing the effects of other factors while continuing to discourage the viewership of ISIS's brutal propaganda will deter most potential radicals from traveling to ISIS controlled territory.

Monetary Support

Socioeconomic status can be both a push and pull factor for recruits. Recruiters can make promises of monetary supplementation to a recruit whose current economic status is defined by unemployment and hunger. In Belgium, for example, 59 percent of Turks "live below the poverty line" while only about 10 percent of native Belgians exist in the same socioeconomic status. At the same time, approximately 1,500 French citizens left to join ISIS while over 11,000 are estimated to be radicals. With less than five million Muslims in France, the percentage of radicalization is highly concerning.[30] When analyzing the economic situation of Muslims in France and Belgium, it becomes clear that divisive rhetoric is playing a role in this unofficial form of segregation and isolation. Economic inequality increases an individual's probability of Islamic radicalization due to "perceived failure,"

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[26] Shiv Malik, "Lured by ISIS: How the Young Girls Who Revel in Brutality Are Offered Cause," *The Guardian*, February 21, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/20/push-pull-lure-western-women-isis

[27] Paul Boxer, et al., "Coping with Exposure to Violence: Relations to Emotional Symptoms and Aggression in Three Urban Samples," *Journal of Child and Family Studies* 17, no. 6 (2008).

[28] Nancy G. Guerra, L. Rowell Huesmann, and Anja Spindler, "Community Violence Exposure, Social Cognition, and Aggression among Urban Elementary School Children," *Child Development* 74, no. 5 (2003): 1569.

[29] Malik, "Lured by ISIS."

[30] Stern, "Radicalization to Extremism," 110.

which may be interpreted as the "retreat of Islamic values."[31] This paints a target for recruiters on economically disenfranchised Muslims. The socio-economic hardships faced by Muslims in these two countries are branching into other factors of radicalization, leaving some unstable people to seek socioeconomic salvation through radicalization.

Economic inequality causes resentment through grievances, leading to radicalization. For example, during the 1960s in Ireland, the poor and unemployed were more likely to participate in terrorist attacks. In fact, economic inequality and radicalization are directly correlated. Therefore, it is beneficial to decrease poverty in order to shrink ISIS's recruitment pool. Brian Burgoon's research, "On Welfare and Terror Social Welfare Policies and Political-Economic Roots of Terrorism," suggests that educational welfare helps to reduce poverty and therefore should be implemented.[32]

Is ISIS Islamic?

It would be negligent to ignore the religious drives behind radicalization in this context, because Muslims are targeted for recruitment at a disproportionate rate. Also, the concept of piety in Islam contributes as both a push and a pull factor. ISIS propaganda claims that piety as a Muslim in the Western world is not only difficult, but impossible. *Dabiq*, ISIS's principal propaganda magazine, states that migrating to their territory is a requirement for piety.[33] ISIS claims that Western society is tainted with anti-Islamic practices and laws, creating an "us vs. them" rhetoric that recruiters thrive on. The propaganda directs attention toward France's ban on the hijab, stating that a Muslim woman cannot possibly live a pious lifestyle in a society where she must reveal herself to the public.[34]

Due to the difficulties in narrowly defining the word "religion," this paper argues that ISIS is religious because it self-identifies as such. It is important to recognize the religiosity of ISIS in order to properly understand and predict its actions as defined by its religious, cultural, and historical norms. However, it is harmful to categorize ISIS's interpretation of Islam under the same umbrella as the Muslim majority's interpretation, because it divides "native" Westerners from Western Muslims, further isolating them. The Western media and society as a whole should accept their Muslim neighbors' interpretations of Islam when claiming that it is peaceful or, at the least, that it rejects ISIS's principles. ISIS feeds off of rhetoric that diabolizes Islam, implanting the falsehood within its recruits' minds of the "War on Islam." Therefore, it benefits Western media outlets and the security of the West to demonize ISIS's actions while acknowledging that they are influenced by a uniquely violent interpretation of both the Quran and the Hadith that is held by a small minority of Muslims. This ensures that ISIS is

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[31] Mario Ferrero, "Radicalization as a Reaction to Failure: an Economic Model of Islamic Extremism," *Public Choice* 122, nos. 1–2 (2005): 216.
[32] Brian Burgoon, "On Welfare and Terror Social Welfare Policies and Political-Economic Roots of Terrorism," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50, no. 2 (2006): 179.
[33] Tarras-Wahlberg, "Promises of Paradise?" 25.
[34] Ibid., 26.

considered to be "Islamic." Simultaneously, it separates ISIS as a unique entity that does not share common perceptions of "good" and "bad" with Muslims living in the West.

ISIS' acclaimed "pure" interpretation of Islam is flaunted within its propaganda, which, to an extent, resembles its actual internal society. One male escapee from ISIS claims that women were auctioned as slaves in addition to being provided to soldiers as rewards for their accomplishments. To worsen the situation, he claims that he was provided three women for his pleasure and all of them were married.[35] According to commonly held interpretations of Islam, this is forbidden. This vile practice sheds light on the inner societal workings of ISIS. ISIS interprets Islam in a uniquely vulgar way, so one could argue that sexual slavery is, in fact, "Islamic" due to the terrorist group's ability to define its own religion. However, Muslims making the pilgrimage to southern Syria and northern Iraq are not typically drawn in by a false sense of piety that contradicts their commonly held interpretations of what it means to be a pious Muslim. That does not imply that sexual reprieve is not a pull factor, because it is. Once again, ISIS can attempt to redefine the word piety, but its commonly agreed-upon definition contradicts ISIS's societal norms.

Changing Rhetoric of ISIS Propaganda

The number of propaganda items that ISIS has disseminated has decreased drastically, while also experiencing a shift in rhetoric due to ISIS's steady territorial decline as well as the constant military pressure on Mosul. A comparison of August 2015 and August 2016 shows that ISIS put out about 500 fewer items only one year later.[36] In addition to this, the rhetoric now primarily focuses on covering the constant battling and hardships faced by ISIS due to the "War on Islam."[37] In contrast, ISIS propaganda used to promote the supposedly "good" lifestyle as a member of ISIS, claiming that its members had "the promise of a happy life within its so called 'caliphate'" while also reiterating the idea of its "successful governance."[38] Fortunately, this decline and shift directly correlates to recruitment. According to the US Pentagon, only about 10 percent of the number of foreign fighters currently make the voyage to ISIS's territory when compared with its peak.[39]

In 2014, ISIS's media uploaded pictures of vibrant markets and happy, playful children within its "state." The massive reduction of the inflow of radical fighters from the West is attributed to ISIS's inability to maintain

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[35] Gutteridge, "NEW TERROR TACTIC."

[36] Scott Shane, "ISIS Media Output Drops as Military Pressure Rises, Report Says," *The New York Times*, October 11, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/11/world/middleeast/islamic-state-media-propaganda-isis.html.

[37] Justin Fishel, "ISIS Propaganda Declined After Military Pressure, West Point Report Says," *ABC News*, October 11, 2016, http://abcnews.go.com/International/isis-propaganda-declined-military-pressure-west-point-report/story?id=42728117

[38] Fishel, "ISIS Propaganda Declined."

[39] Shane, "ISIS Media Output Drops."

this utopian image on social media due to the continuous bombings and ground assaults.[40] This indicates that the War on ISIS is succeeding, because it is diminishing ISIS's media presence and, therefore, its recruitment process.

ISIS filmed a movie titled *Eid Greeting from the Land of Khilafah [Caliphate]*, which was uploaded in 2014. The film's central theme is the happiness of ISIS's constituents. In fact, ISIS recruits from all over Europe and Southeast Asia speak about the rewarding lifestyle under Shari'a, as opposed to Communism or democracy. The film also features playful children, vibrant street life, "handing out ice creams to children, a chef talking about his appetizing shawarmas, [and] a soldier comforting wounded comrades in [a] hospital."[41] At that point in time, ISIS's recruitment was far more successful and its territorial stronghold was greater than at the end of 2016. Although it is nearly impossible to state the exact number of foreign recruits to ISIS, US Air Force Major General Peter Gertsen claimed that only about 200 foreigner fighters joined per month as of April 2016. It was estimated that 1,500 to 2,000 foreign recruits joined per month throughout 2014 and the first half of 2015.[42] In essence, the changing rhetoric failed to adapt to the sentiment of Western Muslims because ISIS now focuses its propaganda on brutality by, for example, encouraging recruits to stab civilians.[43]

Conclusion

This paper proposes that the exposure of anti-Islamic practices within ISIS be placed at the forefront of media coverage in tandem with the promotion of the inclusivity of Western Muslims in Western society. In addition to this, the media needs to explain how these anti-Islamic practices disassociate the modern interpretation of piety from ISIS's internal society. For example, brutally murdering people and engaging in intercourse with married slaves directly contradicts the majority's interpretation of Islamic principles. The separation of ISIS from the majority of Western Muslims creates a rift between members of ISIS and these Western Muslims, which in turn encourages inclusivity and a community. It also reifies the unfeasibility of living a pious Muslim life under ISIS. In conclusion, the radicalization of most jihadis can be prevented through the proper, honest use of Western media while maintaining a positive communal relationship with Western Muslims rather than alienating them through targeted legislation.

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Steve Rose, "The Isis Propaganda War: A Hi-Tech Media Jihad," *The Guardian*, October 7, 2014, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/oct/07/isis-media-machine-propaganda-war.

[42] Reuters, "Is the Number of Foreign Fighters Joining ISIS Really Plummeting?" *Newsweek*, April 28, 2016, http://www.newsweek.com/isis-foreign-fighters-90-percent-iraq-syria-decreasing-general-claim-453741.

[43] Gutteridge, "NEW TERROR TACTIC."

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