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The Road to the Slaughter: ISIS Process of Dehumanizing the Enemy

Sara Hamad Algurainy, Hamedi M. Adnan, Abubakar Usman Abubakar

Department of Media and Communication Studies Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences University of Malaya

Abstract

The so-called Islamic State is currently known as one of the greatest non-state security challenges of the 21st century. The organisation's barbaric and inhuman treatments of its perceived enemies remain extremely shocking and totally unfathomable to the sane humans. How ISIS succeeds in brainwashing its members to such inhuman acts requires deep study and analysis of the organisation's messages in all forms and contexts. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to show how ISIS prepares its members to carry out heartless and cruel attacks on its foes. To achieve this objective, Sternberg's Duplex Theory of hate is adopted as the framework of this paper. As proposed by Sternberg, Duplex Theory of hate consists of triangular structure namely, negation of intimacy, passion in hate, and commitment in hate. The paper collected 20 ISIS Arabic Twitter campaigns which were analysed thematically with the aid of Nvivo 12 Pro software. Prior to the analysis, all 20 campaigns were transcribed, translated into English, and coded. This paper found that the Islamic State employs several strategies in an attempt to modify the behavior of its follower and potential recruits, thus, dehumanizing them in the process. Doing so prepares its followers to subject its enemies to the cruelest treatments of torture and often killing them.

Keywords: ISIS, Da'sh, Duplex Theory, Terrorism, Extremism

El camino hacia la matanza: proceso de ISIS para deshumanizar al enemigo.

El llamado Estado Islámico se conoce actualmente como uno de los mayores desafíos de seguridad no estatales del siglo XXI. Los tratamientos bárbaros e inhumanos de la organización de sus enemigos percibidos siguen siendo extremadamente impactantes y totalmente insondables para los humanos cuerdos. La forma en que ISIS logra lavar sus cerebros a sus miembros ante actos tan inhumanos requiere un profundo estudio y análisis de los mensajes de la organización en todas las formas y contextos. El objetivo de este documento, por lo tanto, es mostrar cómo ISIS prepara a sus miembros para llevar a cabo ataques despiadados y crueles contra sus enemigos. Para lograr este objetivo, se adopta la teoría del odio dúplex de Sternberg como marco de este documento. Según lo propuesto por Sternberg, la teoría dúplex del odio consiste en una estructura triangular, a saber, negación de la intimidad, pasión en el odio y compromiso en el odio. El documento recolectó 20 campañas de Twitter ISIS en árabe que fueron analizadas temáticamente con la ayuda del software Nvivo 12 Pro. Antes del análisis, las 20 campañas fueron transcritas, traducidas al inglés y codificadas. Este documento encontró que el Estado Islámico emplea varias estrategias en un intento de modificar el comportamiento de sus seguidores y posibles reclutas, deshumanizándolos en el proceso. Hacerlo prepara a sus seguidores para someter a sus enemigos a los tratamientos más crueles de tortura y, a menudo, matarlos.

Palabras clave: ISIS, Da'sh, teoría dúplex, terrorismo, extremismo

Introduction

Acts of terrorism are meant by its perpetrators to cause pain and incite fear in the mind of the targeted audience.² While gruesome acts and inhumane treatment of people is not a new act among terrorist organisations, the emergence of the Internet generally and the social media in particular has certainly brought such nefarious acts into the public domain.³ This is certainly disturbing but what is even more worrying is how such organisations manage to prepare their members to carry out such heinous acts through their propaganda messages. Unfortunately, terrorist organisations are today just a mouse click away from spreading such messages. The Islamic State has been exactly doing so since its emergence back in 2011, particularly through its Arabic Twitter campaigns that seems to escape the scholarly attention.

Indeed innumerable scholarly works have been carried out in studying ISIS Twitter messages.4 These studies have investigated several issues in relation to ISIS use of Twitter and other forms of social media platforms. However, the studies tend to overlook how ISIS uses Twitter messages and campaigns in order to psychologically prepare its members to carry all of violent attacks that includes its famous beheadings of its enemies, suicide bombings etc. Such preparatory messages filled ISIS Arabic Twitter campaigns which has not been surprisingly given enough attention by scholars.

Therefore, this is a gap that requires serious scholarly efforts to help in having a deeper understanding ISIS and the messages often concealed in its social media messages. To capitalise on this missing literature, this paper analysed ISIS Arabic Twitter campaigns in an attempt to extract the messages concealed for the purpose of im-

^{1&}quot;A Duplex Theory of Hate: Development and Application to Terrorism, Massacres, and Genocide.," Review of General Psychology 7, no. 3 (2003): 299.

²Emile Bruneau, "Understanding the Terrorist Mind.," Cerebrum: The Dana Forum on Brain Science 2016 (2016), http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/28058095; AJ Jongman, Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature, 2017, https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315126760; Abraham Kaplan, The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers (Routledge, 2017); Cynthia C Combs, Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century (Routledge, 2017).

³Imran Awan, "Cyber-Extremism: Isis and the Power of Social Media," Society 54, no. 2 (2017): 138–49; Laura Huey, "This Is Not Your Mother's Terrorism: Social Media, Online Radicalization and the Practice of Political Jamming," Journal of Terrorism Research, 2015.

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planting hate and eventually preparing members to engage in extremely violent acts. The analysis of ISIS Arabic Twitter campaigns is very significant given the fact that Arabic language can be considered the recognised lingua franca of the organisation.

Understanding Terrorism and Violence

Terrorism is defined as a systematic use of indiscriminate violence and intimidation in order to cause terror and fear in the minds of people for the purpose of achieving political, religious or ideological objectives. The sort of violence terrorist groups such as ISIS carry out has been subject to scholarly debates. Much of the scholarly debates indicate that such violence is a manifestation of extreme hatred to that planted in the mind of the favoured group and nurtured to the level of carrying out some extremely violent attacks. Various forms of communication or propaganda messages are often used to instigate different sorts of lethal violence that include terrorism, massacres, and genocide. With the increasing influence of the Internet on individuals' lives, particularly the social media including Facebook, Twitter, YouTube etc., terrorists groups have now found an easy, a cheap, a low-risk, and an effective medium through which it can easily radicalise individuals and shape the way its members

⁴ Matthew C Benigni, Kenneth Joseph, and Kathleen M Carley, "Online Extremism and the Communities That Sustain It: Detecting the ISIS Supporting Community on Twitter," PloS One 12, no. 12 (2017): e0181405; David G Bromley and Anson D Shupe Jr, "Moonies" in America: Cult, Church, and Crusade (SAGE Publications, Incorporated, 1979); Elizabeth Bodine-Baron et al., "Examining ISIS Support and Opposition Networks on Twitter" (RAND Corporation Santa Monica United States, 2016); Walid Magdy, Kareem Darwish, and Ingmar Weber, "# FailedRevolutions: Using Twitter to Study the Antecedents of ISIS Support," ArXiv Preprint ArXiv:1503.02401, 2015; Michael Ashcroft et al., "Detecting Jihadist Messages on Twitter," in 2015 European Intelligence and Security Informatics Conference (IEEE, 2015), 161-64; John M Berger, "How ISIS Games Twitter," The Atlantic 16 (2014); Bruneau, "Understanding the Terrorist Mind."; Y Wei et al., "Identification of Extremism on Twitter," Dl.Acm.Org, accessed July 14, 2019, https://dl.acm.org/citation.cfm?id=3192654; A Al-Rawi, J Groshek - International Journal of Cyber Warfare and, and undefined 2018, "Jihadist Propaganda on Social Media: An Examination of ISIS Related Content on Twitter," Igi-Global.Com, accessed July 14, 2019, https://www.igi-global.com/article/ jihadist-propaganda-on-social-media/216876; A Cuthbertson - International Business Times March and undefined 2015, "Inside the 'ISIS Social Media War Machine Tracking 25,000 Terrorist Twitter Accounts," Ejerciciospls.Es, accessed July 14, 2019, http://www.ejerciciospls.es/docs/PRESENCIAL/ READING INTERNET/INSIDE THE ISIS.docx; James A Piazza and Ahmet Guler, "The Online Caliphate: Internet Usage and ISIS Support in the Arab World," Terrorism and Political Violence, 2019; Shaun Wright et al., "Resurgent Insurgents: Quantitative Research into Jihadists Who Get Suspended but Return on Twitter," Contemporary Voices: St Andrews Journal of International Relations 7, no. 2 (2016); Luna Shamieh and Zoltán Szenes, "The Propaganda of ISIS/DAESH through the Virtual Space.," Defence against Terrorism Review 7, no. 1 (2015); Elizabeth Buchanan, "Considering the Ethics of Big Data Research: A Case of Twitter and ISIS/ISIL," PloS One 12, no. 12 (2017): e0187155; Batsheva Moriarty, "Defeating ISIS on Twitter," Technology Science, 2015.

⁵ Alex P Schmid, "Radicalisation, de-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review," ICCT Research Paper 97, no. 1 (2013): 22.

and prospective members think.9

ISIS in particular has managed to perfect the exploitation of the Internet and the social media. The messages shared by ISIS using social media are a systematic way of appealing to individuals and making those already on board ready for action. 10 However, making individuals capable of extreme cruelty and brutality requires some well-crafted brainwashing messages and some convincing justifications to legitimise those actions.11 Convincing members, sympathisers, potential recruits and, to some extent, the general public is key to the survival of terrorist groups such as ISIS.¹² Under normal circumstances, committing cruelty and violence invoke both external and internal condemnation of the perpetrator. This implies that there is need for cognitive and behavioural modifications of the perpetrator or the potential perpetrator often through indoctrination, propaganda or even education. 13 With the modifications, all forms of torture and even killing of others became acceptable and perhaps celebrated. Two broadly different forms of justifications are often used namely, normative and utilitarian justifications. Doctrine and ideology are the foundation of the former whereas "value-based calculations" characterise the latter. 14

This makes ISIS Arabic Twitter campaigns a key source of data to help in understanding how the organization uses its hate messages to prepare its members to the extent of carrying out some of the most

⁶ Sternberg, "A Duplex Theory of Hate: Development and Application to Terrorism, Massacres, and Genocide."; Colleen E Mills, Joshua D Freilich, and Steven M Chermak, "Extreme Hatred: Revisiting the Hate Crime and Terrorism Relationship to Determine Whether They Are 'Close Cousins' or 'Distant Relatives,'" Crime & Delinquency 63, no. 10 (2017): 1191–1223; Robert J Sternberg, "Understanding and Combating Hate.," 2005.

⁷ Agneta Fischer et al., "Why We Hate," Emotion Review 10, no. 4 (2018): 309-20.

⁸ Sternberg, "A Duplex Theory of Hate: Development and Application to Terrorism, Massacres, and Genocide."

⁹ David H McElreath et al., "The Communicating and Marketing of Radicalism: A Case Study of ISIS and Cyber Recruitment," International Journal of Cyber Warfare and Terrorism (IJCWT) 8, no. 3 (2018): 26–45.

¹⁰ NM Rocca - International Relations and Diplomacy and undefined 2017, "Mobilization and Radicalization through Persuasion: Manipulative Techniques in ISIS' propaganda," Davidpublisher.Org, accessed July 14, 2019, http://www.davidpublisher.org/Public/uploads/Contribute/5a43174f79c3e.pdf.

11 Emin Daskin, "Justification of Violence by Terrorist Organisations: Comparing ISIS and PKK," Journal of Intelligence and Terrorism Studies 1
(2016): PLV6PE.

¹² Daskin.

¹³ Albert Bandura, Moral Disengagement: How People Do Harm and Live with Themselves. (Worth publishers, 2016); Daskin, "Justification of Violence by Terrorist Organisations: Comparing ISIS and PKK."

¹⁴ Daskin, "Justification of Violence by Terrorist Organisations: Comparing ISIS and PKK," 4; Ted Robert Gurr, Why Men Rebel (Routledge, 2015).

monstrous violent activities. To understand how ISIS uses its Arabic Twitter campaign messages to prepare its members to carry out such inhumane violent attacks, this article uses Sternberg's Duplex theory of hate as a framework of understanding. Sternberg argued that hate can be manifested through both feeling and action triangle. This includes, firstly, negation of intimacy (distancing) in hate and its corresponding feeling of repulsion and disgust. Secondly, passion in hate which corresponds with the feeling anger and fear. Thirdly, decision and commitment in hate often manifested through devaluation or diminution through contempt. 15

Methodology

This paper collected 20 ISIS Arabic Twitter campaigns between January 2014 and July 2018. The campaigns were used by ISIS as a strategic propaganda tool mainly targeting Arabic speaking audience. With the measures taken by social media providers following the Global Coalition against Da'sh pressure that led to the ban of ISIS contents on social media platforms, the collection of the data had to go through a number of steps that include searching for the trending hashtags on Twitter, find tweets of ISIS members, search for a link, follow the link for a possible campaign, download campaigns before the account shut down.

As for the analysis of the data, the campaigns were first transcribed, translated into English language, and used Nvivo 12 Pro for coding. Reflexive thematic analysis was employed in analysing the data. The codes were generated through deductive coding approach whereby the Duplex Theory of Hate was used to guide the researcher in generating the codes. To generate the codes that led to the themes, the paper followed the six phases of reflexive thematic

Sternberg, "A Duplex Theory of Hate: Development and Application to Terrorism, Massacres, and Genocide."

The campaigns analysed were: The Den of the Mujahidin; Recovery House; Only a Fire in their Bellies; Al Azeem in the State of Dayali; The Wounded for the Sake of Allâh; Fight the Mushrikûn; Verily, With the Hardship, There Is Relief; Their Alliance, Our Terrorism; Healing the Believers' Chest; Purification of the Souls; My Son Preceded Me; Heaven Lies Under the Shade of Swords; The Swords of As Siddīq; And If They Fight You, They Will Show You Their Backs; Admonished Me My Grandfather on the Eid Day; A Story of Slaughter; Battle of Shaikh Abi Malik Al Tamymy (Part 1); Abundant Provision; Care For Orphans Within the Confines of The Islamic State; and Zakât - The Truth of Money and Duty of the Leader.

Virginia Braun et al., "Thematic Analysis," Handbook of Research Methods in Health Social Sciences, 2019, 843–60; Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology," Qualitative Research in Psychology 3, no. 2 (2006): 77–101.

analysis proposed by Braun, Clarke, Hayfield and Terry. ¹⁸ The six phases include familiarisation with the data, extracting codes, constructing themes, defining themes, revising themes, and producing report.

Findings

The process of analysing the ISIS Arabic Twitter campaigns involved a number of stages. The first stage was to identify some key words that are used to refer to targeted individuals or groups. For example, the word Christians, Islamic scholars, Saudi government, Egypt government etc. were among words or phrases that appeared when a query was ran using Nvivo software (See Figure 1). The second stage was to form a word tree also with the aid of Nvivo software. The word tree indicates not just the frequently used words and phrases but their surrounding textual contexts (See Figure 2). The final stage was to refer back to the textual context of the word for coding eventually leading to the final themes of the paper. Two major themes emerged from the analysis of the campaigns namely, defamation of religious scholars and defamation of other identified enemies. These two themes are discussed below which are followed by experts from the data. The discussion of the themes is then followed by another discussion in light of the Duplex theory of hate.

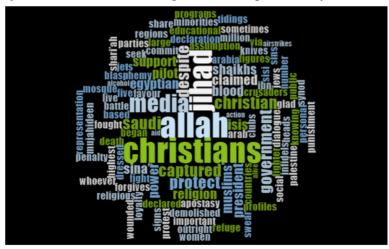
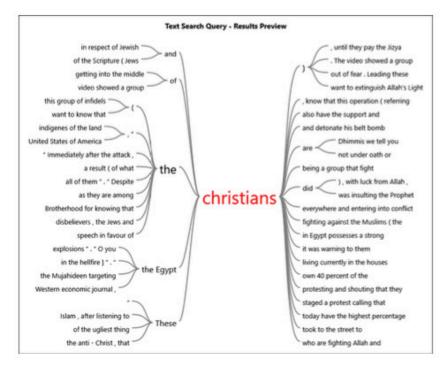


Figure 1. Word Cloud of ISIS Arabic Twitter Campaigns



Defamation of Religious Scholars

Among the groups of people targeted by ISIS in its Arabic Twitter campaigns were religious scholars. In Only a Fire in their Bellies campaign, religious scholars, particularly those from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, were depicted in the following words:

They (the religious figures) take and share the glad tidings of the power assumption of some important people in Saudi Arabia, they began to seek refuge to him from all regions, and they greet him with what he has declared of his outright apostasy and blasphemy with all the signs of loyalty and declaration of that via their educational synod and media programs, and even in their personal social media profiles and their dialogue clubs.

In a number of instances, the reason for which the scholars were depicted in such manner is given. In one instance, it was made clear that the scholars were hated for their opinions of jihad which do not fit with the ISIS narration placing its jihad (fighting) only second to the declaration of the Oneness of Allāh and bearing witness that Mu-

hammad PBUH is His Messenger. For example, the following quote from Only Fire in their Bellies attacked the scholars for their views on jihad and using an alleged incidence involving one of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH companions.

Some of those who pretend to be Shaikhs claim that one does not need Jihad to purify him/herself. What one needs are prayers, fasting and so on leaving captured Muslims in prison. Shaikh Al Mujahid Ibn Taimiyya said: 'whoever is a frequent sinner his biggest medicine is Jihad. Verily, Allah forgives his sins as almighty Allāh said in His Book [He forgives your sins]. Likewise, whoever wants Allāh to erase the wrongdoings he committed in the pride and haughtiness of the ignorance era he must commit himself to Jihad'.

Some of those Shaīkhs claimed that they have been purifying themselves for decades but they have never participated in any Jihad which is the peak and climax of Islam and its highest rank. These poor people forget that Abu Mihjan At taqafy drank alcohol on the battle day of Qadisiyya. But his sin never prevented him from participating in Jihad. He was one of those who fought gallantly in that battle

Another instance depicted the scholars as coward and that even women are braver than them. It stated:

I swear by Allāh, women are braver than them (the Shaikhs who are not in favour of ISIS so-called Jihad) as some women wrote letters to the Caliphate asking to be allowed to join the Jihad and even commit suicide to protect Allāh's religion and live under His Sharī'h.

The scholars were also attacked for celebrating and rejoicing the appointment of some of the top authorities in the government of Saudi Arabia in addition to depicting them as coward who are less brave than women.

Defamation of Other Identified Enemies

In addition to the defamation of Islamic scholars, there are also other people targeted by ISIS in its Arabic Twitter campaigns. Among these groups of people is the Egypt Christians. In Fight the Mushrikūn campaign, ISIS targeted the Egypt Christians by claiming that the

Christians are inflating their population which ISIS views as a manipulative agenda the Christians use to gain an unfair advantage against Muslims. This was exemplified in the following lines:

The Egypt Christians today have the highest percentage of Christian minorities in the East Arab countries. They start to be proud of their number by claiming that their number reaches 18 million people in Egypt despite the fact that their real population does not exceed 4 million people based on the Vatican's estimate.

In order to cause members and potential recruit to hate the Christians, the Christians were accused of receiving aids from the US and the Western countries implying that it is a war between entire Christians against the Muslims. This argument was made in the following line:

The Christians also have the support and aid of the Christian countries, at their heads the United States of America. The Christians staged a protest calling that they are victims because they are minorities surrounded by Muslims despite having a large representation in the tyrannical Egypt ruling system, particularly in the Egyptian economic and the media sectors, and also like having a large representation in the Egypt high court in such away the Christian judges make severe judgment against Al Muwaḥḥidyn (referring to ISIS members) mostly close to death penalty like what a Christian judge appointed by the tyrant Mursi did when he decided for death penalty against the Mujahidyn of Sinā.

Other Muslims, particularly those who are parts of the Egyptian politics such as the Muslims Brotherhood and the incumbent Egyptian President, also came under scathing attack from ISIS allegedly trying to give into the demand of the Christians saying:

Despite the Christians being a group that fight against the religion of Allāh in Egypt, those Muslim parties that claimed falsely that they are Islamic tried to satisfy this group of infidels (the Christians) out of fear. Leading these parties is the apostate Muslim Brotherhood for knowing that the Christians in Egypt possesses a strong power (the ousted Egyptian President Muhammad Morsi was shown in the video making a positive speech in favour of the Christians).

The statement continued to provide the reasons why the Christians

and the Egyptian authorities must be hated. It stated:

One of the ugliest thing these Christians did was insulting the Prophet PBUH in their media channels and this, I swear by Allāh, will be protected by the entire Muslims' blood. How could the trustworthy Prophet be insulted on the tongue of these cursed people and then they live in our lands safely? (The video showed clips in which the alleged insults took place). And after that, their support for those apostates (referring to the Egyptian authorities) who demolished mosques and renovate churches (the video showed a demolished mosque and a church being reconstructed). They have helped them in shedding Muslims' blood and reestablishing his throne on Muslims' necks for him to rule with other than Allāh's Sharī'h.

The government of Jordan was also singled out in one occasion following the capture of its pilot. The pilot was forced to call on the people of Jordan and confessed to them that the Jordan authorities are Zionists who instead of fighting Israel are fighting fellow Muslims, particularly in Syria. The captured pilot was made to state the following:

Know that our government is Zionist government. If it is true that we want protect Islam why then we do not send our fighter jets against Assad's forces that kill millions of Muslims and the Jews who are even closer to us so that we protect the people of Palestine and the Al Agsa mosque

In My Son Preceded Me campaign, all those fighting against ISIS were depicted as infidels who have been fighting the people of Syria with every military might they have under their possession. It claimed that:

The infidels have fought the people of Syria with every weapon they possess. Sometimes with their siege, sometimes with their chemical weapons killing thousands of Muslims in this blessed land.

In a like manner, the Saudi authorities were also targeted in another campaign titled: Verily, with the Hardship There is Relief, where the Saudi authorities were accused of only serving the interest of ISIS enemies. This was stated in the following quotation:

The Saudi government are only bent on their own interest which

is against the interest of Muslims (referring to ISIS members). The government was quick to support President Sisi after it collaborated with its allies to fight the Mujahideen in Sinā.

Similar attack was added against the Saudi and Egyptian authorities later in the same campaign claiming that:

They (the Saudi and Egypt governments) proposed the construction of a bridge that connects Sinā' and the rest of Arab region. This to them is necessary to be implemented which is based on Jews' plan and connivance.

The quotations discussed above represent some examples of ISIS defamation of its identified enemies. Few previous studies have also found this to be among the messages entailed in ISIS communication. For example, Pellerin¹⁹ in her review mentioned that a number of studies found that ISIS uses defamation frequently in order to justify their attacks on the targeted person or group. This view has also been echoed by Bandura²⁰, Herfroy-Mischler and Barr²¹ claiming that ISIS uses defamation to justify its acts of violence. Corman, Schiefelbein, Acheson, Goodall, Mcdonald, and Trethewey²² argued that defamation is also employed by the terrorist organisations such as ISIS in order to divide the group identified as the enemy. This indicates that defamation is an important strategy used by the likes of ISIS to achieve its objectives.

Discussion of Theme Using Sternberg's Three Components of Hate This section discusses the themes extracted from the data using Sternberg's three components of hate based on his Duplex theory. The three components are negation of intimacy, passion in hate, and commitment in hate.

¹⁹ Clara Pellerin, "" Communicating Terror: An Analysis of ISIS Communication Strategy"" 2016, https://www.sciencespo.fr/kuwait-program/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/KSP_Paper_Award_Spring_2016_PELLERIN_Clara.pdf.

²⁰ Bandura, Moral Disengagement: How People Do Harm and Live with Themselves.

²¹ Alexandra Herfroy-Mischler and Andrew Barr, "Jihadist Visual Communication Strategy: ISIL's Hostage Executions Video Production," Visual Communication, 2018, 1470357218803396.

²² Steven R Corman et al., Communication and Media Strategy in the Jihadi War of Ideas (Citeseer, 2006).

Negation of Intimacy

Negation of intimacy and seeking of distancing between the targeted group(s) and the perpetrator is usually carried out through the use of propaganda that describe the targeted person/group as subhuman, inhuman, bad, and "incapable of receiving, giving, or sustaining feeling of closeness, warmth, caring, communication, compassion, and respect" 23. This was found in the analysis of the 20 Arabic Twitter campaigns. An example of this was found in respect of the Islamic religious scholars who were accused of downplaying the need for fighting. To support its allegation, a statement claimed to have been made by Shaikh Ibn Taimiyyah was quoted and another alleged incident involving one of the companions of Prophet Muhammad PBUH. This can be interpreted in the light of Duplex theory of hate as an attempt to negate intimacy and distance the religious scholars from its approved society. Likewise, describing the religious scholars as pretentious and coward adding that "I swear by Allāh, women are braver than them..." is yet another attempt to negate any form of intimacy with the religious scholars.

Another display of this component of hate was made in the case of the Egypt Christians who were accused of insulting Prophet Muhammad PBUH. This is given to support the depiction of the Christians as people who cannot be held dear, loved, cared for, or giving compassion. This is yet another attempt to negate any form of intimacy to distance that will justify any form of violence to be carried out against the Christians.

Passion in Hate

This is often displayed through the intense anger and fear. Sternberg claimed that anger leads one to either approach or flee. Under passion in hate, propaganda messages are used to depict the victim as a big threat to the approved group/society and barbaric bent on abusing women, killing children and carrying out all sorts of heinous violence. Hence, the victim should be feared or dealt with accordingly.²⁴ This could be seen in the excerpt depicting the Egypt Christians as a threat to Muslims population. For instance, the saying that "the Egypt Christians today have the highest percentage of Christian

minorities in the East Arab countries..." is an attempt to depict the Christians as a growing threat who use propaganda tools to gain unfair advantage against Muslims. To underline the danger of the growing influence of Christians in Egypt, it added that the Christians are aided massively from the US and the West European countries which helped them gain more power and influence at the expense of the majority Muslim population in the country.

Decision/Commitment in Hate

This is carried out through devaluation and contempt of the targeted individual. The purpose of this is to change the thought of the members of the approved group/society to hate the targeted person/ group. This is carried out through the continuous indication of how the hated group has repeatedly "violated a communal code"25 either through their actions, speaking or interaction with others. This was repeatedly found in the analysis of the ISIS Arabic Twitter campaigns. For example, in its attack of the Islamic religious scholars ISIS indicated that the scholars were jubilant for the appointment of some top individuals in Saudi government who were accused by ISIS to have committed apostasy. The religious scholars were therefore accused of violating a communal code for which they deserve to be hated and what results from it as a consequence of their action. In a different case, Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and other Islamists political parties were accused of favouring Christian population at the expense of the Muslims. This is also another attempt to indicate the violation of communal code that cannot be forgiven or overlooked.

In another instance of commitment in hate could be found in the addressing the current President of Egypt, where he was accused of aiding Christians, demolishing mosques, building churches and helping the Christians to shed the blood of the Muslims. This is similar to the depiction of Jordan government where they were accused

²³ Sternberg, "A Duplex Theory of Hate: Development and Application to Terrorism, Massacres, and Genocide.," 306.

²⁴ Sternberg, "A Duplex Theory of Hate: Development and Application to Terrorism, Massacres, and Genocide."

²⁵ Sternberg, 309.

of being Zionist and in support of the State of Israel by attacking Muslims in Syria, and failing to protect the people of Palestine and the Al Aqsa mosque. Other Muslim nations and their authorities such as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia were also labeled in a likeminded way accusing them of imposing a siege and using chemical weapons that killed thousands of Muslims in Syria. The Saudi government in particular was labeled obedient only to the interest of its allies particularly the US and other Western countries against the ISIS fighters in Sinā.

Conclusion

ISIS Arabic Twitter campaigns are a key resource that can be used in understanding how ISIS organisation instill a heavy dose of hate in its members heart and prepare them with the justifications needed to carry out all forms of brutal violent attacks on any identified enemy. The objective of this paper is to indicate how ISIS uses these Arabic Twitter campaigns as a tool of propaganda to brainwash its members and potential recruit into justifying any form of violence they are carry out. The findings of this paper showed that Sternberg's Duplex theory of hate can help in understanding some of the purposes for which ISIS use the campaigns. All three components of hate were found to be employed by ISIS in creating hate in the minds of its members and, perhaps, potential recruit. These findings are based on only 20 of the Arabic Twitter campaigns, hence, there is need for further studies to tap into these campaigns rich data.

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