The American University in Cairo
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

How ISIS Addresses Women from Western and Middle-Eastern Backgrounds: A Discourse Analysis

A Thesis Submitted to
The Department of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

Under the Supervision of Prof. Amira Agameya

By
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May 2019
How ISIS Addresses Women from Western and Middle-Eastern Backgrounds: A Discourse Analysis

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Submitted to the Department of Applied Linguistics

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
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“We are in a battle, and more than half of this battle is taking place in the battlefield of the media”
(Al-Zawahri, ctd. in Stern & Berger, 2015, p.105)
To my mom and dad. Without you, I am nothing.
Abstract

Although the atrocities the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) commits against women on daily basis are no secret, hundreds of women from different parts of the world have pledged their allegiance to the terrorist group and many more are susceptible to radicalization. The group has capitalized on the opportunity the internet provides to spread their propaganda; however, this also means that it has provided researchers with a lot of accessible data to study. The focus of this thesis is on the language used in by ISIS in articles addressing women in its official online magazines. In order to look into how ISIS adapts its language to attract female recruits from different backgrounds, the research was conducted on a number of English articles selected from Dabiq and Rumiyah magazines and a number of Arabic articles from Al-Naba’ newsletter. These articles were examined for lexical choices, pronominal use, metaphors, and absolutist reasoning. Then, on the macro level, the discursive approaches employed in these articles was compared and contrasted with each other to provide a clearer image of the roles portrayed for the female recruits and the power relations emphasized in the discourse. The analysis showed a focus in the English data on the roles of women as a member of a family and community who is often addressed in a familiar tone and given the illusion of having the space to negotiate her role. On the other hand, the Arabic data introduced the role of the physical fighter to its audience in texts heavily saturated with absolutist reasoning. This marks the beginning of a new and worrying trend for terrorist groups that have had little use for tailored content and culture sensitivity before.

Keywords: ISIS, discourse analysis, lexical choices, metaphors, pronominal use, absolutist reasoning, female radicalization, Dabiq, Rumiyah, Al-Naba'
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Glossary

Al-Naba': The news or broadcast. Also the title of the ISIS propaganda newsletter published in Arabic.

Dabiq: Dabiq was an online magazine used by ISIS for radicalisation and recruitment. Fifteen issues in total were published between July 2014 and July 2016.

Dabiq is also refers to a town in Syria that was under ISIS control until 2016. According to Hadith, it will be the site for epic battles between Muslims and non-Muslims at the end of times.

Dawah: God's way of bringing believers to faith and the means by which prophets call individuals and communities back to God. Militant submovements interpret dawah as calling Muslims back to the purer form of religion practiced by Muhammad and the early Muslim community. Historically, missionary dawah accompanied commercial ventures or followed military conquests. Dawah was also the function of the caliph, extending authority over Muslims outside Islamic lands and promoting Islamic unity.*

Dawud: David

Dar al-Kufr: Land of the Infidels

Dunya: Near or nearest; commonly translated as “world,” “earth,” or “this world.” In matters of religious belief and practice, refers to earthly concerns, contrasted with those of God or heavenly concerns.*

Hadith: Report of the words and deeds of Muhammad and other early Muslims; considered an authoritative source of revelation, second only to the Quran (sometimes referred to as sayings of the Prophet)... They serve as a source of biographical material for Muhammad, contextualization of Quranic revelations, and Islamic law.*

Hijrah: Migration or withdrawal. Typically refers to the migration of Muhammad and his Companions from Mecca to Medina in 622 C.E., the first year in the Islamic calendar. Symbolizes the willingness to suffer for faith and the refusal to lose hope in the face of persecution. Can be undertaken individually or collectively in response to a threat to survival.*

In the context of the study, it also refers to the migration of fighters to the land under the control of ISIS.

Iddah: The waiting period a woman must observe after the death of her spouse or a divorce, during which she may not remarry, based on the Quran 2:228 and 2:238. The waiting period after a divorce is three months, and after the death of a spouse it is four months and ten days.*

Items marked with (*) are cited directly from The Oxford Dictionary of Islam (2003).
Iman: Faith or belief. Suggests security for believers against untruth and misguidance in this world and punishment in the afterlife. Assumes belief in the oneness of God, angels, Prophets, revealed books, and the hereafter.*

Jihad: From the Arabic root meaning “to strive,” “to exert,” “to fight”; exact meaning depends on context. May express a struggle against one's evil inclinations, an exertion to convert unbelievers, or a struggle for the moral betterment of the Islamic community. Today often used without any religious connotation, with a meaning more or less equivalent to the English word crusade… Jihad is the only legal warfare in Islam.*

Jihadi: (adj.) One who undertakes Jihad. Often used today to refer to Islamist fighters.

Kufr: Disbelief.

Kuffar: Disbelievers / Infidels.

Muhajirah: A woman who undertakes Hijrah.

Mujahid: (n.) A man who undertakes Jihad. Often used today to refer to an Islamist fighter or terrorist in some context.

Mujahida: Female form of mujahid.

Mujahideen: Plural form of mujahid.

Muslim: One who submits to the will of God. The plural form, muslimun, refers to the collective body of those who adhere to the Islamic faith and thus belong to the Islamic community of believers (ummah). To demonstrate that one has become a Muslim, one must recite the shahadah, witnessing that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is the messenger of God.*

Muslimah: Female form of Muslim.

Quran: The book of Islamic revelation; scripture. The term means “recitation.” The Quran is believed to be the word of God transmitted through the Prophet Muhammad… The Quran serves as both record and guide for the Muslim community, transcending time and space.*

Rumiyah: (Rome) is an online magazine used by ISIS for recruitment. It was first published in September 2016 and is released in several languages, including English, French, German, Russian, Indonesian and Uyghur. It replaces Dabiq, and other magazines that were released until mid-2016. To date, thirteen issues were published.

Sahabiyat: Female companions at the time of the Prophet.

Shahadah: Witness. Recitation of the Islamic witness of faith, “There is no god but God and Muhammad is the messenger of God”; the first of the five pillars of Islam. Shahadah is accepted as a declaration of acceptance of Islam by a convert.*
In some contexts it can also mean dying for God or faith.

Sharia: Islamic law as derived mainly from the Quran and Hadith.

Sulayman: Solomon.

Sunnah: Established custom, normative precedent, conduct, and cumulative tradition, typically based on Muhammad's example. The actions and sayings of Muhammad are believed to complement the divinely revealed message of the Quran, constituting a source for establishing norms for Muslim conduct and making it a primary source of Islamic law.*

Tafsir: Quranic exegesis. Elucidation, explanation, interpretation, and commentary carried out in order to understand the Quran and its commandments. Muhammad is considered the most authoritative interpreter of the Quran, but Quranic interpretation through reports from acknowledged Companions of the Prophet or by their successors is also considered authoritative.*

Yaqub: The Prophet Job

Zuhd: Asceticism. Rejection of material comforts to pursue personal contemplation and meditation. Encompasses notions of piety, asceticism, and renunciation.*

**Note on Transliteration of Arabic words:** The Arabic words and terms referred to in this study are not transcribed using the formal MSA transcription; rather, the words are simply transliterated into English.

**Translation Disclaimer:** Unless explicitly stated otherwise, all translations from Arabic to English are by the author of this thesis and are thus unofficial and should be reused with caution. Any mistakes are solely the author's responsibility. Appendix B contains the original Arabic text of all citations.
Chapter I

Introduction

Since its inception and subsequent rapid spread in the Middle East, the Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS) has been said to be 'revolutionizing' terrorism. From its recruitment strategies on social media, to the random stabbings and deliberate vehicle ramming that seem to require almost no prior planning, ISIS seems to have provided its potential recruits with an easy accessible ticket to eternal salvation. Instead of the typical Jihadi who seems to have come from the Middle Ages spending years hiding in caves, Jihadi sisters and brothers now blog on Tumblr and tweet about their daily activities like any other youth their age.

The accessibility of terrorist propaganda that has conquered the Internet made it very difficult to predict and combat the recruitment process and the attacks. The same web that is giving the world space to share information freely is also helping such radical groups form a decentralized community that spreads all over the world. Capitalizing on this opportunity, ISIS seems to have become very effective in addressing different audiences from various backgrounds as evidenced by the staggering numbers of young men and women who have joined its ranks in the last few years from America, Europe, Asia, and Africa.

I.A- Context of the Study

Unlike Al-Qaeda, ISIS seems to have a more developed propaganda machine that evolves quickly. Research has found that the language used by ISIS is more informative and imaginative (Skillicorn, 2015) and more authoritarian, with a higher level of religiousness (Vergani & Bliuc,
It also appears that compared to Al-Qaeda, ISIS uses less complex language that has been losing even more of its complexity as ISIS gained more followers (Houck, Repke, & Conway, 2017). This suggests that, in a way, ISIS adapts to its market, following a continuous process of reassessment to better accommodate its growing audiences. Šonková (2016) and Wignell, Tan and O’Halloran (2017) further elaborated that, in order to attract wider audiences and address potential recruits, ISIS relies on images of multi-ethnic fighters, inclusive pronouns such as we, and a discourse that focuses primarily on victory, power, and unity. What makes it even more dangerous is that ISIS relies on electronic platforms to spread its propaganda, uploading terabytes of content that will remain online even if ISIS is defeated on the ground. Such content is part of a cognitive war that can outlast ISIS and cause more damage in the future (Rocca, 2017). In addition to that, Farwell (2015) pointed out ISIS’s development of apps that help them organize their social media followers and promote their news that can include anything from fighters cuddling kittens as a portrayal of the caliphate’s care for welfare of all living creatures, to beheadings that act as warnings to their enemies.

ISIS also differs from other radical Islamist groups in that it handles diversity among its ranks in a better way. Mokhles (2017) argued that ISIS cultivates diglossic cultures where high-ranking officials and the print media speak in Standard and Classical Arabic but also where learning and using new languages and dialects are embraced and encouraged. Another aspect of this diversity is that of gender, since an estimate of 20,000 to 31,500 young Muslim women, mostly between the ages of 18 and 25, have joined the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, about 10 percent of which are recruits from foreign countries in Europe and North America (Chatterjee, 2018).
I.B- Problem Statement

Despite the atrocities committed by ISIS against women on a daily basis, women from different parts of the world still for some reason are tempted to join its ranks. This is why the phenomenon of ISIS’s recruitment of women fighters is worth studying. However, this area has scarcely been explored and the literature in regards to it is still lacking. The few studies that have been conducted explained ISIS’s manipulation of ISIS of Western female recruits by exploiting a need for attention, inclusion, and more powerful roles in society. In an analysis of a young Western female recruit’s social media posts, Windsor (2018) revealed a gradual loss of the girl's individual identity as reflected in her use of language in order to gain a more radical collective one. The girl also developed a more authoritative voice as an ISIS recruiter. Fatani (2016) supported these findings by stating that ISIS targets Western women by using a rhetoric focused on social solidarity and inclusion as an important part of society adding that the rhetoric addressing Arab women is usually more religious and critical of Western morals.

Still, in this particular area, research is extremely limited. The few empirical studies that look into the discourse of female radicalization are usually conducted on Western women and English discourse, and while they provide a starting point, they fail to deliver a more complete picture of how ISIS employs various linguistic resources to recruit women from both western and Middle Eastern backgrounds. It is still very difficult to find research that specifically examines the language ISIS uses to address women, and even more difficult to find any in Arabic or the linguistic strategies used to recruit women when the message is in Arabic. This is why this study aimed at investigating the language ISIS uses online to address women in both Arabic and English, in an attempt at examining the discourse employed and its underlying
ideologies directed at women from different backgrounds, that is: Western (mainly English speaking) and Middle Eastern, and highlighting the differences between them, if found.

I.C. Research Questions

1. How does ISIS use discourse strategies in texts addressing women, both Arabic and English, to promote different roles for possible Western and Middle-Eastern female recruits?

2. What are the discursive approaches employed to depict the reality of life as a Muslim woman in the Islamic State embedded in the texts targeting both sets of audiences?

I.D- Delimitations

The main delimitations in this study are the criteria chosen for analysis. On the linguistic level, I have chosen to focus on lexical choices, pronouns, and metaphors. This is due to two reasons. First, an extensive analysis of the grammatical features in the data can be expanded into a study on its own that looks into features such as modality and transitivity. Second, I wanted this study to look into salient choices made by the authors of the texts that can be clearly tied to context and the discourse analysis on the macro-level; I do not believe that grammatical features would be as helpful in this sense.

On the discourse level, I have only chosen to focus on certain aspects of Parker's (2014) framework due, again, to their salience, and because I believe looking into all ten of Parker's criteria would entrench this study deeper into social theory rather than give it the freedom to
navigate between linguistic and discourse analysis and social context. Parker's (2014) framework is meant to complement and support the results of the textual analysis but can be developed into a full research on its own if needed. However, the researcher should be very familiar with political Islam and terrorist propaganda in the Middle-East if such research is to be tackled.

I.E- Theoretical and Operational Definitions

I.E.1- Theoretical Definitions

- Ideology: A self-serving organization or a group of beliefs that provides people with basis of social representation and argumentation (van Dijk, 1998).

- Discourse-related terms:

  - Discourse (abstract noun): Language use conceived as a social practice.

  - Discursive event: Instance of language use, analyzed as text, discursive practice, social practice.

  - Text: The written or spoken language produced in a discursive event. (Fairclough, 2013, p.95)

I.E.2- Operational Definitions

In this study, I will be using the following operational definitions:

- Ideology: The beliefs ISIS is basing its social representation of female recruits on and the argumentation it is using to promote it.

- Discourse: The language used by ISIS in the in media propaganda in general.
Discourse strategies: Lexical choices, pronouns, metaphors, and absolutist reasoning.

Absolutist reasoning: Absolutist reasoning, or sacred rhetoric, will be examined using Marietta's (2012) framework. Marietta (2012) discussed seven discourse characteristics that can help determine whether an argument is absolute. Absolutist arguments reject the notion of negotiating concepts and behaviors and thus can determine whether the audience is expected to be partners in a discussion or subordinates. This will be further discussed in chapter three.
Chapter II

Literature Review

This chapter presents a review of the literature relevant to this thesis. Since both Discourse Analysis and Terrorism Studies are massive areas of studies, the chapter only discusses the literature most significant to the research questions. The chapter is thematically organized, discussing both the framework used in this study and its context. It discusses discourse and ideologies, language as used and developed by ISIS, the role of women in ISIS, and the studies that discuss language use related to radicalization in general, and female radicalization in particular, by the terrorist group.

II.A- Discourse, Ideology, and Assigning Roles

Paltridge (2012) defines two views of what discourse analysis of language is meant to be. The first is a linguistic analysis, performed on the level of the text itself, and while it is not isolated from context, context is regarded as a factor affecting the interpretation of the text rather than being subject to the analysis itself. Paltridge (2012) explains

> discourse analysis is a view of language at the level of text. Discourse analysis is also a view of language in use; that is, how people achieve certain communicative goals through the use of language, perform certain communicative acts, participate in certain communicative events and present themselves to others. Discourse analysis considers how people manage interactions with each other, how people communicate within particular groups and societies as well as how they communicate with other groups, and with other cultures (p. 18)
The second view is that of the analysis as a tool to construct and reconstruct reality. In this sense, context is an integral part of the analysis since it takes part in shaping the message rather than just interpreting it. Paltridge (2012) thus adds

The view of discourse as the social construction of reality see[s] texts as communicative units which are embedded in social and cultural practices. The texts we write and speak both shape and are shaped by these practices. Discourse, then, is both shaped by the world as well as shaping the world. Discourse is shaped by language as well as shaping language. It is shaped by the people who use the language as well as shaping the language that people use. Discourse is shaped, as well, by the discourse that has preceded it and that which might follow it. (p. 18)

In his discussion of both views, Fairclough (2003) contrasts the analyses that are primarily focused on text to those that concern themselves with the wider scope of social theory; however, he argues that both approaches are not mutually exclusive.

To further facilitate the discussion, I divided these approaches into three levels of analysis. The first is on the level of the text where linguistic features were looked into and certain choices were examined. The second level is that of argumentation and how certain rhetorical features of the text affect its intended message. Finally, the third is on the macro level of discourse with a focus on context and Foucauldian theories of discourse analysis in relation to society and power.
II.A.1- The Micro-level

On the micro-level of the analysis, semantic and syntactic analyses of discourse that move towards an ideological analysis in later stages are one of the most commonly employed research methodologies in the field. On the semiotic level, both Sun (2007) and Chilton (2004) have discussed the importance of lexicalization in expressing ideas and framing situations. Word choice in this case provides the audience of the discourse with suggestions of concepts, associations, and attitudes that are minimally packed into small thought units (Macagno, 2014) and introduces packaged schematic suggestions and implications that go beyond the surface linguistic meaning (Sahlane, 2013). In that sense, word choice is used to manipulate the way the audience conceptualize facts. Another linguistic strategy closely tied to lexicalization is the employment of metaphors which can be regarded as either an essential part of the specific worldview of a culture or linguistic community (Semino & Swindlehurst, 1996) or an opportunity to go beyond culturally shared concepts and offer new ways of regarding reality when used in an unconventional manner (Lakoff & Johnson 2003).

Pronominal use in discourse can also provide insight into speaker’s attitude regarding the audience. Van Dijk (2001) and Fairclough (2003) argued that the pronouns that are employed in discourse can reveal perceptions of individuality or collectivity and can create either a sense of intimacy and inclusiveness between the discourse participants or serve to alienate the audience. While in English, analysis of pronouns is usually clear and simple, in Arabic, in addition to explicit un-bound pronouns such as howa (he) and heyā (she), bound morphemes marking gender in verbs, nouns, and prepositions (Badawi, Carter & Gully, 2016) also play a similar role, providing the researcher with a vast body of markers that denote ideology in discourse.
II.A.2- The Meso-level

Between the macro-level of analysis and the micro-level, lies a layer of analysis that deals with argumentation and rhetorical features. In analyzing discourse of radicalization, many researchers tend to look into the religious roots of the cause (Juergensmeyer, 2017; Hoffman, 1996.) However, Francis (2016) argues that a better concept to examine is that of the sacred, or in other terms, a value that is non-negotiable. He elaborates that while a definition of religion can be illusive, the sacred value is much more explicit and accurate. This sacred absolutist reasoning can be expressed in different ways such as placing it beyond question no matter the cost, denying the right to negotiate it or benefiting from it, and expressing moral outrage and citing boundaries to protect it from violation (Marietta, 2012). Thus, different authors who seemingly share the same religious backgrounds can have different boundaries and views for what constitutes as sacred. By deciding upon the degree of negotiability of a certain value, the author can also manipulate the audience into accepting certain beliefs as absolute truths or give them the illusion of having the freedom to negotiate these beliefs.

II.A.3- The Macro-level

In the Foucauldian tradition, language does not exist in isolation of its context; rather, it is used to reproduce and reaffirm meanings and social realities. Influenced by this approach, linguists working with discourse analysis have highlighted its relationship with maintaining power structures and normalizing concepts (Fairclough, 1992; Gee, 2010). Hence, analysis of discourse in such contexts aims to surpass linguistic analysis on the textual level to examine ideologies and beliefs that are concealed within the discourse (Rogers, 2004). In his discussion of grammatical analyses of texts, Widdowson (2004) even goes further to argue that the more
detailed a linguistic analysis is, the further one gets from understanding the significance of the
text as some linguistic choices are only comprehended in light of their context. If one is to
hypothesize that discourse is a way of constructing a certain reality, even if it is "not 'really'
there", then its analysis should aim at "systemizing" these constructions so that they can be better
understood (Parker, 2014, p.5). This constitutes a macro-level of analysis that aims at
understanding the objective of the discourse in context and its expected impact.

II.B- The Discourse and Ideology of the Islamic State

It is worth noting at the beginning that the majority of the language-based research on
terrorist discourse is conducted by scholars from outside the field of Discourse Analysis
agree that even in the area of Critical Discourse Analysis, there is no orthodoxy or uniformity to
the methodology and theories of analysis. This resulted in a body of research that is vast and
thematically varied. Meanwhile, we are now witnessing a surge of available sources of terrorist
discourse made available by their media centers that work to produce videos, magazines,
brochures, and statements. This quick adoption of new media tools was revolutionized when
digital and social media entered the global stage, providing terrorist groups with space to publish
easily accessed propaganda, share ideas, and recruit. In terms of digital media usage, ISIS can be
considered a game changer, capitalizing on the opportunity to use all language resources
available to it. Šonková (2016) explains that ISIS was one of the first groups to understand the
importance of incorporating English for a larger global impact, and started translating to other
languages as well. The narrative they promote is that of a victorious caliphate, overusing words
such as *victory*, *triumph*, and *power* (Stern & Berger, 2015, p.107)
A quantitative analysis by Vergani and Bliuc (2015) of the first year of Dabiq magazine, published online in English by ISIS, showed a discursive occupation with group affiliation and group cohesion. It also revealed an emphasis on the role of women, an intensive employment of internet jargon, and language that is high on the affective scale. Another multi-modal analysis of four recruitment videos published by ISIS also shows the promotion of similar narratives, that of Jihadis as heroes with an emphasis on solidarity by including depictions of victorious battles and of busy marketplaces in the Islamic State that help in portraying it as providing an appealing lifestyle (Melki & Jabado, 2016).

Lorenzo-Dus and Macdonald (2018) conducted a corpus-assisted discourse analysis of Dabiq, looking into strategies of othering. They state that ISIS uses language to homogenize the West as one entity, representing it as stereotypically immoral and violent. They also looked into politeness, finding that the magazine consistently threatens the West’s face through pointed criticism and patronization. In a subsequent study, Lorenzo-Dus and Macdonald (2019) looked further into othering, discussing how not only does ISIS offer an us versus them dichotomy when it comes to the west, they also distinguish between ‘good’ Western Muslims and ‘bad’ Western Muslims and ‘good’ non-Western Muslims and ‘bad’ non-Western Muslims. Their results were obtained through a discourse analysis of the images published in Dabiq that focus on positive emotions and the community over the individual and depict the ‘good’ Muslim, the fighter who is fulfilled through embracing violent Jihad. Similarly, Christien (2016) also highlighted the focus of ISIS on building an image of the collective rather than the individual. Christien (2017) used a qualitative approach to content analysis and found that, unlike Al-Qaeda that focused its English discourse on calls for lone-wolf attacks, ISIS uses depictions of youth in their discourse to promote an image of itself as a state that cares for the welfare of the youth and provides them
with an in-group identity. It could be summarized then that in general, ISIS uses language to radicalize through polarization and offering a social identity for its recruits. Similar studies on Al-Naba', the Arabic publication by ISIS, were not as frequent.

II.C- The Women of ISIS

In a rare interview, Malika El-Aroud, a self-proclaimed internet Jihadi affiliated with Al-Qaeda operating in Brussels, said “It’s not my role to set off bombs — that’s ridiculous, I have a weapon. It’s to write. It’s to speak out. That’s my jihad. You can do many things with words. Writing is also a bomb.” (Sciolino & Mekhennet, 2008). However, the situation is not as simple anymore, and women no longer occupy solely the role of a writer and a recruiter. A publication of the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace & Security estimates that among approximately 3400 foreign fighters who left their homes in the West to join ISIS in 2015, 500 were women. Moreover, while many of the women who join ISIS are employed as recruiters, as well as for the expected roles of domestic servants and accountants, others are trained for combat. Almohammad and Speckhard (2017) discussed a number of the reported all-women cells in ISIS:

As of mid-April 2017 ICSVE obtained data shows the registration office listed at least 800 trained females who are affiliated with three women-only battalions, namely, Khadija Bintu Kwaild, Aumahat al-Moaminin, and al-Khansa... [A]n elite women-only battalion known as al-Zarqawi Battalion... has no less than 480 trained recruits...To that end, the appropriate point of departure is made through presenting the first allfemale entity within ISIS; that entity is al-Dawa battalion. Its significance lies in having established two prominent all-female entities and setting the ground work for women’s indoctrination, recruitment and training in
ISIS as morality police, operatives, spies, infiltrators, assassins and in combat roles (p.8).

Kneip (2014) hypothesized that women are motivated to join ISIS not just because of a sense of religious duty, but rather for empowerment and emancipation. A desire for respect, taking control of their lives, and an acknowledgment of their role in supporting the mujahideen (fighters) in their families play a big role. A study published by the European Parliament Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality (2017) further summed up the pull factors for Western women as follows:

- a search for identity and belonging … the rise of Islamophobia in the West have incited feelings of social and cultural exclusion and marginalisation;
- ISIS/Da'esh-territory is presented as a place where pious women are respected and where they can live honourably regardless of their national or cultural background;
- the perception that the Islamic community – Ummah – is being threatened and/or that the West is waging a war against Islam … Binary language further encourages these feelings of estrangement and divides the world into two opposing entities.
- the aspiration to help build, and be part of, a utopian Caliphate and a desire to live in the Caliphate under Sharia law;
- a sense of adventure;
- the prospect of marriage;
- the desire to be part of something bigger and divine… (p. 23)
However, while there are some studies mapping the roles of women and their perceived reasons for radicalization, especially in the west, the number of empirical studies that has examined the ISIS propaganda targeting women is very limited. Windsor (2018), for example, followed the blog of a young woman who was radicalized online, travelled to join ISIS, and became a recruiter. The data reveals an unsettling shedding of her former individual identity, embracing a collective one, and changing her tone about work and family. Musial (2016) conducted a multi-media discourse analysis of the propaganda targeting women in English. Based on an analysis of the narratives and the images used in the texts, she came up with a number of conclusions, chief among which were: 1- the prevalence of narratives that advertise an easy life in the caliphate and promises of a rewarding afterlife, 2- an emphasis on sisterhood, marriage, and a sense of belonging, 3- a narrative of jihadist feminism that offers women a function as guardians of the ideology, 4- a strategic use of language that indicates the target group to be young Western women and argues with religious justifications with specific vocabulary. These lexical choices and the intensive use of Arabic terms that refer to religious concepts shape a discourse that strengthens the sense of belonging to a special group under the rule of the Islamic State.

In another study that collected data from social media venues, Huey (2015) started her paper by citing a tweet by a female pro-ISIS user "For the Brothers who think it’s not my place to worry about the Ummah and talk about Jihad. Please shut up and go make me a sandwich." (p.2). Huey (2015), however, shows that this persona projected in the tweet is not firmly grounded in reality. Even though ISIS promises women empowerment on the surface level of their rhetoric, Huey argues that the representations of women in the magazine and tweets published by ISIS highlights the fact that official propaganda produced by ISIS usually hosts
women whose thoughts and words conform to group ideology, and support women’s lesser status. Finally, in a short article published by King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies, Fattani (2016) pointed out how ISIS manipulates its language to address the insecurities of women from different backgrounds. She states that the English texts stress a sense of collectivism that puts emphasis on how the West victimises and marginalizes women, especially muslims, through Islamophobia. On the other hand, Arabic texts, that had not been translated, and thus clearly only target women who can speak Arabic, highlight how Islam frees women from the patriarchal heirarchies that are the legacy of colonial rule and from the vice and ignorance prevalent in the modern-time Middle-East. Fattani (2016) concludes by recommending a discourse analysis into these different sets of texts that can support her surface analysis by empirical results.

II.D- Conclusion

The amount of research done on terrorist propaganda and rhetoric is overwhelming, yet the specific area of female radicalization has been largely neglected by linguists. For the most part, women who join ISIS are depicted in the media and often researched as one homogenous group, a view that is quickly becoming invalid. Meanwhile, the ISIS propaganda machine has proven to evolve and adapt quickly, catering to different audiences in different ways. From promises of adventure, to a welcoming community, to the higher call of fighting for God, those prone to radicalization more often than not end up finding something that touches upon a need of theirs. The dissimination of this propaganda takes many forms, most prominent is the publishing of Jihadi magazines which were the focus of this study. The goal here is to offer a glimpse as to how ISIS manipulates language to recruit women from different cultural backgrounds and offer them an enticing world view. The next chapter discusses the data and the methodology in more detail.
Chapter III

Methodology

The present study was based on linguistic textual discourse analysis conducted on three levels of articles addressing women published in ISIS magazines and newsletters, published online in both English and Arabic. The first level is that of micro linguistic choices that are salient in the data such as lexicon, metaphors, and pronominal use. The second is that of argumentation and sacred rhetoric. The third level is on the discourse level using Parker's (2014) ten stages of the Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis. The aim is to provide a descriptive analysis of the discourse strategies and the discursive approaches used.

III.A.1- Data Description

As was briefly mentioned in chapter two, ISIS has created a huge media presence on the internet that is expected to outlast their physical presence. Their media campaign acts as a space to push their ideological brand forwards, a decentralized network that can be immersive in nature, and most importantly, a second center of gravity and battleground for the group (Gambhir, 2016). Aside from the countless accounts affiliated with the group which circulate radical literature, ISIS has an official media apparatus that produces and publishes its own narrative in the form of newsletters, magazines, videos, statements, and others (see Figure.1). Up till July 2016, when a U.S. airstrike killed him in Syria, Abu Muhammad al-Adnani was the spokesman for ISIS, its chief of external operations, and thought of as the brain behind its media apparatus. At the time, ISIS had multiple major publications among which are Al-Naba' newspaper, a bimonthly publication in Arabic, and Dabiq, a more 'glamorous' monthly magazine.
published in English. Directly after Adnani's death, Dabiq and other publications in a number of different European languages were replaced with Rumiyah, a magazine that is noticeably shorter in length and relies often on translated content from Al-Naba'. This has been attributed to different causes such as ISIS losing control over the city of Dabiq, the losses ISIS suffered which may have affected its media center, and a speculation that Adnani may have been trying to streamline the media narrative of the group before his death (Wright, 2016; Gambhir, 2016). As of the 10th of April, 2019, 15 issues of Dabiq were published, last of which was in July 2016, 13 issues were published of Rumiyah, last of which was in September 2017, and 176 issues were published of Al-Naba', last of which was in April 2019. Dabiq and Rumiyah are easily accessed as PDFs through websites that monitor Jihadi activity such as The Clarion Project. However, Al-Naba' was obtained from the website The Internet Archives, a data-hosting website heavily used by terrorist groups due to its niche status and lack of censorship.

III.A.2- Data Collection

In order to choose the articles to analyze for the study, I cross-referenced the articles that address women in Dabiq and Rumiyah with those that appear in Al-Naba'. In Dabiq, attention started to be paid to women in the later editions, with sections labeled "To Our Sisters" or "From Our Sisters" published in editions number 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15. In Rumiyah, all editions contained an article addressing women. As for Al-Naba', 31 of 176 issues had a section directed towards women, the bulk of which are in the issues 28 to 83 (see tables 1 & 2 – Appendix A). The cross-referencing yielded three sets of data: 1- articles in English that are direct translations of articles in Arabic (Mostly found in Rumiyah); 2- articles in English that tackle topics that are also tackled in Arabic; and lastly, 3- articles in English or in Arabic that tackle topics that did not
appear in the other set of data (see tables 3, 4, & 5 – Appendix A). Of these articles, I discarded the direct translations due to the lack of salient differences in them; they are, however, briefly mentioned in chapter five. As for the two other categories, I eliminated first the articles that tackle jurisprudence and then focused my analysis on articles that explicitly focus on the roles IS women are expected to play. This supplied me with five articles in English and eight in Arabic. (See highlighted in tables 4 & 5 – Appendix A)

III.B- Data Analysis

The data was analyzed based on theories of Critical and Foucauldian Discourse Analyses. The analysis was conducted on three levels. Chapter four deals with the micro- and meso-levels of language, examining lexical choices, metaphors, pronominal use, and sacred rhetoric. Chapter five attempts to place the discourse in its proper context and highlight the differences and similarities in the realities constructed by both the linguistic and rhetorical choices. To analyze sacred and absolutist rhetoric, I employed Marietta’s (2012) characteristics of absolute arguments. She proposed that there are seven characteristics whose presence in discourse can determine whether an argument is absolute (p35):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sacred rhetoric</th>
<th>Nonsacred rhetoric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Protected status: placing a value beyond question or set apart from trade-offs with other values&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Relativism: implying value trade-offs or comparability with other competing values&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Nonconsequentialism: privileging values over costs or consequences&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Consequentialism: invoking costs or consequences&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Noninstrumentalism: rejecting calculated self-interest&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Instrumentalism: referencing calculated self-interest&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Nonnegotiability: denying the legitimacy of compromise&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Negotiability: invoking compromise&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Citation of boundaries: invoking a boundary of what is acceptable or tolerable&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Denial of boundaries: denying the validity of a boundary&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Citation of authority: invoking an authority for the value or boundary"  "Denial of authority: denying the validity of a known authority for the boundary"

"Moral outrage: expressing anger at the violation of a value or boundary"  "Denial of moral outrage: denying the validity of moral anger"

As for the analysis on the macro-level, I followed Parker's (2014) criteria to engage with Foucauldian discourse analysis and provide context to the textual linguistic analysis. These are:

A discourse is realized in texts...A discourse is about objects...A discourse contains subjects... A discourse is a coherent system of meanings... A discourse refers to other discourses...A discourse reflects on its own way of speaking... A discourse is historically located... Discourses support institutions... Discourses reproduce power relations... Discourses have ideological effects (p. 6-19)

I placed emphasis, however, on certain criteria that are more pertinent to the topic. These are discourse as containing subjects, as a coherent system of meaning, as referring to other discourses, and as supporting institutions (Parker, 2014).

In the next two chapters the data was analyzed and conclusions were discussed briefly. Each set of data, that is the Arabic texts and English texts, is analyzed individually in chapter four. The results of the micro- and meso-level analysis provide the answers to the first research question of how ISIS uses various discourse strategies in texts addressing women to promote different roles for possible Western and Middle-Eastern female recruits. Chapter five with its focus on the macro-level analysis answers the second research question tackling the different discursive approaches used to portray the reality of life as a Muslim woman in the Islamic State embedded in the texts targeting both sets of audiences. The results of the analysis of these different linguistic features should be consistent which should provide a basis for credibility.
Chapter IV

Linguistic Analysis

This chapter focuses on the textual analysis of the data. It provides answers to the first research question pertaining to how ISIS employs discourse strategies in different ways to appeal to women from different backgrounds. The analysis is on two-levels. The first is that of lexical choices, metaphors, and pronouns, while the second deals with absolutist arguments. For each feature examined, the data in the English articles is looked at first followed by the Arabic data.

IV.A- Micro-level Analysis

The first level of analysis in this study is that of the salient linguistic choices made by the authors of the articles examined. Such choices can highlight the distance the author chooses to create or eliminate between themselves and their audiences, and embed ideas into the text. The salience of these linguistic features often is a result of a conscious decision made by the author, making them an important ideological product that is either consumed or rejected by the audience.

IV.A.1- Lexical Choices and Terms of Address

In a total of five English texts examined, words pertaining to familial ties such as husband, marry, wife, children, sister, and mother were used 296 times. This sets a trend of concern with the woman's role as part of a family. In ISIS discourse, a woman does not exist in isolation as independent beings, but as part of a community to which her duties are primarily
owed. These familial ties are referenced too often to the point where it overwhelms the discourse at points. In "A Jihad without Fighting", published in the 11th edition of Dabiq, sister, which is a term of address traditionally used in Islamic discourse, is used to address the reader 17 times, often coupled with adjectives such as beloved, noble, and precious. Wife is used 3 times, mother twice, and Muslimah only once.

In "Two, Three, or Four", published in the 12th edition of Dabiq, the author, allegedly called Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajira, repeats in reference to the Prophet Muhammad "May my mother and father be sacrificed to him" (p.21) alluding to the fact that they are even more precious than her own self which is not of enough worth to highlight the gravity of the sacrifice. In "How I Came to Islam" published in the 15th edition of Dabiq, the author recounts "I would take part in organizing sisters and children's events at the local mosques and I would hold events for new Muslim sisters" (p.38). To her, this sense of community was only obtained after converting to Islam and through engaging in da'wah (preaching Islam). Classical Arabic words are repeatedly use such as hijrah (immigration), shahadah (Recitation of the Islamic witness of faith), and dunya (the world) adding a sense of religious inclusion.

In the eight Arabic articles, words pertaining to familial ties are used 193 times, 60 of which were in "Polygamy is of the Prophet's Teachings" from the 35th issue of Al-Naba'. Most of these instances are used to simply describe ties between people in stories of the Prophet's family and companions. Sister is occasionally used as a term of address as well. "Stories of Women's Jihad" published in the 102nd issue of Al-Naba', contains the most usage of the word, 7 times, coupled mostly with the adjective mujahida (female fighter). In "Be Supportive of Al-Mujahideen" published in the 83rd issue of Al-Naba', Muslimah is used 5 times and you 3 times, identifying the woman as an individual by her religion rather than identifying her by a familial
tie. Other terms of address are Mujahida, Mother of, and female slave of God. It is important to note that the proliferation of third person narration of stories of the Prophet's family and companions in the Arabic texts leaves little space in the text for terms of address in the articles employing a second person narrative.

IV.A.2- Metaphors and Imagery in Dabiq and Rumiyah

Metaphors in the English discourse are used often to describe women and their role in the community of the Islamic State. The woman is frequently described as the mother of the lion cubs and building the Ummah (nation). She is also a school of patience, faithfulness, and steadfastness and a lofty mountain. Her heart should be purified; she is equipped with obedience and worship, and she invests in the Hereafter. If the Ummah is a body made of many parts, then the most important is that of the nurturing mother and if the weapon of the men is the assault rifle, then the weapon of the woman is good behavior and knowledge. Women are on the path of Allah, on a journey to Allah, and they enter battles between truth and falsehood.

On the other hand, the enemy is a donkey, the dog of the White House and his puppets, and gathering scum and filth... to fight the Islamic State. Enemies are also a cancer eating at the Ummah's body, howling dogs, and fools, and their words are poisoned. Generally, images are explicitly dichotomous and mostly clichéd, painting women as fighters for the truth and parts of a family with an ultimate goal to serve God and, consequently, his state in order to win His blessings and a ticket to heaven. In contrast, images of the enemy are almost childishly simplistic and focused on insulting, demeaning and generalizing.
Pathos is also used in extensive images such as the one in "A Jihad without Fighting" where the author urges women not to abandon their imprisoned husbands.

Imagine, O Muslimah, O wife of a prisoner, O you who claimed one day that you 
*divorced your worldly life three times*, imagine him staying in his narrow, dark 
dungeon with a wandering mind, and a sad smile rises on his face. Maybe he was 
thinking of you and his children at that moment and of when the ordeal would end and when Allah would join him with you? A mixture of memories and hopes comes, nothing breaks it except the call of the prison guard and his detested voice mixed with the sounds of the door creaking while he opens it. “So-and-so, you have a visitor.” So he hastens to exit with his heart racing. He sees you from afar so 
his injured heart smiles... You should stammer and be tense, rather you should 
wish that the ground beneath your feet splits open to swallow you before you are able to state what you’ve come to say! “Forgive me, but I want divorce, for my patience has run out.” ... My Muslim sister, did you see the wall that separates between the two of you? Did you see those chains that bind him? All the torture that he has seen since he was imprisoned, and all the bitterness that he drank is nothing compared to your overbearing decision...

In "You Are Not Lawful Spouses for One Another" published in the 10th edition of Dabiq, the author warns Muslim women of husbands who are not followers of the IS creed, in which case they are infidels and it is not lawful to remain married to them.

And *this small Muslim home is the core of the Ummah*, and the parable of these two spouses and their children *is like that of a plant that produces its offshoots and strengthens them*, and then *they stand upon their stalks*. *Its appearance is beautiful and its fruit is pleasant*. If, however, *its soil is polluted with kufr* and shirk, then how impossible, how *impossible it is for the plant to stand straight and become pleasant!* (p.43-44)

Such images are often accompanied by pictures of children in army uniforms, men carrying weapons, and sometimes, absurdly, flowers and naturalistic landscapes.

**IV.A.3- Metaphors and Imagery in Al-Naba'**

Unlike the English articles, the Arabic texts use metaphors and extended imagery much less with little to no reliance on pictures. The language tends to be dryer, less imaginative, and more formal and informative. Some metaphors reappear, but are used much less. The metaphor
of purifying is used again as in "You should not forget to set the intention and purify it of all impurities before any action". Another metaphor that is reused is that of the Mujahida as a lofty mountain and mother of lion cubs. The woman is also a thorn in the enemies' throat and a lance in the enemies' body as a fighter and a dove singing as a religious scholar. In fact, the only article with a semblance of an extended image is "Their Modesty Did Not Prevent Them from Scholarly Pursuits" from the 32nd issue of Al-Naba' where the author states

The Muslim sister should know that the upbringing of women in a world of luxury and ornaments and what God has allowed them should not be what concerns a Muslimah. Instead, she should flip through the pages of history and open the doors of stories of the Prophet and his companions to find luscious gardens full of fragrant flowers in each line; the flowers that were the best of women, wives and mothers and at the same time scholars and jurists who learnt, memorized, taught, studied jurisprudence, and even gave fatwas.

Metaphors portraying the enemies are almost non-existent. Instead, the authors choose to use the occasional contrastive pair to prove a point such as in "The Duty of women in Jihad Against Enemies" published in the 100th issue of Al-Naba' where the author says

If you want to know the state of the Ummah, look at the role models of its women. If the women follow women who were great, righteous, jihadis, worshippers, and patient, the Ummah shall be victorious. However, if they follow women who are infidels, deceptive, straying, misleading, and deviants, indeed, such would be a great loss for the Ummah.

This lack of focus on the enemy implies that the idea of vilifying the adversary is taken for granted. In the Middle East where Islam is predominant and sectarian strife, anti-Semitism, and the lack of religious freedoms exist, pushing a rhetoric that is against religious minorities or infidels would be redundant. In contrast, for audiences coming with Western backgrounds, who most probably have personal and familial ties to non-Muslims, and were most probably subjected to some form of Islamophobia, this dichotomy of us (the Muslims) against them (the infidels) needs to be stressed.
### IV.A.4- Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns/ bound morphemes</th>
<th>English Articles</th>
<th>Arabic Articles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person-singular</td>
<td>Used to indicate author</td>
<td>Used to indicate author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First person-plural</td>
<td>Used to indicate author and audience</td>
<td>Used to indicate authors only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>Used to indicate audience, spread relatively evenly throughout the text</td>
<td>Used to indicate audience, used concentrated in certain paragraphs only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>Used to indicate women other than the audience. In the rare occasion it indicates audience, it conveys disapproval</td>
<td>Used to indicate the audience sometimes and women other than the audience alternatively</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All five of the English articles are narrated in first person and address the audience in second person as an attempt to create a sense of oneness and closeness. The authors make an effort to identify with the audience and include them in the argument. Therefore, while they often refer to themselves using first person singular pronouns, there are instances when they use first person plural pronouns to indicate that they and their audience are one such as in *our religion, our state,* and *our Lord.* In "A Jihad without Fighting" for example, the author uses second person pronouns more than a hundred times in total, adding a sense of attentiveness to her audience. The use of second person pronouns is juxtaposed with the third person pronouns that is only used to refer to either stories of admirable women, who are held in high regard and earned an exalted status, or while giving examples of women who have shirked their duties and are thus excluded from the audience, as is the case with the following example: "I dedicate *my* speech to *my* muhājirah sisters… have *we* heard of sisters whose husbands are killed, so the earth
... becomes constricted for them and they turn towards the lands of kufr, where their families and relatives are." In "Our Journey to Allah" published in the 11th issue of Rumiyah, the same strategy is used,

We Muslim women are required to fulfill our duties attentively, and being negligent of them will only lead to our own destruction. Our mission is greater than we can imagine. Allah has honored us by choosing us to be the wives, sisters, and mothers of the mujahidin, so does it befit us to be busied by the lowly materialistic life as many of us have unfortunately become?... How sad is it that we are witnessing sisters chasing after the Dunya here instead of making their priority the support of their mujahid husbands and the raising of their children (p. 13)

In "They Are Not Lawful Spouses for One Another" which addresses the wives of men who are considered not to be a part of the Islamic State, the third person pronoun is used predominantly except for parts where the author pleads or expresses outrage at the audience.

In three of the Arabic articles, those without equivalent in the English data, the second person is almost non-existent. The audience are talked at rather than talked with and addressed in third person with no concern for inclusion. These articles deal with topics of what women should spend time doing, obeying husbands, and the scholarly pursuits of women. The one time the audience are addressed directly is in the article "You Shall Be Asked About What You Spent Your Life Doing", published in the 42nd issue of Al-Naba', where the author briefly states "O' Muslim sister, people were not created in vain until they have lost their life doing what brings them harm in the Hereafter and does not benefit them." On the other hand, second person pronouns are used extensively in the articles tackling jihad for women. This shift in tone is noticeable in examples from "The Duty of Women in Jihad against Enemies" where the author says

And the first of those role models that we are reminding you of - honored sister - is a woman whose example, if followed by Muslim women, our rights would not be lost nor our sanctity violated, God willing. She is the courageous mujahida
Another clear example comes from "Support the Mujahideen" where the author directs a series of questions to the audience in the singular form:

Have you thought about veiling your heart? Did you protect your tongue from backbiting and gossip? Have you purified your heart of obsession and envy and cleansed it of malevolence and hatred? Have you denied yourself vanity and arrogance? Did you make contentment and zuhd the home of your spirit? How are you with modesty? And where do you stand - God bless you – with obeying your husband, filial dutifulness, serving Muslims, and relieving those in distress? Do you observe halal and haram in regards to what you eat, drink, say, and do?

However, it is worth noting that, as mentioned before, the domination of third person narration of stories leaves little space for addressing the audience in second person and thus the instances are few and far in between.

It can be concluded then that the English texts seek to promote a more inclusive discourse where it engages its audience in an imagined two-way conversation. This is also enhanced by the occasional providing of an author's name, which adds a personalized touch to the article. The speaker is no longer a general, unknown for the most part, entity, but a sister in this mission. This sister, unless she is speaking about the 'other', directly addresses the reader in an almost intimate manner. In the Arabic data however, the reader is rarely addressed directly and the authors remain nameless and distant.
IV.B- Meso-level Analysis: The Sacred Rhetoric

As expected from a group with a religious ideology, a large portion of the data is citations of Quran, Hadith, Tafsir, or stories of the Prophet's companions and modern jihadi women. Such citations work towards appealing to a divine authority for the value argued for. The main difference between the Arabic and the English data however is the amount of citations and sacred rhetoric use.

In the English articles, with the exception of "They are not Lawful Spouses for One Another", there are many instances of negotiability and consequential rhetoric. In "Two Three or Four: for example, the author cites the old testament in a relativist argument for polygamy:

> What’s strange is that the Jews and the Christians taunt the Muslims with respect to polygyny, yet if they were to look into their own books they would’ve known that it was something present in their religions, for it is stated in their books that Ya’qūb n had two wives and two concubines, and that Dāwūd n had a number of wives and concubines, as mentioned in 2 Samuel [5: 13] and 1 Samuel [25: 42 – 44]. They also stated that Sulaymān n had 700 wives and 300 concubines, as mentioned in 1 Kings [11: 3]. (p.19-20)

This acknowledgement of the background from which many Muslim converts come is nonexistent in the Arabic data and is a departure from the non-negotiable status of most arguments mentioned. Consequentialism is also invoked when the author discusses the benefits of polygamy:

> Indeed, the legislation of polygyny contains many wisdoms. Amongst them is that women are greater in number than men, who face many dangers and hardships in their lives, such as war, hazardous work, and disasters. Likewise, young men tend to prefer virgins and abstain from marrying widows and divorcees, so who then would look after this group of women? (p.20)

That is not to say that the author does not use sacred rhetoric. On the contrary, most of the text, as mentioned, cites Quran, Sunnah, and Tafsir. Nevertheless, these little pockets of negotiability give the audience space in the conversation that is not allowed them in the Arabic articles. In "A
Jihad without Fighting”, the author outright acknowledges the right of women to go against what is being argued for; that is, staying with a husband who's been captured.

Some people might say this is her right if she fears for herself. So I tell them, yes this is her right, but between this right and patience are levels and meanings which none comprehends except for souls made of pure gold… (p. 43)

"How I Came to Islam“ has the least amount of sacred rhetoric among all articles analyzed in English or Arabic. This might be due to the author's focus on her story of how Islam benefited her and her trying to sell it to her audience. Instances of consequentialism and instrumentalism are frequent such as

Also, unless you’re living here you don’t realize what kind of life you had before. The life here is so much more pure. When you’re in Dar al-Kufr (the lands of disbelief) you’re exposing yourself and your children to so much filth and corruption. You make it easy for Satan to lead you astray. Here you’re living a pure life, and your children are being raised with plenty of good influence around them. They don’t need to be ashamed of their religion. They are free to be proud of it and are given the proper creed right from the start. (p.39)

The author also acknowledges the hardships of Muslim converts multiple times, structuring her article as an intimate conversation that recognizes the difficulties and promises rewards.

From a total of five articles, only "They are not Lawful Spouses for One Another" does not allow for negotiable argumentation. As the article addresses women who stay with husbands who have 'strayed' from the right path, it is mostly focused on citing Sharia and moral outrage. There are also many occurrences of non-consequential arguments, non-negotiability, and citation of authority, such as

I say, even though I understand your emotions, your sense of motherhood, and your fear of breaking up your family, and even though I understand your fear of poverty, I do not find any excuse for you before Allah b, who says, {Say, “If your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your wives, your relatives, wealth which you have obtained, commerce wherein you fear decline, and dwellings with which you are pleased are more beloved to you than Allah and His Messenger”} [At-Tawbah: 24]. (p.44)
The author here is not concerned with establishing rapport with these women. Rather, the focus is on shaming them and presenting their arguments as invalid.

This last example describes the tone for most of the Arabic data. From all eight articles, only one uses consequential argumentation occasionally. This was in "Polygamy is of the Prophet's Teachings", and unlike the English article which cites the Old Testament, the author here only addresses the benefits of polygamy to women and to the Ummah as a sort of instrumental reasoning.

It is of the wisdom and mercy of God - the Almighty – for his female slaves that he allows the man to take more than one wife, for when the husband remarries, the wife finds more time to worship God, learn jurisprudence, take care of herself and her children and teach them their religion… There are women who may be affected by God to be infertile. Which, then, is better? For the husband not to break her heart, keep her, and marry another who can give him a child, so that the first wife lives under his wing to be taken care of and well-treated or for him to stay childless so as not to hurt her feelings.2

The article "A Wife's Obedience is an Obligatory Form of Worship" in the 30th issue of Al-Naba' is a mixture of citations of the Quran and Sunnah and moral outrage at women who are deemed disobedient or challenging their husbands' authority.

How can some women justify to themselves leaving their homes without their husbands' permission, and even disobeying them if they prevented them from doing so? And how can they justify sinning against their husbands in regards to what God has permitted them to have the final word on, especially when their final word is for their wives to adhere to hijab, avoid mixing with men, and to abide in their homes?2

As for the six remaining articles, they are almost all purely citations of Quran, Sunnah, and stories of the companions. The articles are packed with varying degrees of absolutist reasoning, no hedging words or mitigators, in addition to the formal register of Classical Arabic that adds a sense of ritualization and detachment.
IV.C- Discussion

Overall, the English data offers membership of a community to its audience. The audience is *sisters* and *mothers* of ISIS members, and they are often addressed directly in the second person. The language used here is highly metaphorical for the most part, with a lot of pathos incorporated. Absolutist reasoning and sacred rhetoric is used but the audience is also allowed some space for negotiation and their concerns are acknowledged. The Arabic data in contrast address women as individuals for the most part, with a narrative that only goes one way, that is, from author to audience. The second person pronouns are only used in articles explicitly calling for women to join the call for Jihad. For the most part, the articles sound like sermons, heavy in religious citations and with little space for metaphorical language. The audience is seldom invited to negotiate or take part in the discourse; rather they are addressed in the dry formal voice of an army leader addressing his subordinates.

The next chapter deals with the discourse analysis on the macro-level, in an attempt to provide context to the analysis presented in this chapter.
Chapter V

Discourse Analysis: The Macro-level

While discussing Foucauldian discourse analysis, Parker maintains “that discourses allow us to see things that are not ‘really’ there, and that once an object has been elaborated in a discourse it is difficult not to refer to it as if it were real.” (2014, p.5) Following this line of argumentation, one can argue that the articles published by ISIS create a temporary reality for the audience, one that is separate from what is ‘really’ happening, and exists in the space of the discourse, regardless of its existence or lack thereof anywhere else. To dissect this reality, the discursive approaches of the Islamic state were analyzed from four angles: discourse as containing subjects, as a coherent system of meaning, as referring to other discourses, and as supporting institutions (Parker, 2014).

V.A- Discourse as Containing Subjects

While ‘objective’ reality may be different, discourses can construct new and different realities. One of these constructed realities is the audience as a certain type of person/subject. Parker identifies two main concerns for a researcher trying to figure out the role of subjects in discourse; that is “what types of person are talked about in this discourse” and “what they can say in the discourse… what rights to speak in that way of speaking” (2014, p.10). In the English data, as discussed in Chapter IV, the audience is often addressed as sister, a noble or a precious one. In the Arabic data on the other hand, the sister is a mujahida, or she is just a Muslimah, an independent being with no tie to the author.
However, constructing the woman as playing a certain role does not stop at the level of word choice, but it can also be seen in the choice of cited stories and topics. Out of the 20 articles that appeared in the issues of Dabiq and Rumiyah to address women, nine are explicitly about the role of women in what pertains to relationships and marriage and four are about other social roles (see table 6 – Appendix A). Three articles are stories/interviews with women who performed hijrah from Europe to the lands under the control of the Islamic state. Another three articles are about the role of women in Jihad, with strong emphasis on her role as a supporting wife and mother. Five, four of which are direct translations from Al-Naba’, discuss general matters in Islamic jurisprudence that concern women, and finally, one article is general advice to women in regards to their life in the Islamic state. Thus, the main focus of the English articles appears to be to illustrate to women their roles in society and what they should expect from the IS community. By joining the group, the woman turns into a sister, a wife, and a mother. If her husband dies, another will replace him, and she will rarely need for anything that is not supplied. In return, she is expected to be supportive and obedient. Her heart should be purified of everything but subordination to God. Her role is not that of an empowered woman standing independently; rather she is a part of a whole that will support her if she supports it.

Women in the English discourse, especially in articles that are not translated from Arabic, are included in the discussion happening in the discourse by the extensive use of first and second person pronouns. Their concerns and arguments are often acknowledged and addressed by the authors, creating space in their discourse for an imaginary two-way relationship and further cementing the idea that they are part of a whole rather than an independent entity.

The Arabic discourse shows concern with the same topics on the surface level (see table 7 – Appendix A). However, there are two main differences between it and the English
discourse. The first one is that the articles preaching jihad show women as having more roles than the English articles did. Women in Jihad here are not only wives and supporters; they are also fighters. They join battles and kill enemies. They are important as individuals, as stand-alone units. However, while the roles they are offered may seem empowering, they have less space to negotiate them. The use of direct quotation and third person pronouns prevents women from taking part in the discussion of their roles. This exclusivity is even more acutely felt in the articles discussing jurisprudence and women’s role in society. The authors' tone takes on a more dictating, and mostly disapproving tone, making the authors authoritative figures that are to be obeyed unlike their English counterparts who were sisters and intimate friends for the most part.

V.B- Discourse as a Coherent System of Meaning

In terms of discourse presenting the reader with a coherent system of meaning, Parker (2014) outlines two concerns for research: mapping the world as portrayed by discourse and looking into how this discourse would react to opposition. In the English IS discourse, the authors explicitly use images to create a world for their audience that is very dichotomous and intolerant of opposition. In the article “Two Three or Four” for example, the author states

   Indeed, when the Shari’ah of our Lord was eliminated, the laws and rulings of the kuffār gained power in the lands of the Muslims, Islam was shamefully abandoned, and faces turned towards promiscuous Europe, the voice of falsehood rose and with it the voices of those hostile towards the people of the religion, and the cancer of those who legislate besides Allah ate away at the Ummah’s body. (p.19)

The same rhetoric is used in “They are not Lawful Spouses for One Another”

   the matter reached a point where there were only two camps with no third remaining - a camp of īmān with no kufr therein, and a camp of kufr with no īmān therein - and the ranks were sifted, differentiating between a mujāhid for the cause of Allah… and between a “mujāhid” for the cause of many different
concepts: the civil state, patriotism, nationalism, secularism, democracy, socialism, etc. They are all kufri goals for which Allah has not sent down any authority, and that will bring their followers nothing more than disgrace in the dunyā and a blazing fire that they will enter in the Hereafter. (p.42)

These are only two instances of many where the world is portrayed in the English IS discourse as a deeply polarized ongoing battle between the righteous and the sinful, with women having to follow the author’s directions to be on the righteous side. As mentioned before, usually women who are disapproved of, such as those who stay with husbands deemed ‘non-Muslim’ are often spoken about in third person and are excluded from the discussion and the community. The English IS discourse presents its audience with a world where Muslims are a family and everyone in the IS camp is a brother or a sister. No one exists in a vacuum and everyone is blessed with inclusion in this virtuous utopia in life and rewarded with heaven in the afterlife.

In the Arabic articles, little attention is paid to 'the enemies' of the Islamic State. This may be due to the fact that the women addressed here are living in Middle-Eastern countries that are where the majority is Muslim, even if they are not the ‘approved’ type of Muslim. It may also be taken for granted that their audience among Muslim women share the authors’ world view, in which case, reiteration would be needless. However, there are numerous reminders for women that those who are disobedient are sinful, and would be punished by God, suggesting that the women who are addressed could very easily be enemies to the Islamic State. To them, the tone of the authors’ is threatening rather than pleading and guiding. Such is the case in "Polygamy is of the Prophet's teachings" where the author states:

And the sensible Muslimah should not pay attention to the ideas propagated by the enemies of God that monogamy is unfair to women, and violates their rights, and that the husband is just a selfish man seeking to satisfy his lust and does not value his first wife. These evil ideas that have afflicted some of the women who have started to detract from the rights God had granted man were established by shameless degraded TV serials that entered the homes of Muslims and corrupted religion and minds, so that one sees polygamy as desolation of the
first marital home, and the second wife a treacherous woman whose happiness comes at the expense of the destruction of a family.

Another example can be found in "A Wife's Obedience Is an Obligatory Form of Worship" where the author says:

So the men should remind their wives of their duty to obey them, and *scare them of God and sinning in such a clear way*. Fathers should also remind their daughters, and a woman should remind her sister as well, because *the sin is great* and disobeying a husband and not giving him his due is a major sin.

In both sets of data, the authors pinpoint an enemy, but whereas in the West non-Muslims are the clear choice, the Arabic data looks inwards for opposition. Both ways, there is a battle, and the women of the Islamic State are warned against aligning themselves to the 'losing' side.

**V.C- Discourse as Referring to Other Discourses**

One important stage of discourse analysis is examining its relationship with other discourses. To that end, Parker summarizes the method for such examination in two more points: comparing and contrasting different discourses, and analyzing how they may overlap and look at the same object. In this study, there is a number of discourses at play. There is the English discourse, the Arabic discourse, and the citations from a myriad of religious sources.

Here, it was interesting to look at what was chosen to be translated from Arabic to the Western audience and what was discarded. Table.3 (Appendix A) shows all articles that are direct translations, nine in total. Out of the nine, four purely deal with matters of jurisprudence such as charity and the rules to praying in mosques. Three are about marriage and the like and two are about Jihad. Both articles about Jihad, “Stories of Steadfastness from the Lives of the Sahabiyyat” and “Be a Supporter, Not a Demoralizer” do not include women in the physical aspect of fighting.
The Arabic versions of these articles were not the only ones that addressed Jihad in the Arabic data. Four articles that appeared in issues number 83, 100, 101, and 102 of Al-Naba' discuss the same topic. However, two of these articles heavily feature women as fighters in the battlefield with seven stories of women at the time of the Prophet who fought with the army or killed for their faith. In "Support the Mujahideen" the author stresses the woman’s role in supporting her kin in jihad, but not without reminding her of the cases in which she should fight as well:

But there are cases where women, like men, are obligated to join in jihad, including the fighting the enemy if he encroaches on her land or home. Then women should fight for her religion and honor… The Muslim woman should realize that, when talking about jihad, we do not only mean Jihad with weapons and direct fighting, but Jihad in other areas and fields, in which women contribute a large role, including helping and supporting the Mujahideen.11

In "The Duty of Women in Jihad against Enemies" the author calls upon women to prepare themselves for battle, stating in the introduction:

Today, in the context of this war against the Islamic State, with its intensity and scourge, it is incumbent on Muslim women to fulfill their duties at all levels in supporting the Mujahideen in this battle by preparing themselves as Mujahidas for the sake of God, preparing themselves to defend their religion by sacrificing themselves for the religion of Allah Blessed and Exalted be He, and by inciting their husbands and their sons [to fight], so as to be like the women of the first Muslim generation.12

The author then cites the stories of a number of sahabiyyat who fought with the Prophet such as Nasibah Bint-Kaab Al-Ansariyah. In the first part of "Stories from women's jihad" the author cites more stories such as that of Umm Hakim Bint-Al-Harith, who killed seven in battle and Umm Haram Bint-Malhan, who rode with the army when they invaded Cyprus and was thus among the first of Muslims to fight by the sea.
These stories did not find their way to the English articles but two others that were translated from the second part of "Stories from Women's Jihad" did. In "A Jihad without Fighting" these two stories make an appearance:

“The Messenger of Allah passed by a woman from Banī Dīnār whose husband, brother, and father were injured with the Messenger of Allah in Uhud. When she was consoled regarding them she said, ‘How is the Messenger of Allah doing?’ They said, ‘He is doing well, O Umm So-and so. He is as you love to see him, praise be to Allah.’ She said, ‘Show him to me so that I might see him!’” He said, “So they pointed him out to her, and when she saw him she said, ‘Any calamity is insignificant as long as you’re not harmed’”

And what a great statement was made by Asmā’, the daughter of Abū Bakr, on the day Ibn ‘Umar entered upon her when her son ‘Abdullāh Ibn az-Zubayr was crucified, killed by al-Hajjāj. He said to her, “This body is nothing and the souls are with Allah, so fear Allah and be patient.” So she said, “And what prevents me from patience while the head of Yahyā, the son of Zakariyyā, was offered to a prostitute from the prostitutes of Banī Isrā’īl?” (p.43,45)

The two stories that were chosen were those of women who lost their husbands and sons, were patient, and accepting of God’s will. As a result, the two sets of data provide two different versions of a woman in Jihad catering to what the authors’ perceive these women would be attracted to, based on their backgrounds. To the Middle Eastern woman, a mujahida is a fighter, an empowered figure, while to the Western woman, who comes to the Islamic state weary of her culture’s emphasis on independence, a mujahida is a nurturer and a supporter of a strong family and community.

Another interesting omission in the English articles is that concerning the topic of husbands having the right to beat their wives. While it is explicitly mentioned in the Arabic article that discusses women being obedient to their husbands, it is not touched upon in the English data even though many articles discuss the relationship between man and wife in detail. Even in “A Jihad without Fighting”, the citation of story of Ayyub’s (Job) wife as an example of a great patient woman cuts short before recounting Ayyub’s oath to beat her and God having
mercy on her as was told in the Quran "[We said], "And take in your hand a bunch [of grass] and strike with it and do not break your oath." Indeed, We found him patient, an excellent servant."
(Quran 38:44, Sahih International)

These deletions show an effort to tailor content in a way that is as culturally sensitive as an ISIS text can be. The audiences’ worldview pertaining to some matters, such as beating wives is not challenged in these articles. In the west, where it is frowned upon or criminalized, the topic is not mentioned, while the data addressing women from the Middle East where such matter is normalized, beating wives is discussed casually and explicitly such as in "A Wife's Obedience is an Obligatory Form of Worship" where it is stated:

And how can a woman who reads the Book of God that says: As for those [wives] who misconduct you fear, [first] advise them, and [if ineffective] keep away from them in the bed, and [as the last resort] beat them. God, then, gave the husband the right to strike the wife without causing severe pain if she refused to give him what is his right, and did not respond to preaching and punishment by deserting their beds.13

It can be concluded then, that the authors pick citations that: 1- are culturally appropriate, staying away from opinions that may be opposed by the cultural backgrounds of the audiences; and 2- help them shape the world they think is desirable for the women they are addressing. This sensitivity is new to terrorist discourses and points out a new tactic that was previously absent in terrorist recruitment.

V.D- Discourse as Supporting Institutions

In order to examine discursive support of institutions, Parker (2014) points out two main considerations, which are identifying the institutions that are reinforced and those that are attacked when the discourse is used. Instead of looking into the organization of ISIS as an
institution at this point, since it is a given that the discourse works on empowering it, I looked into family and the patriarchy as institutions of interest.

In the English data, the institution continually reinforced is that of the ISIS community as a family. From the use of *sister* as a term of address to using inclusive pronouns and family related metaphors, the discourse heavily reproduces a specific image of the ISIS community. Women in this community are supporters; in that they are promised inclusion, a family, and a safety of belonging to something that is larger than the individual. As shown in table 6 (Appendix A), thirteen out of twenty articles touch on the social roles of women with the rest making brief mentions of said roles.

The Arabic data is more complex. As discussed before, many of the articles in Arabic can seem empowering of women at first glance. In "Their Modesty Did Not Prevent Them from Scholarly Pursuits", the author explicitly states "God has obligated every Muslim and Muslimah to seek knowledge, *as men and women are equal* in regards to learn jurisprudence". In "The Duty of Women in Jihad against Enemies" the author starts the article with saying "Women are the twin halves of men" then adds later on "Women entered the battlefield in the early centuries of Islam not because men were few at the time, but because of their love for reward, redemption and sacrifice for the sake of God". Thus the author portrays a world where men and women are equal, and women are not only supporters but fighters in the IS battles. However, this portrayal does not remain consistent throughout the data when in "A Wife's Obedience is an Obligatory Form of Worship" for example, the author reinstates the wife's role as subservient in instances such as

The obedience of a Muslim woman to her husband is an act of worship which draws her closer to God, like all other acts of worship, and it is not reasonable for a Muslimah who fears God and Judgment Day to claim that her prayer, fasting, charity
and hijrah suffice in exchange for not performing her duties towards her husband so that she sees herself as his match, acts arrogantly towards him, disobeys his orders, or says to him what should not be said, etc.17

Thus, a complicated relationship with ISIS as a patriarchal institution arises. While women are empowered in certain roles that are highlighted and repeated, they remain inferior to men in others. It is important to note however, that while this inferior role is dominant in Arab establishments, ISIS remains one of the few institutions, official or not, that allow women to join its ranks in combat roles.
Chapter VI

Conclusion

As seen through the analysis presented in the last two chapters, the Islamic State is offering women different attractions to recruit them and it is succeeding. Women's participation in modern extremist groups is not a new phenomenon, nor is it exclusive to Islamist organizations. Women have played integral roles in the formation and sustenance of these groups, from the Ladies of the Invisible Empire who shared the beliefs of the Ku Klux Klan, to the women in the separatist Irish Republican Army (IRA) who bore arms against the British army, Ulrike Meinhof who co-founded the Red Army Faction (RAF/ Baader–Meinhof Group) that was responsible for the events of the German Autumn and the deaths of 34 people, and the women of the secular socialist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), to name a few. These roles are often overlooked in the general narrative, overshadowed by the persistent image of a woman as a demure nourishing individual who is usually the victim of aggression rather than its perpetrator.

De Leede (2018) explains that gendered assumptions about women are leading to simplistic views of women's participation in extremist and terrorist acts. These are ranks of women who are still the subject of a reductive generalizing narrative that often paints them as Jihadi Janes, or women who are manipulated into the role of a sexual slave to Islamist terrorists. However, it is quickly becoming clear that this is not the case and that treating these women as a homogenous group is not going to help in identifying the problem or find solutions. The current situation is that there is a massive amount of radicalizing propaganda floating around on the internet. These materials will still be there, nearly impossible to get rid of, even if ISIS is
defeated on the ground. What is needed, and what the literature lacks for the most part, is an examination of why this propaganda appeals to those women and how it is providing them with something they feel missing in their lives. Therefore, this study focused on two aspects of this problem: how ISIS uses discourse strategies addressed to women, both Arabic and English, to promote different roles for possible Western and Middle-Eastern female recruits, and the discursive approaches to depicting life as a Muslim woman in the Islamic State embedded in the texts targeting both sets of audiences.

VI.A- Summary of Findings

To answer the first question, this study looked into the lexical choices, pronominal use, metaphors, and absolutist reasoning. It found that when addressing Western women, ISIS uses language that focuses on promoting a sense of inclusion, community, and social identity whereas the language addressing Middle Eastern women relies more on a distant commanding tone and the depictions of women as subordinate individuals. The second question was tackled through comparing and contrasting the two sets of data and the citations used in both. The results show a preoccupation of the woman as a member of the family and community in the English texts, while the Arabic texts also add the role of the women as a fighter.

In a report published by the Carter Center (2017), the allure of joining ISIS to Muslim women living in the West is summarized as such

Encountering such imagery invigorates an activist zeal within many women who feel that it is their moral duty to leave for the “khilafah” (caliphate) and participate, through any available avenues, in the global resistance against
Western imperialism. Feelings of estrangement and alienation from one’s national and cultural heritage are another push factor for many women. This is especially true for young girls growing up in Western countries who may struggle to reconcile their religious and national identities. With the rise of Islamophobia in the West and fear of religiosity in sections of Muslim-majority countries, women and girls are facing increasing discrimination based on the color of their skin and/or their choice of attire, such as the hijab… The idea of a community that shares one’s values, respects one’s religious choice, and welcomes one regardless of national-cultural background appeals to many women. In addition, Daesh offers an alternative vision for female liberation and empowerment. Portraying Western feminism as an exclusionary model of emancipation for elite white women at the expense of minority women groups, Daesh promises female agency inspired by “Islamic” ideals. It stresses that the roles of Muslim men and women are “complementary and cooperative rather than competitive.”…This decorative conception of gender equality seems to strike a chord with many women around the world who are frustrated and feel marginalized by Western ideals of female empowerment. These ideals are seen as a pretext for expanding Western political and economic hegemony and, in some cases, for actual war on Muslim countries.

In light of this, it is easy to understand why ISIS would choose to rely on an inclusive discourse that invites its audience to participate in it and addresses them as sister. This rhetoric, with its focus on the role of women as educators and supporters, provides these women with a sense of
agency and appreciation that they feel they lack in their society. In this discourse, women are taking part of building God’s state. They are brave, celebrated, and respected.

The Arabic data promotes another aspect of being an IS member, that of being an individual and a fighter. Qurami (2017) explains this by pointing out that this trend is a Pavlovian revolutionary reaction against the patriarchy. By turning into violent fighters, these women are also fighting against the stereotypical patriarchal view of women as inferior and less capable. Qurami (2017) also lists poverty, marginalization, censorship, and the search for meaning as push factors for women coming from Middle Eastern countries. In a sense, these women are taking revenge on being sexually, religiously, or culturally controlled. Here, ISIS takes advantage of this looming sense of nihilism, by providing these women with an outlet for their anger and a discourse that portrays them as historical heroes of the ummah. However, as previously discussed, this portrayal does not withstand close scrutiny, contradicted in the depictions of women as subservient to their husbands and male kin. Still, it does provide women with space for fighting to be acknowledged and remembered.

VI.B- Limitations

As discussed before, this study covered only a fraction of the propaganda that is accessible to possible recruits online. The focus of the analysis was articles published by official ISIS media centers, yet the internet hosts a repertoire of ISIS forums, articles and reports published by affiliates, and even propaganda that was produced by other organizations and was repurposed to advertise Jihadi culture in general and ISIS in particular. The overwhelming amount of this literature was the reason this research only tackled official literature, even though it meant shedding light on a limited aspect of the picture as a whole. Since it cannot be verified,
the gender of the author of the texts was also not chosen as a variable affecting the production of discourse.

VI.C- Recommendations

The topic of this study is an area of research that lends itself to a lot of exploration. The current reductive view of women and their role in Islamic extremism needs to be revised. Larger scale analyses of the propaganda that is on the internet is needed, but without overlooking its context. Now that we have available women coming back from ISIS, data needs to be collected concerning why they joined, why they left, and how the reality differs from the propaganda. Middle Eastern researchers also need to start looking into radicalization since the limited number of scholars tackling it in the Middle East is not nearly enough to cover the data we have. This disregard and censorship of a very important aspect of the modern Arab society is proving to be of catastrophic consequences to all involved.
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## Appendix A

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(Table.1 – Articles addressing women in Al-Naba' newspaper)
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<tr>
<td>18 November 2015</td>
<td>Safar 1437</td>
<td>12 Two, Three, Or Four by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<td>Rabi Al Akhar 1437</td>
<td>13 Advice on Ihdad by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<td>31 July 2016</td>
<td>Shawwal 1437</td>
<td>15 How I Came to Islam by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<td>05 September 2016</td>
<td>Dhul Hijjah 1437</td>
<td>01 O Women Give Charity by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<td>04 October 2016</td>
<td>Muharram 1438</td>
<td>02 Stories of Steadfastness from the Lives of the Sahabiyyat</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 November 2016</td>
<td>Safar 1438</td>
<td>03 Abide in Your Homes by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<tr>
<td>07 December 2016</td>
<td>Rabi Al Awwal 1438</td>
<td>04 Marrying Widows Is an Established Sunnah by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<td>06 January 2017</td>
<td>Rabi Al Akher 1438</td>
<td>05 I Will Outnumber the Other Nations Through You by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<tr>
<td>04 February 2017</td>
<td>Jumada Al Awwal 1438</td>
<td>06 Wala and Bara O Women by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<tr>
<td>07 March 2017</td>
<td>Jumada Al Akhirah</td>
<td>07 The Flesh of Your Spouse Is Poisonous by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<tr>
<td>04 April 2017</td>
<td>Rajab 1438</td>
<td>08 Zuhd in the Dunya Is the Way of the Salaf by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<td>04 May 2017</td>
<td>Shaaban 1438</td>
<td>09 The Woman Is a Shepherd in Her Husband’s Home by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<td>Ramadan 1438</td>
<td>10 Be A Supporter, Not A Demoralizer by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
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<td>13 July 2017</td>
<td>Shawwal 1438</td>
<td>11 Our Journey to Allah by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 August 2017</td>
<td>Dhul Qadah 1438</td>
<td>12 The Female Slaves of Allah in the Houses of Allah by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 September 2017</td>
<td>Dhul Hijjah 1438</td>
<td>13 The Hijrah of Umm Sulaym Al-Muhajirah by Umm Sumayyah Al-Muhajirah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Table.2 – Articles addressing women in Dabiq and Rumiyyah magazines)
### Direct Translations

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Title of Article</th>
<th>Date of Publication</th>
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<tr>
<td>O Women Give Charity</td>
<td>05 September 2016</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stories of Steadfastness from the Lives of the Sahabiyyat</td>
<td>04 October 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abide in Your Homes</td>
<td>11 November 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrying Widows is An Established Sunnah</td>
<td>07 December 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wala and Bara O Women</td>
<td>04 February 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Flesh of Your Spouse is Poisonous</td>
<td>07 March 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Woman Is a Shepherd in Her Husband’s Home</td>
<td>04 May 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be A Supporter, Not A Demoralizer</td>
<td>17 June 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Female Slaves of Allah in the Houses of Allah</td>
<td>06 August 2017</td>
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(Table.3 – Articles that are direct translations from Arabic to English)

### Equivalent Topics

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<tr>
<td>A Jihad without Fighting</td>
<td>09 September 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support the Mujahideen</td>
<td>01 June, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Duty of Women in Jihad against Enemies</td>
<td>05 October, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stories from Women’s Jihad (1)</td>
<td>19 October, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stories from Women’s Jihad (2)</td>
<td>26 October, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Jihad (Infograph)</td>
<td>29 March, 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two, Three, Or Four</td>
<td>18 November 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygamy Is of the Prophet's Teachings</td>
<td>14 June, 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advice on Ihdad</td>
<td>19 January 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observing Iddah for Widows</td>
<td>18 May, 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Hijrah of Umm Sulaym Al-Muhajirah</td>
<td>09 September 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Story of a Muhajirah</td>
<td>06 September, 2016</td>
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(Table.4 – Articles addressing the same topic in Arabic and English)
### Table.5 – Articles addressing topics that only appeared in the literature in one language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A Brief Interview with Umm Basir Al-Muhajirah</th>
<th>Hijab as It Should Be for Muslim Women</th>
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<tr>
<td>Slave Girls or Prostitutes</td>
<td>ضوابط خروج المرأة المسلمة إلى السوق</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They Are Not Lawful Spouses for One Another</td>
<td>طاعة المرأة لزوجها عبادة واجبة</td>
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<tr>
<td>How I Came to Islam</td>
<td>A Wife's Obedience Is An Obligatory form of Worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Will Outnumber the Other Nations Through You</td>
<td>لم يمنعهن الحياه أن يتفهمن في الدين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zuhd in the Dunya Is the Way of the Salaf</td>
<td>Their Modesty Did Not Prevent Them from Scholarly Pursuits</td>
</tr>
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<td>Our Journey to Allah</td>
<td>زقوم مجالس النساء</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The Cursed Tree in Women's Gatherings</td>
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<td></td>
<td>وستسالين عن غمرك فيما أفتيه</td>
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<td>You Shall Be Asked About What You Spent Your Life Doing</td>
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<td>وأناوا النساء صداقتيهن نخلة</td>
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<td>And Give the Women Their Bridal Gifts Graciously</td>
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<td>رففا بالقوانين</td>
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<td>تكرن النعيم وتكرن العشري</td>
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<td>You Curse Too Much, and You Are Ungrateful to Your Spouses</td>
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<td>أرملة شهدت بإذن الله</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The Widow of A Martyr, God Willing</td>
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<td>لباس المرأة أمام النساء</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The Dress of a Muslimah in front of Women</td>
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<td>ما لا يسمع الحائض والأنثاء جهله</td>
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<td>What a Menstruating Woman and She Who Is Discharging Birth Blood Should Know</td>
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<td>تحذيرات الحجاب من التعامل والجدل</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Warning for Women against Arguing and False Claims of Knowledge</td>
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<td>من خوارزم الخياء لدى النساء</td>
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<td>What Violates a Woman's Modesty</td>
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None
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<th>Article</th>
<th>Social roles of women</th>
<th>Women in Jihad</th>
<th>Stories/Interviews of muhajirat</th>
<th>Jurisprudence</th>
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<td>Two, Three, Or Four By Umm Sumayyah A;-Muhājirah</td>
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(Table.6– The Main Themes in the English Articles)
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<th>Article</th>
<th>Social roles of women</th>
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(Table 7– The Main Themes in the Arabic Articles)
Appendix B: ISIS Base Media Operations

Figure 1 (Gambhir, 2016, p.2)
Appendix B: Original Arabic Quotations in Order of Citation in this Study

- كوني ردة للمجاهدين (ص.15)
  علّيك أيتها المسلمات أن تختصّص تربية وتثقيف من الشواب عند كل عمل.

- لا بمعنى الحياه أن تقتفي في الدين (ص.14)
  ولغطّم الأخت المسلمات أن تلتقط النساء في الحياة والزينة ولترف وما أباحه الشرع لهن، لا يجب أن يكون منغمس هم المسلمات، ولتنكل صفحات التاريخ، ولتطرق أبواق السحر والتراج، لتجد فيها حدائق غناء بزهرات ف فوق غيرها مع كل سطر، زهور نساء خيّرات، زوجات وأمهات وفي نفس الوقت عالمات فقيبات حديثات، تعلم وعلم، وحفظ وحفظ، بل وتفهم وتفهمن.

- واجب النساء في جهاد الأعداء (ص.11)
  وإذا أردت أن تعرّف حالي الأمة فانتظري بمن تقفى ناسها، فإن كنتي تقتدي بالعظائم المجاهدات الصادات القاتلات الصبارات فقد انصرفت الأمة، وإن كنتي تقتدي بالكفارات الكاذبات الصالات المصليات المائات المميلات، فهذه خصاة كبيرة للأمة حقاً.

- وتسائلين عن عملك فيما أفضت من فتى (ص.14)
  أيتها الأخت المسلمات إن الناس لم يخلقوا عبنا حتى يفونها أعمارهم فيما يضرهم في الآخرة ولا ينفعهم.

- واجب النساء في جهاد الأعداء (ص.11)
  وأول تلك النماذج التي نسوقها لك أختي الكريمة - تقفني بها، لا كانت نساء المسلمات مثلها لما ضاع لنا حق ولا انتهكت لنا حرمة إن شاء الله، إنها المجاهدة الشجاعة التي خرجت يوم كان الجهاد جهاد دفع، إنها لم عمارة نسبيةً بنت كعب الأنصارية.

- كوني ردة للمجاهدين (ص.15)
  فيل فكرت في الجوامع وحجابها؟ هل صلت لسانك عن الغبية والتسمية؟ هل طرحت ليلك من التباغض والخضد وهفيت من الغل والجحد؟ هل نفيت عن نفسك الغضب والكبر؟ وهل وقعت روحك على الزهد والقلقعة؟ كيف هو حالك مع الحب؟ وإن أنت - وفك الله من طاعة الزوج وور الوالدين وخدمة المسلمات، وتفصّل كرب المكروبيان؟ وهل تتحرين الحلال والحرم فيما تأكلين وتشرين وتقولين وتتفهمن؟

- تعد الزوجات من منهجي النبوة (ص.13)
  إن من محنة الله عز وجل، ورحمة بإيام أن أباح للرجالة اتخاذ أكثر من زوجة، فيزوج الزوج تحد الزوجة المتغمة من الوقت لعبادة ربي وطلب العلم الشرعي والاعتناء بنفسها وتأثيثهم مبادرهم. ثم إن نحن من النساء من قد بيتليها الله تعالى بالعلم، فلو أنا أفضلاً أن يحب الزوج بخاطره فلا يفتيها على ذمة ويتزوج من أخرى تأتيه بالولد، فتعيش الأولى في كفه يرعاها ويخس بها، أو أن يبقى أبداً دون ذريه مغباً مراوعة مشاعرها.

- طاعة المرأة لزوجها عبادة واجبة (ص.14)
  فكيف تسوغ بعض النساء لأفسيهم الخروج من منازلهن يوم أزواجهن، بل معصيّنهم إن منعوه من ذلك؟ كيف يزن منصبيّن لازواجهن فيما أباح الله لهم أن يتآشو فيه، فضلًا أن يكون أمرهم هو واجب شريعي من التزن بالحجاب، وتجنب للاختلاط، وقرار في البيت؟
لا يجب على المسألة العائلة أن تلقى بال(mm) لما يروّه له أعداء الله من أن التعدد ظلم المرأة، وتعذر على حقوقها، وأن المعدّ قصره وتغليق الإجهاض، ولا يلبث أن يكره، ينميل إلى الإجهاض، وإن هذا البلاط الذي أصاب بعض النساء حتى ينتمي في مصلحة المرأة الأولي ورًا، وإن دون ذلك، إن هذا البلاط الذي أدّى إلى الإجهاض، فتني في حسابه، وقد يزحفها من حجابها، ويعزفها من حسابها، وإن دون ذلك، إن هذا البلاط الذي أدّى إلى الإجهاض، فتني في حسابه، وقد يزحفها من حجابها، ويعزفها من حسابها، وإن دون ذلك، إن هذا البلاط الذي أدّى إلى الإجهاض، فتني في حسابه، وقد يزحفها من حجابها، ويعزفها من حسابها.