

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved
OMB No. 0704-0188

Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing this collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Department of Defense, Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports (0704-0188), 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to any penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number. **PLEASE DO NOT RETURN YOUR FORM TO THE ABOVE ADDRESS.**

1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 12-04-2015			2. REPORT TYPE Master of Military Studies Research Paper			3. DATES COVERED (From - To) September 2014 - April 2015		
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE The Radicalization Engine: Violent Extremism and the Contemporary Media Dynamic						5a. CONTRACT NUMBER N/A		
						5b. GRANT NUMBER N/A		
						5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER N/A		
6. AUTHOR(S) DeSimone, Daryl L., Major, USMC						5d. PROJECT NUMBER N/A		
						5e. TASK NUMBER N/A		
						5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER N/A		
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) USMC Command and Staff College Marine Corps University 2076 South Street Quantico, VA 22134-5068						8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER N/A		
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A						10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S) N/A		
						11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S) N/A		
12. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited.								
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES N/A								
14. ABSTRACT Contemporary media use of Web 2.0 has revolutionized and empowered peaceful and charitable groups worldwide but it has also done the same for violent extremists. Individuals and groups can now propagate their messages and ideologies to global audiences in unprecedented ways. On several societal levels online radicalization, leverages the complementary interplay between new media and traditional media. If examined from a system perspective, the combination of these dynamic forces drives a global engine of radicalization. In the early Web 2.0 period, new media and traditional media engaged in an intense competition for consumers, causing them to combine into the media we see today. Violent extremists now use these capabilities to create new recruits more rapidly than governments, and security services can manage. This Engine will likely persist in its current form, but governments and populations can take steps to mitigate the negative side effects of this phenomenon, while protecting the rights and safety of their population.								
15. SUBJECT TERMS Radicalization, Contemporary Media, Violent Extremism, Terrorism, Narratives, Security Studies								
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:						17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UU	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 34	19a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON Marine Corps University/Command a
a. REPORT Unclass	b. ABSTRACT Unclass	c. THIS PAGE Unclass	19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER (include area code) (703) 784-3330 (Admin Office)					

*United States Marine Corps
Command and Staff College
Marine Corps University
2076 South Street
Marine Corps Combat Development Command
Quantico, Virginia 22134-5068*

MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

**The Radicalization Engine:
Violent Extremism and the Contemporary Media Dynamic**

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF MILITARY STUDIES

Major Daryl DeSimone

AY 14-15

Mentor and Oral Defense Committee Member: Dr. Sebastian Gorka

Approved: 

Date: 12 APR 15.

Oral Defense Committee Member: Dr. Eric Shibuya

Approved: 

Date: 12 APR 15

The worldwide proliferation of Web 2.0 capable mobile devices and streaming technologies¹ has revolutionized and empowered global communication capabilities. Peaceful and charitable individuals and groups can now communicate messages and ideologies to global audiences in unprecedented ways. Unfortunately, violent extremists and other “Bad Actors” also use these capabilities. Extremists leverage the interplay between traditional media institutions and “New Media”² to their violent advantage on every societal level. Contemporary Media (CM)³ dynamics including the traditional media response to CM have intensified previously existing radicalization and victimization media processes to terrible effect. Currently, terrorists and other violent extremists are born far more rapidly than many governments and their security services can handle.⁴

This dynamic threatens the security and sovereignty of all states, but is understandably troublesome for those with weak or brittle social contracts or weak security service capabilities. If we are to understand this phenomenon, we must study it as a system instead of breaking it into its component parts. Only once we are able to define contemporary media interactions and their effects will we be able to devise meaningful ways to amplify the positive, and mitigate the negative forces currently at work. This paper will argue in general for continued study of the radicalization engine and that our government and our society refocus efforts in the ideological and informational sphere but will not advocate any scaling back or reduction of societal access to CM. The benefits of CM far outweigh all of the negatives we will cover.

When we add violent extremist activity to the interplay between New and Traditional Media we get a Radicalization Engine; a destructive global phenomenon. We can understand this complex and chaotic system also by examining the patterns of interaction among its

component parts and by tracking its multiple shifting characteristics. We may eventually achieve adequate understanding of the system but it will never be perfect.⁵ Ideally, the better our understanding, the more positive courses of action become evident.

The internet is not just a marketplace of ideas but of identities; transformed or discovered by people in “long tail”⁶ online marketplaces. Social identities as discussed by Korostelina will play an important role throughout this discussion⁷ and perceived grievances whether real or imagined will also factor heavily, especially as they relate to how modern globalized economies have tended to increase income inequality. With this in mind, and for New Media connected societies, relative deprivation and other highly visible grievance producing sources gain increasing prominence.⁸

Once the claimed domain mostly of governments and elites, information framing and agenda setting national and even international discussions concerning politics/policy, war and other conflicts now belong to everyone connected to the CM. This connectivity effects how states and non-state actors resolve conflicts.⁹ The historic competition between official and unofficial media sources has ebbed and flowed over the years but an educated, free and informed citizenry, engaged and actively participating in a liberal democracy engenders resilience and is a public good.

Increased access to information influences societal elites and governments but empowers everyone. Arguably, empowered individuals and societies do not directly erode state sovereignty but they do change the power ratio between states and individuals/social groups. The relationship is not zero-sum but the ratio does matter.¹⁰ Mobilizing empowered individuals and groups using greed or grievance still requires the diagnosis of a problem, a prognosis for that problem, and a convincing argument for why someone should do something about it.¹¹ Finally,

war being politics/policy by other means,¹² violent extremism arguably exists in a social space one-step further removed from war but not necessarily one step further removed from politics/policy.

Traditional twentieth century media institutions historically functioned to frame important societal debates. This dynamic has continued into the earlier years of the online

information revolution,¹³ but traditional news institutions have found themselves struggling to survive in today's hyper-competitive media markets. One can look back to the French and American Revolutions to see similar political propaganda dissemination through pamphlets or the American "Yellow Press" of the late nineteenth century focusing on crime, sex and other scandalous topics to see historic parallels.¹⁴

The intensity of CM market competition tends to be problematic as it forces an exaggerated and consistent use of emotionally laden and dramatic material to keep viewers engaged, even though this coverage needlessly provokes fear/anger responses.¹⁵ In the United States¹⁶ and the rest of the world,¹⁷ many consider traditional news sources as not fully trustworthy. The New Media Revolution (NMR) has subsumed and eclipsed the ground breaking impact of the 24-hour news cycle as inaugurated by CNN,¹⁸ though CNN does continue to evolve by

Traditional Media:

Often labelled "Old Media" it includes: print media (newspapers, magazines, journals), television and radio broadcasts and other one way communication.

New Media:

Often labelled "non-traditional" media, it incorporates technological advances in computing, communications, mobile device applications, and social media. Also referred to as the New Media Revolution or NMR.

Contemporary Media:

Shortened to CM throughout this document, it is the combination of traditional and non-traditional media into a new and more complex system

regularly embracing social media and mobile technology innovation.¹⁹

Once they matured, twentieth century media agencies for all their faults and biases self-regulated by internal and external forces, both market based or otherwise. Customers held the limited number of large traditional media journalists and editors accountable in generally understood and moderately effective ways mostly because they could keep track of them all. A highly developed system of incentives and punishments consistently guided larger publications toward maintaining more objectivity in reporting²⁰ though Traditional Media no longer retains its loose monopoly on setting agendas and framing issues, it still wields enormous influence in this regard.²¹

The NMR includes various forms of non-traditional media, to include mobile social networks, blogs, and other information sharing applications (apps). Mobile apps continue to further revolutionized public and private information flow. The NMR has broken down barriers to entering the global community, shortened communication delivery and response times, and eliminated distance as a factor.²² As machine translation has improved, it has increasingly reduced language barriers as well.²³ The anonymous and intense nature of some online social interactions contains varying inhibiting factors compared to those that are face-to-face. A thriving virtual, global commons characterized by resonant and emotive messaging and other powerful narratives has proven attractive to many. Truth can be very subjective in the hands of technically gifted, sophisticated users when they are empowered by this tool.

Interpersonal connections reinforced by social media are proving an increasingly important expression tool for discontented populations throughout the world. Few would contest the pervasive influence they exerted in shaping the Arab Spring and its unfortunate degeneration into chaos.²⁴ Social connections are often vital in decisions to join and to remain in politically violent groups.²⁵ The staggering growth of online connectivity with nearly 1.75 billion smart

phone users in the world today²⁶ and well over 1 billion people actively engaged in online social networks underscores the spread of these social connections.²⁷

The explosion of new media has proven beneficial in many ways and at the level of the individual, information access is now often ubiquitous. Users keep in touch with as many people as they wish with very little effort. They can buy almost anything and have it shipped almost anywhere using universally accepted currencies. New Media has even allowed politicians to energize and harness their constituents via micro targeting²⁸ and micro donating.²⁹ The positive benefits of the NMR are abundant. In these ways, it has brought beneficial improvement to how people interact with one another. Modern societies should never wish to go backward because access to information is indispensable to daily modern life. It is likely that modern societies would be unable to back out even if they wished to try but this paper definitely does not suggest anything of the sort as a problem solving approach.

Like traditional media institutions CM possesses complex characteristics but the massive participatory scale of these networks dwarf any historical examples. The CM exhibits an unchanging nature but constantly changing characteristics.³⁰ Theoretically, even if we could measure its conditions perfectly, those measurements would lose relevance over any meaningful time frame.³¹ At the limit of reducibility, the CM still needs a story, a storyteller, and an audience to retain its meaning as a social system. We can still make models of how these three components interact but our models will always fall short of reality.³²

Keeping this in mind CM does produce recognizable patterns and emergent properties; so our modeling efforts continue to aid our understanding.³³ Emergent properties though, often defy prediction and refuse to remain bound by our efforts to describe them, so flexibility of mind and a willingness to accept risk will prove necessary when one approaches any complex societal

problem like the Radicalization Engine. The “Black Swan” phenomenon as described by Nassim Nicholas Taleb in his book of the same name posits that even when societies recognize larger patterns, unpredictable occurrences will still invariably take them by surprise despite their best efforts.³⁴

Nonlinearity: In a CM dominated environment, predicting what will gain attention requires little imagination but knowing what will fade in to the background or go viral still remains unpredictable. The timeline of a story often does not follow a linear pattern because stories break all of the time; some make a huge splash immediately while others sit in relative obscurity until some unpredictable quality or factor of the story reaches critical mass. This latent period can vary dramatically and is itself unpredictable.³⁵

High Sensitivity to Initial Conditions:³⁶ A newspaper cartoon of a religious figure may have very little impact on a European audience but in some countries of the Middle East, it might spark furious outrage and riots. Context and perspective dramatically influence how an audience reacts to a CM product. This sensitivity to initial conditions also changes over time in a feedback loop between the audience, the story, and the storyteller.

Incomprehensibility If Broken Into Component Parts: A blogger, a news editor, a freelance journalist, a subway passenger, a disenfranchised youth and a family of four may have very little in common yet they all play a role in the CM. Isolating each of them and studying how they produce or consume media will gain us very little. We must examine components interacting within the system if we wish to understand CM because it generates massive amounts of unprocessed data and information. Governments are usually limited by insufficient financial and human resources; they using incomplete, confusing, and/or misleading metrics, and tend to

harbor cultural and linguistic biases. All of these factors contribute to the inherent difficulties of distilling appropriate and timely meaning from it all.

Changeable by Observation Alone: Even a near perfect image of CM data will not reflect reality because the act of observation alone introduces more energy into the system. CM competition for consumers intensifies many previously existing media characteristics in this regard. Stories now break out of the background noise if they are to resonate with a target audience. Stories thrive by being compelling, provocative, emotive, and sometimes even shocking but whom they affect can be more important than how many. Decision makers, whether politician, CEO, or military commander, often point to particular stories as pivotal to their decision making process.

Emergent Qualities: Emergent qualities abound in the CM and include: internet memes, viral videos, mutating extremist propaganda, Social Media fueled unrest, as well as the life cycle of the innumerable applications and publications living merging and dying in the global capitalist marketplace. We can only predict that many new and emerging information technologies will continue to impact the CM related system in completely unpredictable ways with far reaching cascading effects.

Indirect Effects:³⁷ There are countless plausible indirect and counterintuitive effects possible in a CM dominated environment.³⁸ A dictatorial regime decides it can no longer tolerate dissent, so it shuts down a popular news organization or social media platform. This move backfires and a popular uprising results. A minority politician performs very well in a televised debate and galvanizes her constituency but this drives the majority candidate to an extreme political position in order to counteract her success. The debate polarizes and the minority opinion ends up losing more than they gain from the election had the debate not taken place.

Keeping these many system effects in mind, it should not be a surprise to note that many traditional media institutions failed to adapt to the changing CM environment. The NMR threatened the survival of many of these traditional media institutions.³⁹ Even CNN now exists as just one (though still highly relevant) conglomerate Media Corporation among the many. The competition is intense and every niche interest owns a virtual venue and an online constituency: Radio and Television talk shows, Infotainment News Channels (FOX News and MSNBC), Political comedy/satire (Jon Stewart, Stephen Colbert), Information corporations (RAND, JANES, Heritage, Brookings), internet news aggregators⁴⁰ and internet portals like Yahoo and Google, Blogs, Twitter Feeds, YouTube Accounts, Podcasts, and Webcasts, email campaigns.

While old media struggles to adapt and remain relevant, sheer volume often overwhelms information consumers.⁴¹ This overabundance of information forces people to filter what they receive.⁴² Unfortunately, when filtering out noise and other uninteresting information people tend limit their number of sources in alignment with an entrenched belief system or worldview. Even if we did not self-filter our sources, information giants such as Facebook and Google have instituted what Eli Pariser calls the “Filter Bubble” and have been doing it since 2009.⁴³ The Filter Bubble tailors online experiences to give the consumer what the service provider thinks the consumer wants. This works fantastic when Netflix recommends movies to regular customers, but applied to contentious and emotional societal or political issues it invites disaster. Information consumers, unaware of the filtering could be led to minority or extreme viewpoints while remaining unaware of the automatic filtering. Large numbers of information consumers possessing heavily reinforced beliefs meet conflicting realities; some may conceivably react in counterproductive or even dangerous ways.

At the national level, mass media does continue to provide us with timely information concerning important life issues and world events. Reporters and journalists examine and compellingly explain to us natural disasters, political events and international conflicts in professional and entertaining ways. In the Boston Marathon Bombing case, media coverage was harshly criticized.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, due to time-based competition, the media coverage tended to be overdone and sensationalized. Media representatives often consciously inform viewers that their reporting is based upon incomplete information but these efforts are often lost in the mix.

The intense competition between media organizations has caused both new and traditional media to adopt the successful forms and functions of their competitors. Those who refuse to adapt are gone, grim examples of, “Digital Darwinism” or “Media Darwinism”⁴⁵ and since CM is hyper-connected, chaotic, complex, emotional, and overtly political in nature its efficacy grows as it becomes more connected. Metcalfe’s Law⁴⁶ argues persuasively that CM sources will continue to gain importance until they achieve Lock-In.⁴⁷ Lock-In takes effect when a consumer chooses to remain in a network even though options that are more valuable become available. The exorbitant exit costs involved in exiting from a network like this, whether short-term utility losses or long-term exclusion from social connections, inhibits most invested in a huge network from ever leaving.

Vladimir Lenin and Mau Tse Tung both grappled with how to mobilize societies successfully. They diagnosed major problems and then tried to convince others of their diagnoses. Once accomplished, each needed to sell their own particular prognosis as well in mobilizing people to act. People often mobilize through grievances or by other pivotal emotional events⁴⁸, though greed usually keeps them motivated over the long run.⁴⁹ The CM accentuates these initially motivating emotional events and magnifies their effect to gain

viewers/readers/listeners. By percentage of population, those engaging and believing in the diagnosis and prognosis can be lower than the historical average of earlier conflicts for many reasons including positive governmental and societal countermeasures, but since the CM reaches such a larger overall number of people, the pool of possible actors will grow.

A possible violent extremist non-state actor today experiences far more opportunities to engage an issue because of this coverage and because long tail markets are there to provide a tailor made issue or grievance. Impressing upon target audiences the need to act has historically been the last and most difficult hurdle but now relative deprivation and other sources of grievance provide constant motivators. Of course, we must not underestimate the positive power shown by this phenomenon. Crowd sourcing, online petitions, grassroots campaigns have all exerted positive influences on society because the CM proved effective in motivating them to act.⁵⁰

Regardless, individuals and small groups radicalize more rapidly and in larger numbers than ever⁵¹ and new recruits and supporters emerge faster than law enforcement entities or kinetic means can hope to eliminate them. Both secular⁵² and religious based extremists have proven more adept at utilizing the CM than governments.⁵³ Radical propaganda and violent events capture public attention, and effectively set political agendas, giving extremists the upper hand in their ideological battles against both democratic and authoritarian governments alike.

Many disagree about the radicalization process, especially about how people actually go through it, A detailed research effort by Alex P. Schmid lists three levels of analysis: Micro or individual, Meso or the wider radical milieu, and macro meaning the government and society abroad being the main drivers of radicalization.⁵⁴ He also argues radicals are open to discussing and debating ideas while extremists close their minds and prove much less amenable to

ideological engagement.⁵⁵ This argument underscores the need for a continuous public discourse to clarify common definitions and terms as their meanings shift.

For our purposes here, it is sufficient to recognize that whether linear or otherwise, a large number of drivers and catalysts work in combination for radicalization to occur. Perhaps chief among such factors is exposure to dramatic and/or traumatic events, often portrayed online or in the media. Repeated exposures can lead to desensitization but when an event breaks through this barrier, emotionally charged coverage can spur a desire to engage; to do something about the newly formed grievance, to fight for others and altruistically join a cause larger than oneself.⁵⁶

We have covered how traditional media has been forced to adapt to the now highly competitive and dynamic information market; this adaptation has blurred the line between traditional and new media. For instance, every news site now offers a forum/comments section for readers and listeners to engage directly with each other on a topic. These venues tend to draw out people willing to write or say things they would never say in public.

The internet then is no longer just “the internet”. The CM has blended all of the capabilities and efficiencies gained over the last decade and combined them and the reaction of traditional media toward new media has made much of the difference. Adaptation born from the fierce competition has erased all boundary lines between the internet, traditional media, and new media.⁵⁷

Stephen Peter Rosen wrote in “War and Human Nature” how emotionally laden coverage sets people in a state of mind to react emotionally to similar future patterns. Memories formed under times of emotional stress and crises are longer lasting and much easier to recall from memory. The patterns created by this dynamic move to the unconscious parts of the psyche and

short circuit rational calculations under certain circumstances. Ultimately, time compressed decisions rely heavily on our predispositions and we then modify them later as additional information becomes available. How we make subconscious or emotionally based decisions therefore, depend heavily upon initial assumptions and preliminary decision-making patterns.⁵⁸

Taking this all into account, governments, the private sector and civil society must do more to address violent extremists' abuses of the CM Current strategies punish violent offenders, ban extremist material and shut down obvious extremist presences, but this action only treats the symptoms of the greater problem. Many measures are marginally effective at best and at worst, they do more harm than good because they take freedoms away from law abiding citizens.

The State's monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force can be eroded over time and directly challenged by terrorists when violence is used to compete for the support of the population.⁵⁹ When terrorists, revolutionaries, insurgents or organized criminals use force they weaken that monopoly in various indirect ways. It is logical to deduce that their intentions and/or actions put stress on a state's ability to provide security and governance regardless of the initially perception of legitimacy of that state. This stress can be argued to occur regardless of value judgments ascribed to the goals, intentions, or grievances of the terrorist group. Historically, terrorists have also sought to instigate and then take advantage of government overreaction as well as to capitalize on a government's inability or unwillingness to act.⁶⁰ When governments do not provide appropriate security, governance and public goods and services, they play into this violent dilemma.

In the western political tradition, freedom of speech, religion and expression are considered cornerstones of democratic representative governments as well as basic human rights.⁶¹ The exploitation of CM by violent extremists for information distribution weakens those

cornerstones because governments invariably react by curtailing or limiting free speech and expression rights. Government efforts in this way are understandable but arguably feed into violent extremist narratives concerning government oppression. Monitoring extremist efforts and mining them for intelligence can curtail freedoms but might be a better approach. When the media's attention span is captured by the brutality of terrorism, events tend to be examined both publicly and thoroughly. Indeed, details are reported in excruciating detail with special emphasis on the emotionally compelling storylines, which can serve the interests of those who might use the CM to intentionally destabilizing or violent ends.

Recruiting, financing, organizing, validating, and justifying actions are the sine qua non of violent extremism. How did these "bad actors" learn to propagate their ideologies and narratives so effectively? The CM has been an excellent teacher. Ideological extremists tend to crave the sound of like-minded voices in ideological echo chambers⁶² and more of these programs exist today than ever before. They sacrifice credibility for sensationalism and objectivity for emotional appeal and use cleverly emotive techniques not only in what they choose to cover but how they package their messaging with music and imagery as very strong drivers for emotional engagement.⁶³

Charles Perrow argues in *Normal Accidents* that "complex systems often fail because of the failure of several components, each of which would have been harmless had the others not occurred."⁶⁴ While he was discussing a high technology system like nuclear reactors here, the lesson is applicable to the issue at hand. An innumerable number of factors cause states to collapse or fail but not all aspects in a state need fail for this to occur. Robert Rotberg lists the media and civil society as factors important to the success or failure of a state; information as a factor cuts across all others in this regard.⁶⁵

With this in mind, ceding the sphere of social media to violent extremists and other “bad actors” would be a huge mistake. There have been several initiatives in the United States and in Europe to leverage newer media technologies to better secure populations from threats. The US Department of State’s “Think Again, Turn Away” Program may be the most visible.⁶⁶ These efforts are important because violent extremists are manufactured within the radicalization engine because the CM provides unlimited mobilizing material for them.

An informed population remains a public good and they do stay informed through CM, but they are also victimized because successful terrorists are guaranteed that their theatre will play for a sold out audience. Both sides are very proficient in this symbiotic relationship and the process has improved in effectiveness and efficiency over time. Stuck in the ‘gears’ of the engine, politicians are forced to shorten their decision time horizon while populations watch and participate. People can end up struggling with symptoms of post-traumatic stress even when they are nowhere near the actual violent or traumatic event.⁶⁷ The reduced timelines often leads to government overreaction or paralysis; terrorist groups capitalize on this dynamic and work to repeat the process.

When legitimate and well-intentioned states fail to compete against extremists’ use of these technologies or if they do so in a weak and disjointed manner, violent extremist populations will continue to grow. Government strategic communication and messaging efforts today⁶⁸ struggle to counter extremist messaging because governments are slower in reacting and often burdened by bureaucratic hurdles. An additional danger arises when decisions are made at lower levels of government who prove unable or unwilling to deliver on them. In some non-western cases, traditional media sources are government influenced or government controlled. Because these governments consistently propagate a unified message, the damage can be far

reaching when they are proven to be lying. Here the “Say-Do Gap”⁶⁹ creates an environment of distrust between those governments and their target population and the distrust feeds the violence and hampers efforts to develop and distribute effective competing narratives. Responsible governments have proven slow to understand and even slower to react to this paradigm.

As previously mentioned, the NMR arguably began when CNN ushered in the 24-hour news cycle.⁷⁰ News coverage gained depth and breadth never before seen. Not only are there now multiple 24-hour news coverage sources but society is penetrated all the way down to the most personal of social media levels. New Media now directly influences political attention on issues in ways far more powerful and time sensitive than traditional media was ever capable.⁷¹ The United States disaster response to Hurricane Katrina in 2005 was one of the first large scale disasters covered by the earlier NMR. The large numbers of false reports and bias shown at this time were later revealed, but the damage to government legitimacy had already been done.⁷² The reduction in allotted time for elected leaders to make sober policy decisions has shortened their decision making process. This adds to the damage done when a government is unable or unwilling to act in a crisis or when it overreacts. Government legitimacy is negatively impacted either way, especially if that government is portrayed as out of touch with the pace of events or uncaring for the human suffering taking place.

Current negative repercussions and abuses of CM are benefitting terrorists while existing policies have proven incapable of mitigating them. Consequently, some adjustments to policy or strategy are necessary. Any approaches to countering extremist groups must take into account that political extremists will continue to misuse media and communication technology. This misuse, if not checked, will build upon an ever-increasing number of violent extremists both abroad and at home. Whole communities can radicalize and may vote into power political

parties favouring the use of violence over peaceful political processes, with recent examples including Hamas in the Gaza Strip and (arguably) the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. These types of cases could be the greatest threat to emerging democracies throughout the world.

Of recent public policy concern has been the unprecedented numbers of foreign fighters in Syria including from Europe and the United States. Those not killed in action will return to their home countries with a powerful personal story. Currently, as they fight they remain connected to their supporters at home through social media. During their time in country and beyond they will tell their story with images and videos, and as it unfolds it will feed the cycle of radicalization and recruitment further.

The extremist narratives used by active foreign fighters highlights the immorality of the West and claims the west is at war against Islam. In the Syrian conflict they consider themselves soldiers while their followers and supporters consider them heroes. This sentiment within the extremist narrative works against security force and societal efforts to counter all types of violent extremism.

There is no silver bullet to combat the negative uses of CM in the world. However, several conclusions and recommendations require further elaboration: First, do not act to avoid, limit or restrict the reach of CM because to do so will provide fertile ground for violent extremists to radicalize, organize, finance, train and recruit. CM poses problems as has been discussed, but provides much in the way of solutions.

Second, the Western governments and educational and media institutions must increase investment into proactively crafting competing narratives as opposed to reactively using counter narratives because using counter narratives cedes the initiative. Western civil societies must construct clear and resonant competing narratives especially within their counter-radicalization

efforts. To do otherwise continues to allow violent extremists to frame and set the agendas of the debate. This must be communicated to populations using private and public CM tools to mitigate, limit and possibly even reverse violent extremist successes in the area of ideology. This will be more effective than reacting after the damage is done and will assist in reducing recruitment pools and support for violent extremism.

Take a simplified Al Qaeda Master Narrative as an example: The West is at war with Islam. It is every Muslim's duty to defend the Ummah. You are obligated to join this fight in order to protect the Ummah and restore proper Islamic governance according to Sharia.⁷³ A counter-narrative would argue: The west is not at war with Islam. Democracy is not incompatible with Islam and democracy is the best form of government for protecting the rights and freedoms of all people. While the elements of counter-narrative need to be communicated to the world, it is inadequate because, it requires Al Qaeda's frame of reference to exist.

A more dynamic and resonant competing narrative might look like this: "Sunni Islam is at war with itself. Sunni Islam is at war with Shia Islam. Radical Islam is at war with the West. Radical Islam's war with the West is a symptom of Islam's current internal struggles. The souls of all Muslims are at stake in these current struggles and it is the duty of every Muslim to reject Islamist Extremism." A competing narrative can win in an ideological war in ways that counter narratives are unable.

Once these narratives have been constructed, Governments and other security institutions must attempt to educate traditional and non-traditional media providers as well as civil society groups and the private sector employees. If academic institutions and security institutions partner to educate themselves and others, all parties will benefit.⁷⁴ All need to be aware of the full range of positive and negative uses of CM. Publishing a list of best practices will also

encourage organizations (public, private, social, religious) to consciously recognize future credible threats to public safety and will encourage them to make future decisions with a better understanding of their potentially negative impacts.

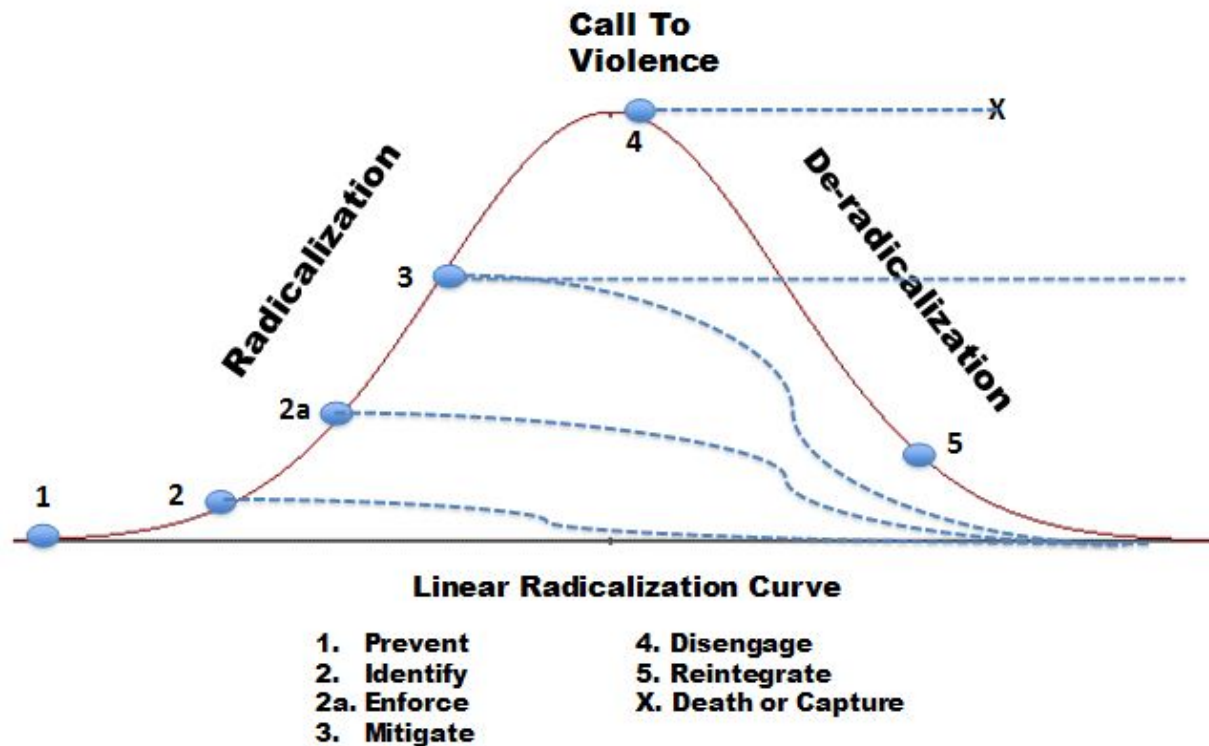
After implementing an education plan security minded institutions must be willing to develop an interdisciplinary strategic communication response to combat extremist radicalization and recruiting efforts. Official U.S. Government agencies currently are working to counter this phenomenon but often lack support.⁷⁵ Law enforcement and intelligence agencies need to focus on conducting community policing, public diplomacy and strategic messaging in order to weaken and reduce the effectiveness of extremist narratives and ideology.

Third, we must dedicate ourselves to further study. Commission a comprehensive study of current private and public institutional efforts at combating extremist messaging and recruiting. The data thus gained can further connect and harmonize the efforts of these entities and identify new potential media vehicles for combating violent extremism. Emerging technologies will play a key role here.

This further study must support nongovernmental organizations' efforts to combat extremism. NGOs are very well placed in society to compete with and counter violent extremist narratives. They are far enough away from official circles to be a trusted source of information and are likely to be the most effective tool for free societies to counter the power of non-traditional media and its empowerment of foreign fighters and other violent extremists. Great care must be taken by governments and by private media enterprises to not discredit NGO's in the eyes of the population by way of overt government support.

Finally, we must implement an all-level whole society approach to combat violent extremism within the existing social work apparatus to prevent radicalization, interdict potential

extremists on the path to radicalization and appropriately addressing the hard-core terrorist and true irredeemable.



⁷⁶ Image Source: Major Jeremy Thompson, USMC, from GCMC PTSS 13-7, National CbT Strategy Project.

Within these efforts we must facilitate the reintegration of extremists who peacefully disengage or de-radicalize back into society. There are now de-radicalization programs spread throughout the globe which must be studied and evaluated in much greater detail.⁷⁷ There are also potential lessons to be learned from difficulties experienced in reintegrating western military forces back into society after their combat deployments to places like Afghanistan and Iraq.⁷⁸ These lessons, if used correctly and in tandem with best practices from the 40 or so de-radicalization programs currently active throughout the world, may provide a relatively low-cost method to improve our current efforts and will reduce the negative effects of blanket incarceration for returning foreign fighters and other violent extremists.

CM is here to stay but the Radicalization Engine can be mitigated. This paper has aimed at identifying it as a complex system and highlighting and defining many of its characteristics. It has attempted to defend its many positives while recognizing its dark side. Embracing CM in our efforts to combat the Radicalization Engine will provide the greatest return on societal investments as will engaging violent extremists in the realm of ideology with competing narratives. Finally, comprehensive efforts can be implemented within the existing social services and NGO framework in the West. If societies wish to be empowered by CM they must also shoulder responsibility for and work to limit its abuses without infringing upon the rights and freedoms of their citizens.

¹ DiNucci, Darcy. "Fragmented Future." *Print Magazine*, April 1999. Accessed April 7, 2015. http://darcy.com/fragmented_future.pdf.

² New Media includes Web 2.0, and has revolutionized the contemporary media landscape. It is often referred to as the New Media Revolution or NMR. For more information see: Bjerre, Anders, and Klaus Mogenson. "The New Media Revolution." *The New Media Revolution*. January 2012. Accessed April 06, 2015. <http://www.cifs.dk/scripts/artikel.asp?id=2359&lng=2>.

³ New Media combined with Traditional Media will be referred to as Contemporary Media (CM) throughout this paper.

⁴ "Emerging Threats by Foreign Fighters, Communication Technologies Must Be Confronted in Fight against Terrorism, Stresses Sixth Committee | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases." UN News Center. October 8, 2014. Accessed April 07, 2015. <http://www.un.org/press/en/2014/gal3476.doc.htm>.

⁵ Popper, Karl R. *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. London: Routledge, 2002. Page 458n

⁶ Anderson, Chris. "The Long Tail ." *Wired* 12.10: The Long Tail. October 2004. Accessed April 07, 2015. <http://archive.wired.com/wired/archive/12.10/tail.html>. Long Tail marketplaces are profitable when inventory space is virtually unlimited and the less popular products can be sold cheaply to enough niche consumers to make a profit. Companies like Netflix, Amazon, and iTunes have all cashed in on long tail market forces.

⁷ Korostelina, Karina V. *Social Identity and Conflict; Structures, Dynamics, and Implications* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) (Chapter 1)

⁸ Gurr, Ted Robert, *Why Men Rebel*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Pub., 2011.

⁹ "Constructivism | Learning Theories." Learning Theories. Accessed April 07, 2015. <http://www.learning-theories.com/constructivism.html>.

¹⁰ Schmidt, Eric, and Jared Cohen. *The New Digital Age: Reshaping the Future of People, Nations and Business*.

¹¹ Ballantine, Karen, and Heiko Nitzschke. *Beyond Greed and Grievance: Policy Lessons from Studies in the Political Economy of Armed Conflict*. Report. New York, NY: International Peace Academy, 2003.

¹² Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976)

¹³ Dahlberg, Lincoln. "Rethinking the Fragmentation of the Cyberpublic: From Consensus to Contestation." *New Media & Society* 9, no. 5 (October 2007): 827-47. Accessed April 07, 2015. doi:10.1177/1461444807081228.

¹⁴ Berry, David. 2009. *Journalism, Ethics and Society*. Abingdon, Oxon, GBR: Ashgate Publishing Group, Chapter 1

¹⁵ Gross, Kimberly, and Lisa D'Ambrosio. "Framing Emotional Response." *Political Psychology* 25, no. 1 (February 2004): 1-29. Accessed April 07, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792521>

-
- ¹⁶ "Press Accuracy Rating Hits Two Decade Low." Pew Research Center for the People and the Press RSS. September 13, 2009. Accessed April 07, 2015. <http://www.people-press.org/2009/09/13/press-accuracy-rating-hits-two-decade-low/>.
- ¹⁷ Wyatt, Wendy N. "Section IV." In *The Ethics of Journalism: Individual, Institutional and Cultural Influences*, 229-64. London: I.B. Tauris, 2014.
- ¹⁸ Belknap, Margaret H. *The CNN Effect: Strategic Enabler or Operational Risk?* Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2001.
- ¹⁹ O'Donovan, Caroline. "CNN, Anywhere: How TV Everywhere Strategy Is Evolving in the World of Cable News." Nieman Lab. September 24, 2014. Accessed March 26, 2015. <http://www.niemanlab.org/2014/09/cnn-anywhere-how-tv-everywhere-strategy-is-evolving-in-the-world-of-cable-news/>.
- ²⁰ Tambini, Dr. Damian, LSE. "Media Ethics in the New Media Landscape: New Paper." Polis. September 14, 2010. Accessed April 07, 2015. <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/polis/2010/09/14/media-ethics-in-the-new-media-landscape-new-paper/>.
- ²¹ Editors are able to choose which stories are on the front page and they are able to write the story title. In addition, by what type of topics and questions asked, a skilled journalist or news reporter can frame a story in very influential ways.
- ²² Kaltenbrunner, Andreas, Yana Volkovich, Dave Currie, Erik J. Jutemar, Salvatore Scellato, David Laniado, and Cecilia Mascolo. "Far from the Eyes, Close on the Web: Impact of Geographic Distance on Online Social Interactions: The Persistent Effect of Geographic Distance in Acquisition Target Selection." *Organization Science* 24, no. 6 (November 01, 2013): 1805-826. Accessed April 8, 2015. <http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~cm542/papers/wosn12-kaltenbrunner.pdf>.
- ²³ See http://translate.google.com/about/intl/en_ALL/index.html
- ²⁴ Philip N. Howard, University Of Washington, Aiden Duffy University Of Washington, Deen Freelon American University, and Muzammil Hussain University Of Washington. *Opening Closed Regimes*, September 11, 2011. Accessed April 6, 2015. http://pitpi.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/2011_Howard-Duffy-Freelon-Hussain-Mari-Mazaid_pITPI.pdf.
- ²⁵ Della Porta, D. (1995) *Social movements, political violence, and the state: A comparative analysis of Italy and Germany*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- ²⁶ "Smartphone Users Worldwide Will Total 1.75 Billion in 2014 - EMarketer." *Smartphone Users Worldwide Will Total 1.75 Billion in 2014 - EMarketer*. January 16, 2014. Accessed April 08, 2015. <http://www.emarketer.com/Article/Smartphone-Users-Worldwide-Will-Total-175-Billion-2014/1010536>
- ²⁷ Malukas, Mantas. "Social Media Facts 2013." *Social Media Facts 2013*. October 13, 2013. Accessed April 08, 2015. <http://visual.ly/social-media-facts-2013>.
- ²⁸ Microtargeting allows a politician to focus resources on potential voters by analysing their relevant demographic information. Those deemed reachable are focused on with actual phone calls, door to door visits and robotic calls. <http://www.mediabizbloggers.com/group-m/How-Data-and-Micro-Targeting-Won-the-2012-Election-for-Obama---Antony-Young-Mindshare-North-America.html>
- ²⁹ Micro-donating targets large numbers of people and solicits very small political donations. The sheer volume of participation can bring in significant political campaign financing at a grass roots level. <http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2010/11/fundly-facebook-millions-in-micro-donations-for-campaigns334/>
- ³⁰ This idea has been adapted from the nature of war found in Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976), 75-89. The system theory approach to understanding media characteristics was originally discussed in an unpublished paper written by this author for a System Theory Elective from the academic year 2015 at Command and Staff College at Marine Corps University.
- ³¹ See <http://www.askamathematician.com/2011/10/q-what-is-the-three-body-problem/>
- ³² Gleick, *Chaos*, 48.
- ³³ Antoine Bousquet, "Chaoplex Warfare or the Future of Military Organization," *International Affairs*, 84 (2008), 915-929.
- ³⁴ Nassim Nicholas Taleb. *The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable*. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2010.

- ³⁵ Robert Jervis, *System Effects: complexity in political and social life* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997) 12., And Somaiya, Ravi, and Leslie Kaufman. "If a Story Is Viral, Truth May Be Taking a Beating." *The New York Times*. December 09, 2013. Accessed April 09, 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/10/business/media/if-a-story-is-viral-truth-may-be-taking-a-beating.html?_r=0.
- ³⁴ James Gleick, *Chaos: making a new science* (New York: Penguin, 1988), 24., And Peter Coveney and Roger Highfield, *Complexity: The Search For Order in a Chaotic World* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1996), 9
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 29
- ³⁸ These CM system characteristics were adapted for this paper from a paper written by the author for Barbara Ferguson's Media Elective at Marine Corps University on 10 March, 2015.
- ³⁹ Mutter, Allan D. "New Rules for Mobile Journalism." *REFLECTIONS OF A NEWSOSAUR* (blog), November 12, 2014. Accessed April 8, 2015. <http://newsosaur.blogspot.com/>.
- ⁴⁰ <http://lifelifehacker.com/5845798/five-best-news-aggregator>
- ⁴¹ Schenk, David, (1997): "Data Smog: Surviving the information glut." San Francisco: Harper Collins.
- ⁴² Silvia Knobloch-Westerwick, (2014) "Choice and Preference in Media Use: Advances in Selective Exposure Theory and Research" London: Routledge
- ⁴³ Eli Pariser, *The Filter Bubble*. Since 2009 Google and others have begun filtering our results based upon our online, demographic and geographic profile.
- ⁴⁴ Siddiqui, Sabrina. "Boston Bombings Reveal Media Full Of Mistakes, False Reports (VIDEO)." *The Huffington Post*. April 22, 2013. Accessed April 08, 2015. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/22/boston-bombings-media-mistakes_n_3135105.html.
- ⁴⁵ <http://www.briansolis.com/tag/digital-darwinism/> accessed 26 March 2015
- ⁴⁶ <https://www.cs.umd.edu/~golbeck/downloads/Web20-SW-JWS-webVersion.pdf>
- ⁴⁷ Pariser, *The Filter Bubble*, Chapter 1
- ⁴⁸ Collier, P. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4 (2004): 563-95. Accessed April 9, 2015. doi:10.1093/oeq/gpf064.
- ⁴⁹ Ballantine and Nitzschke. *Beyond Greed and Grievance*, 2003.
- ⁵⁰ De La Mata, Guadalupe. "My 10 Favorite Crowdsourcing Platforms for Social Good - Innovation for Social Change." *Innovation for Social Change* (blog), September 03, 2013. Accessed April 08, 2015. <http://innovationforsocialchange.org/my-8-favorite-crowdsourcing-and-crowdfunding-platforms-for-social-good/?lang=en>.
- ⁵¹ McCauley, Clark PhD and Moskalenko, Sophia PhD. (2011) *Friction: How radicalization happens to them and us*. Ch. 4. Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.
- ⁵² Beckhusen, Robert. "Here's How Far-Right Extremists Recruit on Twitter | WIRED." *Wired.com*. March 29, 2013. Accessed March 26, 2015. <http://www.wired.com/2013/03/twitter-extremists/>.
- ⁵³ "Homegrown Islamic Extremism in 2013." *Homegrown Islamic Extremism in 2013*. March 17, 2014. Accessed March 26, 2015. <http://www.adl.org/combatting-hate/international-extremism-terrorism/c/homegrown-islamic-extremism-2013.html#.VRSyBpmjOm5>.
- ⁵⁴ Alex P. Schmid. "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review." *Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review*, March 2013. Accessed April 1, 2015. http://www.icct.nl/download/file/ICCT-Schmid-Radicalisation-De-Radicalisation-Counter-Radicalisation-March-2013_2.pdf. 4.
- ⁵⁵ Alex Schmid, *Radicalisation...*, 8-9.
- ⁵⁶ Checkland, Peter, and John Poulter. "Preamble." Introduction to *Learning for Action: A Short Definitive Account of Soft Systems Methodology and Its Use for Practitioner, Teachers, and Students*. Chichester, England: Wiley, 2006.
- ⁵⁷ UNODC Publication, Chapter 1, Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes.
- ⁵⁸ This entire paragraph summarizes much of what Stephen Peter Rosen writes in Chapter two of, *War and Human Nature*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007
- ⁵⁹ Weber, Max. *Politics as a Vocation*. In *Essays in Sociology*, edited by H.H. Garth and C. Wright Mills, 26-45. New York: Macmillian, 1946.

⁶⁰ John Mueller. *Reactions and Overreactions to Terrorism. Prepared for presentation at the 25th Anniversary Conflict Studies Conference, "Terrorism in History: The Strategic Impact of Terrorism From Sarajevo 1914 to 9/11," Centre for Conflict Studies, University of New Brunswick, October 14-15, 2005*

⁶¹ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (United Nations General Assembly resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex), art 19, para 2.

⁶² Torok, Rohyn (2013) 'Developing an explanatory model for the process of online radicalization and terrorism', *Security Informatics*, 2(6).

⁶³ Blood, Anne J., and Robert J. Zatorre. *Intensely Pleasurable Responses to Music Correlate with Activity in Brain Regions Implicated in Reward and Emotion*. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 98.20 (2001): 11818–11823. 26 Mar, 2015.

⁶⁴ Perrow, Charles. *Normal Accidents: Living with High-risk Technologies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.

⁶⁵ Rotberg, Robert I. "The Failure and Collapse of Nation States." In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.

⁶⁶ "Department of State Twitter Feed." Think Again, Turn Away. Accessed April 8, 2015. https://twitter.com/ThinkAgain_DOS/with_replies.

⁶⁷ Frank W. Putnam (2002). Televised Trauma and Viewer PTSD: Implications for Prevention. *Psychiatry: Interpersonal and Biological Processes*: Vol. 65, No. 4, pp. 310-312.

⁶⁸ Schmid, Alex P. "ICCT Commentaries." ICCT. April 18, 2014. Accessed April 08, 2015. <http://www.icct.nl/publications/icct-commentaries/terrorism-research-and-government>.

⁶⁹ Copeland, Daryl P. "PD's Most Formidable Adversary: The Say-Do Gap." *PD's Most Formidable Adversary: The Say-Do Gap* (blog), June 16, 2009. Accessed April 08, 2015. http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/pds_most_formidable_adversary_the_say_do_gap.

⁷⁰ Bjerre, and Mogenson. "The New Media Revolution."

⁷¹ Belknap, *The CNN Effect: Strategic Enabler or Operational Risk?*

⁷² Sommers, Samuel R., Evan P. Apfelbaum, Kristin N. Dukes, Negin Toosi, and Elsie J. Wang. "Race and Media Coverage of Hurricane Katrina: Analysis, Implications, and Future Research Questions." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 6, no. 1 (2006): 39-55. Accessed April 8, 2015. doi:10.1111/j.1530-2415.2006.00103.x.

⁷³ "(U//FOUO) Open Source Center Al-Qaeda Master Narratives Report | Public Intelligence." Public Intelligence. May 2012. Accessed April 08, 2015. <https://publicintelligence.net/osc-al-qaeda-master-narratives/>.

⁷⁴ Schmid, "ICCT Commentaries."

⁷⁵ Hume, Tim. "Why the U.S. Government Is 'trolling' Terrorists on Social Media - CNN.com." CNN. June 3, 2014. Accessed April 08, 2015. http://www.cnn.com/2014/04/18/world/jihadist-twitter-state-department-trolls-terrorists/index.html?hpt=hp_t2.

⁷⁶ This concept was originally developed by Major Jeremy Thompson, USMC during the 13-7 iteration of the Program on Terrorism and Security Studies at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch Germany. It has been used here with his permission.

⁷⁷ Horgan, John G. "De-radicalization Programs Offer Hope in Countering Terrorism." *Los Angeles Times*. February 13, 2015. Accessed April 08, 2015. <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-0215-horgan-terrorist-deradicalization-20150215-story.html>.

⁷⁸ Doyle, Michael E., and Kris A. Peterson. "Re-Entry and Reintegration: Returning Home after Combat." *Psychiatric Quarterly* 76, no. 4 (2005): 361-70. doi:10.1007/s11126-005-4972-z.

Bibliography

About-Enein, Youssef H., and Sherifa Zuhur. *Islamic Rulings on Warfare*. Carlisle Barracks, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College, 2004.

Ali, Ayaan Hirsi. *Infidel*. New York: Free Press, 2007.

Anderson, Chris. "The Long Tail ." *Wired* 12.10: The Long Tail. October 2004. Accessed April 07, 2015. <http://archive.wired.com/wired/archive/12.10/tail.html>.

Axelrod, Robert M. *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books, 1984.

Ball, Terence, and Richard Dagger. *Ideals and Ideologies: A Reader*. New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1995.

Ball, Terence, and Richard Dagger. *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*. New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1995.

Ballantine, Karen, and Heiko Nitzschke. *Beyond Greed and Grievance: Policy Lessons from Studies in the Political Economy of Armed Conflict*. Report. New York, NY: International Peace Academy, 2003.

Baran, Zeyno. *Hizb Ut-Tahrir: Islam's Political Insurgency*. Washington, D. C.: Nixon Center, 2004.

Beckhusen, Robert. "Here's How Far-Right Extremists Recruit on Twitter | WIRED."
Wired.com. March 29, 2013. Accessed March 26, 2015.
<http://www.wired.com/2013/03/twitter-extremists/>.

- Belknap, Margaret H. *The CNN Effect: Strategic Enabler or Operational Risk?* Carlisle Barracks, PA: U.S. Army War College, 2001.
- Berkowitz, Bruce D. *The New Face of War: How War Will Be Fought in the 21st Century*. New York: Free Press, 2003.
- Berry, David. *Journalism, Ethics and Society*. Farnham, England: Ashgate Pub., 2008.
- Bjerre, Anders, and Klaus Mogenson. "The New Media Revolution." *The New Media Revolution*. January 2012. Accessed April 06, 2015.
<http://www.cifs.dk/scripts/artikel.asp?id=2359&lng=2>.
- Burke, Jason. *Al-Qaeda: The True Story of Radical Islam*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.
- Checkland, Peter, and John Poulter. "Preamble." Introduction to *Learning for Action: A Short Definitive Account of Soft Systems Methodology and Its Use for Practitioner, Teachers, and Students*. Chichester, England: Wiley, 2006.
- Collier, P. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56, no. 4 (2004): 563-95. Accessed April 9, 2015. doi:10.1093/oep/gpf064.
- "Constructivism | Learning Theories." *Learning Theories*. Accessed April 07, 2015.
<http://www.learning-theories.com/constructivism.html>.
- Copeland, Daryl P. "PD's Most Formidable Adversary: The Say-Do Gap." *PD's Most Formidable Adversary: The Say-Do Gap* (blog), June 16, 2009. Accessed April 08, 2015.
http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/pds_most_formidable_adversary_the_say_do_gap.

Crenshaw, Martha. *Explaining Terrorism: Causes, Processes, and Consequences*. London: Routledge, 2011.

Dahlberg, Lincoln. "Rethinking the Fragmentation of the Cyberpublic: From Consensus to Contestation." *New Media & Society* 9, no. 5 (October 2007): 827-47. Accessed April 07, 2015. doi:10.1177/1461444807081228.

De La Mata, Guadalupe. "My 10 Favorite Crowdsourcing Platforms for Social Good - Innovation for Social Change." *Innovation for Social Change* (blog), September 03, 2013. Accessed April 08, 2015. <http://innovationforsocialchange.org/my-8-favorite-crowdsourcing-and-crowdfunding-platforms-for-social-good/?lang=en>.

"Department of State Twitter Feed." Think Again, Turn Away. Accessed April 8, 2015. https://twitter.com/ThinkAgain_DOS/with_replies.

DiNucci, Darcy. "Fragmented Future." *Print Magazine*, April 1999. Accessed April 7, 2015. http://darcy.com/fragmented_future.pdf.

Dobson, Christopher. *Black September, Its Short, Violent History*. London: Hale, 1975.

Doyle, Michael E., and Kris A. Peterson. "Re-Entry and Reintegration: Returning Home after Combat." *Psychiatric Quarterly* 76, no. 4 (2005): 361-70. doi:10.1007/s11126-005-4972-z.

"Emerging Threats by Foreign Fighters, Communication Technologies Must Be Confronted in Fight against Terrorism, Stresses Sixth Committee | Meetings Coverage and Press

Releases." UN News Center. October 8, 2014. Accessed April 07, 2015.

<http://www.un.org/press/en/2014/gal3476.doc.htm>.

Ferguson, Niall. *Colossus: The Rise and Fall of the American Empire*. New York: Penguin Books, 2005.

Finnemore, Martha. *The Purpose of Intervention: Changing Beliefs about the Use of Force*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Forest, James J. F. *The Terrorism Lectures: A Comprehensive Collection for Students of Terrorism, Counterterrorism, and National Security*. Santa Ana, CA: Nortia/Current, 2012.

Foxman, Abraham H., and Christopher Wolf. *Viral Hate: Containing Its Spread on the Internet*.

Friedman, Thomas L. *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century*. New York: Picador/Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007.

Garcia, Helio Fred. *The Power of Communicaiton: Skills to Build Trust, Inspire Loyalty, and Lead Effectively*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Financial Times/Prentice Hall, 2012.

Gerges, Fawaz A. *The Far Enemy: Why Jihad Went Global*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Gladwell, Malcolm. *David and Goliath: Underdogs, Misfits, and the Art of Battling Giants*.

Gleick, James. *Chaos: Making a New Science*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 2008.

- Gordon, Michael R., and Bernard E. Trainor. *Cobra II: The inside Story of the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2006.
- Gray, Colin S. *Another Bloody Century: Future Warfare*. London: Phoenix, 2006.
- Gross, Kimberly, and Lisa D'Ambrosio. "Framing Emotional Response." *Political Psychology* 25, no. 1 (February 2004): 1-29. Accessed April 07, 2015.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3792521>.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Pub., 2011.
- Harmon, Christopher C., Andrew N. Pratt, and Sebastian Gorka. *Toward a Grand Strategy against Terrorism*. New York: McGraw Hill Companies, 2011.
- Harmon, Christopher C. *Terrorism Today*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- "Homegrown Islamic Extremism in 2013." Homegrown Islamic Extremism in 2013. March 17, 2014. Accessed March 26, 2015. <http://www.adl.org/combating-hate/international-extremism-terrorism/c/homegrown-islamic-extremism-2013.html#.VRSyBPmjOm5>.
- Horgan, John G. "De-radicalization Programs Offer Hope in Countering Terrorism." Los Angeles Times. February 13, 2015. Accessed April 08, 2015.
<http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-0215-horgan-terrorist-deradicalization-20150215-story.html>.
- Howard, Russell D., and Colleen Traugher. *The Nexus of Extremism and Trafficking: Scourge of the World or so Much Hype?*

Hume, Tim. "Why the U.S. Government Is 'trolling' Terrorists on Social Media - CNN.com."

CNN. June 3, 2014. Accessed April 08, 2015.

http://www.cnn.com/2014/04/18/world/jihadist-twitter-state-department-trolls-terrorists/index.html?hpt=hp_t2.

Jervis, Robert. *System Effects: Complexity in Political and Social Life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*.

Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.

Kaltenbrunner, Andreas, Yana Volkovich, Dave Currie, Erik J. Jutemar, Salvatore Scellato,

David Laniado, and Cecilia Mascolo. "Far from the Eyes, Close on the Web: Impact of Geographic Distance on Online Social Interactions: The Persistent Effect of Geographic Distance in Acquisition Target Selection." *Organization Science* 24, no. 6 (November 01, 2013): 1805-826. Accessed April 8, 2015.

<http://www.cl.cam.ac.uk/~cm542/papers/wosn12-kaltenbrunner.pdf>.

Kepel, Gilles. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Kidder, Rushworth M. *How Good People Make Tough Choices: Resolving the Dilemmas of Ethical Living*. New York: Harper, 2009.

Kilcullen, David. *The Accidental Guerrilla: Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Kuhn, Thomas S., and Ian Hacking. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Lanier, Jaron. *Who Owns the Future?*

Lewis, Bernard. *What Went Wrong?: The Clash between Islam and Modernity in the Middle East*. New York: Perennial, 2003.

Lichbach, Mark Irving, and Alan S. Zuckerman. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Malukas, Mantas. "Social Media Facts 2013." Social Media Facts 2013. October 13, 2013. Accessed April 08, 2015. <http://visual.ly/social-media-facts-2013>.

Marshall, Paul A. *Radical Islam's Rules: The Worldwide Spread of Extreme Shari'a Law*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005.

McCauley, Clark R., and Sophia Moskalenko. *Friction: How Radicalization Happens to Them and Us*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Mutter, Allan D. "New Rules for Mobile Journalism." *REFLECTIONS OF A NEWSOSAUR* (blog), November 12, 2014. Accessed April 8, 2015. <http://newsosaur.blogspot.com/>.

Nacos, Brigitte Lebens. *Mass-mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.

O'Donovan, Caroline. "CNN, Anywhere: How TV Everywhere Strategy Is Evolving in the World of Cable News." Nieman Lab. September 24, 2014. Accessed March 26, 2015.

<http://www.niemanlab.org/2014/09/cnn-anywhere-how-tv-everywhere-strategy-is-evolving-in-the-world-of-cable-news/>.

O'Neil, Patrick H. *Essentials of Comparative Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2004.

Pariser, Eli. *The Filter Bubble: How the New Personalized Web Is Changing What We Read and How We Think*. New York, NY: Penguin Books/Penguin Press, 2012.

Perrow, Charles. *Normal Accidents: Living with High-risk Technologies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Philip N. Howard, University Of Washington, Aiden Duffy University Of Washington, Deen Freelon American University, and Muzammil Hussain University Of Washington. *Opening Closed Regimes*, September 11, 2011. Accessed April 6, 2015. http://pitpi.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/2011_Howard-Duffy-Freelon-Hussain-Mari-Mazaid_pITPI.pdf.

Popper, Karl R. *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. London: Routledge, 2002.

"Press Accuracy Rating Hits Two Decade Low." Pew Research Center for the People and the Press RSS. September 13, 2009. Accessed April 07, 2015. <http://www.people-press.org/2009/09/13/press-accuracy-rating-hits-two-decade-low/>.

Rāhnamā, 'Alī. *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*. London: Zed Books, 1994.

Rashid, Ahmed. *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*. New York: Penguin Books, 2003.

Reilly, Robert R. *The Closing of the Muslim Mind: How Intellectual Suicide Created the Modern Islamist Crisis*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2011.

Robb, John. *Brave New War: The next Stage of Terrorism and the End of Globalization*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2007.

Rosen, Stephen Peter. *War and Human Nature*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Rosen, Stephen Peter. *Winning the next War: Innovation and the Modern Military*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991.

Rosenau, James N., and Mary Durfee. *Thinking Theory Thoroughly: Coherent Approaches to an Incoherent World*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000.

Rotberg, Robert I. "The Failure and Collapse of Nation States." In *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Roy, Olivier. *Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Sargent, Lyman Tower. *Contemporary Political Ideologies: A Comparative Analysis*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2009.

Schmid, Alex P. "ICCT Commentaries." ICCT. April 18, 2014. Accessed April 08, 2015.
<http://www.icct.nl/publications/icct-commentaries/terrorism-research-and-government>.

Schmid, Alex P. "Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review." *Radicalisation, De-Radicalisation, Counter-*

Radicalisation: A Conceptual Discussion and Literature Review, March 2013.

Accessed April 1, 2015. [http://www.icct.nl/download/file/ICCT-Schmid-](http://www.icct.nl/download/file/ICCT-Schmid-Radicalisation-De-Radicalisation-Counter-Radicalisation-March-2013_2.pdf)

[Radicalisation-De-Radicalisation-Counter-Radicalisation-March-2013_2.pdf](http://www.icct.nl/download/file/ICCT-Schmid-Radicalisation-De-Radicalisation-Counter-Radicalisation-March-2013_2.pdf).

Schmidt, Eric, and Jared Cohen. *The New Digital Age: Reshaping the Future of People, Nations and Business*.

Shay, Jonathan. *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat Trauma and the Undoing of Character*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.

Shenk, David. *Data Smog: Surviving the Information Glut*. San Francisco, CA: Harper Edge, 1997.

Siddiqui, Sabrina. "Boston Bombings Reveal Media Full Of Mistakes, False Reports (VIDEO)." The Huffington Post. April 22, 2013. Accessed April 08, 2015. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/04/22/boston-bombings-media-mistakes_n_3135105.html.

"Smartphone Users Worldwide Will Total 1.75 Billion in 2014 - EMarketer." Smartphone Users Worldwide Will Total 1.75 Billion in 2014 - EMarketer. January 16, 2014. Accessed April 08, 2015. <http://www.emarketer.com/Article/Smartphone-Users-Worldwide-Will-Total-175-Billion-2014/1010536>.

Somaiya, Ravi, and Leslie Kaufman. "If a Story Is Viral, Truth May Be Taking a Beating." The New York Times. December 09, 2013. Accessed April 09, 2015. http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/10/business/media/if-a-story-is-viral-truth-may-be-taking-a-beating.html?_r=0.

Sommers, Samuel R., Evan P. Apfelbaum, Kristin N. Dukes, Negin Toosi, and Elsie J. Wang.

"Race and Media Coverage of Hurricane Katrina: Analysis, Implications, and Future Research Questions." *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy* 6, no. 1 (2006): 39-55. Accessed April 8, 2015. doi:10.1111/j.1530-2415.2006.00103.x.

Taleb, Nassim Nicholas. *The Black Swan: The Impact of the Highly Improbable*. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2010.

Tambini, Dr. Damian, LSE. "Media Ethics in the New Media Landscape: New Paper." Polis. September 14, 2010. Accessed April 07, 2015.

<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/polis/2010/09/14/media-ethics-in-the-new-media-landscape-new-paper/>.

"(U//FOUO) Open Source Center Al-Qaeda Master Narratives Report | Public Intelligence." Public Intelligence. May 2012. Accessed April 08, 2015.

<https://publicintelligence.net/osc-al-qaeda-master-narratives/>.

Wheelan, Charles J. *Naked Economics: Undressing the Dismal Science*. New York: Norton, 2002.

Wyatt, Wendy N. "Section IV." In *The Ethics of Journalism: Individual, Institutional and Cultural Influences*, 229-64. London: I.B. Tauris, 2014.