



# AFGHAN WITNESS

A project by



CENTRE for  
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RESILIENCE

## Call(s) to Jihad

An analysis of ISKP audio propaganda



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March 2025

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# 1 EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ISKP uses a diverse range of audio materials to communicate online via social messaging platforms, including nasheeds, audio books, (news) broadcasts, lectures, and podcasts. Audio materials constitute an important tool in the ISKP propaganda arsenal, through which the group conveys information, directives and narratives and as an alternative medium to written and visual content which is accessible, emotive, as well as easily shared among its global networks of virtual supporters.

However, limited analytical work has been conducted on the content and quantity of ISKP audio propaganda. Analysis of trends, themes, and production of ISKP audio content can assist in further understanding the group's operation and effectiveness, as well as inform counter-communications efforts.

This investigation examines an indicative sample set of audio propaganda shared by the Islamic State Khorasan Province (ISKP) in 2024 across Persian, Pashto, Tajik, and Uzbek language content. Analysing the narratives, purpose, quantity, and forms of audio propaganda is useful for developing an assessment of ISKP communication strategies, as well as the group's efforts in recruiting, radicalising, and mobilising its followers.

The findings are based on a qualitative and quantitative collection and analysis of audio propaganda (in the form of nasheeds, podcasts, lectures, audio books, and broadcasts) shared by Al-Azaim, ISKP publishing groups, and ISKP-affiliated channels on Telegram, Rocket Chat, and Gempspace from 1 January – 31 December 2024. While the quantitative portion of the investigation was based on a sample of 939 pieces of audio materials, the qualitative section is representative, based on an overall reading of the audio propaganda produced by ISKP.

The main findings from this report are as follows:

- ISKP uses different formats across its languages portfolio to share its audio propaganda, including: nasheeds, (news) broadcasts, lectures, official statements, podcasts, and audio books.
- 939 audio materials were collected from ISKP outlets, with 464 files in Pashto, 113 in Persian, 320 in Tajik, and 38 in Uzbek. The most popular outlet producing and sharing them was Al-Azaim with 45.3% of the total data collected. The most popular theme in ISKP audio materials was religion/ideology with 64.4% of the overall content.



- Purposes of audio materials include: educating listeners to ISKP's ideology and core religious beliefs; recruiting, radicalising, and engaging with supporters and followers; strengthening in-group and out-group distinctions by placing blame on a specific 'Other' (or enemy); and mobilising supporters to carry out violent attacks.
- While audio propaganda on religion/ideology may not explicitly reference ISKP, some audios nonetheless subtly urge listeners to wage jihad. By appealing to existing religious sentiment among potential target audiences, religious and ideological audio materials can be understood as a first step in an individual's radicalisation process.
- Given that ISKP's reach spans across multiple different countries and linguistic backgrounds, the group produces audios which are both country and language-specific, aiming to reach supporters across its territory and among migrant communities globally. In doing so, ISKP relies on independent publishing groups producing content in various regional languages.
- The audio materials were also observed to utilise different registers and dialects to appeal to different demographics among language groups, particularly young men.
- In Persian and Pashto-language propaganda, lectures are not solely audio adaptations of pre-existing written texts, but are also produced as standalone audio pieces and released directly in this format.
- In Tajik-language propaganda, nasheeds disseminated by ISKP cover various themes, incorporating sentimental and religious vocabulary. These appear intended to evoke deep, lasting emotions, with the aim of supporting emotional wellbeing and connection to the group.
- Uzbek-language audio propaganda features both original content shared by the Uzbek branch of Al-Azaim as well as repurposed propaganda produced by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU).
- Content across language productions included some differentiation in proportions of thematic areas. In Pashto, Persian, and Tajik-language audio materials, women did not constitute a significant theme in audio materials, whereas in Uzbek-language ISKP propaganda, two series of lectures were produced and tailored specifically for women audiences.
- The table below summarises the five main narrative themes of visual content shared by ISKP, their corresponding characteristics, and purposes:



Theme of the audio materials	Characteristics and subcategories	Purpose of the audio material
Attacks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Praising attacks and attackers</li> <li>• Direct calls to action</li> <li>• Instructions on how to wage jihad</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mobilising supporters</li> </ul>
Enemies of ISKP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anti-Taliban</li> <li>• Against other VEOs</li> <li>• Anti-West</li> <li>• Against local governments (Tajikistan and Uzbekistan)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reinforcing in-group and out-group distinctions by placing blame on a specific 'Other' (i.e. 'enemy')</li> </ul>
Religion/ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monotheism and theology</li> <li>• Values of tawheed and jihad</li> <li>• Interpretations or lectures on the Quran</li> <li>• Hadiths</li> <li>• Importance of hijra</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promoting and amplifying ISKP core ideological concepts</li> <li>• Radicalising and recruiting supporters</li> </ul>
In-group identity and loyalty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Romanticising life as a fighter</li> <li>• Loyalty to the caliphate</li> <li>• ISKP power and superiority</li> <li>• IS' history</li> <li>• Life under IS</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reinforcing in-group identity</li> <li>• Strengthening bonds between supporters and creating a community</li> <li>• Radicalising, and recruiting supporters</li> </ul>
Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Role models for women</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recruiting, radicalising, and appealing to women supporters</li> </ul>

*Table 1: A table showing narrative themes, subcategories, and purposes of audio materials as identified by AW in ISKP propaganda.*



*Afghan Witness (AW) has redacted most links and the names of Telegram channels due to privacy concerns and to avoid amplifying harmful content. Upon request, AW can share any relevant data.*

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## 2 INTRODUCTION

Following the insights provided in Afghan Witness (AW)'s [report](#) on the Islamic State Khorasan Province (ISKP)'s use of visual propaganda, this investigation examines another important tool in the ISKP propaganda arsenal: audio materials.

[Existing literature](#) on the use of audio propaganda in violent extremist organisations (VEOs) mentions the use of audio production and dissemination for a range of different strategic purposes: radicalising and recruiting individuals, mobilising supporters to take action against a perceived enemy, and reinforcing core ISKP ideology and identity. Audio propaganda can be an [effective messaging tool](#) as it has the [capacity](#) to appeal to ISKP followers on an emotional and cultural level, reinforcing one's identity and loyalty to the group. The adaptive nature of audio content is also utilised by the group, where variations in register, languages and dialects can be used to appeal to target audiences across different geographies and cultural backgrounds.

According to the literature, the preferred and most used type of audio propaganda by the Islamic State (IS) were 'jihadi nasheeds'.<sup>1</sup> The audio form [originated](#) in the 1970s and 80s, during a "period of Islamic revival in the Middle East". In his book '44 Ways to Wage Jihad', former Al-Qaeda cleric [Anwar al-Awlaki](#)<sup>2</sup> claimed that nasheeds play a vital role in inspiring Muslims to practice jihad, as the format is able to "spread so widely [that they] can reach to [sic] an audience that you could not reach through a lecture or a book". For Al-Awlaki, an effective nasheeds is "strong and uplifting" and constitutes an "important element in creating a 'Jihad culture'." In August 2013, IS [founded](#) Ajnad Media Foundation, a media branch dedicated to the creation of nasheeds and surah recitations, demonstrating the importance attributed by IS to audio material, and nasheeds in particular, as a vehicle for disseminating its ideology. Within this media branch, and after 2013, IS [shifted](#) from recycling old, former militant nasheeds to creating IS-specific productions, most of which continue to be circulated and translated into various languages.

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<sup>1</sup> [Nasheeds](#) are "religious hymns dedicated to worshipping God, expressing true religious feelings, or calling others to Islam." In the spring and summer of 2014, jihadi nasheeds were [used](#) by ISIS in its videos, military parades, events, and during the celebration of the creation of the Caliphate.

<sup>2</sup> A U.S.-Yemeni dual citizen and cleric, propagandist, and operative for al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).



Studies on nasheed note the [engaging](#) and [addictive](#) melodies as “increas[ing] the ability to convey messages”, with listeners “internalising and rehearsing the lyrics.” This could contribute to facilitating an individual's radicalisation process. In their [article](#) ‘The Anashid of the Islamic State: Influence, History, Text, and Sound’, Pieslak and Lahoud mention the role that nasheeds play in radicalising individuals. In particular, that the Boston Marathon bombers (Tamerlan and Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, affiliated with AQ) required a militant nasheed to be playing during their attempt to flee from law enforcement; before carrying out the shooting at the Muhammad art contest in Texas, Elton Simpson, one of the two perpetrators, tweeted his bay’a (pledge) to IS as well as the lyrics to an IS nasheeds. Pieslak and Lahoud do not suggest a direct relationship between listening to nasheeds and engaging in violence action, but that nasheeds, combined with other aspects of propaganda, play an important role in radicalisation.

Jihadi nasheeds also help to [create](#) and [reinforce](#) a sense of collective identity or collective belonging, with the hymns juxtaposing terms like ‘mujahideen’ (those waging jihad) and ‘kuffar’ (the unbelievers). As mentioned in the visual propaganda investigation, and in a similar fashion to visuals, audios also tend to strengthen ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ identities.<sup>3</sup> According to [Mahood and Rane](#), the nasheed ‘My Ummah, Dawn Has Appeared’ played in the IS video ‘Flames of War’ has become “an anthem for the group and creates a sense of group solidarity among the jihadists”.

Recurring themes usually covered in nasheeds include mentioning jihad as the sole solution to help the ummah; mourning, praising, and glorifying martyrs; encouraging supporters to wage jihad; highlighting IS’ successes; raising solidarity between IS members; portraying IS fighters as role models; and threats against IS’ perceived enemies.

In addition to nasheeds, IS have also [produced](#) radio broadcasts with the aim of recruiting and mobilising (potential) supporters, as well as reinforcing support for the group. Compared with nasheeds, radio broadcasts [cover](#) a “wider spectrum of issues” comprising religious programmes and news bulletins. As this investigation will demonstrate, the purposes and themes affiliated with nasheeds are not only specific to this audio format, but can also be applied to other forms of audio propaganda such as lectures, podcasts, and broadcasts.

In a wider context, other formats of audio propaganda have been used by Islamist movements to reach, engage, and mobilise a broader audience. For example, audio cassettes with sermons by Ayatollah Khomeini, the spiritual leader of Iran’s Islamic Revolution, [are believed](#) to have contributed to the successful mobilisation

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<sup>3</sup> ‘In-group’ and ‘out-group’ identities refer to distinctions between a collective ‘us’ and an opposing ‘them’. For ISKP, the in-group consists of (selected groups of) Sunni Muslims and IS supporters, while the out-group consists of anyone who is not a Sunni Muslim, or who is not IS-aligned.



of the followers of the 'Islamic Government', thereby transforming religious believers into violent political actors, and delegitimising the ruling dynasty and incumbent political elites in Iran. In a similar fashion, and as analysed in this investigation, ISKP uses audio materials to spread and promote a form of jihadi culture and lifestyle.

Lectures have been seen to contribute to converting radical thinking into violent action. For example, the perpetrators of the March 2024 [Crocus City Hall attack](#) allegedly listened to IS lectures on Telegram,<sup>4</sup> and were also approached on the platform by an IS imam who provided them with a plan to carry out the attack. This further illustrates the impact of audio content, and the importance of analysing audio materials, particularly in how they relate to recruitment and mobilisation of supporters.

For this reason, this investigation seeks to address a gap in the current literature on IS' use of audio propaganda by providing OSINT-based examples of audio materials (in the form of nasheeds, lectures, podcasts, and broadcasts) shared by ISKP. Analysing the narratives, purpose, quantity, and forms of audio propaganda is useful for better understanding ISKP efforts in recruiting, radicalising, and mobilising its followers.

This investigation provides:

- A quantitative analysis of the audio propaganda shared by ISKP in 2024, by determining and examining the most popular themes, channels, and languages in which audio propaganda is shared. This consisted in a comparative analysis of audio materials across ISKP's dominant language productions (Persian, Pashto, Tajik, and Uzbek).
- A qualitative analysis of the types of audio shared by ISKP in its propaganda, by examining the content and themes of audio pieces, its target audience, and use of language. An analysis of the style and dialects used in audios also provides an insight into ISKP's tailored messaging efforts. The qualitative portion of the investigation provides a deeper analysis and understanding of the audio propaganda shared by ISKP, helping contextualise the data collected for the quantitative section.
- An assessment of the purposes behind the dissemination of different forms of audio propaganda used by ISKP.

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<sup>4</sup> Information shared on a Tajik Telegram channel.



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## 3 METHODOLOGY

A full methodology of the research is provided in Annex II.

### 3.1 KEY CONCEPTS

The following definitions and concepts are used in the report:

- **Islamic State Khorasan Province.** The Islamic State Khorasan Province (ISKP) is a Salafi-Jihadist organisation and a branch or province of the Islamic State (IS). The group is designated as a terrorist organisation by the UN. ISKP is active in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Iran. Its recruitment efforts also extend to other surrounding countries, such as Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. It was founded in January 2015 with the intention of establishing control in Central and South Asia under the Khorasan province<sup>5</sup> of the IS-declared worldwide caliphate.
- **Channels in ISKP media landscape.** ISKP does not officially recognise its propaganda outlets, therefore there is no social media channel designated as sharing 'official' propaganda. Although not formally recognised as official by ISKP, Al-Azaim is considered the most established outlet of propaganda relating to the group. Al-Azaim is the most significant branch of ISKP propaganda dissemination and is considered a credible source of information for the group. Therefore, for the purposes of this report, AW considers Al-Azaim as the 'official' outlet for spreading ISKP propaganda. All other channels identified by AW investigators are understood to be either ISKP publishing groups<sup>6</sup> or ISKP-affiliated channels amplifying pro-ISKP propaganda.
- **Audio propaganda.** AW understands audio propaganda as a form of communication through the use of auditory mediums (sounds, voice, and music), used for the primary purpose of promoting the group's political ideology, and disseminated with the intention of influencing others. The audio propaganda shared by 'official' ISKP, ISKP publishing groups, and ISKP-affiliated channels has been divided into the following categories:

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<sup>5</sup> Khorasan province refers to a historic geographical region comprising: Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and portions of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan.

<sup>6</sup> ISKP publishing groups present themselves as semi-official media outlets that create and share their own propaganda. They also share media that has been created by Al-Azaim.



- **Audiobooks.** A recording of a book, or book chapters, narrated by one or more speakers. The main content types of audiobooks are essays, op-eds, or retellings of religious stories.
- **(News) broadcasts and statements.** Statements released in a news-like format, updating listeners on 'current' topics. For the purposes of this report, audio narrations of Al-Naba<sup>7</sup> articles and Al-Azaim's infographics are considered a form of news broadcast. This category also includes official statements released by Al-Azaim.
- **Lectures.** Religious and/or spiritual teachings on the Quran and hadith (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad). The format of lectures differs between different language productions: in the case of Tajik propaganda, this format is usually interactive to some extent, with a question and answer session usually following the speaker's teachings. In the case of Persian, Pashto, and Uzbek propaganda, a speaker typically carries out a monologue on a specific (religious) topic. In most cases, lectures are live streamed and/or recorded during a live event. Lectures are also referred to as 'dars,' 'barnome,' 'dawra/daura,' and 'silsile', again, depending on channel and language.
- **Nasheed.** Islamic song/hymn featuring vocal performances with minimal or no instrumental accompaniment.
- **Podcast.** Speaker or speakers discussing a specific topic. The main difference from the lectures is that podcasts do not have an explicit educational component, but can be more emotional and/or political. Although not attributed to podcasts only, nasheeds tend to be used to either start or end a podcast. In Persian, Pashto, and Uzbek propaganda, podcasts are interactive (with a host asking questions). In the case of Tajik propaganda, the podcast can be defined by speakers that do not have a religious or political credential/background.

## 3.2 TERMINOLOGY

Abbreviations and terminology used were not observed to be homogenous in interpretation, and the meaning and spelling of specialised vocabulary may differ according to language and cultural environment.

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<sup>7</sup> Al-Naba is the weekly Arabic magazine published by IS central.



Term	Meaning
Caliphate	Islamic political-religious state. This report refers to the Islamic State's interpretation of the Caliphate.
Islamic State (IS)	A militant group that follows Salafi jihadist Sunni Islam. Referred to as the central body under which ISKP is a designated 'wilayah' (province).
Islamic State Khorasan Province (ISKP)	One of the 'wilayat' (provinces) of the Islamic state, including territory of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Iran.
Hadith	Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad
Hijra	Arabic word meaning 'migration'. In the context of ISKP, the word is used to refer to a religiously motivated migration to an area as directed by ISKP.
Jihad	Arabic word meaning 'struggling'. In Islamic traditions, jihad refers to the struggle to do good and avoid evil, but is also used by ISKP to refer to conducting IS 'Holy War', including violent armed conflict conducted by the group.
Kafir (plural: kuffar)	Arabic word meaning 'unbeliever' or 'infidel'. Typically understood by ISKP to refer to non-Muslim (predominantly Christian) communities and states.
Mujahid (plural: mujahidoon/mujahideen)	Arabic word meaning 'those who engage in jihad'. Typically understood by ISKP as militants of the group.
Murtadd (plural: murtadeen)	Arabic word meaning 'apostate'. Typically understood by ISKP to refer to Sunni Muslims who do not adhere to IS ideology.
Mushrik (plural: mushrikoon/mushrikeen)	Arabic word meaning 'polytheist', used in Islam to refer to an individual who centres their faith on something/someone other than God. Often understood by IS to mean someone who rejects



	the group's interpretation of tawheed.
Sahib (plural: sahaba)	Arabic word ,meaning 'companions', referring to early followers of the Prophet Muhammed who accompanied him during his lifetime.
Salafi jihadism	Transnational Sunni Islamist religious-political ideology that seeks to establish a global caliphate through carrying out violent attacks on populations who do not adhere to the ideology.
Sharia	Islamic system of law based on Quran, Sunnah and Hadith.
Sheikh (plural: sheikhs)	Arabic term meaning 'tribal leader' or an honorific denoting an authority figure in the community. In the context of ISKP, the term refers to an authority figure in a tribal and/or religious context.
Shirk	Arabic word for 'polytheism'. See 'mushrik' for ISKP context.
Tafsir	Arabic word referring to the exegesis or interpretations of the Quran.
Taghut (plural: tawaghit)	Arabic word meaning 'seducer/tempter'. In Islamic ideology, the use of the word refers to a false God, or one who tempts others into error. Typically understood by ISKP to refer to apostate and tyrant regimes.
Takfir	Arabic word used in Islamic terminology for the act of a Muslim denouncing other Muslim individuals/groups as kafir.
Tawheed	Arabic word referring to the Oneness of God (God in Islam is One and Single). For ISKP, tawhid is understood as the principal theological doctrine separating the group from other allegedly traditional, modern, and secular trends in Islam.
Ummah	Arabic word used to refer to the global community of (Muslim) believers or co-religionists.

*Table 2: A table showing terms and meanings referenced in the report and used in ISKP audio materials.*



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## 4 OVERALL RESEARCH FINDINGS

Audio propaganda is shared by Al-Azaim, ISKP publishing groups, and ISKP-affiliated channels on Telegram, Rocket Chat, and Gemspace for a number of strategic purposes, including elaborating on and reinforcing ISKP ideology, strengthening in-group identity, and mobilising supporters. To reach dedicated and potential audiences, ISKP channels utilise different formats for their audio materials including statements and news broadcasts, nasheeds, audio books, lectures, and podcasts.

The analysis examines:

- The quantity of audio propaganda shared by ISKP between January and December 2024.
- The content and meaning of the audio materials, including representative examples and descriptions.
- The use of language in audio materials, including styles and dialects used to appeal to ISKP's regional target audiences.
- The purposes behind the dissemination of different forms of audio content produced by ISKP.

In a similar fashion to AW's ISKP [investigation](#) into visual propaganda, the analysis identified five thematic areas in the audio content: attacks, enemies of ISKP, religion/ideology, in-group identity and loyalty, and women (see table below). The thematic categories were not observed to be mutually exclusive: certain audio materials may contain content relating to multiple narrative themes.

Theme of the audio materials	Characteristics and subcategories	Purpose of the audio material
Attacks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Praising attacks and attackers</li><li>• Direct calls to action</li><li>• Instructions on how to wage jihad</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Mobilising supporters</li></ul>
Enemies of ISKP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Anti-Taliban</li><li>• Against other VEOs</li><li>• Anti-West</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Reinforcing in-group and out-group distinctions by</li></ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Against local governments (Tajikistan and Uzbekistan)</li> </ul>	placing blame on a specific 'Other' (i.e. 'enemy')
Religion/ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monotheism and theology</li> <li>Values of tawheed and jihad</li> <li>Interpretations or lectures on the Quran</li> <li>Hadiths</li> <li>Importance of hijra</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promoting and amplifying ISKP core ideological concepts</li> <li>Radicalising and recruiting supporters</li> </ul>
In-group identity and loyalty	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Romanticising life as a fighter</li> <li>Loyalty to the caliphate</li> <li>ISKP power and superiority</li> <li>IS' history</li> <li>Life under IS</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reinforcing in-group identity</li> <li>Strengthening bonds between supporters and creating a community</li> <li>Radicalising, and recruiting supporters</li> </ul>
Women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Role models for women</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Recruiting, radicalising, and appealing to women supporters</li> </ul>

*Table 2: A table showing narrative themes, subcategories, and purposes of audio materials as identified by AW in ISKP propaganda.*



## 5 ISKP AUDIO PROPAGANDA LANDSCAPE IN 2024

ISKP produces audio materials primarily in Persian, Pashto, Tajik, and Uzbek, and content in these languages was therefore prioritised for the purposes of this report. Although ISKP channels were also observed to share audio content in Arabic, English, and Turkish, the quantity of materials in these languages was far less in comparison, and also often translated into the primary four languages [see figure 1].

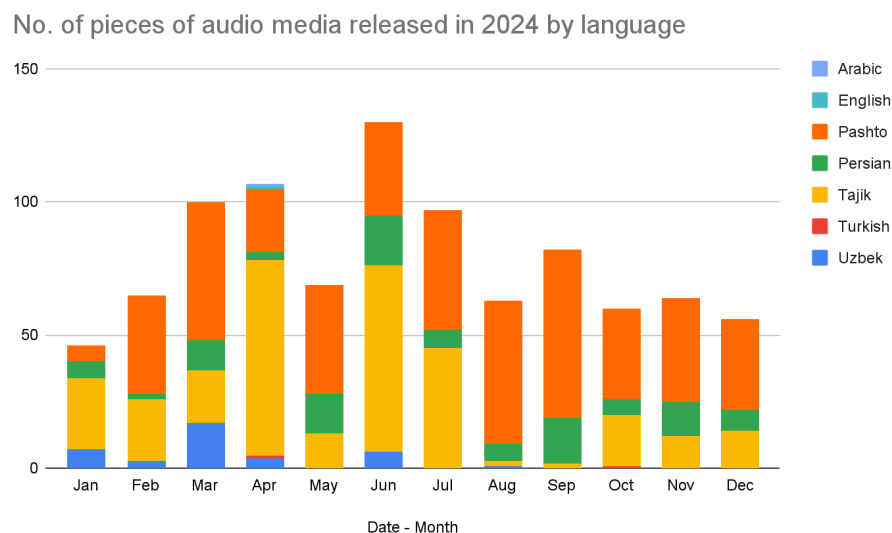


Figure 1: Graph showing volume of ISKP audio content by language produced by ISKP between January and December 2024.

Out of the 939 audio materials collected from 2024, 464 files were shared in Pashto, 113 in Persian, 320 in Tajik, 38 in Uzbek, one in English, one in Arabic, and two in Turkish. The month in which the most audio propaganda was shared was June, with 130 pieces of audio propaganda in total across the different languages.

AW researchers were not able to determine whether spikes in audio propaganda were connected to any offline events. This is because audio propaganda in isolation would not be able to provide a sufficiently representative sample of the propaganda output shared by ISKP to warrant an assessment of the contents' connections to offline events.

Below are examples of the types of audio materials preferred for each of the main languages.



## 5.1 PERSIAN AND PASHTO LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Pashto and Persian content are analysed together due to the overlap in shared material between the two languages, with audio content often being produced in one language and then translated with limited delay into the other. For example, many of the audio materials that denounce ISKP's enemies are translations of its Pashto publications, or cover themes that had previously been extensively disseminated in Pashto-language materials. This indicates a deliberate effort to expand ISKP's ideological influence, adapting its core narratives to reach a broader linguistic and regional audience.

Persian and Pashto audio propaganda was observed to include all the audio formats identified in this investigation: nasheeds, podcasts, audio books, lectures, and broadcasts. A distinguishing characteristic in this language-specific propaganda, especially in the lecture format, is that the content does not solely constitute audio adaptations of pre-existing written texts. Instead, lectures are also produced as standalone audio lectures and released directly in this format.

## 5.2 TAJIK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

In the context of Tajik audio propaganda, the formats used to reach ISKP followers are podcasts, lectures, broadcasts, and nasheeds. No audio books were observed to have been shared in Tajik-language audio propaganda in 2024.

One of the most important formats in Tajik-language propaganda is nasheeds, which play a significant role in Tajik-language ISKP propaganda. Nasheeds disseminated by ISKP cover various themes, incorporating sentimental and religious vocabulary. Tajik-language nasheeds shared by the group appear intended to evoke deep, lasting emotions, with the aim of supporting emotional wellbeing and connection to the group, such as providing solace to IS members in overcoming challenges, facing death on the battlefield, and remaining emotionally and spiritually connected to their home countries.

## 5.3 UZBEK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

ISKP Uzbek audio propaganda consists of both original content produced by Al-Azaim's Uzbek branch, as well as repurposed content previously produced by Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) prior to the group's [accession](#) to IS in 2015.

Uzbek-language audio content consists predominantly of news broadcasts, official statements, nasheeds, lectures, and podcasts. The Uzbek branch of Al-Azaim prioritises the translating and sharing of visual propaganda rather than audio materials. For this reason, there are fewer pieces of Uzbek audio material collected in this report. To bridge this gap between visual and audio materials produced, Al-Azaim repurposes audio materials from IMU propaganda, which continue to be



relevant to target audiences and readily available. IMU propaganda also assists as a form of messaging localising ISKP's global ambitions as relevant to the populations of Central Asia.

The largest portion of IMU propaganda repurposed by Uzbek-language ISKP channels consists of lectures and nasheeds produced by its former leaders and members, including Abduvali Qori Mirzoyev<sup>8</sup>, Tohir Yuldashev<sup>9</sup>, and Asadulla Urganchiy.<sup>10</sup>

In contrast to Tajik, Persian, and Pashto-language nasheeds, official Uzbek propaganda does not produce nasheeds as a separate form of content, but instead, uses nasheeds as an introductory and/or closing convention as part of other forms of audio materials. In contrast to Al-Azaim's Uzbek branch, IMU's former 'Jundulla' media outlet produced nasheeds as standalone pieces of propaganda, as well as using them in lectures and other audio propaganda materials.

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<sup>8</sup> Abduvali Qori Mirzoyev was IMU's spiritual leader. According to a [report](#) by the Human Rights Watch, he disappeared in Tashkent in 1995.

<sup>9</sup> Tohir Yuldashev was co-founder and long-time IMU leader. Now deceased.

<sup>10</sup> Asadulla Urganchiy was an ideologue of IMU. Now deceased.



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## 6 MOST POPULAR ISKP OUTLETS

ISKP has several outlets that share and produce propaganda: Al-Azaim, or ISKP's 'official' media outlet, ISKP publishing groups, and ISKP-affiliated channels. As ISKP's official media outlet, Al-Azaim media foundation<sup>11</sup> produces and shares the majority of audio propaganda (45.3% of the total data collected) [see figure 2]. Following Al-Azaim, one of the ISKP-affiliated Tajik channels on Telegram produced 23.9% of total audio content shared in 2024, while Pashto and Persian-language ISKP publishing group Mubarazin media shared 19.3%. Other audio materials were also identified as attributed to an individual speaker, rather than a channel.<sup>12</sup>

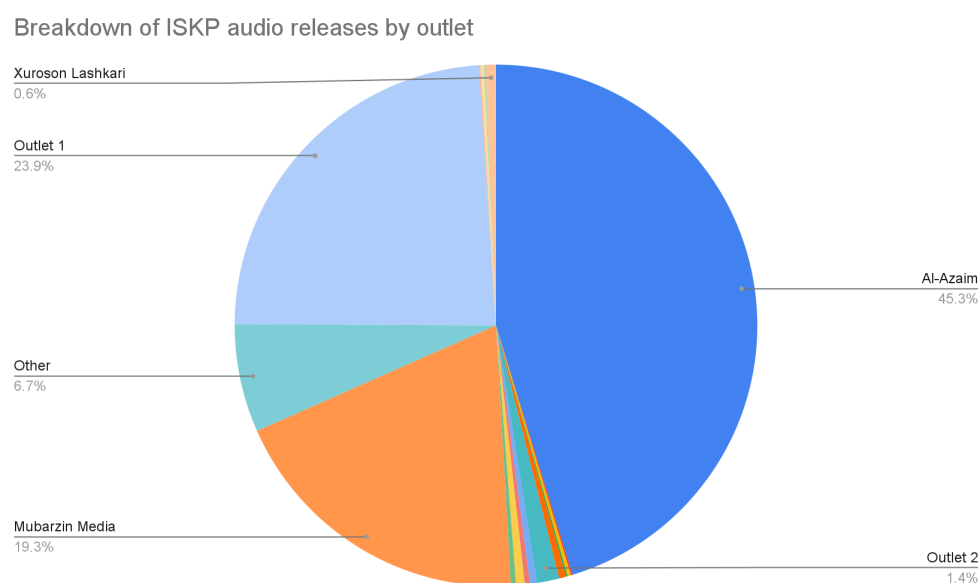


Figure 2: Graph showing proportion of audio materials shared by ISKP outlets between January and December 2024. Both Outlet 1 and Outlet 2 refer to two ISKP-affiliated Tajik channels - their names were removed due to privacy concerns and to avoid amplifying harmful content. As both Xuroson Lashkari and Mubarazin Media are ISKP publishing groups, their names have not been removed.

Below are descriptions of the outlets that share audio propaganda in each language.

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<sup>11</sup> This includes audio materials from all of Al-Azaim's media branches (so Persian, Pashto, Tajik, and Uzbek).

<sup>12</sup> These audios were collected because they were shared in ISKP-affiliated channels. However, because speakers share audio materials in their own channels, they have been considered a separate category.



## 6.1 PERSIAN AND PASHTO LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Audio materials produced in Pashto and Persian are shared by ISKP's official media outlet, Al-Azaim, as well as by ISKP publishing groups such as Al-Hadid and Mubarazin media.

Al-Azaim is the outlet that produces the most audio material, consisting of: audio books, official statements, and news-related broadcasts on the group's efforts and successes.

At the end of 2024, Mubarazin Media launched a weekly online series on poetry (and nasheeds more broadly) titled 'Under the Shadow of the Oak Tree', featuring content promoting core ISKP agenda and undermining the Taliban. This series follows a podcast-style format, featuring a host along with one or more guests. It also includes poetry submitted by supporters in text format, which is read aloud during the program. The format and style of the series originates from a poetry series produced by ISKP's Voice of Khorasan radio during the Tamkeen era (ISKP territorial control period) in Afghanistan from 2015 to 2019.

## 6.2 TAJIK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Several Tajik ISKP channels distributing audio propaganda were identified. Official ISKP media outlet Al-Azaim has a Tajik branch (Al-Azaim Tajiki) which produces and shares official IS propaganda in Tajik. Audio materials were also identified to be shared by Tajik-language ISKP-affiliated Telegram channels, and ISKP publishing groups such as 'Xuroson Lashkari'. All of these channels share audio propaganda in different formats, although one of the Tajik-language ISKP-affiliated Telegram channels appears to specialise in producing and sharing podcasts and lectures.

In Tajik-language audio propaganda, prominent speakers are known to also have their own channels where they share their audio materials. Individual Islamic scholars and sheikhs who exert significant influence on the ISKP community identified as having their own channels include: Anis Rahmon Vafoi, Abdul Zahir Do'i, and Zaid Badri. Vafoi and Badri both produce and share lectures focusing on the importance of waging jihad.

## 6.3 UZBEK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Official ISKP propaganda is produced by al-Azaim's Uzbek branch, which operates two radio stations publishing audio content: Khurozon Ovozi (Voice of Khurasan) Radio and Al-Bayan Radio.

Khurozon Ovozi produces news broadcasts, podcasts, and audio versions of infographics. In 2024, the station released audio versions of infographics on IS' successes in attacks; the ten practices recommended for the last ten days of Ramadan; Al Naba articles; and official statements in relation to Eid celebrations as



well as the start and beginning of Ramadan. Khuroson Ovozi also produces podcasts: one notable example, 'Yangi Muhojir' ('New Immigrant'), is structured in an interview format, in which the host (known as Abu Imron) conducts interviews with new recruits discussing their reasons for joining ISKP, the hardships of their journey, and their initial (positive) impressions of ISKP. In 2024, Khuroson Ozovi published two episodes of this podcast, each lasting around 20 minutes in length.

Among its audio products, Al-Bayan radio produces a question and answer segment titled, 'Rasmiy Fatwolar' (Official Fatwas), which consists of audio statements of IS fatwas on various topics, mostly focusing on questions related to jihad.



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## 7 PROMINENT THEMATIC AREAS OF ISKP AUDIO PROPAGANDA

Five prominent thematic areas in ISKP audio propaganda were identified: attacks, enemies of ISKP, women, in-group identity and loyalty, and religion/ideology [see figure 3].

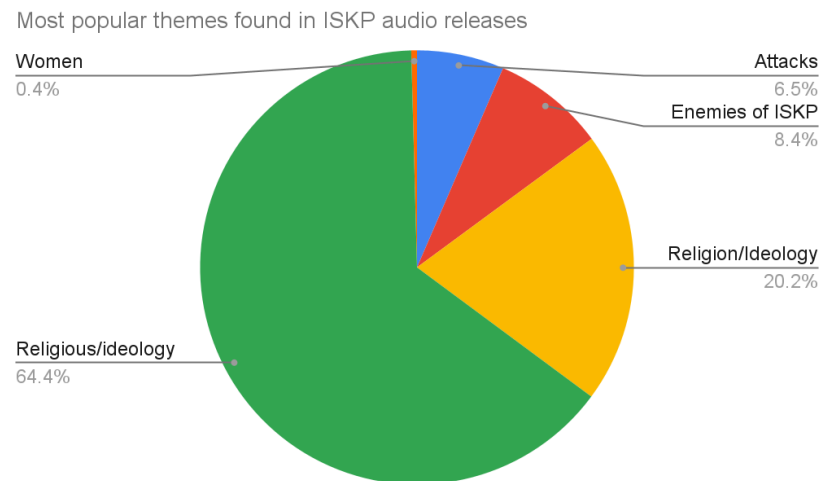


Figure 3: Graph showing proportion of thematic areas in ISKP audio materials shared between January and December 2024.

In 2024, the most prevalent theme by volume of ISKP audio materials shared was 'religion/ideology,' accounting for 605 pieces of audio propaganda (64.4% of the total). The second most common theme was 'in-group identity and loyalty' with 190 pieces (20.2%), followed by 'enemies' with 79 pieces (8.4%). 'Attacks' were mentioned in 61 audio materials (6.5%), and 'women' were referenced in 4 (0.4%). The proportion of content shared in each narrative theme was consistent across languages: approximately 60% of audio materials considered religion/ideology in each language-specific content.

Below are descriptions of the themes found in ISKP audio propaganda, with examples from each dominant language. The sections below provide a broader understanding of the audio materials that ISKP shares.

### 7.1 RELIGION AND IDEOLOGY

The most popular theme shared in ISKP audio materials was religion and ideology, predominantly concerning topics such as tawheed, duty to wage jihad and conduct hijra, hadiths, and interpretations and lectures from the Quran. These themes form the backbone of ISKP recruitment propaganda by advancing a



particular interpretation of faith and cultivating a sense of spiritual urgency to commit to ISKP ideology and cause.

According to the IS interpretation, tawheed is a broad concept centered on monotheism, requiring Muslims to accept God's singularity, follow his commandments, and harbour hatred towards (and harm) those defined by the group as enemies of God. Tawheed is frequently mentioned in ISKP audio propaganda materials, and tied with concepts of jihad and hijra, argued as a vital constitutive part of the practice of tawheed, and contrasted with concepts of kufr, taghut, and shirk, which violate tawheed and can lead to disbelief. This connection of concepts, combined with the call for jihad, creates a sense of urgency for supporters to take action against those categorised under ISKP ideology as disbelievers.

While the majority of religious lectures that ISKP produces may appear to be unrelated to specific calls for violent activity, subtle calls for violent jihad are present in lectures, selective interpretations of the Quran and other core Islamic scholarly texts. While not presenting explicit encouragement of violent attacks or recruitment of followers, such lectures constitute a background basis of theology, according to which sacrifice in the cause of ISKP is condoned, thereby facilitating supporters' radicalisation process.

Under this theme, ISKP dedicates considerable effort to vivid audio descriptions of the rewards, forgiveness of sins, and eternal life promised to those martyred in the path of jihad. The core message of these religious audio materials is to promote the idea that the true essence of Islam is belligerent, and that defending the ummah through force is the most rewarding path in life.

### **7.1.1 PERSIAN AND PASHTO LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA**

Most of the Persian and Pashto ISKP audio propaganda materials shared concerning religious and ideology were lectures covering topics such as Quranic teachings and translations and interpretations of key Sunni Islamic texts, including those of Muslim, Nasa'i, Abu Dawood, and Mishkat explaining the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad. The format most commonly used were episodic series, consisting of several lectures under the same title. Through the framing of fundamental religious beliefs and duties, these lectures serve to propagate ISKP ideology among a predominantly Afghan and Pakistani audience, helping to embed ISKP-aligned Salafi principles within communities. Content shared under this theme is aimed at Muslim communities in general, and not exclusive to followers and supporters of ISKP.

Among the key speakers featured in these religious audio materials are identified as Sheikh Abu Zahid Ziauddin Al-Zarkhardi and Sheikh Abu Abdur Rahman, both prominent religious figures within ISKP. Sheikh Al-Zarkhardi is currently one of



ISKP's most influential senior religious leaders and the primary architect behind much of ISKP religious propaganda, while Sheikh Rahman was formally introduced by ISKP as an important religious figure in a detailed 2022 interview released by Mubarazin media. Following this introduction, Sheikh Rahman began publishing a series of religious audio lectures on Islamic teachings, covering both Quranic exegesis and hadith interpretations (initially published in 2023, and continued in 2024). Teachings from both are crucial for shaping and reinforcing ISKP's ideological narratives and messaging.

### 7.1.2 TAJIK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Tajik-language ISKP audio content containing religious and ideological themes included several audio materials promoting the values and importance of waging jihad. For example, a podcast series shared by an ISKP-affiliated Telegram channel titled 'Dostoni Sakhoba' ('The Tale of the Companions [of the Prophet]') features tellings of stories of the jihad of members of the early Muslim community. Audio materials that emphasise the continuity of jihad throughout Islamic history play an important role in legitimising past and future violent acts carried out by ISKP followers and recruits.

Other lectures, presented by Persian and Tajik-speaking scholars influential among ISKP audiences, such as Anis Rahmon Vafoi and Abduzohir Do'i, explain the principal vocabulary of Islam and its teachings (according to an ISKP ideology), particularly: the main virtues of Islam, the meaning behind Islam's 'central notions',<sup>13</sup> the importance of prayer and humility in prayer, and fasting (including rules on who can and cannot fast). For example, Anis Rahmon Vafoi produced two lecture series: one titled 'Fazilati Jihod' (or 'the Virtue of Jihad') and the other 'Darsi Jihod' (or 'the Lessons on Jihad'). In both series, Vafoi discussed the importance of waging and supporting jihad, presented by Vafoi as an essential Muslim virtue and the main pillar of Islam.

One of the Tajik-language ISKP-affiliated Telegram channels was observed to publish regular podcasts offering theological justifications of jihad, which typically emphasise jihad as not only armed resistance against "infidel powers", but also as a form of migration from the realm of nonbelievers (Dar al-Kufr) to the realm of Muslims (Dar al-Islam).

### 7.1.3 UZBEK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Uzbek-language ISKP audio content containing religious and ideological themes comprised both original content and repurposed materials from IMU propaganda (not included in this report). No dedicated official IS lectures in Uzbek were identified as providing religious and ideological teachings on tawhid, jihad, and

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<sup>13</sup> The central notions of Islam are: itoat (obedience or submission), ibodat (worship or devotion), and muhabbat (love, affection, or compassion).



hijra. For this reason, ISKP Telegram channels rely on lectures on these topics produced by the former IMU, as well as content delivered by some unnamed propaganda figures, whose names are not mentioned in the title of audio files.

Examples of recycled content include a series of lectures by ISKP and IMU leaders and ideologues such as Abduvali Qori, Abu Muhammad Qosoni, Abu Muhammad Uzbekiy, Tohir Yuldashev, Abu Holid, as well as other unattributed audio files on tawhid and jihad. For example, a recorded address from Abduvali Qori towards Muslims chastises those who did not leave their secular home states and migrate to the lands of Islam. ISKP was also observed to circulate lectures of IMU former spiritual leader Abduvali Qori Mirzoyev. Audio of Mirzoyev's lectures are typically short, of bad audio quality, and appear to be released as fragments from longer speeches. Most of his short lectures focus on the necessity to conduct hijra, wage jihad, and fight against 'infidels'. Lectures from Tohir Yuldashev were also circulated on ISKP channels in audio format produced by 'Jundulla Ijodiy Studiyasi' ('Jundulla Creative Studio'), a media arm of the IMU. The audio pieces circulated from Yuldashev's lectures are also short and of poor quality, probably due to being dated and recorded on old equipment, and focus on waging jihad, sacrificing for the cause of Islam, the necessity to remain firm on the path of jihad, and other jihad-related topics. One of his lectures, titled 'Buyuk tijorat' ('Grand transaction'), focuses on the claim that IMU members had a guaranteed place in heaven as a reward for engaging in jihad during their worldly life.

## 7.2 ATTACKS

Audio content focusing on ISKP attacks was also identified as a core part of the group's propaganda outputs, across language productions. Such content typically glorifies and praises past attacks and attackers, as well as offering motivation and guidance on how to wage jihad. It also highlights examples of ISKP military successes, often presented as news broadcasts by ISKP media outlets. The treatment and presentation of attacks in audio propaganda aims to recruit new supporters and mobilise them to take part in jihad.

### 7.2.1 PERSIAN AND PASHTO LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Audio content which specifically dealt with attacks was typically observed to provide both a religious explanation to the importance of waging jihad, as well as a call for mobilisation of supporters.

When contextualising the importance of jihad, Persian and Pashto-language audio propaganda focuses on the religious rulings and virtues of armed jihad, portraying ISKP's military operations as a religious war and encouraging participation as a religious duty. In addition, such audio materials provide religious guidelines on



warfare, including who should be targeted, the treatment of prisoners, the status of female captives, and the distribution of war spoils. The objective of this content is to offer ideological and doctrinal guidance to ISKP fighters on these subjects, to affirm centralised principles and reinforce the group's justification for its violent activities.

In particular, nasheeds published by Persian and Pashto ISKP outlets are also used to encourage youths to wage jihad, carry out attacks against 'infidels', and praise fallen ISKP soldiers.

### **7.2.2 TAJIK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA**

In Tajik-language propaganda, audio materials covering attacks play an important role in recruiting new members to the group, as well as mobilising existing supporters to wage jihad. The tone of this content is often forceful and aggressive, urging young men to engage in jihad while shaming them for a perceived lack of action.

As an example of such content, one of ISKP's more popular speakers shared an audio statement titled 'Why are you not joining the path of Jihad?'. The audio denounced those who have yet to join the cause and urged followers to wage jihad. The speaker encouraged listeners to stop making excuses and embrace jihad as an opportunity given by Allah, reminding them that everything they have comes from Allah. The speaker then criticises listeners for being slaves to 'infidels', encouraging them to join a greater cause and live a better life.

### **7.2.3 UZBEK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA**

In Uzbek-language ISKP audio content, Al-Azaim's Khuroson Ovozi produces news broadcasts divided into two segments, both of which focus on ISKP attacks: 'Maydon Habari' ('Field News') and 'Askariy Hisobot' ('Military Report'). While Maydon Habari covers attacks carried out by IS fighters in different IS provinces, the Askariy Hisobot segment produces audio versions of the infographics produced by Al-Azaim's Al-Naba weekly newsletter and shared in various pro-ISKP Telegram channels. These usually contain information on the results of all the attacks carried out by IS, focusing on the number of enemies killed and/or wounded, the damages IS has caused to its enemies, and the number of 'trophies' collected as a result of attacks.

For example, the Uzbek-language audio version of the official IS statement on the 'Kill them Wherever You Find Them' campaign celebrates IS attacks and encourages carrying out attacks against soft civilian targets, explaining that there is no division between military and civilian targets when carrying out attacks against infidels. There are also audio versions of Al-Naba articles with commentary on the



Crocus City Hall attack in March 2024 and the Kerman attack in January 2024.<sup>14</sup> The audio files claim that the attack in Moscow needs no justification, as the Russian government has been killing Muslims for decades, and the attack in Iran was against Shi'a Muslims, considered by ISKP as enemies of Islam.

Similar to Tajik-language propaganda, an Uzbek audio version of an Al-Naba article titled 'Yoshlar va Alloh yulidagi jihod' ('Youth and jihad on the path of Allah'), encourages youths not to waste their lives and start waging jihad from a young age. It also provides examples of the Prophet Muhammad's young contemporaries who waged jihad with Muhammad's support.

ISKP channels also share nasheeds encouraging attacks, performed by IMU figure Asadulla Urganchiy. There are at least seven nasheeds presumably authored and performed by Urganchiy, all of them encouraging audiences to either join jihad, or increase efforts to advance jihad among those who are already recruited. It is not clear whether the IMU had a central policy of producing nasheeds, or whether Urganchiy's material was an exception, as the sole producer of nasheed content.

ISKP Uzbek-language audio content focusing on attacks also seeks to highlight the permissibility of suicide attacks. AW identified three lectures in which suicide attacks are presented as a form of jihad and permissible if their objective is to bring harm to perceived enemies of the group, their supporters, and Muslim communities.

### 7.3 IN-GROUP IDENTITY AND LOYALTY

Themes concerning in-group identity and loyalty were also observed to form a significant part of ISKP audio content. Such material typically involves romanticising the lives and livelihoods of IS fighters, as well as also claims asserting the superiority of Sharia over other forms of man-made governance systems, such as democracy. Audio materials focusing on IS' exceptionalism, successes, history, and power have also been included as part of this theme.

The purpose of such contents in ISKP audio materials is to radicalise and recruit new supporters to the group, reinforce a sense of in-group identity, strengthen bonds between supporters by creating a sense of community, and encourage supporters to wage jihad.

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<sup>14</sup> The attack was carried out on 3 January 2024, at the four year anniversary of slain IRGC commander, Qasem Soleimani, when two explosions occurred in Kerman, Iran, at commemorations of the commander. IS claimed responsibility for the attack on behalf of its Iran affiliate, branding the attack as part of the group's 'Kill them wherever you find them' campaign. According to the group's statement, two attackers, Omar al-Mowahid and Saifullah al-Mujahid, detonated their explosive vests amidst the gathering of visitors at the Suleimani tomb in Kerman.



### 7.3.1 PERSIAN AND PASHTO LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

A significant portion of Persian and Pashto-language ISKP audio materials concerning in-group identity and loyalty consists of translations of the editorial section from Al-Naba. These editorials are translated from Arabic into Pashto and Persian, and then disseminated in audio format, serving as a key medium for propagating IS' central ideological directives among a broader audience in the region. Most of these audio recordings focus on events from ISKP's period of territorial control (2015-2019) in Nangarhar, Afghanistan, including articles documenting key ISKP figures who have been killed. These materials were initially published by Al-Azaim in 2022, and were then subsequently converted into audio format and released by Mubarizeen Media in 2024. This segment serves to preserve ISKP's historical narrative, commemorate its fallen members, and reinforce its ideological messaging.

Another significant portion of Persian and Pashto-language ISKP audio materials consists of messages directly advocating for recruitment into ISKP, and encouraging its supporters to become more actively engaged in advancing the group's objectives. Nasheeds produced in Persian and Pashto are also used to glorify life under the Islamic Caliphate. Through commemorating ISKP's past, presenting news from the global network of Islamic State, and positively representing current ISKP activity, such audio content serves as indoctrination materials, strategically designed to consolidate ideological commitment, strengthen cohesion within ISKP ranks, and present arguments in support of ISKP's claim to an Islamic global caliphate.

### 7.3.2 TAJIK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

In-group and loyalty featured prominently in Tajik-language ISKP audio content. This included an episode of an ISKP Persian podcast featuring a Tajik national: the ISKP podcast series ('Silsilae Darsho') titled 'Dar Justujui Khaq' ('In Search of Truth') is produced in Persian and follows the format of a radio show, with a host interviewing a new guest every episode. Topics of the podcast vary, including discussion of ISKP ideology and Islam, stories of migration to Afghanistan, and the different challenges faced by participants on the path of jihad. Most of the guest speakers were Afghans from various provinces, however, one of the guests was identified as originally from Tajikistan. In Tajik, he explained how IS recruiters helped him with lessons, money, information and protection; how he fought members of the taghut army and security [referring to Taliban and Pakistani-forces]; how he helped recruit other Tajiks to the group; and how he travelled, alongside others, from Russia to Saudi Arabia, and later to the Waziristan region of Pakistan. Through interviewing its supporters, including a Tajik member, ISKP aims to showcase how supporters and followers are experiencing their path



to jihad, as well as purity of life lived by those supporting ISKP, with the aim of recruiting new followers and supporters to the group.

In another example focusing on ISKP superiority, a lecture series (silsilai dars) was shared by ISKP-affiliated audio channels, narrated by Tajik speaker Abduzohir Doi, on the ideal features of an Islamic State governance ('idorakuni' or 'khokimiyat'), its ideal populace, and leadership. The lecture series did not explicitly refer to ISKP, although its content contained a similar ideological outlook, and unlike other influential Salafi religious speakers, Doi's content is solely circulated by channels dedicated to ISKP content.

Tajik-language audio materials romanticising the lives of IS fighters were also shared in both podcast and nasheed formats. One of the ISKP-affiliated Tajik Telegram channels produced a podcast featuring readings of letters sent by IS fighters to their family members, titled 'Letters from Mosul' or 'Letters from Khorasan'. Although it is unclear whether these letters are real or fictionalised narratives of imaginary mujahideen, such content nonetheless demonstrates an attempt to inspire potential active supporters, and normalise life under IS.

Nasheeds were also observed to be used in Tajik-language ISKP content in the context of appealing to sentiments of in-group identity and loyalty. For example, a Tajik-language nasheed explicitly addressed the feeling of missing home and those family members left behind [when engaging in jihad and hijra]. The song, titled, 'Modaram har chand ki dur astam zi tu' ('Mother no matter how far I am away from you') narrates the story of a mujahideen, who, despite being separated from his mother and child and knowing they are enduring hardships and missing him, continues his jihad, relying on Allah for support and to help those he left behind. In such a way, nasheeds are demonstrated to use the audio format with a view to evoking deep and lasting emotions and cultivate in-group loyalty: some nasheeds appeal to their audience via familial terms, such as brother, mother, and son, and invoke deep-running connections both between IS followers and their imagined constituents. The popular Tajik nasheed 'Take me with you to Khorasan' is more explicitly related to ISKP, calling listeners to join IS in Khorasan Province, and the overall tone of the song celebrating unity and readiness to face challenges.

### 7.3.3 UZBEK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Themes of in-group identity and loyalty were also identified to feature in Uzbek-language ISKP audio propaganda. For example, the audio version of a speech by IS spokesperson al-Ansari, titled 'Allohga qasamqi, bu ish albatta uzohiriga etajakdir' ('By God, this work will surely reach its end goals') celebrates the perceived glory of IS in its goal in seeking an Islamic caliphate. Al-Ansari notes that ISIS was established exactly 10 years ago, with the goal of implementing the aspirations of both God and the Prophet Muhammad: a global caliphate operating



under the Sharia. The address highlighted Islamic State's resilience, which has helped it expand to Khorasan, Africa, and Southeast Asia (Philippines).

Other materials were identified as showcasing the successes of IS, as a means of appealing to group loyalty. Another example, the audio version of the Al-Naba article titled 'Filipindagi jihod' ('Jihad in the Philippines'), celebrates the expansion of the group into different territories, highlighting how IS has reached distant corners of the world, such as Southeast Asia. It also discusses the history of religious military insurgency in the Philippines, claiming that Islamic militant groups joined IS because they understood the message that IS is the only right group on the path to true jihad.

Claims of IS superiority and exceptionalism are also supported by audio products featuring interviews with new recruits, with all participants highlighting a similar trajectory: that they spent multiple years searching for truth, including through membership of various other groups, before coming across IS and moving to IS controlled territories, where they were then embraced as part of the community. For example, one of the recruits, whilst sharing his story of migration to IS territory as part of an Uzbek ISKP audio production, claimed that his turning point was his visit to Türkiye, which he previously considered to be an Islamic state. The recruit recounts that, after being disappointed with the Turkish government, he met with a 'brother' who directed him towards IS. Such content aims to provide an aspirational angle to ISKP propaganda, as well as building community and reinforcing a sense of common values.

## 7.4 ENEMIES OF ISKP

Criticism of other countries and other VEOs was identified as a key narrative theme in audio materials shared by ISKP. Such content serves to identify those considered as enemies by the group and justify violent attacks against them. This [tactic](#) of deeming an individual or group as the 'Other' is known as out-grouping, with those labelled as 'Others' considered as part of the out-group (or enemies of IS or ISKP). By placing blame on a specific 'Other', ISKP identifies and reaffirms in-group and out-group distinctions, as well as justifies and incites attacks on the perceived out-group.

For [ISKP](#), the in-group consists of (select) Sunni Muslims, while the out-group consists of anyone who is not a Sunni Muslim and often, non IS-aligned. A lot of the 'general' audio propaganda is aimed at ISKP's (broader) enemies which are the Taliban, Israel, Iran, Russia, Turkey, US, and European states. The more country-specific audio propaganda instead is aimed at specific VEOs or governments in which the content is produced.



### 7.4.1 PERSIAN AND PASHTO LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

In the case of Persian and Pashto propaganda, most of the audio materials shared containing criticism of designated enemies targets the Afghan Taliban specifically, particularly portraying the Taliban as a deviant Islamic group which has strayed from 'true' Islamic principles.

Such content strongly criticises the Taliban's domestic and foreign policies. The audio materials tend to critique the Taliban's diplomatic engagements with foreign nations perceived as non-Muslim by ISKP, arguing that despite waging a two-decade-long war in the name of Islam, they have now prioritised political survival over religious integrity by establishing relations with non-Muslim countries. The audio materials also highlight the Taliban's diplomatic interactions with major global and regional powers, including the US, China, Russia, Iran, and India, presenting these engagements as evidence of their ideological deviation from Islam. This narrative is strategically designed to influence both ISKP supporters and other extremist elements, framing the Taliban's diplomatic efforts as a betrayal of their original ideological commitments.

One of the most significant ISKP-produced audio series in this category is a weekly programme titled 'Arzawana' ('Understanding'). The programme was launched by Mubarizeen Media in October 2024 and features content predominantly in Pashto. Each episode, which is approximately 20 minutes in length, provides commentary on recent political developments, serving a dual purpose: both as reinforcing ISKP ideology and criticising the Taliban, in order to weaken their support base. The podcast features Abu Muhammad Khorasani, a prominent ISKP ideologue, as the primary speaker, alongside Jalibib, an ISKP media official as host.

Among ISKP's key audio productions of 2024, this podcast serves as a key medium for disseminating ISKP's official perspectives on current events. It also strategically targets Pashto-speaking populations in Afghanistan and Pakistan, aiming to increase support and recruitment for ISKP. For example, the first two episodes focused on criticising the Pashtun Tahafuz Movement (PTM) following its [October 2024 gathering](#) in Pakistan's Khyber tribal district, which brought together thousands of Pashtun representatives from across the country. Additionally, two subsequent episodes covered developments in Syria in December 2024, specifically addressing ISKP supporters in response to IS-rival militants, led by Abu Muhammad al-Julani, overthrowing former President Bashar al-Assad's government and seizing control of Damascus. Through this podcast, ISKP seeks to frame these geopolitical events within its ideological perspective, using them to strengthen its outreach and mobilisation efforts.

Persian and Pashto-language ISKP channels have also shared lectures on Islamic rulings on war, governance, politics, and other matters, often using the Taliban as a negative example. In such a way, ISKP not only disseminates its political ideology



and distinguishes between in-group and out-group, but also promotes Salafi teachings among its followers, and appeals to Salafi communities outside of typical ISKP audiences.

#### 7.4.2 TAJIK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Tajik-language audio materials were observed as critical of both the Afghan Taliban but also Jamat Ansarullah (presently the Islamic Emirate of Tajikistan or IET), a Tajik Islamic fundamentalist militant group that is [allied](#) with the Afghan Taliban. In a podcast shared by one of the Tajik-language ISKP-affiliated Telegram channels, Abu Muhojir, a renowned ISKP Tajik translator, author, and recruiter, discussed life under Ansarullah in northern Afghanistan at the border with Tajikistan, claiming that Ansarullah was incompetent and reliant on orders from the Afghan Taliban. In addition, in 2024, Abu Muhojir recorded a livestream titled 'Refusal of the Followers of Ansarullah' in which he discussed the key differences between Ansarullah, the Taliban, and ISKP.

By highlighting the differences between itself and other VEOs (portrayed as enemies of ISKP), ISKP reinforces in-group and out-group distinctions. In such direct comparisons, ISKP often portrays itself as the 'victor', asserting that its jihad is destined for victory due to its authenticity and unwavering commitment. A similar distinction between ISKP and other groups is made in an audio version of a post titled 'Guruhi Gholib' ('the Winning Group'). In this audio, an unidentified ISKP voice narrates IS' achievements, as well as its core political and theological principles as built on the Quran, and lists the same features of other groups, although positioned as contradicting Quranic teachings. This distinction is used to justify ISKP superiority over other VEOs, and ultimately justify and incite attacks against the perceived out-group, undermining potential rival VEOs through the assertion that ISKP is the sole Islamist group conducting legitimate and viable jihad.

Tajik-language ISKP audio materials also portray other religions as its enemies. For example, the popular ISKP-specific nasheed 'Take me with you to Khorasan' portrays Jews and Christians as enemies, including lyrics directly addressing followers to rise up against Jews and Christians as oppressors: "Let us not be slaves to the Jews and Christians".

Such content does not only villanise other religious communities outside of Islam, but also Muslim states and communities who do not adhere to an IS interpretation of Islam. Another important element of audio materials criticising perceived enemies of ISKP is the antagonisation of all other Muslim groups perceived as heretical. The audio series called 'The Breakers of Islam' portrays all other Muslims,



outside of the followers of ISKP, as ‘breakers of Islam’ (Shikandahoi Islom) and as committing shirk.<sup>15</sup>

Tajik-language audio propaganda criticising ISKP enemies also features country-specific content, notably, criticism of domestic developments in Tajikistan, as well as the actions of the current Tajik government under President Emomali Rahmon. Such audio materials spread the narrative that Rahmon’s government is “the incarnation of the Devil on Earth and the principal enemy of the Ummah”, and denounce the Tajik government for the alleged persecution of independent learning and practicing of Islam, and the removal of all signs of religiosity from the public realm in Tajikistan. As mentioned previously, the Tajik guest speaker on a Farsi podcast, portrayed his former life in Tajikistan as predominantly negative, prior to leaving the country to join ISKP.<sup>16</sup>

### 7.4.3 UZBEK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Uzbek-language ISKP propaganda’s critique and designation of enemies predominantly focused on other states and rival VEOs. Idlib-based extremist group Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (HTS) received the most attention in this regard. Uzbek audio materials were observed as portraying HTS leader Muhammad al-Julani [Ahmed al-Sharaa] as a traitor and a servant of Türkiye, portraying the armed conflict in Syria as solely a consequence of global power struggles and internal factional infighting. One example in the audio materials features an IS member based in Syria, Omar Toshkandiy, who argues that the situation in Syria remains unchanged, with HTS continuing to fight on Türkiye’s behalf. This short audio file is reposted regularly to undermine HTS. Other Syria related audio files similarly discuss and undermine rival VEOs, such as Jaysh al-Ahrar, and criticise all individuals not in the ranks of IS as hypocrites who cannot be counted as true Muslims.

Audio propaganda with anti-West, anti-Iran, and anti-Israel narratives was identified in the audio versions of Al-Naba articles discussing the attack in Kerman, Iran, and the ‘Kill them wherever you find them’ campaign. These two articles expand the scope of enemy territory beyond nation states by encouraging attacks against Jews, Christians, and Shi’as wherever they are. Another article titled, ‘Ular makr kiluvlar. Alloh ham ‘mark’ kilur. Alloh eng yahsi makr qiluvchidir’ (‘They scheme. Allah also schemes. Allah is the best of schemers’) claims that although Israel and Iran act as if they are enemies, they have common goals and to work against Muslim communities.

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<sup>15</sup> Considered the gravest sin in Islam and a direct violation of the concept of tawheed.

<sup>16</sup> “[...] we knew we were Muslims but we knew no meaning of faith, we did not understand the meaning of the Quran. We were far from Islam. [...] police monitored and followed people and their links and suspected men who prayed and followed Islam.”



Uzbek-language ISKP audio content also describes the government of Uzbekistan as an enemy. However, this is limited to repurposed IMU audio files, as the former group's main aim was overthrowing the Uzbek regime. An example of IMU's anti-Uzbek government propaganda repurposed by ISKP is an interview given by a member, Zayniddin Askarov, to foreign journalists in 2003, whilst being held in detention. In the interview, Askarov claims that the terrorist attacks in 1999 in Tashkent were carried out by the Uzbek security services, although attributed to political opposition leader Mohammad Solih and the IMU. Askarov reveals that he was forced by the security services to testify against Solih in court and claims that he was involved in the attacks. Askarov's interview was sensational when it was first released in 2003, and served as a significant attempt to undermine the Uzbek government. This interview is often reshared to remind new ISKP members of the allegedly hypocritical and scheming nature of the Uzbek government (both then and now).

## 7.5 WOMEN

Although ISKP audio propaganda containing gendered elements was found in every language, the extent to which women were mentioned differs. For example, in Pashto, Persian, and Tajik-language propaganda, women did not constitute a significant theme across audio materials observed. In most cases, when discussing women, audio materials in Pashto, Persian, and Tajik-language mention the presence of female IS supporters in prisons or detention camps. Content shared in this regard can elicit sympathy from followers, and may serve to encourage them to join the IS cause. AW has conducted a separate [investigation](#) looking at how women are portrayed as victims in ISKP propaganda.

The same, however, cannot be said for Uzbek-language audio propaganda, where two separate series of lectures were produced and tailored for women audiences. One of these lectures constituted a series of 11 lectures about 11 women (sahaba) – the companions and followers of the Prophet Muhammad. These lectures explore the lives and actions of these women, serving as examples and inspiration for modern day Muslim women, especially concerning support of their male relatives in jihad and accepting their deaths as a positive outcome. These lectures were delivered by Abu Abdullah, whose group affiliation is not clear, and it could not be verified whether these lectures were produced by official ISKP media outlets or constituted repurposed IMU content.



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## 8 LANGUAGE AND TARGET AUDIENCE

As mentioned throughout the report, ISKP audio propaganda is shared across several languages, although the volume of audio material disseminated in each language differs [see figure 4].

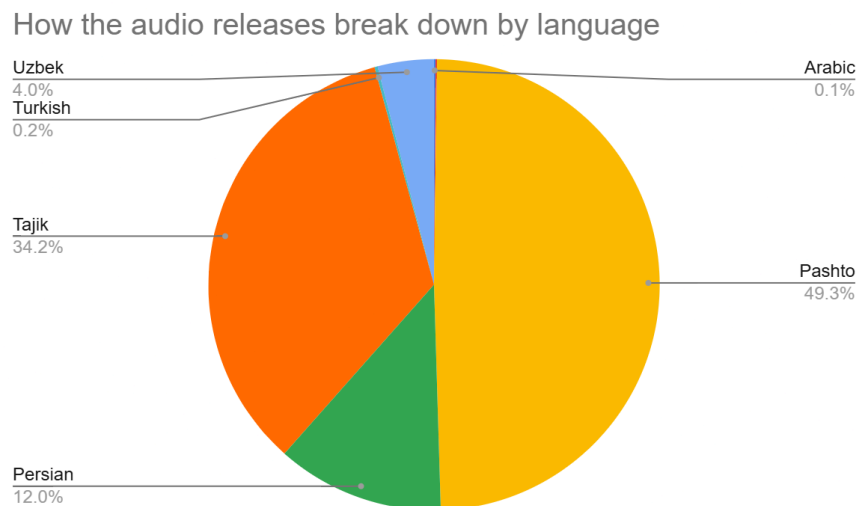


Figure 4: Graph showing in which language the most content was produced between January and December 2024.

Over 49% of the overall content sampled was shared in Pashto, with audio propaganda consisting of 345 hours of content. Although Tajik audio propaganda (34,2%) is second to Pashto in terms of volume, the total number of hours recorded is significantly less: Tajk propaganda resulted in a total of 136 hours of content. Persian propaganda (12%) consisted of 33 hours of content, while Uzbek (4%) included a total of 11 hours of audio materials. Persian audio materials tend to be shorter, averaging 18 minutes and 43 seconds, compared to Pashto's 44 minutes and 57 seconds and Tajik's 29 minutes and 28 seconds. However, Uzbek averages the shortest length in audio materials, at 17 minutes and 55 seconds.

Tailoring content according to language and regional backgrounds was observed as significant to maintaining ISKP relevance among local audiences. Below are examples of the use of language in ISKP audio propaganda, focusing on specific target audience(s).



## 8.1 TARGET AUDIENCE FOR PERSIAN AND PASHTO LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Audio materials shared in Persian and Pashto are produced for an Afghan and Pakistani audience. As the content produced in one language is immediately translated into the other, this demonstrates that ISKP makes a deliberate effort to reach and engage with a broader linguistic and regional audience. By translating its content and adapting its core narratives to reflect the audience it seeks to target, ISKP aims to expand its ideological influence in Afghanistan.

Whereas religious/ideological audio materials are not specific to ISKP followers only but are made to appeal to a more general Muslim audience, content shared under other themes predominantly serves to target supporters and followers of ISKP. Audio materials criticising the Taliban, on the other hand, targets general Pashto and Persian-speaking populations in Afghanistan and Pakistan to increase support and recruitment for ISKP. Therefore, the intended audience of such content comprises not only committed ISKP supporters, as well as the broader Salafi community in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Afghan Taliban sympathisers, and its allied local groups such as the Pakistani Taliban, and Pashtun tribespeople along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border.

Notable speakers in Pashto and Persian-language propaganda are primarily from eastern and northern Afghanistan, particularly Nangarhar, Kunar, Panjshir, and Kunduz. AW was able to gather this information by both analysing the dialects used by the speakers, as well as interviews given by speakers on Mubarazin and Al-Azaim media.

## 8.2 TARGET AUDIENCE FOR TAJIK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA

Different themes were observed to be utilised by Tajik-language ISKP channels to appear to different target audiences. For example, through Tajik-language audio propaganda, ISKP exploits internal political, economic, and social issues in Tajikistan as a means of engaging critically-minded individuals with anti-government views. Other forms of Tajik propaganda also seek to target young Tajik individuals who may be experiencing isolation by evoking a sense of community and belonging: such individuals could also be attracted to ISKP propaganda as a means of receiving a religious education, such as is unavailable under the current Tajik government.

ISKP lectures in Tajik are always presented in a literary and Quranic Tajik register,<sup>17</sup> such as would be used in a madrasa, while podcasts featuring speakers are often relatively more informal and colloquial. This demonstrates a distinction in appeal

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<sup>17</sup> The Quranic Tajik register is understood as a form of Tajik language which privileges Quranic Arabic-derived vocabulary and structure in order to convey religious sentiment.



through the use of language: in lectures on religion and ideology, ISKP seeks to present itself as a reliable religious source, cultivating a more serious and credible reputation. Anis Rahmon Vafoi and Abduzohir Doi both speak Tajik with a slight Afghan Farsi accent, with a use of vocabulary indicating theological training. While there is no information on Vafoi's nationality and/or identity, Doi is known to be Afghan national.

The presence of Russian-language terms in Tajik audio propaganda might also suggest an effort to appeal to Tajiks outside of Tajikistan, and in particular, to Tajik labour migrants living in Russia. As they are distant from their families, nasheeds, such as those previously mentioned, may also have significant emotional appeal to the migrant target audience.

As mentioned previously, there is also evidence that the audio propaganda is directed at young individuals, with some audio materials identified as shaming and urging young men into joining jihad.

### **8.3 TARGET AUDIENCE FOR UZBEK LANGUAGE PROPAGANDA**

The language and content of the Uzbek-language ISKP audio propaganda is aimed predominantly at Uzbek-speaking individuals in Central Asia, both men and women. However, this does not mean that the geographical scope of ISKP Uzbek propaganda is limited to Central Asia, as content was observed to also target Uzbek-speaking migrant worker communities in Russia and Türkiye.

Stories of alleged new recruits published by ISKP, such as the story of the recruit's migration mentioned previously, can provide evidence on where recruiters operate and which communities they target. The story, whether factual or manufactured, appears to suggest Türkiye as a country of operations managed by ISKP recruiters in the Uzbek-language space.

Linguistic analysis used to identify the geographic origins of Uzbek ISKP speakers (who were likely former IMU members) suggests that their dialects are closest to the form of Uzbek spoken in the Fergana Valley region, specifically in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. AW notes that this region is considered one of the areas of concentration for religious extremism in Central Asia, with several high profile propagandists assessed as originally from this region. For example, all IMU leaders come from the Vodiy region of Uzbekistan. However, it is worth noting that the dialect of Uzbek spoken in the Vodiy region is recognised as an elevated and literary form of Uzbek, and it is likely that some ISKP preachers may adopt and imitate this dialect to sound more educated and eloquent, and therefore a Vodiy dialect does not necessarily indicate that the preachers originate from the same geographic area.



Similar to Tajik-language ISKP propaganda, there is also evidence that suggests that Uzbek audio materials target younger individuals, with some audio materials identified as targeting young people explicitly, urging them to start waging jihad from a young age. For example, one of the nasheeds performed by Asadullah Urganchiy, titled 'Yigitlat jim turganda' (When Young Men Don't Act), warns of dangers of perceived social degradation when young men are passive and do not pursue jihad.

As discussed previously, women are also targeted by audio propaganda. This is supported by the presence of tailored propaganda for women and its frequent reposting in Telegram channels.



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## 9 CONCLUSION

Audio materials serve as another important tool in ISKP's propaganda arsenal, alongside and often complimenting visual material. The different formats of audio (such as lectures, podcasts, audio books, nasheeds, and broadcasts) are used for various purposes, predominantly recruiting, radicalising, engaging with, and mobilising the group's supporters and followers. ISKP has taken advantage of digital tools and social media platforms for creating, distributing, and amplifying audio materials as readily accessible. For example, lectures are live-streamed, recorded, and shared on socials, creating materials that can reach a broader audience.

Audio materials form an effective form of propaganda for ISKP, analysed as performing a variety of purposes, including: as a means of religious education, to promote their ideological beliefs, to strengthen their identity as part of a group, to define and vilify ISKP out-groups (or enemies), and to encourage and incite supporters to carry out attacks and wage jihad, as the group ultimately seeks to expand its ideological influence and operational outreach.

Although content produced by the different languages of ISKP was not observed to be monolithic, the most prominent common narrative theme across all languages was religion/ideology. As mentioned, while ISKP audio propaganda on religion/ideology may not be explicitly associated with the group, some audios were identified as subtly urging listeners to conduct (violent) jihad. In this case, religious and ideological audio materials may constitute a first step in the radicalisation process, with target audiences initially attracted to the religious content, before becoming involved in specific ISKP content and communities. In contrast, gender did not constitute a significant narrative theme in Pashto, Persian, and Tajik-language audio materials, whereas instead, in Uzbek-propaganda was tailored to women.

Audio versions of Al-Naba editorials were observed to be translated and produced across every language group analysed. It is significant that the majority of Uzbek-language ISKP audio materials observed were identified as repurposed IMU propaganda content. This may explain the relative shortage of original material produced in Uzbek, compared with Pashto, Persian, and Tajik.

In addition to more general religious material, ISKP also produces country-specific audio propaganda, as a way of targeting supporters across ISKP geographic coverage and appealing to the specific linguistic backgrounds as well as political and contextual sensitivities of particular groups. The language style, registers, and dialects used by the speakers in audio materials seeks to appeal to audiences with different ethno-regional, educational, and social backgrounds. The audio materials



are also diversified to target recruitment of potential followers of various ages, with young men in particular urged to join ISKP and wage jihad. The religious vocabulary used in the lectures further positions ISKP as a reliable religious authority, cultivating a more serious and credible reputation.

Audio materials, like visual materials, are also an important tool in evoking emotional reactions among target audiences, and harnessing emotions among existing supporters. This was observed to be particularly significant regarding nasheeds, as a medium which is not only accessible and often familiar to target audiences, but constructed with the intent to foster lasting sentiment and connection between the group's supporters.



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## 10 ANNEX

### 10.1 METHODOLOGY

#### 10.1.1 DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

For the purposes of analysing the use and quantity of audio propaganda shared by ISKP in 2024, AW used a mixed-methods, including both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Due to the volume of channels and propaganda content containing ISKP material, AW focused its collection on Telegram, Rocket Chat,<sup>18</sup> and Gemspace<sup>19</sup> during the timeframe 1 January - 31 December 2024. The data was collected in four languages: Persian, Tajik, Pashto, and Uzbek.

In a similar fashion to AW's investigation on ISKP's visual propaganda, the audio propaganda for this report was grouped into five different narrative themes, each containing descriptions and examples of the type of content used. This approach allowed AW to more effectively assess the purposes behind the creation and use of different kinds of audios, whether as responses to emerging events, or as a means of solidifying group identity.

The quantitative portion of the investigation was based on a sample of 939 pieces of audio materials shared between January and December 2024. The qualitative section is representative, based on an overall reading of the audio propaganda produced by ISKP.

#### QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

The quantitative section of the report aimed to answer the following research questions to better understand the quantity of audio propaganda shared by ISKP between January and December 2024:

- What was the most popular content type shared in the audio propaganda?
- Which channel was the most active?
- In which languages was the most audio propaganda shared in?

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<sup>18</sup> Rocket Chat is an open source social media platform similar to Telegram or Discord. Users can download the software from the [github page](#) and run their own version of the software which is controlled by them using their own servers independent from moderation from centralised services.

<sup>19</sup> Gemspace is a messaging application similar to Telegram. On 4 December 2024, after the deletion and banning of accounts, groups, and channels used by ISKP media groups and supporters on Telegram, a message was shared in the remaining channels urging supporters to migrate to Gemspace.



The data on audio propaganda collected was then catalogued in a database noting the following classifiers: date the audio was shared<sup>20</sup>; the category of audio (divided into lecture, nasheed, podcast, and broadcast); the language in the audio; any known speakers identified; the title of the audio and its translated version; channel(s) in which the audio was shared and their category (official, ISKP publishing group, and ISKP-affiliated); any information on the audio; and the content type (attacks, religious/ideology, in-group identity and loyalty, enemies of ISKP, women).

The quantitative data collected for this investigation consists of 'original content' that has either been produced by Al-Azaim, ISKP's publishing groups or shared in ISKP-affiliated channels. Any audio material that is either repurposed propaganda, for example IMU propaganda, or that is reshared in multiple channels, has not been collected.

## QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

The quantitative section of the report aimed to understand the key themes, the target audience, the use of language, and the purpose of the audio propaganda for each of the audios shared in the four languages. The following questions were answered:

- What are the key themes shared in Uzbek/Pashto/Persian/Tajik ISKP audio propaganda? Do the audios mention any specific/local issues?
- Who is the target audience of the Uzbek/Pashto/Farsi/Tajik audio propaganda? How is ISKP appealing to said target audience?
- Is there anything relevant/interesting about the language used? Are they using formal or informal language?
- Are there any main Uzbek/Pashto/Farsi/Tajik speakers in ISKP audio propaganda? If so, who are they?
- Why is audio propaganda used? Is it used to recruit, radicalise, educate, make consistent with ISKP ideology, entertain, and mobilise supporters? What is the nature of this content?
- What type of audio propaganda (podcasts, lectures, nasheeds) is most used for Uzbek/Pashto/Farsi/Tajik language-specific content?

The qualitative section serves to provide a broader understanding of the audio materials shared by ISKP. For this reason, it provides an analysis of content that was not collected for the quantitative portion of the investigation. For example, IMU propaganda is an important part of Uzbek-language audio propaganda. Although data for it was not collected, the qualitative section provides an understanding of its use.

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<sup>20</sup> For this investigation and where possible, the date of when the audio was shared, and not created, was noted.



### 10.1.2 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The findings of this report constitute a representative sample of the audio propaganda produced, with the data collection encountering the following limitations:

- **Accessing closed/semi-closed spaces.** Certain propaganda materials are only shared on closed or semi-closed online spaces. This limited the content that was available for researchers to access. Closed channels operate on the DarkNet where ISKP admins circulate links to active channels on Telegrams. Semi-closed channels are accessible via a Telegram bot or directly via a link to a channel.
- **Data availability.** Propaganda materials are often only available online for very limited periods. This is largely due to the group's security concerns and fears of being infiltrated or compromised. In addition to this, Telegram channels disseminating ISKP propaganda are frequently taken down and removed. This may mean that content shared to monitored channels during the reporting period may have been unable for collection, due to the limited time period of its availability. There is also no current centralised archive of these files meaning that ISKP related media is often ephemeral.
- **Offline and online relationship.** The investigation did not analyse the relation between offline events and a potential spike in online propaganda. This is because a more holistic approach, one that includes all of ISKP's propaganda (including both visual and audio materials) would be required. Audio propaganda by itself would not be sufficient in making an assessment of correlation.
- **Overlap of narrative themes.** Dividing narrative themes into separate categories is useful for analysing the intents and purposes of audio materials shared by ISKP. However, the thematic areas are not mutually exclusive, and often observed as interrelated: audio materials, especially those longer in length, may introduce several topics spanning multiple thematic areas.