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*Media and Terrorism: Is Media the Tool for Terrorism?**

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Abstract: The issue of Media and Terrorism has started to draw the attention of science environment after September 11 more and more. The researches before September 11 were rather about terrorist actions' way of appearance on media. After September 11, the issue turned into the question of whether media is instumentalized by terrorists or not. In this respect, the studies cover a wide field such as way of media's construction and presentation of terrorist incidents, the language it uses, broadcasting policy, perception management. As a result, it is possible to mention about significant publications in the issue of media-terrorism qualitatively and quantitatively in our day.

The researches point out that terrorist incidents or actions have extraordinary media interest. As such, terrorist incidents (September 11 attacks, London attacks, Paris attacks, Ankara attacks etc. incidents) on national and international scale have occupied media for days and weeks. Even, it will be a little bit assertive, but it can be said that terrorist actions are products/child of media.

Touch competition conditions lived in our day witness a bitter struggle in attracting audience/rating among media. This case forces media staff to pursue sensational incidents and particularly, terrorism, traffic accidents, martyr funeral ceremonies and suchlike emotional incidents (scenes of people darting about, crying, lamenting, with torn dresses in welter of blood, and tearful people scenes) and to report as news.

Being aware of that, terrorist organizations use this case unmercifully. Within the direction of "the more the number of victims are and the closer the case to media centers, the more that incident will be on the news" rule, terrorists guarantee appearing on the media by moving their actions or attacks to the city centers and therefore, attain their goals easier. Therefore, both terrorists gain a profile as political actor and use media as a scene that they announce their messages in this way. Hence, media turns into a tool rendering service to the goals of terrorists. The relationship between media and terrorism will be discussed and truth of this claim alleged concerning that media embraces terrorism will be researched in this study. The relevance of the relationships between media and terrorism is also very important. For this reason, the elements to be included in the center of the study were also carefully selected. the current activities of previous studies have also been updated.

Keywords: terrorism, media, human right, social truth, international security.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The relationship of media and terrorism is a subject discovered by science environment after September 11. There had been several terrorist actions in the world before September 11; but these did not reach global dimension and remain more of local as these were not oriented to the west and did not threaten west. When we look back, we see that there has been numerous terrorist organization. ETA, IRA, ASALA, RED BRIGADES, PKK, BAADER MEINHOF, TIGERS OF TAMIL are only a few of them. These terrorist organizations carried out newsworthy incidents in terms of media such as assassination, kidnapping, hijacking, murder, bank robbery etc. but these did not reach the attention of global public opinion as none of these incidents targeted places, deemed as symbolic values of the world. As for September 11, it differentiates itself from the previous terrorist attacks at this very point. September 11 targeted Twin Towers, being symbolic representation of the world and super power, that is to say the heart of west. When the target is the super power itself, the interest of world media was quite high, consequently. The attention of world media was locked to these attacks and emergence and flow of the attacks were presented to the whole world moment by moment as watching a film. Furthermore, AL-QA'IDA was imprinted on the memories as the most dangerous and unmerciful terrorist organization.

Media's way of presenting the attack is shown as the basic reason for September 11's being imprinted on the memories of people in such persistent manner and still preserving its aliveness. Hence, a new subject came into the world. This is the relationship between media and terrorism. Therefore, terrorist attacks are started to be questioned and discussed in a new perspective, in terms of media's contribution to terrorism. In this respect, the studies cover a wide range of field such as media's construction and presentation of terrorist incidents, the language it uses, broadcasting policy, perception management. As a result, it is possible to mention about significant publications in the issue of media-terrorism qualitatively and quantitatively in our day.

The issue of terrorism was handled and analyzed as more of event-based until September 11. As globalization and globalization of media in this context, was in the phase of infancy, terrorist actions reached to daily life of the society and gained quality of being a subject interesting everyone. The case changed with the globalization of media. Terrorists' changing their strategies also has a substantial role in this process. Terrorists also realized the power of media, solved its logic of operation and afterwards, moved their actions from mountains to metropolis by taking impression creating and accessibility criteria in terms of media into consideration. As impression creating actions and the images that media easily reach guarantee being visible on media, terrorists have started to organize their actions according to this. Terrorists have realized that they cannot reach their goals and cannot create the perception of fear and threat without media. For that reason, they have started to do all action plans considering media factor. This is because basic aims of terrorist organizations are to attract notice or give a message. The way of transmitting this message to the masses is media.

Media is the fastest and efficient way of reaching people in the world. Everything is announced through or over media any longer. Terrorist organizations also spread their messages through and over media. Media provides them the public opinion that they need. Public opinion is vital for terrorists. It is quite difficult to find the staff they need, obtain volunteers for their actions and ensure financial resource without public opinion. Accordingly, terrorism is at the same time a war of propaganda.

Terrorists do their action in subhuman and wild manner in a way that those actions will be spoken on news and programs. Terrorist actions' being subject of news intensely means that numerous people are reached at the same time and in parallel with this, they increase their efficiency area and become powerful. And this facilitates procurement of human and financial resources that terrorist organization continuously in need. Media is in a race so to speak, to be the first one to announce these unmerciful and sub-human incidents. This is because terrorist incidents interest the society in general not only a segment of it and thus affect the circulation of the newspaper. In other saying, while media is providing terrorist actions' reaching to large masses, terrorist incidents incite media's is demanded more. Terrorists reach their aims without making much effort due to rating anxiety of media. Hence, they play into terrorists' hands. At the same time, media is a political actor, that is to say, media not

only narrates what is going on but also actively contributes to the process of creating a public opinion and thus, has an important role in fulfilling the objectives of terrorist organizations. Thereby, a symbiotic relationship between media and terrorism is created. At this very point, media is criticized severely as renders services to the goals of terrorists.

The critics regarding media renders service to the goals of terrorists have started to frequently be expressed both by scholars and political actors in the recent periods. This is because; this study deals with the relation of terrorism and media and questions the way of terrorism's appearing on media. In this context, the primary target of this study is to find answers of these questions:

- 1) How do media report terrorist actions as news?
- 2) Do media become tool and putty of terrorists? In other words, do terrorists instrumentalize media?
- 3) What kind of a news making strategy shall media pursue towards terrorists' attempts to instrumentalize?

These questions are tried to be answered based on the findings and data of various studies carried out on this issue.

II. THE CONCEPT OF TERRORISM

Everybody agrees that the word of Terrorism was firstly used in France after French Revolution and the meaning and scope of the concept of terrorism have enlarged and changed since its first usage. However, it is not possible to find a definition regarding the concept about which everyone comes to terms. There are tens of definition of terror and terrorism made by various scholars, philosophers, experts and politicians and it is observed that different standings and points of views are reflected in these definitions.

Terrorism was derived from the word of "terreur" in French and contains acts of violence aiming at disturbing public order and general health, demolishing political and economic order, destroying national unity, splitting the unity of the country, collapsing legal administration and weakening fundamental order of the society by means of threat, violence, oppression, suppression, intimidation and threatening as word meaning. In this sense, terrorism is a language, discourse, tool, method and strategy that is used in planned way to reach political goals and is an act of violence containing stress, fear, anxiety, worry, panic and terror feelings (see Yayla, 1990; Orhon, 2004; Muratoğlu, 2007; Küçükcan, 2010; Fendoğlu, 2012; Akçay ve Çelenay, 2012, Devran, 2015).

Besides this, mostly confused with the word of terror and used in the same meaning, terrorism was derived from "terre" word in Latin and is a way of violence carried out with the aim of causing fear on public opinion to lean on political groups, government or state (Akgün, 2006:34; Topal, 2005:7). Terrorism tries to influence the attitudes of the enemy by means of attacking symbolic values that enemy has rather than material value. Together with the fact that its victims are generally civilians, it is not necessary for an action to be a terrorist action to cause individual harm (death or injury) absolutely (Schlagheck, 1998:1; Wilkinson, 1997:51-64). In this regard, terrorism is an element of psychological warfare.

While terror states a status of action causing intimidation in individuals and spreading terror in general sense, terrorism states the situation of adopting organized, systematic and continuous terrorist actions as a method to change present condition for political reasons (Türkkaya, 2003:14). In this scope, terrorism is form of planned and having politic purpose violence. Its aim is to provide masses' being influenced by the actions. Terrorism is a complex method and wild way that use fear, fright, violence, death and massacre to reach the target (Akçay and Çelenay, 2012).

Terror has three elements aside ideological, organizational and violence (Akçay and Çelenay, 2012:184). Organization determines its strategy by acting within the direction of the ideology it adopted. According to organizational element, being the second factor, terrorist organizations are generally comprised of organization leaders, chiefs under the leaders and the low-level responsables. And the last element, violence, comes into prominent compared to other two elements. The basic reason for that is terrorist organizations see violence as a significant tool to reach the targets they determine within the direction of their

ideologies and terrorist actions which they name “armed propaganda” as an avoidable method to change the present constitutional order.

III. SIGNIFICANCE OF MEDIA IN TERMS OF TERROR

Media is the eye and ears of people. It is not possible to understand the work getting complex and becoming different more and more without media. People watch and observe media to understand what is going on around them, to have position concerning the incidents, to organize their daily lives, and to learn what other people think. Being aware of this importance of the media, political and social actors are in fight with all their power to appear on media. This is because it is widely believed that no one and no incident that does not enter and appear on media is perceived, known and recognized as exist in reality. Correspondingly, everyone desire to appear on media by some means or other (Gökce, 2004a).

Terrorists want to give message with actions primarily. The most efficient tool for giving a message is media. In this sense, the ultimate aim of terrorist actions is to attract the notice of media. In other saying, the purpose of terrorist organizations is to appear on media or be in the center of public attention and interest. For this purpose, terrorists plan and implement their targets, timing of the act, the position of the targets as being easily accessed by media both in terms of spatial and image. However, terrorist organizations are aware of the fact that they can find militants who will fight for them primarily and they can increase their money sources as well as many other purposes thanks to this. This case reveals that terrorist organizations become quite professional about the operation of media and propaganda and they can direct media within the direction of their goals. For that reason, media is accepted as the most suitable tool rendering service to the goal of terror (Orhon, 2004; Yüksel, 2004; Gökce vd., 2004b ve 2004c).

It is observed that terrorist organizations establish their own media in the recent years to increase their influence, being aware of media’s power of molding public opinion. For instance, PKK terrorist organization wants the written and visual information and documents related to their actions to appear in discussion programs, newspaper columns and writings of these organs by entering those to delivery channel of both social media and traditional media thanks to the news agency, television, radio and websites. And it is seen that they are quite successful on that.

Terrorist organizations build relationships with media staff with the aim of appearing on media and give them interviews, take them to their places, and in short, try every single thing to be on media as they think that media establishes reputation and legality to them, and encourages terror staff and sympathizers. This is because terrorist organizations know that appearing on media will provide them the advantage of becoming legal representative of the segments of the society for which they do actions, as claimed by them. And also they know that this will facilitate their providing financial resource and new terrorists. Furthermore, the way how organization leader’s being defined on media and the language used within this direction also contribute to this legitimization process.

IV. WEAKNESS OF MEDIA CONCERNING VIOLENT INCIDENCE

Thousands of even millions of incidents occur daily in social life. However, only some of those are shown in the news and others fall in trash box. It is required for an incident to be selected to be turned into news that it shall have one or more of the news factors. News factors are professional codes that are efficient in the selection of events as news. The codes such as conflict/violence (war, armed/bombed assault, sudden attacks, verbal abuse, fight, battle), abnormality and being oriented to the society-wide come into the prominence as most efficient factors in selection of news (see Gökce, 1988).

Terrorists have highly become professionals in terms of communication strategies and thus know the weaknesses of media quite well. Being aware of the fact that the biggest weakness of media is the subject of violence, terrorists recognize that their attacks and actions are not momentary subjects and will not fall off the agenda immediately. Violence is extremely attractive for media. It is for certain that the most important tool of terrorist organization is violence. Even, it can be said that it is the basic communication strategy of terrorist organization. Terrorist organizations are conscious about that they will be on media and

perpetuate a show effect with this communication strategy. For that reason, violence (bombed attack, suicide bomb, and sudden attacks) and the events and actions having high potential of violence (kidnapping, brigandage, busts etc.) are main tools of terrorist organizations. A substantial factor of the logic of terrorism is shock effect. This is why violence and blood are most important communication strategy of terrorism. The place of terrorists on media is under guarantee as long as they shed blood. Ultimately, a symbiotic relation between media and terrorism is created unavoidably. While terrorism is trying to cause social indignance by using media, media desires to increase its audience rate by exaggerating terrorist incidents and making it manipulation material, and repeating the same scenes continuously. Media is in a race so to speak, to be the first one to announce these unmerciful and sub-human incidents. This is because terrorist incidents interest the society in general not only a segment of it and thus affect the circulation of the newspaper. In other saying, while media is providing terrorist actions' reaching to large masses, terrorist incidents incite media's being demanded more.

Terrorists do not deem their aims as limited with the incidents' they created being in the first rank in present news programs or being on the first pages of newspapers. The main purpose of them is to trigger latest political developments and even crisis with these events and to lead to organization of discussion programs and panels related to the attacks lasting for days on TV. Media stages terrorist attacks extremely emotional and dramatizes to increase their market share. Jenkins (1975) indicated that terrorist organizations plan their actions meticulously in a manner that media will notice the action and used the concept of "Terrorism Drama" for that. That is in brief terrorists plan and implement their attacks in a way that it will surround the agenda day after day and therefore advertise themselves. This is because, an attack or action is only successful in terms of terrorists when it appears on media and afterwards there are condemnation statements take place on media. In this context, media is in the center of all actions of terrorist organization. In other words, terrorists or terrorist organization of our day consider media as a stage for all of their actions within the framework of "Terrorism Drama" and take each step as per this stage. Therefore, it is not seem possible that media not to fall in that trap with the recent structure of media (Orhon, 2004; Gökce, 2004b; Yüksel, 2004). Furthermore, such case also in question. Most of the time, media does not perceive this trap or ignore consciously. The reason for that is generally media thinks that it takes the opportunity to turn terrorist incidents into "significant national and international media event" easily (Hoffmann, 2001). For that reason, media reacts quite fast without understanding the cause and source of the incidents and considering the potential outcomes it may generate due to the competition, particularly with social media (Orhon, 2004). This generally means falling into the trap of terrorists. In conclusion, terrorist organizations have inversely proportional clout to their sizes in international and national public opinion.

It is for certain that terrorist attacks are newsworthy. However, media has easily become an instrument in fulfilling the goals of terrorists with its reporting these as news in exaggerating and moving the emotions.

V. CRITICISM ON MEDIA'S REPORTING TERRORIST INCIDENCE AS NEWS

The existence of symbiotic relation between media and terrorism, that it to say, these are dependent to one another reciprocally is a commonly-held sense in scientific public opinion. It is said that media cannot be separated with the fact that media is being instrumentalized by terrorism and it turns into a kind of spokesmen of terror basing on the principles of freedom of press of media and people's right to obtain information. In fact, it is frequently expressed that this is not originated not only from media staff but more of the structure of media.

As it was specified before, the aim of terrorist actions is to scare and intimidate. It is generally uttered that media's presenting the news and images related to suffer, blood, tear, shock, and devastation caused by terrorist action as is without filtering and presenting those frequently makes it an instrument of terror.

Terrorists have analyzed the logic of operation of media quite well, and realized that dramatized events attract the notice of media. In this regard, terrorist organizations plan and implement their actions thinking and calculating all possibilities. This is because terrorist organizations know that they are weak against state in every sense. They focus on actions or attacks difficult to

prevent, oriented to devastation and creating tremendous impression to meet this weakness and show themselves strong before public.

Media's presenting these attacks by attaching extraordinary importance and dramatizing will cause anxiety and fear in the society. People try not to go out and be in crowded areas. It is observed that the anxiety of "falling victim" among people after the terrorist attacks happened in Turkey and Europe in the recent years. It is undeniable fact that the contribution of media in creation of this perception is quite high. In this sense, it can be said that media is the best friend of terrorists. To put it in different way, media has become an important instrument for terrorist organizations' making their purposes and voices heard to the world (see Weichert, 2002; Neverla, 2003).

The science environment is divided into two concerning media's reporting terrorist incidents as news. While some are criticizing media due to its way of reporting the incident and presentation and its comments and define as the fundamental reason for strengthening of terror, some others defend the opposite.

The ones who criticize media because of news about terrorism specify that media shall take the responsibility of the news into consideration while preparing the news on the issue and shall not give explicit or implicit support for terror; even some suggest that news shall not be reported about those. The ones who have opposing view express that media reports and shall report news about terrorist incidents just as other incidents. According to them, the world is not only comprised of terrorists or terrorist organizations. Media does not become servant of anyone by choosing and reporting an incident as news and does not render service to their purposes. Media has to report news about terror within the scope of society's right to obtain information and freedom of press. In this context, everyone who reports terrorist incidents as news, do not do favor to terrorists and do not render service to their goals.

Media's ignoring terrorist incidents is out of question. If you ignore terrorist incidents and do not show it, terrorists have the possibility to announce this to public by means of alternative communication tools. Furthermore, this kind of an attitude and approach will give harm to the trust to both political power and media to a large extent and will incite distrust environment in the society. For that reason, it is not possible for media to ignore terrorist incidents. However, it is also not necessary for to present these incidents in extremely emotional and dramatizing way in a manner that it will cause speculations and provocations. Likewise, media shall rapidly abandon the understanding of presenting the actions for minutes and rewinding again and again every time or headlining and in a manner that it will cover whole page referring to the concept of freedom of press. Within this framework, live broadcast is pretty dangerous. This is because incidents hold media captive not media staff hold incidents captive in this case. For that reason, media reports actions and events as news, it shall do so, but it always has to analyze the news in terms of its outcomes. The understanding of "everything is news" shall not be the case in any case and environment (Yüksel, 2004).

VI. CONCLUSION

It is not possible for media to ignore and not to report the incidents oriented to the society such as terrorist attacks. Reporting these kinds of incidents is both necessity of journalism and right to society's obtaining information. However, as long as media continue its incidents and explanations indexed understanding of journalism also in terrorist incidents, and this is in question most of the time, it is unavoidable for it to become a passive actor of terrorist actions and become instrument of terror.

What can media do concerning instrumentalization strategy of terrorists?

It will be suitable that media shall handle terrorist attacks within the framework of crisis not from incidents as war, disaster while reporting news. In other words, media shall alter its framing strategy about terrorist attacks and shall move away classical news factors in theming terrorist incidents. Moreover, great care is needed in use of images. Images are rather effective weapons. As terrorists know that media thematizes over images, they plan their actions in a way that media will have many images. Therefore, media shall limit itself while using the materials that terrorists present to them. The number of victims is not too

important for terrorists; the thing which is important for them is the psychological effect generated. Terrorists achieve this psychological effect over or by means of media. The level of an action's appearing on media and its reflections are indicators of that action in terms of terrorists. Media shall approach terrorist actions from this perspective, and thematize and present the events in a manner that media will not be an instrument of goals of terrorists. It is quite important to use limited visual images as much as possible in this process.

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