



T.C.

CANKIRI KARATEKIN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

POLITICAL SCIENCES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

DEPARTMENT

FROM ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM TO ISLAMOPHOBIA: WESTERN STATES' USE OF ISLAM AND TERRORISM AS A TOOL OF MANIPULATION

Enes ERÖZKAN

MASTER'S THESIS

Supervisor

Dr. Şuayip TURAN

Çankırı – 2024

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SCIENTIFIC ETHICS STATEMENT

In the process from the proposal stage to the conclusion of the study titled *From Islamic Fundamentalism to Islamophobia: Western States' Use of Islam and Terrorism As a Tool of Manipulation*, which I prepared as a master's thesis, I carefully followed the academic ethics and rules, that I obtained all the information in the thesis within the framework of academic ethics and tradition, that I prepared in accordance with the rules of writing the thesis. I declare that I cited every citation as a reference and that the works I have benefited from are those shown in the bibliography.

25 / 07 / 2024

Signature

Enes ERÖZKAN

THESIS ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

ÇANKIRI KARATEKİN UNIVERSITY TO THE DIRECTORATE OF THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

This study titled *From Islamic Fundamentalism to Islamophobia: Western States' Use of Islam and Terrorism As a Tool of Manipulation* prepared by Enes ERÖZKAN was found successful *unanimously/by majority* of votes as a result of the thesis defense held on 25/07/2024 and was accepted as a Master's thesis in the *Political Science and International Relations* by our jury.

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APPROVAL

This Thesis has been accepted by the jury determined in the session of Çankırı Karatekin University Institute of Postgraduate Education Administrative Board, dated .../.../ 202.. and numbered

Prof. Dr. Ersoy YILMAZ

Director of the Institution

PREFACE

At this important turning point in my life, I would like to start by expressing my deepest and sincere thanks to everyone who supported me in the process of completing this master's thesis.

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my esteemed advisor Dr. Çağlar EZİKOĞLU for guiding me on this journey. His knowledge and experience inspired me to overcome the difficulties I faced and to get better at every step.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my professors at Çankırı Karatekin University who supported me throughout this process. Their valuable feedback, criticism and encouragement played a major role in the development of this study.

I would like to express my love and thanks to my beloved mother, father, brother and especially my sister Sema, for being with me at every moment of this challenging process, encouraging me, guiding me when I faced any difficulties, and lifting me up when I was most despairing.

Every challenge I faced while writing this thesis taught me something new and every obstacle proved to be surmountable in the end. This process has not only been an academic journey, but also a process of personal growth. This success is not only mine, but also the success of everyone who believed in me and stood by me during this process.

Finally, I would like to extend my sincere thanks to everyone who contributed, and supported the completion of this thesis. This success is the result of the steps taken together and the dreams shared.

25/07/2024

Enes ERÖZKAN

ABSTRACT

Thesis Title : From Islamic Fundamentalism to Islamophobia: Western States' Use of Islam and Terrorism as a Tool of Manipulation
Author of the Thesis : Enes ERÖZKAN
Supervisor : Asst. Prof. Dr. Şuayip TURAN
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Islamophobia has become a rapidly spreading phenomenon today and various studies have been conducted on this subject. In this thesis, the rise of Islamophobia as a fundamental problem in societies around the world is analysed in terms of media and discourses. In this context, the relationship between Islamic fundamentalism and Islamophobia, how terrorism and propaganda are used as a means of manipulation by states and the effects of this situation at the level of discourse are examined. The study seeks answers to questions such as 'Are Islam and terrorist organisations used by the West as a tool to spread Islamophobia?', 'Are terrorism and Islam deliberately manipulated through media tools?', 'What kind of perception of Islam does the use of religious references by terrorist organisations create on societies?'. The findings show that the 11 September attacks were an important turning point that changed the perception of Islam in the West and that this event led to the association of Islam with terrorism. The frequent use of terms such as 'Islamic fundamentalism' and 'jihadism' in politics and media contributes to the reinforcement of this prejudice. Terrorist organisations are perceived as an Islamophobic threat in the West, despite the fact that they stem from complex socio-political conditions, and this perception is used by politicians to legitimise domestic and foreign policies. The results obtained strongly support this claim. Consequently, concrete actions to promote peace and understanding between societies should be taken in conjunction with the proposed methods. This thesis reveals that although terrorism is a complex and multifaceted problem, the portrayals of Islam and Muslims in Western media and political discourse contribute significantly to the spread of Islamophobia.

Keywords: Islamophobia, terrorism, fundamentalism, media, propaganda, manipulation

ÖZET

Tez Adı : İslami Fundamentalizmden İslamofobiye: Batılı Devletlerin İslam ve Terörizmi Manipölasyon Aracı Olarak Kullanımı
Tezin Yazarı : Enes ERÖZKAN
Danışman : Dr. Şuayip TURAN
Anabilim Dalı: Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler
Tez Türü : Yüksek Lisans
Kabul Tarihi : 25.07.2024

İslamofobi, günümüzde hızla yaygınlaşan bir olgu haline gelmiş ve bu konuda çeşitli çalışmalar yapılmıştır. Bu tezde, temel sorun olarak islamofobinin dünya üzerinde toplumlar üzerinde artışı, medya ve söylemler açısından ele alınmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, İslami köktencilik ile İslamofobi arasındaki ilişki, terörizmin ve propagandanın devletler tarafından nasıl manipölasyon aracı olarak kullanıldığı ve söylem düzeyinde bu durumun etkileri incelenmektedir. Çalışma, "İslam ve terör örgütleri, Batı tarafından İslamofobiye yaymak için bir araç olarak mı kullanılmaktadır?", "Terörizm ve İslam, medya araçları üzerinden kasıtlı olarak mı manipüle edilmektedir?", "Terör örgütlerinin dini referanslar kullanması, toplumlar üzerinde nasıl bir İslam algısı oluşturmaktadır?" gibi sorulara yanıt aramaktadır. Elde edilen bulgular, 11 Eylül saldırılarının Batı'daki İslam algısını değiştiren önemli bir dönüm noktası olduğunu ve bu olayın İslam ile terörizmin ilişkilendirilmesine neden olduğunu göstermektedir. "İslami köktencilik" ve "cihatçılık" gibi terimlerin siyaset ve medyada sıkça kullanılması, bu önyargının pekişmesine katkı sağlamaktadır. Terör örgütleri, karmaşık sosyo-politik koşullardan kaynaklanmalarına rağmen Batı'da İslamofobik bir tehdit olarak algılanmakta ve bu algı, politikacılar tarafından iç ve dış politikaları meşrulaştırmak amacıyla kullanılmaktadır. Elde edilen sonuçlar, bu iddiayı güçlü bir şekilde destekler. Sonuç olarak, toplumlar arasında barış ve anlayışı teşvik etmek için somut eylemler, önerilen yöntemlerle birlikte atılmalıdır. Bu tez, terörizmin karmaşık ve çok yönlü bir sorun olmasına rağmen, Batı medyası ve siyasi söylemdeki İslam ve Müslümanların tasvirlerinin İslamofobinin yayılmasına önemli ölçüde katkıda bulunduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İslamofobi, terörizm, köktencilik, medya, propaganda, manipölasyon

ABBREVIATIONS

AfD	Alternative für Deutschland
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation News
BMEP	Black Minority Ethnic Programme
CFCM	Conseil Français du Culte Musulman
CFCM	Conseil Français du Culte Musulman (French Council of the Muslim Faith)
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	Cable News Network
D.C.	District of Columbia
DW	Deutsche Welle
ENT	Ethno-Nationalist Terrorism
EOKA	Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna
etc.	Et Cetera
EUMC	European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
FPI	Islamic Defenders Front
FPO	Freedom Party of Austria
IFOP	Institut Français d'Opinion Publique
IFOP	Institut Français d'Opinion Publique (French Institute of Public Opinion)
IRA	Irish Republican Army
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
MAK	Maktab al-Khidamat (Services Bureau)
MMI	Indonesian Muhajiddin Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
RMT	Religiously Motivated Terrorism

RT	Revolutionary Terrorism
SVP	Swiss People's Party
TLC	The Learning Channel
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USA	United States of America
USS	Col - USS Cole
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WFCA	World Federation of Chiropractic Associations

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1. INTRODUCTION

Historically, societies have always identified an other and tried to establish superiority by seeing it as a threat. Sometimes this has been a state, sometimes a nation, sometimes an ethnic identity or religion. With the end of the Cold War, new theories and approaches have come to the fore in the field of international relations. In this process, changes and new dynamics in the international system have revealed the inadequacies of traditional theories. Among these theories, Social Constructionism, developed by prominent theorists such as Alexander Wendt, advocates the idea that social influences and structures are constructed in international relations. This theory argues that international relations are a social construction and that actors' identities and interests are built on social foundations. In this context, Social Constructionism has emphasized concepts such as identity, culture and change and their impact on transformations in the international system. On the other hand, Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" thesis emphasized the importance of cultural differences and conflicts between civilizations in international relations in the post-Cold War era. In this thesis, Huntington argued that global politics would no longer be shaped by ideological and economic conflicts, but by cultural and civilizational conflicts. This thesis emerged at a time when the West was redefining itself and searching for a new 'other', especially as non-Western civilizations gained economic and military power. Huntington argued that civilizations are not permanent, that they have a definite beginning and end, and therefore it is vital for the West to prevent the rise and strengthening of other civilizations. In this context, different concepts began to be used and perceived outside of their original purpose. Especially in the 20th century, the concept of fundamentalism, which emerged in association with religion, became widespread. However, the concept of fundamentalism has gone beyond religion and has become a socio-political phenomenon that includes cultural, social, ideological and political dimensions. By definition, fundamentalism is defined as a reactionary, rigid and narrowly rule-bound structure that involves individual and social actions against modernity. But historically speaking, this concept, which originally emerged with Christianity, is a

movement that rejects religious liberalism, rationalism and the modernizing tendencies of the 20th century. Today, the concept of fundamentalism has become synonymous with Islam. This raises the question of why the concept of fundamentalism is associated with Islam despite its emergence in Western civilizations. The concept of fundamentalism has evolved and is now referred to as Islamic fundamentalism and has become a concept that creates negative judgments and attitudes towards Islam. In the light of all these explanations, it does not seem impossible that the perception of the “other” creates a complex social tension that is accompanied by conflict. However, this perception of conflict manifests itself in various forms in deep psychological, historical and cultural contexts, including xenophobia, ethnocentrism, racism and, more recently Islamophobia. Each of these phenomena, while differing in their definitions and consequences, share a common fear, prejudice and hostility towards those perceived as different or foreign. Xenophobia, i.e. fear and distrust of what is perceived as foreign or strange, has been an ongoing element throughout human history. It is an instinctive reaction that can be observed even in childhood; foreign individuals are often greeted with timidity or outright fear. This phenomenon is a form of discrimination that overlaps despite its differences due to its close relationship with racism. Orientalism, another important concept, involves the portrayal and study of eastern societies from a western perspective. It treats the East as backward and inherently inferior to the West. In this respect, a perception of the other is created and an attempt is made to create a structure in which one is superior to the other. However, the concept of Islamophobia is a form of prejudice that has come to the fore especially in Western societies in recent years. Characterized by irrational fear and hostility towards Islam and Muslims, this phenomenon has deep historical roots and has been further fueled by contemporary geopolitical events and media portrayals. These interconnected forms of prejudice - xenophobia, ethnocentrism, racism, Orientalism and Islamophobia - allow us to understand how societies construct and maintain the boundaries between “us” and “them”. Understanding these phenomena requires an examination of their psychological foundations, historical development and contemporary manifestations.

Another point addressed in the study is the concept of terrorism. Terrorism is one of the most dangerous and complex social phenomena that humanity has faced throughout the ages. As an instrument of violence used for political, social, religious or ideological purposes, terrorism has been widely used to shake societies, create fear and anxiety, and influence governments. The origins of terrorism are complex, given the interactions between religious groups and political targets. To understand how terrorism has developed throughout history and what role it plays today, it is necessary to look at its religious and ideological underpinnings. In this context, the historical origins of terrorism and the impact of religion on terrorism will be one of the main focal points. On the other hand, the relationship between terrorism and propaganda is of particular importance. Propaganda has been used as a powerful manipulation tool behind terrorist acts. Terrorist organizations have skillfully used propaganda tools to create fear and terror, as well as to influence societies and gain support. In this context, it is important to note that terrorism is a form of propaganda and that these two phenomena are closely interrelated. At this point, terrorism and religion are widely used through media elements. In particular, many terrorist organizations on the list of world terrorist organizations are terrorist organizations that take religion as a reference and emerge in this respect. These terrorist organizations, which stand out in terms of their actions and attacks, have brought the concept of international terrorism in the global sense. These religiously referenced organizations, which are seen as an element of fear by Western civilizations, have come to the forefront with their policy-shaping effect on the one hand and have been used as an element of perception in the minds of societies on the other. At this point, significant policy changes have occurred since the September 11 attacks, especially on a global scale. However, it is also undeniable that at some points there are situations that create advantages for Western civilizations to implement certain goals and strategies in the Middle East. In the aftermath of 9/11, the Bush administration (the United States) increased its mobility towards the Middle East and legitimized its attacks and initiatives. At this point, Islam, which was revealed as an other, was associated with terrorism and used as a propaganda tool by both states and politicians. This has led to a global Islamophobization.

In the light of the information provided, the research question and supporting questions of this thesis can be listed as follows: “Are Islam and terrorist organizations used by Western civilizations as a manipulation tool to spread Islamophobia?”, “Are terrorism and Islam being manipulated consciously through media tools, especially social media?”, “What kind of perception of Islam does the fact that terrorist organizations often take religion as a reference create on societies?”. While answering these questions, in the first part, a theoretical and conceptual framework is outlined in general, a historical framework and certain theories are used to clearly understand the related concepts and to reveal their relations with each other. The second section examines the causes and motivations of terrorism, focusing on terrorism and its use as a tool. On the other hand, by focusing on the concepts of manipulation and propaganda, terrorism is analyzed in terms of political psychology. In the last part of the thesis, the concepts explained in the first and second chapters and given in relation to each other are tried to be supported by considering terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS as examples.

1.1. Literature Review

After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the World Trade Center in New York, there has been an increase in both public and governmental perceptions of Islamic fundamentalism. In the aftermath of this event, numerous studies have been conducted on this concept and Islamic fundamentalism has been addressed from different perspectives in different fields. In a basic classification, the literature focuses on terrorism, psychology, social, economic and political aspects of this concept. When the literature on the concept of Islamic Fundamentalism, which forms the basis of the research, is examined, it is seen that the resource density is high. In this point, when both local and foreign sources are considered, it appears to be approached from a different perspective to the related concept. In the study “*Contextualizing Islamic Fundamentalism*, Paul Kingston” the writer has conceptualized the Islamic fundamentalism from both critical and by reviewing. Based on Huntington's thesis named “Clash of civilization” in the Cold War part, he determined and examined positive arguments about religion and culture. In the four different books which

are examined by Kingston, he showed the effect of religion and culture on politics by approaching Islam and religion critically(Kingston, 1999).

On the other side, Moaddel and Karabenick tried to reconceptualize the concept of fundamentalism in their work “*Religious Fundamentalism in Eight Muslim-Majority Countries: Reconceptualization and Assessment*”. This study is both a theoretical and quantitative study and includes the evaluation and results of twenty-three thousand samples from eight different countries, including Turkey. In this relevant study, fundamentalism as a concept conceptualized diversity of the fundamentalist movements, debates on fundamentalism in the context of Islam, and attitudes towards religions and basic beliefs by considering the definitional diversity in the literature. Also, they targeted to create an international fundamentalism criterion with the samples taken from related countries by comparing with each other. In this study, they concluded that Islamic fundamentalism has a higher potential in countries where freedom, state structure, and religious freedom are law. In the sociological result of this study, fundamentalism has a strong effect between individuals(Moaddel & Karabenick, 2018).

There is another study that is about the differences between Islamic fundamentalism and traditional Islam. Zelenkov, Rostokinsky, Evlaev, Aleshnikova, and Efimova published an article named “*Information Analytics of The Islamic Trend in Modern Fundamentalism*”. The main purpose of this study is to reveal the root of Islamic fundamentalism and traditional Islam, its characteristic features, weaknesses, and differences, and evaluate them. In this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used, it had been tried to explain the weaknesses and strengths of Islamic fundamentalism using statistical data and sociological surveys. In conclusion, Islamic fundamentalism seems as a threat and its reason was determined by increasing terrorist attacks around the world. Also, this research constitutes a research area for other authors on the extent of the relationship between Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism, from general to specific or on the basis of countries(Zelenkov et al., 2020).

One of the most important things about Islamic fundamentalism is the definition of this concept. The lack of a globally accepted definition has led researchers to try to define and diversify this concept. It can be an important study “*Shifting Paradigm of Modern Islam Fundamentalism as Islamized Space Autonomy in Indonesia*, Eko Ariwidodo”. According to Ariwidodo, fundamentalism expresses the implementation of sharia but does not care about characters in the political system. In addition, the author, who states that there has been a shift from traditional fundamentalism to neo-fundamentalism, has mentioned that neo-fundamentalism has a low revolutionary quality and has a structure that receives support from the political and civil society. Neo-fundamentalism also aims to spread to the grassroots rather than across the country. In this point, it tried to explain the evolution of this concept rather than the traditional meaning such as modern Islamic fundamentalism, political fundamentalism, etc. After these definitions, the author tackled fundamentalism in Indonesia as modern and traditional. In the face of the fundamentalism divide, there has been diversification and separation on the political side and different political parties have been established in the traditional and modern sectors. At this point, it has been observed that these political parties do not defend a common fundamentalist understanding(Ariwidodo, 2017).

The study, "*The Islamic Fundamentalism Based on Karen Armstrong's Perspective and its Implications for the Identification of Fundamentalism Groups in Indonesia*, Rahmah Nelmaya" published a study on the concept of Islamic fundamentalism based on Karen Armstrong's perspectives in the context of movements occurring in Indonesia, presenting both pro and anti views. At this point, the author discusses movements based on Armstrong's three characteristic features of fundamentalism. First, the ideological movements come with fear. Second, these movements are reformist and modern. Third, the supporting groups of fundamentalism have a textual understanding of religion. These groups, FPI (Islamic Defenders Front) and MMI (Indonesian Mujahidin Council), were characterized and debated by Armstrong's perspective as fundamentalist groups. Nelmaya, who discussed the concept of Fundamentalism through these two groups, focused on the events that took place from Armstrong's three perspectives: on the one hand, the prolonged suffering of Muslims, and on the other hand, the mass dissemination

and organization of overlooked events by the FPI and MMI, resulting in the use of reason in textual interpretation(Rahmah & Nelmaya, 2019).

Another study about the Islamic fundamentalism has been done in Southeast Asia. Zohreh Ghadbeigy and Maryam Jafari's "*The Islamic Fundamentalism in Southern Asia*" have adopted what is the compelling and important factor against the political sovereignty of states in Southern Asia as the main problem. Islamic fundamentalism which is understood as a stream of uncompromising with the modern world and extremist by the people, has been seen as the primary purpose of returning to true Islam. Within the framework of this research, it revealed the reality in the political-security field, especially in Malaysia, that Islamic fundamentalism is a threat to national security and sovereignty, and that the result of increasing Islamic fundamentalism(Ghadbeigy & Jafari, 2021). Mansoor Moaddel's "*The Social Bases and Discursive Context of the Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism: The Cases of Iran and Syria*" focuses on the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the sample countries in the 1950s and 1960s. It is generally argued that Islamic fundamentalism is the result of the economic policies and bureaucratic expansion of the state in the respective periods and countries, a structure of the state that suppressed the ideological and political pluralism of the previous period, while at the same time being supported by the property owners. The oppressive policies in the state carry out the opposition politics through religion. Also, Moaddel, who treats ideology as a separate autonomous, mode of production of ideology and its impact within society, she/he argues, resolves some of the difficulties inherent in the subjective/psychological conception of ideology(Moaddel, 1996).

It was the attacks of September 11, 2001, that turned the focus of the West and the world on Islamic countries. At this point, Islamic fundamentalism was seen as a threat, and countries like Ethiopia have seen intense security measures and a movement against fundamentalism against other countries in their neighborhood. David H. Shinn in this research "*Ethiopia: Coping with Islamic Fundamentalism before and after September 11*" dealt with this concept before and after 2001. In 1990, the Islamic fundamentalism was already seen as a threat. Most of the problems with this concept come from Sudan and

Somalia. After the attacks on September 11, 2001, Ethiopia has been focused on Somalia particularly. The point put forward in this research, Islamic fundamentalism did not change the security situation of Ethiopia importantly, yet it emphasized it as a threat. Also, do the interests of the USA and Al Qaeda in this region create political advantages(Shinn, 2002)? In their study titled *"Islamic Fundamentalism in Nigeria and the Church's Response"*, Ekundayo and Lawrence Olabode approach the concept of Islamic fundamentalism from a different perspective through the country of Nigeria and focus on the response of the churches in that country to this concept. At this point, the main problem is attempts to prevent Muslim fanatics from growing Christianity. What the authors wanted to reveal was the actions of Islamic fundamentalist groups and their impact on the church and the role of the church. The authors who have approached the concept of Islamic fundamentalism with the historical perspective aim to bring to the fore both political and religious observances of these groups. The conclusion of this research shows us that Islamic fundamentalist groups have aggressive attitudes toward the Muslims who are living in Nigeria. At this point, the researchers suggest that this analysis of a single country allows for research on other examples of fundamentalist countries(Ekundayo, 2017).

Some of the researchers are interested in the Islamic fundamentalism and psychology concept's relationship. Looking at the literature across the relevant disciplines, it can be categorized the concepts of psychology and Islamic fundamentalism in terms of behavioral, intellectual, and motivational, perceptions of conflict, and dispositions towards the West. Studies in this field can be classified as both quantitative and qualitative. Özgür Kellecioğlu in her master's thesis titled *"Psycho-Political Evaluation of Islamist Fundamentalism Islamist Fundamentalist Motivation"* as the main objective of her master's thesis understands the reasons for Islamic fundamentalism. Therefore she approached this concept from the psycho-political side. By identifying as the main questions the purpose for which Islamist fundamentalists act and whether Islam is the basis of this violence, the research has reached important psycho-political conclusions. Motivating sources such as victimization, fragmentation, survival, projective identification, and wounded narcissism, which are effective on behaviors and can also be determined as political reasons, reveal the purpose and motivation of the people in the

relevant subject. At the same time, both economic and socio-cultural factors caused mistaken and big policies that the West and Muslims implemented with each other. Also, it can say that the policies that are implemented appear creating and feeding reasons for Islamic Fundamentalism(Kellecioğlu, 2007). Another study that examines psychology is *"Explaining Muslims' Aggressive Tendencies Towards the West: The Role of Negative Stereotypes, Anger, Perceived Conflict and Islamic Fundamentalism"* published by Ali Mashuri and Esti Zaduqisti. The main purpose of this study is to determine which stereotypes of Muslims are perceived negatively by the West and originating the aggressive tendencies against the West. Mashuri and Zaduqisti approached this issue with correlational surveys, selecting 360 Indonesian Muslims. This research, which is quantitative in terms of literature, demonstrates the existence of a negative attitude of Muslims towards the West with the selected sample and the emergence of aggressive tendencies at this point. On the other side, in this study shows us stereotypes that Muslims have aggressor tendencies toward the West excluding individual cases. Again, instead of making a generalization based on the sample country, this research is a research area in other countries where fundamentalism is widespread(Mashuri & Zaduqisti, 2019).

After the September 11, 2001 attacks, the West turned its attention to Islamic countries. At this point, it has been observed that there is a negative perception of Islamic countries in both political and social spheres. In the related literature, *"Islamic Fundamentalism: What it Really is and Why it Frightens the West"* by Shireen Hunter, Islamic Fundamentalism was compared to the third militant movement. In this respect, the fact that it is ruled by a bipolar system formed in the post-Cold War period and the pressure of these two superpowers on their allies and third world countries has led to an increase in socialist ideologies such as Arab Socialism, Baathism and Nasserism. The effort to create a new understanding of colonialism through the 3rd world countries and the attempt to make these countries economically, politically and culturally dependent on the superpower and its allies has led to the idea that this can only be achieved by the disappearance of corrupt rulers. The perception of Islamic fundamentalists by the West is based on their opposition to the domination of the existing powers, their desire to change it and their anti-Israel sentiments. According to the author, it is not helpful to see Islamic

fundamentalism as deviant and reactionary. On the contrary, if anything, it should be seen as a local attempt to change external economic pressures. In addition, this effort of 3rd world countries is to find a place in the international system and eliminate inequalities. At this point, Hunter states that the problem should be clearly understood and solutions should be produced for it, underlining that it will cause even more difficulties(Hunter, 1986). In *"The Psychological and Behavioural Bases of Islamic Fundamentalism"* M. Taylor and J. Horgan examine psychological and behavioral issues in relation to Islam. By examining the relationship between Fundamentalism and violence from a behavioral perspective, the authors aim to reveal the nature of this conjuncture(Taylor & Horgan, 2001).

The relevant literature has a lot of conceptual studies about Islamic fundamentalism. The other side there are articles to define the Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. According to the literature, it cannot be stated that these two concepts are fully related or unrelated. After the September 11, 2001 attacks, there has been a change in the world's view of terrorism. In addition, Western states have turned their attention to Eastern countries. Especially the fact that the September 11 attack was carried out by al-Qaeda further increased the negative judgment of the western states towards Islamic countries. At that point, Antonio J. Romero's *"The Different Faces of Islamic Terrorism"* focuses on oppressive regimes, psychosocial, political, social and economic structures in the related field and argues that many actors are involved in the emergence of fundamentalist terrorism. In order to interpret and understand Islamic fundamentalist terrorism, it has been stated that there are many points to focus on. The psychosocial structure, historical background, economic, political and social situation should be taken into consideration in order to reveal the real causes. With the spread of neoliberalism, Arab-Muslim societies have been labeled as Third World countries, which has led to the emergence of negative attitudes towards the West. In the face of this negative situation, the author mentions that it led to the formation of a fundamentalist vision. It is concluded that only a policy based on a full understanding of the causes and consequences of fundamentalist Islamic terrorism can guarantee a certain degree of success in combating it, albeit in the medium and long term(Romero, 2007).

The study is named "*The Uniqueness of Islamic fundamentalism and the fourth wave of international terrorism*, Gabriel Ben-Dor, Ami Pedahzur " is the transformation of the Islamic fundamentalism phenomenon into terrorism in 2 contexts. At that point, fundamentalism has been approached from a theological perspective within a social science paradigm. There is an assumption that this concept can be analyzed in the framework of rationalism with the basic approach of all other fundamentalist movements, and at the same time, in its Islamic dimension, it can be analyzed with different dimensions than other fundamentalist movements. Fundamentalists, who find it difficult to separate religion from politics due to different perspectives on religion, believe that one must fight for one's religion, emphasizing that the Islamic faith is jihad. At present, there are many political forces and authorities to reduce and eradicate fundamentalism, and the current wave of fundamentalism is serious and dangerous (Ben-Dor & Pedahzur, 2003). In another study, "*Can Islamic Fundamentalism Relate to Nonviolent Support? The Role of Certain Conditions in Moderating the Effect of Islamic Fundamentalism on Supporting Acts of Terrorism*" by Idhamsyah Eka Putra, Zora A. Sukabdi aims to explore when Islamic fundamentalists support, condemn and how they support acts of terrorism with 309 Muslim respondents in Indonesia. The study concludes that support for terrorist acts by Islamic fundamentalists is widespread among Muslims with a low belief in the peacefulness of Islam and a favorable view of violence. The findings suggest that Islamic fundamentalism is potentially supported by violent actions under certain conditions (Putra & Sukabdi, 2014). In addition, another finding suggests that belief in peacebuilding also has the potential to support non-violent action. However, further research is needed to support this argument. The 2001 attacks expanded the field of contemporary comparative terrorism. Apart from the above literature focusing on the concept of fundamentalism and terrorism, in the study titled "*The Islamic Fundamentalist View of Life as a Perennial Battle*, David Zeidan", which deals with the currents that interpret these concepts and the concept of war, Islamic fundamentalism is defined as a situation that expands against western secularism and affects all of life and it is discussed (Zeidan, 2001).

The development of technology in the 21st century has transformed many fields. Especially with the great changes in social movements and organizational culture, studies

on technological developments have also been emphasized. At this point, there is a perception that Islamic fundamentalist groups see these new technologies as a threat. In Rajko Petrovic's article *"Uses of Modern Technologies By Islamic Fundamentalists"*, the main focus is on the use of technology by Islamic fundamentalists or their representatives. In the related study, the author is focused on Islamic fundamentalism's definition before between its and technological relationship, also is handled what it is effective and hazardous in the modern period. In addition, the article focuses on some terrorist organizations that take fundamentalism as their ideological basis, defines modern technologies and focuses on their impact on social and political conflicts around the world. The conclusion reached is that there is a supportive link between Islamic fundamentalism and modern technology, and that it is essential to examine this situation in more depth(Petrović, 2018). Dustin Schouten's thesis, *"U.S. Strategic Communications Against Islamic Fundamentalists"*, focuses on whether the communication policies set by the United States in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks have worked in the war against Islamic fundamentalists. It is particularly noted that the US has failed to reduce the perception of radicalization in the Western world at the extremes of its policies. Some of the mistakes include marginalization and poor assimilation, a lack of global perspective and failure to learn from past military operations. In addition, this study also examines the application of US soft power as a tool against radical Islamist groups(Schoute, 2016).

Some of the research in the literature are evaluations based on Islamic thinkers. One of them is *"The Root of Islamic Fundamentalism in The Political Thoughts of Al-Maududi and Sayyid Qutb: A Historical Study, Ilman Nafi'a and Septi Gumindari"*. The concept of Islamic fundamentalism is focused on two important Islamic thinkers, Al-Maududi and Sayyid Qutb. These thinkers, who have the idea of establishing an Islamic state that is dominant in the Islamic world, are approached by the author with an emphasis on Islamic fundamentalism and Islamic political thought. In this study, which also aims to reveal the political views of Al-Maududi and Sayyid Qutb on the form of the state, it is concluded that ideas are characterized by more constructive suggestions rather than proposing a concrete form of government in Islamic states. It has already mentioned that anti-Islamic sentiment in the Western world has increased in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks,

but these traumas have also affected domestic and foreign policy actions. The invasion of Afghanistan-Iraq led to a change in political perceptions(Nafia & Gumiandari, 2019). Kayhan Delibaş *"From Islamic Fundamentalism to Islamophobia: Can the Emerging Islamophobia in the Western World Be Seen as a New Source of Inequality? Can the Emerging Islamophobia in the Western World Be Seen as a New Source of Inequality?"* examined Huntington's idea of Islam being the only power against the West by making use of the clash of civilizations. In this article, the author tries to show how the idea of Islamic fundamentalism has changed over time and how the western media portrays Islam as a broad threat. Inequalities in both the public and private spheres are highlighted, with fundamentalist extremism being characterized as international terrorism at the global level. In this study, Kayhan Delibaş discusses the process of transition from Islamic fundamentalism to Islamophobia and examines the results of whether the widespread discourses of Islamophobia in the West have created a new inequality in anti-Muslim sentiment at the national and international level(Delibaş, 2004). 147 Muslim participants in the study *"Is There a Peace within Islamic Fundamentalist?" with the assumption that the meta-belief of in-group friendship would have a positive effect on Christians and soften their sense of trust. When Islamic Fundamentalism Moderates the Effect of Meta-Belief of Friendship on Positive Perceptions and Trust Toward Outgroup, Eka Putra and Zora Sukabdi"*, the contact hypothesis defined by Allport (1954) and the suggestion that positive relationships will occur between different groups were used. This study examined whether intergroup friendship could have a positive effect among Islamic fundamentalists, and as a result, it was observed that this approach increased positive perceptions among Islamic fundamentalists. Positive perceptions of one religion by members of the other group would have positive effects between the two groups(Putra & Sukabdi, 2020).

A review of the literature reveals that the concept of Islamic fundamentalism has been extensively studied. The related concept has been addressed with certain concepts in the literature, and its historical development has also been analyzed. After a broad review, it can be said that there are separate studies on Islamic fundamentalism, the relationship between Islamophobia and terrorism and some terrorist organizations in the literature. However, no study has been found that approaches the concepts of Islamic

fundamentalism and Islamophobia in terms of terrorist organizations, and whether these organizations are used as a manipulative tool. A widespread idea of Islamophobia has prevailed in the West, especially in recent years. One of the biggest reasons for the increase in this Islamophobia is the Islamic terrorist organizations that usually appear in Islamic countries. Are these organizations (DAESH, ISIS, TALIBAN) being used as a manipulation tool to spread Islamophobia under the name of Islamic fundamentalism? The main purpose of this study is to reveal whether the arguments and organizations presented in the increasing Islamophobia are used to legitimize and spread Islamophobia. Since this study will be an interdisciplinary study in the literature, it will contribute qualitatively and quantitatively to three different disciplines such as political psychology, psychology of religion, political science and international relations. The contribution of this research to the literature will be to bring together three different disciplines and to break the prevailing perception on a global scale. When viewed socially, regionally and nationally, it is aimed to break up hate speech and racial-religious distinctions, albeit a little. It will be emphasized that Islamic states and terrorist organizations established under the name of Islam are two separate concepts and this should not be generalized.

1.2. Research Methods

This study was conducted using qualitative research methods to examine the relationship between Islamic fundamentalism and Islamophobia and the processes that contribute to this relationship. In the research process, in-depth analyses were conducted using methods such as literature review and case analysis. In order to reach the conclusion of the research, the following paths were followed:

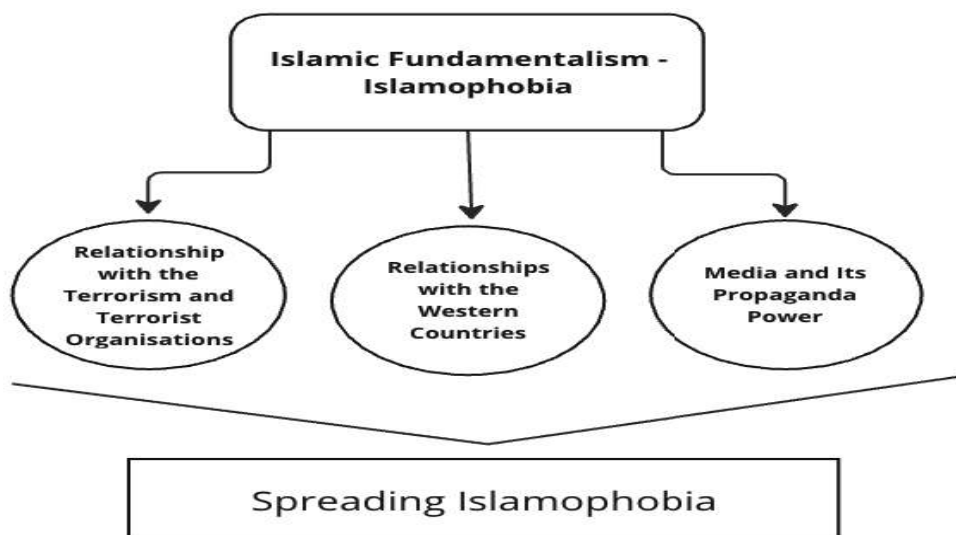
Firstly, in order to reveal the relationship between Islamic fundamentalism and Islamophobia, the existing literature was reviewed and the theoretical frameworks on the subject were established. In this context, in-depth analyses were conducted on how Islamic fundamentalism is perceived and how this perception contributes to Islamophobia. In the study, the relationship between Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism and terrorist

organisations is considered as an important focal point. The ideological and strategic motivations of terrorist organisations were examined, and it was analysed how the activities of these organisations provide material for Islamophobic discourses. Case studies and literature reviews are used to elaborate these relationships.

Another important area of investigation is the relations of Western countries with Islamic fundamentalism. In this context, the policies, diplomatic relations and discourses of Western states were analysed. How these factors trigger and spread Islamophobia has been evaluated and in-depth analyses have been made by making use of state policies and international relations literature. Another critical dimension of the research is the propaganda power of the media. By analysing media contents, the presentation of news, the language used and the effect of visuals were evaluated. It is emphasised how the media shapes public perception and reinforces Islamophobic discourses.

Finally, the spreading process of Islamophobia is discussed. It is analysed how Islamophobia spreads through the combined effects of terrorism, relations with Western countries and media propaganda. The interactions between these processes have been analysed and the mechanisms of the spread of Islamophobic perceptions have been revealed.

Figure 1.1: Research Method Schematic Indicator



The analyses conducted with these methods aim to better understand the complex relationships between Islamic fundamentalism and Islamophobia and how these relationships spread. As a result of the research, it is aimed to obtain important findings that will contribute to the literature on this subject. The research process of this thesis aims to reach conclusions in the above mentioned areas. In doing so, quantitative and qualitative studies in the literature will be taken into consideration. Articles, theses, and books by other authors will be examined to see how conclusions are reached on related issues.



2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Fundamentalism

Fundamentalism has recently become a concept integrated with religion and becoming widespread. In the twentieth century, this concept is gone about cultural, social, ideological, political, and religious by the people within the framework of reactionary, strict-prescriptive, and narrow rules. However, at this point, this concept is becoming a sociological and socio-political phenomenon due to its political and cultural effect rather than being a religious term. On the other hand, fundamentalism has been detected as a function that is going against modernity that is societal and individual actions. However, it should not be deduced from this that there is religious marginalization or alienation that causes radical action in a society (Bruinessen, 157).

The concept of fundamentalism, which has become associated with Islam, was initially used by Christians to express their adherence to the foundational principles of their religion. Contrary to popular belief, it emerged as a movement within Christianity that rejected religious liberalism, rationalism, and the modernization of the 20th century. It became a movement that opposed the liberal interpretation of the Bible and stood against the rationalist tendencies of modernity (Albayrak, 2006, p. 8). Starting from the 19th century, individuals within society, due to the changes taking place, engaged in a struggle to defend and preserve their beliefs, as they perceived that they would not be able to practice their faith. This is the characteristic that sets fundamentalists apart from traditionalists and the orthodox. While traditionalism and orthodoxy represent a stable stagnation within society, fundamentalism, on the other hand, focuses on change and engages in a struggle out of the concern that what they possess may be at risk of disappearing.

Although this concept appears in the heart of the Western world and is perceived as positive and self-definition at that time, currently it is detected as 'Barbarians' (Losurdo,

2004), and also Western countries prefer to define this concept as Islamists. According to Riesebrodt(1993, p. 9), fundamentalism is defined as an "urban movement against the dissolution of patriarchal order and social relations and their replacement by puritanical principles(Emerson &Hartman, 2006, p. 130)". Almond et al. define fundamentalism **as a model of religious militancy** (Emerson & Hartman, 2006) in the Fundamentalism Project. It supports this definition by seeking to strengthen the boundaries of religious communities and create alternatives to secular institutions. Antoun (2001, p. 3) explicitly relates fundamentalism to modernity, describing it as a religiously based cognitive and emotional orientation that opposes change. In line with all these definitions, fundamentalism can be characterized as transnational and transcultural(Emerson & Hartman, 2006). At this point, nowadays it is not enough to mention Islamic Fundamentalism also, Jewish Fundamentalism is gaining ground. In addition, in Catholic Christianity, it is seen a judge's argument against the abortion law in the Church's encyclical "Evangelium Vitae (Losurdo, 2004, p. 10)", which can be interpreted as fundamentalism. The Enlightenment approach of fundamentalism criticizes the opposition to Western modernity. In fact, in light of sociological analysis, cities constitute the base of fundamentalist movements. In other words, the base advocating this position does not reflect an ignorant, illiterate society as one might think. It is seen that Fundamentalism does not belong only to a certain group of people; it started with Evangelical Protestantism and has come to encompass all religious movements with certain characteristics.

Finally, how fundamentalism is defined or perceived depends on the individual. From a modern and secular point of view, fundamentalists are radicals seen as reactionary, repressive, and seeking to create a patriarchal order. Proponents of modernization, on the other hand, do not see themselves in this way and argue that fundamentalists are wrong because they see themselves as good, reasonable, and valuing human rights. Fundamentalists, in turn, argue that modernity is a phenomenon that destroys communities, values, and culture. Fundamentalists and their sympathizers see their stand against the tide of change as honorable, righteous, life-preserving, and a call to life.

2.1.1 Definition of Religious Radicalism

The concept of radicalism and radicalization does not have a common and acceptable meaning in the social science literature. In order to reinforce the meaning, Sedgwick (2010, p. 491) states that the period in which these two concepts are used and special conditions such as social structure should be taken into account. At the same time, Neuman defines radicalism between cognitive and behavioral. (Arpacı, 2017, as cited in Neuman, 2013, pp. 873-874). In its simplest form, radicalization is a process that occurs as a result of the extremism of society or people. It is noteworthy that radicalization is expressed as a process. The extremism here creates problems in terms of defining the situation. Talking about radicalization as a process causes it to evolve into extremist situations as a result of certain phenomena. At the same time, radicalization has undergone a profound change from the non-violent activists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Whereas in the 19th century, radicals were perceived as fundamentally liberal, democratic, and modern, in its contemporary usage it sheds light on an anti-liberalism, fundamentalism, undemocratic, and reactionary agenda (Arpacı, 2017, p. 17).

Radicalism has a significant impact on the persuasion and progress of ideas and ideologies. These ideologies and beliefs are also used as a tool by radicalism. Beliefs that are accepted without questioning and that create a rigid attitude for the believer in the social base are essential for radical thought. The unifying characteristic of religion affects the perception of personality in individuals. This unifying feature of religion increases loyalty and devotion, affects individuals' belonging to a certain group, and has an effect that makes them accept the correctness of their actions and limits them in terms of questioning (Saydut, 2022, p. 100). In addition, many people who realize this effect of religion argue that religion will also take place as a source of motivation in politics. An increase in the influence of religion in politics will lead to its use as a manipulative tool. Religious radicalism has been described as a strategy that includes political and reformist actions, cultural endeavors, and increased missionary work among faiths (Report of the European Commission, 2008, pp. 5-6). Religious radicalism is also characterized as a harbinger of social, political, and cultural change. Individuals who interpret religious

beliefs with radical thoughts, it is believed that the behavior of people who are considered sacred to that religion (such as prophets) is also that way. At this point, the question that needs to be answered is whether the people who were essential to the religion also had radical behavior. At this point, when religion is brought into politics and the effect of radical thoughts on individuals is examined, a coldness or hostility can develop in societies, as in the case of Islam today. This indirectly shows us that people who use religion also affect society. At this point, religious radicalism is recognized as a political threat in the international arena. So far, under this title has attempted to define religious radicalism and emphasized the negative features of this concept. However, together with the concept of 'ethical progress' (Temmerman, 2021, p. 10), it can be emphasized as a positive feature of religious radicalism. Combining religion with radicalism has created more inquisitive individuals in the public eye. This has led to a re-questioning of the notion of God as the opposite of being deceived. The increased awareness of a specific segment of society in these negative situations has resulted in the prioritization of education.

According to Mark Juergensmeyer (2017), religious radicalism is seen as a cosmic war. It has 3 essential characteristics.

1. A case where violence is seen as a defense of identity and a victory. This is based on the assumption that the act of violence is carried out for a purpose and that there will be a reward in return.

2. The loss of the victory - the struggle - that is expected to be achieved through violence. The point to be emphasized here is that in the event of failure to achieve the goal, there is a holy touch or the understanding that it should be concluded in this way. In other words, it can be associated this with fatalism.

3. Reaching an impasse in the struggle (Saydut, 2022, p. 103) The inability to conclude the current conflict and the experience of an obstacle makes the situation even more divine and sacred. This will increase motivation, make the struggle more meaningful, and support the existence of a situation worth fighting for.

Here, the motivational power of religion on individuals and societies is clearly seen. Finally, the combination of the concept of radicalization and religion becomes an important tool to influence organizations in many areas. It is evident that the active use of terrorism in radicalization has become a tool for religions with a large number of believers.

2.1.2. Definition of Islamic Fundamentalism

As of the twentieth century, religious movements have become widespread and emerged. In many religions and sects, Jewish, Christian, (Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox) Islamic, Hindu, and Sikh, a trend of religious revival has emerged (Delibaş, 2003, p. 3). It is noteworthy that these emerging movements are religious and are developing and spreading very rapidly. The spread of Islamic movements in the 1990s was caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union on the one hand and the dominance of the United States as a superpower on the other. John Espito (2004, p. 4) argues that this upheaval in the international system has created a gap. This gap needs to be filled. At the same time, a number of terrorist acts in the 1990s - the holding of the US embassy hostage by Iranian students advocating Sharia, attacks on Western consulates, and, most notably, the attacks on the Twin Towers at the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 - significantly increased the world's interest in Islamic fundamentalism. The emergence of Fundamentalism in the United States, as mentioned earlier, had a positive connotation. However, looked at the academic literature, there is no consensus on the definition of this concept, especially today, as it has become integrated with Islam. In other words, it has become a demeaning, negative, and degrading concept in the eyes of society and states.

However, the most important debate about Islamic fundamentalism is whether it is a new movement or a continuation of an old one. (Kellecioglu, 2007, p. 38). These two arguments have their merits. Islamic Fundamentalism was first grounded in the Wahhabi-Salafi ideology in the 18th century. On the other hand, its position against secularism indicates that Islamic Fundamentalism is a modern phenomenon. It can be considered the concept of Islamic fundamentalism as a new movement, in other words, Islamic

fundamentalism against modernity. In 1648, with the Peace of Westphalia, which is considered to be the birth of international relations, there was a process in which the idea of secularism and nation-state as a political system increased. At this point, Daniel Philpott's 'Westphalian Synthesis' drew attention to the role of the dominant principle of secularism in the discipline of international relations. With this concept, states aimed to separate the affairs of religion and state, and the influence of the authority of religious organizations weakened (Philpott, 2002, p. 76). For radical Islamists, the loss of authority within the state structure is characterized as an attack on religion. Therefore, the idea of eliminating this situation, even through violence, is dominant. With the advancement of the West, the Arab world has not been able to gain a political and economic place in the international system. According to Islamists, the dominant part of Islam must be restored. At this point, the importance of the leader should be emphasized. The absence of a good leader will lead Islamic fundamentalism to violence and chaos. Bin Laden's strength and influence as a leader cannot be underestimated, but he did not have the charisma to influence all Islamic civilizations. Indeed, the fundamentalists who sided with him were driven back by violence and terror (Kellecioglu, 2007, p. 43). In sum, Islamic fundamentalism in the modern sense sees a return to Islam as it was in the seventh century as a salvation from decline. This will be realized through a revolt against the modern nation-state system.

2.1.3. Historical Background of Fundamentalism

After the discovery of the American continent, after many wars and migrations, it became what it is today. World Wars I and II were influential in the formation of the political and religious concepts of the people. As of the 17th century, immigration from European countries such as France, Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands led to a diversification in the social, religious, and cultural structure of the USA. Although there are many denominations, Protestant Christianity is the dominant denomination. Evangelicalism was a widespread sect in the US in the 19th century, but some changes occurred after World War II. With the intense waves of immigration, issues such as modernism and Darwinism created The Fundamentalist movement developed on the basis of historical criticism,

preventing biblical criticism, and was later used as a concept in relation to religions such as Islam, Judaism, and the use of the theory of evolution (Sezen, 2008, p. 74). In other words, with the massive waves of migration, issues such as modernism and Darwinism have created religious confusion.

The concept of Fundamentalism emerged as a religious phenomenon in the 19th and 20th centuries, led by Protestant Christianity. The main reason for its emergence is the opposition to secularization and modernization. According to Özkan (2002), Fundamentalism first emerged between 1910 and 1915 with a series of articles called "The Fundamentalist", financed by bourgeois religious people. Later, in 1919, the World Fundamentalist Association (WFCA) (Hisar, 2023, p. 33) was founded and it was born in the Christian world and started to be used as a common concept. It has also been suggested that this concept was first used by Lows. Another point is that it is claimed to have spread to the world as a result of a lawsuit against a teacher who explained the theory of evolution to students in the state of Torosse in the USA in 1925 (Larousse, 1971, p. 670). The US Civil War is considered important for Protestant Fundamentalism. Because the unity and sacred character of the United States was seen as approved by God (Masden, 2006, p. 11). The spread of Religious Fundamentalism began in the 1950s with the divisions between Evangelical Protestantism and other Evangelical groups (Çelik, 2019, p. 8). Evangelicalism is based on Christianity and a healthy and strong civilization. For them, Christianity is seen as a religion of pure, sublime morality. Their main aim is to spread this purity and morality of Christianity. Historically, fundamentalism has been used as a return to the essence, as a purification of the sacred text from religion and politics, while today it supports the practical and theoretical infrastructure of political and religious movements and organizations (Kudriashova, 2003). In this book, it became a reference for the people, explaining the Bible to the fundamentalists. In this environment where there were many opinions, Scofield's interpretation was accepted by a large mass of society, and consensus was achieved (Ammerman, 1994, p. 22).

This study has already mentioned the diversification of American society due to immigration after the discovery of the American continent. With this diversification, there

were many attempts by Protestant religious leaders to improve the religious and moral structure of society. It can be called this situation the Great Awakening. With these movements, the people tried to be Christianized again and religious leaders focused on this. The First Revival Movement continued from 1720 to 1740s under the leadership of "Jonathon Edwards -1758- and George Whitefield -1770-" (Çelik, 2019, p. 9) the aim here was to revitalize the religious sensitivities of Christians. They tried to ensure that religious rituals were adopted by society again. The Second Great Awakening, "Timothy Dwight (1817), Asahel Nettleton (1844), John Leland (1841)" (Çelik, 2019) continued from the 1780s to the first half of the 1840s (Baele, 1986, pp. 13-14). Unlike the First Awakening movement, the focus here was on the problems of society. The focus was on the society that had broken away from Christianity and the church (Çelik, 2019). After the Second Great Awakening, there were significant developments in welfare, especially due to the crisis of 1857. With this situation, people became more distant from religion. This economic crisis was interpreted by the clergy as a punishment from God. With this crisis, the public organizations organized in 1857 under the name of "Prayer Meeting" gained momentum to spread all over the country in a short time. In addition, organizations such as Bible studies, which were open only to clergy, were also organized. These organizations were later transformed into conferences, which also supported the participation of members of the public. Although the definition of fundamentalism has not yet been used, the first fundamentalist ideas were put forward here (Çelik, 2019).

Fundamentalism is said to have emerged in the United States in a period of sociological and cultural changes in two ways: the theological and psychological mentality. As a theological mindset, the thought of the disappearance of traditional values has caused certain problems in religious life. Due to the disappearance of faith with scientific progress and psycho-social stress, the basic principles of Christianity were emphasized. This development is taken as the starting point of religious fundamentalism. In support of this, religious fundamentalism was used as a criticism of Darwinism in the 1920s. The above-mentioned Bible conferences were organized and reports were published on this subject. In terms of psychological mentality, it can be addressed in terms of social origins, cognitive mechanisms, the need to feel safe and secure, group identity and loyalty, and

emotional satisfaction. Here, it is seen that fundamentalist ideas tend to increase in periods of economic, political, and social uncertainties. The main point here is the attachments of the society in the cultural context and the idea of not breaking away from these attachments. On the other hand, fundamentalists may have certain thought patterns and judgments in the eyes of individuals and society. Instead of rejecting these, they tend to reject scientific and rational developments.

Although it is stated that fundamentalist ideas developed in the face of modernization, scientific developments, and secularism, the existing scientists and prominent thinkers of the period worked on applicable and acceptable forms of religiosity instead of eliminating religion in the face of these changes (Armstrong, 2017, p. 13). Although organizations and conferences such as the First and Second Awakening movements, Prayer Meetings, and Bible studies were organized, reformists such as Luther and Calvin, who were widespread in Europe, increased the idea of abandoning medieval religions and returning to tradition instead. Luther was the first to reject rationalism, separating religion and reason and taking a step towards secularization. Focusing on the separation of church and state, he rejected the use of the church as a means of pressure and direction on society (Armstrong, 2017, pp. 110-115). The opposite was the case with Calvin. According to him, Christianity and the Bible should be used effectively in the political and social sphere, and he argued that the Bible does not contradict life. Francis Bacon, on the other hand, supported the necessity of evaluating religion with science and its critical methods. He argued that religion evaluated with these methods should be abandoned if it conflicts with the facts. Ultimately, Fundamentalism emerged in the United States as a movement that rejected modernization and secularism as an opposition to true Christianity. Although the concept of Fundamentalism originated within Christianity, it spread around the world with the events after World War II and the rise of militant Orthodox movements among Jews in Israel, and within Islam with the rise of Islamic movements in Iran. Today, this concept is used to refer to militant and radical religious movements (Aydinalp, 2008, p. 45).

2.1.4. Features of Fundamentalism

Fundamentalism can be classified as a concept with two different features. One of them is ideological features and the other is organizational concept. When fundamentalist groups are looked at, there are some prevailing characteristics. The first is the idea that the existing scriptures are inclusive and infallible. However, this understanding is a distorting and misinterpretation of existing Islam. The idea that the sacred text that fundamentalists defend and believe in is infallible sometimes leads to conflict with the system and militarism. Another characteristic is that it is defensive and reactionary (Sagır, 2013, p. 14). The spread of secularization means anti-religion for fundamentalists. Their concern is the erosion of religion and the protection of this erosion by them. This situation has increased with modernization and brought with it the effort to make radical changes in society (Aydınoğlu, 2008, pp. 102-110). However, they do not refrain from using some opportunities brought by modernization. While the new fundamentalists oppose secularization, on the other hand, they use it for a purpose (Aydınoğlu, 2008, p. 405). Another characteristic is to appeal to the lower stratum of society, groups that are weak in terms of socio-economic status. It has a significant impact on these groups and provides ideological unity and the belief that everything is done for religion. Another characteristic, called moral and Manichaeism (Sagır, 2013, p. 18), expresses the division of reality and existence between good and evil. According to Fundamentalists, the outer world is sinful and the inner world is pure (Sagır, 2013).

In addition to the ideological features of fundamentalism described above, it is worth mentioning some organizational features. Fundamentalists also see themselves as chosen. They use terms such as believer, remnant, faithful to their word, walking with God, etc. They also draw sharp boundaries between the sinner and the pure, which they suggest internally or through some means such as the media. When the organizational structure is looked at, there is an authoritarian structure. Participation in these organizations is voluntary. However, there may also be cases of bureaucracy. For example, in Egypt in 1948, the Muslim Brotherhood movement became bureaucratized with the assassination of Hasan El-Banna (Albayrak, 2006, p. 20). Charismatic leaders are also at the forefront.

These leaders have been given names such as imam, priest, rabbi, etc., and an organizational structure has been created that implements their decisions. All these ideological and organizational features support us to understand fundamentalism better.

2.1.5. Theories Supporting Fundamentalism

A review of the literature reveals that Fundamentalism has not been placed in a generally accepted theoretical framework. This is one of the reasons why the concept lacks a clear definition and is controversial. However, it is seen that there is no systemic theoretical framework and different approaches have been put forward. Under this heading, the available approaches will be discussed.

2.1.5.1. Interpretation - Social Identity Theory, and Fundamentalism

Historically there has always been a need for meaning and certainty. At this point, signification becomes an important resource for fundamentalism. People need to make sense again in situations that may cause anxiety about death and reality. In this way, fundamentalism emerges as a concept that has a meaning-making effect on people. People are unable to cope with the situations they face in daily life, and this situation causes anxiety in individuals. Anxiety, in turn, pushes the individual to seek certainty. At the same time, Berger states that while certainty is expected with modernity, on the contrary, it causes uncertainty. It is argued that this situation increases the attractiveness of fundamentalist religions. (Sezen, 2008, p. 97). Because modernity is generally perceived by people as a loss of certainty. This means that it creates a situation of uncertainty.

Another point is that people can become religious completely according to their wishes. Such a situation is realized through the presence of inner insecurity. Religious fundamentalism also serves in certain ways to reduce anxiety and uncertainty and to make sense of it. These are;

1. It satisfies the human search for meaning, and the desire to know, and provides a sense of security. At this point, it supports the idea of not knowing death and its aftermath and reducing the anxiety that this situation creates in the individual.
2. The belief in the afterlife, which the objective world cannot provide, has a secondary anxiety-reducing effect on individuals. The idea that they will win against what they do in the objective world can create a sense of justice in the form of punishment and reward. This may reduce anxiety and increase meaning-making.

Belief in the existence of an afterlife and the belief that sins and evil deeds committed in this world will be repaid in the next world help to cope with the suffering, poverty, and socio-economic problems experienced in the objective world. On another point, fundamentalism with the Social Identity Theory is also a way of gaining self-esteem through the participation of individuals in groups with a certain prestige. At this point, it would be appropriate to define social identity theory. The theory deals with group membership, group processes, and intergroup relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to the theory, people generally prefer to act as members of social classes rather than as individuals. This helps people to determine their own and others' place in society. In relation to Fundamentalism, belonging to a particular group is seen as a means of increasing both belongingness and self-esteem, which leads individuals to choose the most prestigious and powerful group to join (Sezen, 2008, p. 98). This is also true for religions. Most people tend to affiliate with a strong religion. Although it is a factor that increases self-esteem for the individual, the feeling of belonging to a strong religion will lead to prejudice and exclusion of other religions.

2.1.5.2. Attachment Theory and Fundamentalism

Another theory that is effective in explaining Fundamentalism is attachment theory. Freud defines attachment as sexual and libidinal. On the other hand, object relations theorists developed this idea and put forward attachment theory (Çelik, 2019, p. 99 as cited in Bowlby, 1966, Winnicott, 1965). It was first proposed by John Bowlby (1969, 1975, 1980)

as a theory equivalent to Freud's psychoanalytic object theory. This theory focuses more on the role of the caregiver in the infant's development. It differs from other systems in terms of the individual's motivation and nurturing (Kirkpatrick 2006).

Attachment Theory can be expressed as the baby's attachment to its mother or, in general terms, to its caregiver, showing more or less sensitivity to it, and being affected by signs such as crying and hugging in the future. According to Bretherton (1987) and Sroufe & Waters (1977), while the mother protects the baby from danger and makes the baby feel safe, the baby experiences a sense of security. Attachment theory should not only be expressed as providing trust and the individual gaining positive experiences. In addition, two types of attachment styles are seen as objectionable. The first one is avoidant attachment style and the second one is anxious-ambivalent attachment. In avoidant attachment, the infant does not attach securely to the caregiver by seeking different security. In ambivalent attachment, anxiety is high and the baby does not behave openly with the mother. So far, in this study expressed attachment theory through the infant and the caregiver. However, this concept has important effects on the behavior of individuals from infancy to adulthood and beyond. According to Hazan & Shomer (1987), love relationships in adulthood are similar to the attachment model between the baby and the mother. At this point, it is seen that the previously mentioned secure, anxious, and avoidant attachment models are experienced.

Between the religious fundamentalism and attachment theory, there are similar relationship. In this respect, it would be useful to look at the dynamics of monotheistic religions. In general, in Christianity "God, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary, saints, angels, supernatural objects" (Kirkpatrick, 1992), and in Islam "God, Prophet Muhammad, Quran, angels" are seen as attachment figures. The religious individual trusts and continues to believe in God who protects him/her against evil. Attachment here stands out as an attachment to parents and caregivers in general. According to Freud (1927/1961), belief in God begins in the individual's mind. According to him, God begins in the mind with the individual's need for attachment and trust, that is, it is imaginary. According to attachment types, the individual is attached to both religion and God according to secure

attachment. In insecure, avoidant attachment, the attachment to religion is not high. These individuals tend to engage in religious pursuits. With modernity, individuals have become indecisive in the religious field. These ambivalences emerged with modernity. With modernity, the individual becomes isolated in society. Fundamentalism comes into play at this point. It promises a sense of belonging, social bonds, and identity ties within the society for individuals who become lonely and insecure (Sezen, 2008, p. 100). As a result, attachment theory fundamentalism is closely related to one's religion.

2.1.5.3. Conflict Theory and Fundamentalism

The concept of Fundamentalism is frequently seen in the media and in some studies. This study has already touched on the broad definition of this concept, but in a nutshell, fundamentalism connotes extremism and fanaticism. In addition, while religious fundamentalism is associated with Muslim groups in the Western world, it is perceived as terrorism, irrational, unreasonable, and violent (Yılmaz, 2006, p. 2). Before discussing conflict as a theory, it would be useful to define conflict in order to better understand this concept. At this point, there are many sociological and psychological definitions of conflict. According to Murray (1972, p. 220), conflict is the mutually motivated activities of two or more individuals. This is the psychological definition of conflict. It is seen as a process of religious experience and physics. Coser (1972, p. 232) defines conflict socially as a struggle over values, status, power, and claims to scarce resources. Weber (1992, p. 229) simply defines conflict as the experience of tension between two or more individuals arising from incompatible causes. In general terms, the common feature of all these social and psychological definitions is the existence of a state of opposition (Obiefuna, 2011, p. 144).

Religious fundamentalism and its relationship with conflict are discussed in detail. According to him, religious fundamentalism and conflict can be handled in two ways; non-violent intolerance and violent intolerance. Nonviolent intolerance refers to the dominance of over-identification around religions. At this point, religions are unquestioned and accepted, even though they are subjectively interpreted. Although there

is no clear understanding of violence in nonviolent intolerance, the individual who marginalizes himself/herself in the context of religion does not accept individuals in the outside world and sees them as slothful and deceptive. Although this situation does not lead to open violence at the level of relationships, it has a negative impact on civil society. However, at the advanced level of nonviolent intolerance, the individual ignores other individuals and becomes prone to conflict with the outgroup (Maiese, 2005).

In Violent Intolerance, fundamentalists manifest themselves through discrimination and violence as well as attitudes towards outgroups. There are many examples in history, such as what happened between Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Christians, in Yugoslavia, and the September 11 attacks (Sezen, 2008, p. 102). Violent intolerance is also associated with terrorism. As a matter of fact, the most dangerous terrorist organizations in the world are fed by religious fundamentalism such as Al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad. These groups argue that violence should be actively involved when it comes to religious fundamentalism or religion. To support this idea, they believe that if they die in an attack or conflict, they will become "martyrs" and will be rewarded in the next world. This belief of religious fundamentalism distracts the individual from fear and guilt. At this point, violent intolerance is considered the most dangerous aspect of fundamentalism.

In general, religious fundamentalism has a close relationship with socialization. People with religious parents are more inclined and committed to religion than those with secular parents. These individuals are traditionalist, religiously interpreting religiously inclined nonviolent intolerant, and not oriented towards physical violence (Sezen, 2008, p. 102). The concept called "meaning construction" by Cornwall (1988) refers to the tendency of parents to raise their children within their own faith and fundamentalist tradition. At this point, the parent's relationship with the child has an impact on the construction of their social structures by imposing cognitive structures such as understanding the world and religion on them. Violent and non-violent intolerance starts with the parents and spreads to groups.

2.1.5.4. Rational Choice Theory in The Tendency Towards Fundamentalism

Sociologists define human beings as individuals who adapt to the society in which they live and determine their behaviors and attitudes according to their environment. Although society and the environment have important influences on the individual, since humans are thinking beings, they have the ability to make and develop rational choices actively. At this point, religion should not be considered as an external phenomenon.

Rational choice theory defines individuals' participation in religious groups as a rational process, not an external process. The theory argues that people measure the cost and profit of the religion they believe in and tend to maximize the spiritual investments that will maximize this profit (Innaccone, 1992, pp. 123-124). In this theory, there is a market for religion and the goods and services offered in this market. Since the customer's desire is to make sense of eternal life, customers will turn to the religion they see as the most profitable (Hasanov, 2016, p. 244).

Laurance Iannaccone, incorporating rational choice theory into the sociology of religion and fundamentalism, asserts the presence of stringent rules within religious fundamentalism, emphasizing that such rigidity enhances the adherence of individuals to religious communities. This is considered an advantage in augmenting the benefits within the community and in curbing free-riding behaviors. The contributions and sacrifices of individuals who join the group increase group demand by enhancing the contributions and sacrifices within the group. Consequently, this renders the group or religious community attractive to potential participants. Participating members will support the group with high levels of commitment. Iannaccone interprets this as an effort to prevent the waste of investments (Iannaccone, 1994). In a broad sense, rational choice theory is associated with fundamentalism through a rational thought process. Elements such as mental structure and thinking patterns can guide individuals toward fundamentalism. The rigid and unchanging rules that support this notion can heighten individuals' interest in fundamentalism.

2.1.5.5. Developmental Theory and Fundamentalism

Fundamentalism and religious movements are generally associated with colonialism, modernism, and globalization. As mentioned earlier, fundamentalism is a movement that emerged against modernism. However, fundamentalism should be characterized as modern anti-modernism since it makes extensive use of modern science (Sezen, 2008, p. 113). The reason for its emergence against colonialism, globalization, and modernism is that the West is ahead in these fields and Muslim countries are colonized. During this period, the traditional institutions of the colonized Muslim countries were destroyed, their cultures changed, and Western culture became widespread (Fuller & Montgomery, 2015, pp. 261-286).

According to Streib (2002), the conceptualization of the trend toward fundamentalism needs to be reshaped in developmental areas such as resurgence, sequentiality, irreversibility, and structural integrity. The fundamentalist developments that have occurred have a global impact. At this point, it is necessary to approach with a global perspective. Religious beliefs and attitudes are in the background of these developments and movements. Socialization in the religious field and religious development are also among the roots of fundamentalism. The logic of mental development is expected to explain the rich and deep life world and the history of religion. At this point, cognitive-based theorists have been criticized for ignoring central structuring by defining the cognitive self as a single agent. The new understanding of development developed by Streib (2002) has been evaluated in the field of developmental psychology by considering religious styles, lifelong development, and one's early and early life experiences. At this point, the reasons for the religious development model;

- Emphasizes a retreat from mono-functional, causal, and dimensional explanations,
- The functional dimension integrates psychodynamic and symbolic content,
- It advocates the integration of adulthood and old age as it emphasizes a lifelong space.

Fowler's theory of faith development is important for understanding the religious diversity of modern and pre-modern times. The focus of faith development theory is on religious cognition, and its unquestioning acceptance of Kahlberg's structural-developmental model does not clearly explain the diversity of religious development in terms of their life world and story (Sezen, 2008, p. 115). It is therefore argued that faith development theory needs to be revised and improved. From a Fundamentalist point of view, Fowler's "Stages of Faith" is explained in a sequential manner. At this point, Fowler could not be descriptive about the stages of faith and decline. However, in his work "Faith Development and Pastoral Guidance", he developed his theory of faith development to adapt it to communities (Fowler, 1987, p. 85), equating them with communities in the secondary stage of faith. The second stage of faith has common characteristics associated with adulthood and childhood, such as interiority, lack of understanding, imposition, reciprocity, and appeal to opinion. Fowler also mentions 4 different types of stages of faith: the rational critical type with debatable values and belief systems that can reach personal judgment, the conflict or oscillating type that is emotionally divided and has no source, and the diffuse type with an inconsistent and divided worldview. These theories and types have been deemed insufficient to explain the phenomenon of fundamentalist conversion. Because when they consider development as a whole, they cannot explain regression. Fundamentalism is seen not only as a resurgence but also as a heterodox structure (Sezen, 2008, p. 117). This explains why the structure is fixed.

In conclusion, cognitive-structural developmental theories provide us with a theoretical framework for understanding fundamentalism and individual fundamentalist resurgences. Against the approach offered by the Piagetian tradition, Streib (2002) has developed this approach and introduced a religious style perspective that can explain fundamentalism. This responds to the challenges posed by post-modernism and draws attention to the interpersonal approach, psychodynamics, and the religious environment. It also emphasizes the cumulative character of development, describing religion and development not as stages but as styles.

2.2. Overview

A general overview of the concept of Fundamentalism, its historical development, characteristics and theoretical background were determined in the previous heading by introducing related and related concepts. This title is a title that forms the basis of the study and is related to the main subject. Recently, the concept of islamophobia can be frequently heard. Religious fundamentalism actually emerged in the West, but today it is almost completely associated with Islam and creates a negative meaning in our minds. This concept, which directly concerns Islam and Muslims, will be discussed in detail in the relevant section and will answer the questions of what should be understood when we say Islamophobia today and what are the related concepts.

2.2.1. Social Constructivism

Nationalism, the effects of which have been felt since the past, but which spread after the Cold War with the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the conflicts that emerged on this scale have not only affected the politics of countries. Alexander Wendt is one of the pioneers of Constructivism. In the 1990s, Alexander Wendt argued that there was no response to the ethnic, religious and cultural conflicts by certain theories. This situation has increased the number of researches and researchers who will look critically at the theories that cannot explain the existing and occurring situations. At this point, modernists, constructivists, feminists and neo-Marxists within the critical theory have endeavoured to fill this gap in the system that traditional theories cannot explain (Ertem, 2012, p. 181). This theory, which has its origins in the philosophy of science, basically emphasises that social reality and social knowledge can be constructed. As mentioned before, it gained a place in the field of international relations in the 1990s. The debate between neo-realism and neo-liberalism created an important opportunity for the development of this theory. Social constructionism has become widespread thanks to theorists such as Nicholas Onuf, Friedrich Kratochwill and Alexander Wendt, who are among its founders (Gözen & Aral, 2014, p. 334). The central question is "how is world politics constructed through social influence?" (Ertem, 2021). At this point, there are two

important claims of the relevant theory. One of them is that the international structure is not material but socially grounded. The other is that social foundations serve not only the behaviour and actions of the actors playing a role in the system, but also their identities and interests. Thus, the current situation will be questioned and this will lead to an awareness of becoming authentic individuals. With Social Constructivism, concepts such as power, security, threat and interest, which are seen as the basis of realism, have been added to concepts such as culture and identity, which are not generally discussed and left in the background.

Social constructionist theory claims that international relations are a social construction. This approach draws attention to the fact that concepts such as sovereignty, security, anarchy and interest in international relations need to be considered (Balaban, 2021, p. 10). It emphasises that anarchy occurring on a state basis is not a spontaneous and natural process and draws attention to the concept of change. Emphasising that man is a social being, this theory completely opposes neo-realism's view that there are only power and interest relations in the system, rejecting the emphasised materialism and seeing the world as a "constructed project" (Kiran, 2011, p. 51). Although Onuf used the concept of constructivism for the first time, Wendt added the concept of identity to this theory and expressed his first criticisms against Kenneth Waltz's definition of anarchy, especially in his work *Anarchy is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics*. According to Waltz, anarchy is defined as an atmosphere in which states are not secure. Wendt, on the other hand, defines anarchy as a system based on our thoughts and the actions of states (Ertem, 2012, p. 186). Reducing anarchy to an indispensable part of the system, Waltz, as Hobbes stated, states maintain an environment of conflict, which can be expressed as a mere desire to survive (Waltz, 1979, pp. 91-92). Wendt, on the other hand, treats the concept of anarchy as an anarchy of friends and enemies (Balaban, 2021). The theory of social constructionism, which can be characterised as a theory of social and international relations, basically focuses on ideas and thoughts. It is also accepted by Wendt that the international system is anarchic, but she also added that the international system is state-centred. At this point, it has similar views to neo-realism, but the concept of change keeps it different from neo-realism. Social constructionists, who include the

concepts of culture and identity, which have been left in the background, emphasize that these concepts have an important impact on change and transformation. The identity of the society has an important impact on states. Even an anarchic system can cease to be anarchic by being influenced by the identity of the society. The anarchic structure that exists with self-help has taken its understood form as a result of the repetitions and actions of actors. However, it should not be forgotten that it is open to change and does not have to remain an anarchic structure forever. The concept of identity can be expressed as an answer to the question "who are you?" asked on an individual or state basis. At this point, comparison plays an important role along with identity. People constantly compare themselves with others or with other groups in a way that contributes significantly to the development of social identity. As a matter of fact, this situation often expresses the conclusion that the group to which one feels belonging is better than the "other" groups (Balaban, 2021, p. 12). The existence of the other and its perception as a threat triggers the formation of identity. According to Wendt, identity is a negative idea. At this point, "self and other" form and shape identity. These negative thoughts that form the identity bring along fear and declare the other as an enemy by seeing the other as a threat (Ertem 2012, p. 195).

Religion can also give rise to certain identities and cause negativity towards others. In this context, the Muslim identity and the fear against it have been formed in this way. Especially with the intensive migration to Europe in the late 20th century, public space had to be shared with Christians and Muslims. This has made the negativity and differences between these two identities visible. The fact that public space is shared by two different identities can lead to violence and conflict over time. As a matter of fact, this is the situation that occurs today. Feelings of fear, hatred and enmity have developed on the side of the two identities, and the situation of living together has also triggered this. In the 21st century, terrorist attacks accepted by fundamentalist groups such as the 11 September attacks, London Attacks, Charlie Hebdo have been associated with Islam and Muslims (Balaban, 2021). Historically, Muslims have been seen as an other by the western society, and the reason for this can be shown as the need for an other in terms of social identities. However, as a result of the increase in coexistence and sharing due to migration,

hidden misperceptions come to light. Because "a nearby other creates more uneasiness than a distant other (Balaban, 2021, p. 13)". This explains the islamophobic approach, behaviour and misperception that have been heard frequently in recent years.

2.2.2. The Thesis of Clash of Civilizations

Before explaining the related concept, it is useful to look at what civilisation is. When looking at the origin of this word, which is used as "Medeniyet" in Turkish, it can be said that it is basically related to Islam. At this point, it was formed from the word "madanniyya", which derives from the Arabic "madina" and means city. The word "civilised", on the other hand, can be expressed as a person who likes to live in the city with the relative suffix. In the West, the meaning and development of this word differs etymologically. Marquis de Mirabeau (1756) used the word "civilisation" for the first time, but it was not until 1835 that it entered the French academic dictionary. The words "civitas" derived from the Latin word "civitas" and "civilite" in the 14th century form the basis of the word civilisation. In the light of all this information, the concept of civilisation can be expressed as a cumulative, broad area that includes social, cultural and historical structures, in which people adopt the conditions in which they live in an evolutionary and dynamic way, and offer what they have gained in return. As Duara (2004, p. 1) says, civilisation can be briefly expressed as "a means of othering that separates us from one another". The clash of civilisations was first published by Samuel Huntington, who worked at Harvard University, in Foreign Affairs magazine in 1993. After the article he published attracted great interest, he elaborated his work and published it in 1996 with "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order". Especially with this thesis, he offers a model for understanding the current era. Especially in the post-cold world war, global politics polarised for the first time in history and became a world of multiple civilisations.

With the beginning of modernisation in the USA 1500, global politics became dominant in the West and then had significant effects on other civilisations. However, during the Cold War, this multipolar structure became bipolar and divided into two different parts.

The first of these consisted of democratic and rich societies under the leadership of the USA, while the other was the poor communist societies dominated by the Soviet Union. This bipolar world system came to an end with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1980. In the new system, some things started to be questioned and searched for meaning. For people, the question "Who are we?" and the traditional answer to this question was ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs and institutions (Huntington, 1996). Cultural groups responded as tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations and at broadest level civilisations (Huntington, 1996). In non-western societies, especially in the Far East, non-western societies developed their own economies and became richer, exerting military and political influence. This was the point that prevented the West from imposing itself on individuals. The world, as Kissinger puts it, will include six powerful states. These are America, Europe, Japan, Russia, and possibly India. But in addition to these, Islamic states will have a certain influence on the world thanks to their strategic positions, large populations and oil reserves. At this point, with the end of the Cold War, the West has been searching for a new other. The situation in which communism was previously seen as an other and perceived as an enemy was transformed into a security threat by turning towards Islam, especially after the attacks of 11 September 2001. With the end of the Cold War, new world order approaches have been observed in the new system, which switched from a multipolarisation system to a unipolar system. The most well-known and controversial of these are Francis Fukuyama's "The End of History" in 1992 and Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilisations" in 1996. Fukuyama, a student of Huntington, supported democracy politically and liberalism economically, and argued that it was the most appropriate form of government. Huntington, on the other hand, argues in his work "Clash of Civilisations" that the conflicts occurring in the world will be caused by cultural divisions rather than ideological and economic ones (Balaban, 2021, p. 14). In his widely disseminated and influential work, Huntington expanded Arnold Toynbee's thesis of the superiority of Western civilisations, Oswald Spenger's thesis that the superiority of Western civilisation will collapse in the face of other civilisations if not dealt with properly, and Bernard Lewis's concept of the clash of civilisations between Islam and Christianity (Küngerü, 2019, p. 23). At this point, the relationship between different civilisations and states will not be close and the greatest violence at the micro level will

be between Islam, Orthodox, Hindu, African and Western Christianity, and at the macro level between the dominant cultures (Huntington, 1996, p. 183). In other words, it can be expressed as the West and others.

According to Toynbee, civilisations are things that continue each other and evolve. When the emergence of civilisations is considered, he states that the formation of the world, life and the universe do not cover a long period of time. At this point, he states that it is especially related to the threats that civilisations face for their progress and the response they give to them. The civilisations that survive are related to the struggle they wage against these threats (Toynbee, 1980, pp. 55-57). According to him, the West's war against communism was fought with Islam in the 16th century. After the danger of communism disappeared, the West rediscovered Islam (Küngerü, 2019, p. 24). Factors such as technological developments and science possessed by Western states have caused other states to progress through the functioning of the West. This increased the attractiveness of the West against other states, developed the belief that they were different and held themselves responsible for the problems faced by civilisations (Toynbee, 1980, pp. 69-70). Oswald Spengler, on the other hand, opposes the belief that culture and civilisation spread from the West to the world. Because according to him, the events experienced by the West over the years cannot be a criterion that determines world history (Spengler, 1978, p. 29). Bernard Lewis's "The Roots of Muslim Rage", which Huntington took into account while expanding his work, states that Christianity has advanced secularism and thus separated the Church and the state. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the conflict between Catholics and Protestants led to a separation between state and religion. However, since there was no such conflict in Islam, such a development did not occur. According to him, there is no equality in Islam towards those of other faiths, and the admiration for the West in the past has been replaced by hatred and rejection (Lewis, 1990, pp. 56-59). This anger of Muslims against the West may be due to some defeats they have suffered in the world and lost the supremacy to the West. The first of these is the loss of sovereignty to Russia and the West, the spread of Western thought to their own country and the loss of authority, the emancipation of women and children and the decrease in the influence of male domination (Küngerü, 2019, p. 26). The occurrence of all these situations and the

fact that the USA dominates the world and its reflection of European culture increases the anger and hatred of Muslims and Lewis calls it a clash of civilisations. In addition, Lewis states that the Prophet Muhammad was not only a prophet but also a lawgiver, putting Islam in a military and political situation. This enables Islam to differentiate itself from other cultures and turn man into a killing machine by turning his emotions into hatred and anger and legitimising it in the name of religion (Lewis, 1990).

Huntington argues that there can be different races within a civilisation by stating that the characteristics of civilisations are similar to the division of peoples into civilisations with their cultural characteristics and the division of peoples into races with their physical characteristics. On the other hand, he states that civilisation has cultural values and that this should be considered together with civilisation. At the same time, he emphasises that civilisations are not eternal, that they have a certain beginning and end, and that they are long-lasting (Küngerü, 2019, pp. 26-27). In close proximity to Oswald Spengler with these views, he argues that civilisations can come to an end and therefore the rise, strengthening and development of other civilisations should be prevented in order not to disappear. This is the most important idea of the clash of civilisations thesis.

2.2.3. Xenophobia

Historically, it can be characterised as a habit that is constantly experienced and encountered in societies to see those who are not themselves as foreigners. The prejudice against the foreigner and the thought of protection is a situation that increases prejudice. At this point, a problem labelled as foreign is approached cautiously even if it does not pose a threat. "Enemy Perception: A Psychological Analysis", it is seen that prejudice against the foreigner exists from infancy (Moses, 2010, pp. 100-102). The negative side of the reactions of babies against people they do not recognise is due to the perception of enemies. As a matter of fact, the fact that human beings define those who are not their own as enemies, and that this situation is still being experienced even in the 21st century, is expressed by the idea that enmity is an integral part of human life. To support this, he

says that as long as a society has enemies, it can remain peaceful within itself (Sertel, 2021, p. 5).

In this process, where the perception of the enemy is historically rooted in the past, the attitudes towards the foreigner are generally seen in many different ways such as fear, anger, and contempt. Today, although many studies have been carried out to eliminate this idea, no positive progress has been achieved. Today, this hostility is called xenophobia. From an etymological point of view, xenophobia, which is formed by the combination of the words *xenos* "foreigner" and *Phobos* "fear", can be defined as distrust, hatred and fear against foreigners living in a society in general. In 1901, it was first used by Anatole France in the French novel "Monsieur Bergeret à Paris". In the following 1906, it was recorded for the first time in *Nouveau Larousse Illustré* (Ar, 2019, p. 13). In 1894, Captain Alfred Dreyfus was accused of espionage and tried in France, which is one of the important events that accelerated this concept. This event is known as the "Dreyfus Affair" in the literature. Its recognition by the world has spread as a reflection of the ideologies of "Nazism" and "Fascism" in Europe since the beginning of the 20th century (UHIM, 2005, p. 13). Berezin defines xenophobia as fear or intense hatred of foreigners as a result of differences between people and groups. While explaining the concept, the expression of foreigners in the society is included. At this point, it can be said that the concept has a close relationship with racism. However, although these two concepts are used for a similar purpose, they have their own unique meanings. The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action addressed the links between racism and xenophobia, and the UN World Conference against Racism held in South Africa in 2001. Accordingly, while racism generally causes a distinction based on differences in skin colour, hair type, face and physical characteristics, xenophobia is the prejudice, hatred and attitude towards the other or the other's foreignness or coming from outside that society or belonging to a different nationality (Ar, 2019, p. 14). In other words, distrust, fear and hatred against foreigners are linked to the definition of the nation as a representation of culture. Racism is an ideology of power over others that expresses the superiority of a particular race and its domination over other races. Xenophobia, on the other hand, is hatred and negative attitudes towards people who are foreign to the society and national identity. At this point,

xenophobia is closely linked to nation building, nationalism and especially forms of aggression. At this point, xenophobia divides society into us and them, criticises the "them" part and glorifies the "us" part. This brings intolerance along with it.

From the perspective of Islamophobia, xenophobia has a great influence on the prevalence of this situation, apart from social, cultural, historical, etc. This approach constitutes the logical basis of Islamophobia, which sees those who are not one's own as "the other" and naturally as a threat to be feared (Kar, 2017, p. 201). The fact that being modern and secular with the enlightenment of the West is seen as one of the conditions of Westernness is one of the important sources of xenophobia and islamophobia fed by the western-rationalist-rhetoric. Although the concepts of Islamophobia and xenophobia have common points, xenophobia is based on racism, while Islamophobia is a phenomenon based on religion and culture. This concept, known as "nativism", which advocates the superiority of natives over foreigners and focuses on protecting the rights and interests of natives, sheds light on us to perceive xenophobia more clearly (Sözer, 2018, p. 44). As a result, xenophobia, racism and Islamophobia are influenced and fed by each other in every aspect while harbouring intense fear, discrimination and enmity against foreigners.

2.2.4. Ethnocentrism and Racism

Before addressing the concept of ethnocentrism, it would be useful to look at the concept of racism. Race is defined literally as "a class of people who are similar to each other in terms of characteristics such as anatomical structure, colour, voice, etc. that can be genetically transmitted to future generations and which allows categorisation among human societies". Giddens defines race as "a labelling that creates a physical biological group that is inherent in certain groups, historically proposed by Gobineau" (Giddens, 2006, p. 246). With the development of the idea of nationalism in the 19th century, many races around the world tried to prove their superiority and that other races were their own. Racism, on the other hand, can be defined as "the determination of behaviours and attitudes, development and diversity in the world according to race; the superiority of one race over other races, having this mentality and the legitimacy of actions to be taken for

this reason". At this point, racism is a hierarchical act of hatred and violence against others from top to bottom, that is, by the race that considers itself superior. As a result, the concept of ethnocentrism emerged after the separation of races.

Although the concept of ethnocentrism is not used as a word, Darwin and Spencer have made approaches to the definition of this concept. Sumner (1906, 1911), also a social Darwinist, elaborated and popularised the concept of ethnocentrism by emphasising that the attitudes and behaviours of positive in-groups are generally hostile to out-groups. At this point, it can be considered that Sumner coined the term ethnocentrism in 1906, but the first printed use of the term was in an article by anthropologist McGee (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012, p. 2). However, McGee's definitions were not as conceptualising as Sumner's work. Accordingly, Sumner has two clear definitions of ethnocentrism in terms of the self-righteousness or self-centredness of the ethnic group. One of them is "a sense of harmony, inner comradeship, and loyalty to the in-group, which carries a sense of superiority over any out-group and is ready to defend the interests of the in-group against the out-group" can be technically defined as ethnocentrism (Sumner, 1911). In addition, the concept of ethnocentrism has been handled from many perspectives and has numerous definitions. The question arises here, which conceptualisation should we trust? At this point, for a conceptually better definition, it is necessary to complete three basic concepts: (1) group egocentrism, (2) hostility and contempt towards other groups, i.e. outgroup negativity, and (3) only in-group positivity (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2012, pp. 1-5). Thus, certain stereotypes take place in ethnocentrism and they see their own group as superior and others as barbarian, savage or reactionary. Considering all these, ethnocentrism can be defined as "the evaluation of other societies, their thoughts and products according to their closeness-distance, compatibility-compatibility within this system in which the social life and cultural environment in which they live is accepted as the center".

2.2.5. Orientalism

In general terms, orientalism is a discipline that studies eastern cultures. Its emergence is the study of the East and Islam in particular. Although there is no clear date of emergence, the establishment of some Arabic language departments at the Council of Vienna in 1312

can be considered as the beginning (Balaban, 2021, p. 19). In the 16th century, with the increase in relations between the east and the west, there was an increase in orientalism and writings about the east, and this situation peaked in the 19th century. The curiosity towards the East indirectly means curiosity towards Islam. After the First World War, many eastern states became colonies of the West, and this situation was effective in the spread of orientalism. Orientalists' curiosity for the east and the lack of opportunity to visit the east afterwards presented an imaginary eastern figure in painting, photography and cinema. As a result, they presented the East with images such as cruel sultans, barbarians and enslavement of women. In addition, the minds of the colonised eastern states and societies have been raised with the idea that the only real civilisation is Western civilisation. Professor Edward W. Said, an American of Palestinian origin, made important criticisms of Orientalism at the level of the USA, France and the UK, arguing that these states used their studies to spread imperialism and for their own interests (Balaban, 2021). At this point, the concept of Orientalism is an academic phenomenon and is based on the distinction between the Orient (East) and the Occident (West). The Orient was expressed as despised, undeveloped and fed by conquests, while the Occident was expressed as powerful, superior, civilised and sovereign. In addition, according to some researchers, orientalism has two main aims. These are: vilifying Islam and alienating people, and exploiting the wealth of the Eastern lands. Adnan Muhammad Vezzan (2013) in his book 'Orientalism and Orientalists' defines orientalism as follows:

“Orientalism sometimes appears to the majority of people as if it were an academic orientation aimed at the study and research of the East and its culture in general, and Islam and Islamic civilisation in particular, as already mentioned. But this is not the case...It is part of the contemporary Crusader wars, which have taken a new form as an intellectual rather than a military war”(Vezzan, 2013, p. 12).

In summary, in a world divided into easterners and westerners, orientalism strives to realise the superiority and ambitions of the west against the east. At this point, the easterner refers to the individual who is irrational, sinful and has immoral activities, while the westerner consists of honourable, moral and rational individuals (Babayev, 2020, p.

13). When these two poles are compared, the eastern pole is the exploited, inferior and captive pole, while the western pole is superior and sovereign (Gafuroğulları, 2019, p. 18).

2.2.6. Islamophobia

Human history has passed through certain stages and processes in a constantly changing and dynamic structure. At this point, sometimes because of being human, sometimes because of being of a different race, and sometimes because of being a member of a different religion, a continuous other situation has been created. Although there are many examples of this in history, the other of the 21st century can be expressed as Muslims. In terms of social process, the conceptualization of a phenomenon emerges as a result of a social process. Stating that these concepts are social means that they are based on a sociological basis and thus express a historical process. In other words, what makes a concept a concept is its historical and sociological bot. Based on all that has been said, it would not be wrong to say that Islamophobia has a historical and sociological background.

The word Islamophobia is composed of the words "Islam" and "phobia". Freud saw fear as synonymous with anxiety and defined it as a complex internal reaction to any external danger. In this context, phobia is defined as the pressure, anxiety, and strong fear of a particular object or situation that is characterised as an unusual disease. Fear of heights is called acrophobia, fear of being in a narrow space is called claustrophobia, fear of insects is called entomophobia, and xenophobia is called xenophobia. Here, Islam is derived from the Arabic root "silm" meaning peace (Elma, 2021, p. 21). The Greek word "phobie" is based on Phobos, the god of fear in Greek mythology. With the combination of these two words, the word Islamophobia, which is widely used in the world, has entered the literature and our daily life. After the emergence of Islam in the 7th century, it was seen as a threat by Christian Europe, so the idea of standing together against this threat developed. Until the 17th century, the rapid spread of Islam and the advance of the Ottoman Empire to the Balkans and further inland caused fear in the West and other societies. As a result of this fear, Muslims were seen by the West as "infidels, barbarians,

and prone to violence" (Sertel, 2021, p. 82). At this point, it is emphasised that Islamophobia is not a new concept but has a historical basis. Especially in the last 20 years, Islamophobia has become widespread. Among the reasons for this are the immigration problem and the coming to power of nationalist and conservative parties. Before moving on to its definition, it can be considered this concept in two dimensions: theoretical and conceptual. In the conceptual approach, it is aimed to focus more on defining and presenting a certain theoretical framework, while in the theoretical approach, it is tried to reveal how and how the content of the relevant concept affects the public consciousness. In the history of the use of the word, according to the Oxford English Dictionary in the UK, it was first discussed in print in the American periodical *Insight* magazine in 1991. In the press, there are documents indicating that it was first used by Edward Said in 1985 (Richardson, 2012, p. 3). According to Lopez (2010), the word Islamophobia was used for the first time in the article "L'etat actuel de l'islam dans l'Afrique occidentale française (The current situation of Islam in French West Africa)" published by Delafosse, which describes ways to fight Islam and offers suggestions for French authorities. Quellien (1910) for Islamophobia;

"Islamophobia - prejudice against Islam - has always been and continues to be widespread among the people of Western and Christian civilisation. For some, the Muslim is the natural and irreconcilable enemy of Christians and Europeans. Islam is the denial of civilisation. Barbarism, malice and cruelty are the best that can be expected from the Mohammedans" (Quellien, 1910, p. 133).

From this point of view, the reflections of a general prejudice and discriminatory attitude towards Islam and Muslims, who are seen as the other in the West, are clearly seen. The studies on Islamophobia, it is used in most works in the report "Islamophobia: A Challenge For Us All" by a commission established by "The Runnymede Trust" organisation in the UK in 1997 to examine British Muslims and Islamophobia. According to this report, Islamophobia is defined as;

1. Personal verbal or physical attacks targeting Muslims,
2. Attacks targeting religious institutions,
3. Unrealistic opinions about Muslims in politics and in the press,
4. Discrimination in social and labour settings because of their religious identity,
5. Ignoring religious needs in daily life,
6. Facing economic inequalities and injustices due to religious identity,
7. Muslims are not taken into account in the courts because of their religious identity,
8. Restriction of freedoms in matters affecting Muslims

Thanks to this report, for the first time a commission was established by non-Muslims to investigate the behaviour towards Muslims and to acknowledge and publish discrimination against them. Another indicator is that Islamophobia is not a situation that emerged after 11 September, but has a historical origin.

Another dimension of Islamophobia is racism. At this point, they are judged as "terrorists" by societies by emphasising their religious identities and being ostracised by the society for a negative action. It should be also emphasised that every phobia has a form of expression. In this context, Islamophobes have manifestations such as attacking women wearing headscarves, all kinds of attacks on mosques, discrimination in workplaces, verbal attacks and harassment, belittling and prejudice. Looking at the relevant literature, Islamophobia manifests itself with concepts such as prejudice, discrimination, exclusion and violence. In this context, prejudice refers to the attitudes and behaviour displayed against Muslims in the Western media; discrimination refers to the fact that Muslims are not provided with equal conditions in working life and at the same time are subjected to difficult behaviour; exclusion refers to their inability to contribute to governance and their lack of political and democratic rights; and finally, "conflict" refers to verbal or actual attacks in society or individually. Another point to be mentioned is the connection with the concept of xenophobia. Xenophobia has entered the literature as xenophobia. Although it is mostly based on racism, this concept can develop discriminatory discourses that also include religion. What distinguishes Islamophobia from xenophobia is that while xenophobia is based on race, Islamophobia is based on religion and culture. Contrary to

popular belief, although Islamophobia in the USA is thought to have emerged after the 11 September attacks, it is based on a much older history. The 1917 Balfour Declaration and the support for the establishment of Israel in 1948, the overthrow of Mohammed Mossadegh in Iran in 1953 and his replacement by Shah Reza Pahlavi, the 1970 OPEC oil crisis and the recent wars in Iraq are important turning points.

Many institutions and organisations publish reports on Islamophobia. The first of these organisations is the Vienna-based EUMC-European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. This organisation published its Islamophobia report in 2015 and defined Islamophobia as anti-Muslim racism. While defending Muslims in a way, the report attributes the origin of Islamophobia to the fact that a group of people who are known to be influential in the society, in line with their own interests, select a group in the society as a "scapegoat" in order to protect their existing potential in political, economic and social terms, to increase this potential and to spread it to wider circles, and to exclude this group from other segments of the society (EUMC, 2015, p. 7). The report also states that certain negative perceptions resulting from Islamophobia are generalised to the entire Muslim community and that these perceptions are thought to be "always present" in Muslims. In the concluding part of the report, Islamophobia is described as "the product of how Muslims are perceived by the society and the movements that emerge as a result of these constructs rather than the facts about Muslims" (EUMC, 2015). Another organisation that published a report is the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. In 2014, the OIC defined Islamophobia as "a kind of modern century racism and xenophobia based on hatred, distrust, uneasiness and fear against Islam and Muslims" (OIC, 2014). Another organisation that has published reports on Islamophobia is the Council of Europe. In its report titled "Islamophobia and its Effects on Youth" published in Budapest, the capital of Hungary in 2004, the Council defined Islamophobia as "perceptions and prejudiced views towards Islam and Muslim people who believe in Islam. Whether it is a form of racism or a more severe and threatening form, Islamophobia is a perception that emerges as an intimidation against human rights and the unity, cohesion and peace of society" (ECR, 2004).

As a result of all these studies and researches, Islamophobia in the West can be expressed as an irrational fear of hatred and hostility towards Islam, hatred and lack of love towards Muslims.



3. TERRORISM AND MANIPULATION

3.1. Terrorism

Looking at the past, present and future, there are examples of different types of terrorism. It is also seen now and in the future. For this reason, it is useful for this study to understand what terrorism is and why it has always appeared in history. The origins of both terrorist acts and religious groups go back to the very existence of society. At this point, since the existence of mankind, a group of people have come together and established terrorist organizations. An example of this is the Order of Assassins founded by Hasan Sabbah in 1100 (Ergün, 2021, p. 27). This example is important in showing that terrorist groups are not a problem that belongs only to the Western hemisphere. Etymologically speaking, the word "terrorism" comes from the Latin word "Terrere", which means "cause to be terrified by fear" or "to be shaken by fear". In 1789, its first use was seen in the appendix of the Dictionnaire de L'Academie Francaise. It is defined as "an organizational movement that uses violence against governments, peoples or individuals for political purposes" in the Great Britannica dictionary, as "the common fear of a group within a society to eliminate the resistance of the people" in the French Petit Robert dictionary, and as "intimidation, destruction of life, destruction of property, intimidation" in the Turkish Language Institution (Kang, 2010, p. 41).

Having defined terrorism in general, it is important to understand what terrorism is conceptually. At this point, the concept has become controversial as there is no agreed definition. However, according to Hoffman, terrorism is defined as "violence or the threat of violence used for or in pursuit of a political goal" (Hoffman, 2006, p. 3). On the other hand, Ernest Evans defines terrorism as "strategic violence used against the social order of society to achieve political goals" (Evans, 1979, p. 4). In general and inclusive terms, terrorism is an activity involving psychological violence that acts in an organizational structure and uses violence as a tool to seize the sovereignty of a country or to achieve the

political, social, and ideological goals of the organization, arousing fear in the society, demands a change in government policies.

However, as stated, the concept of terrorism, which cannot be defined in a general way, is used in different forms today with the development of media and accessibility. At this point, the relationship between different fields and terrorism should be examined.

3.1.1. Terrorism with Religious Motives

In general, these are acts and activities that are included in the commandments of religion and that involve violence for a certain purpose that is considered right according to religion. In other words, it is a situation that is perceived as dying or sacrificing, sacrificing, performing actions approved by the religion they adhere to and the holy book texts or the religious leader. Many of the terrorist acts that have occurred in the modern period appear as an example of this type.

Religiously motivated terrorism is dominated by the belief in building a system in line with one's own beliefs that ignores the system rather than correcting the system (Babayev, 2020, p. 28). At this point, they see themselves as different from others and proceed outside the idea of being a part of the world they are in. Religiously motivated terrorism is mostly associated with Islam and it is accepted by many that it is widespread in the Middle East. However, Juergensmeyer points out that in addition to Muslims in the Middle East, radical Jews in Israel, radical Buddhists in Japan, radical Christians in the USA, and radical Sikhs and Hindus in India are also important examples of religiously motivated terrorism (Babayev, 2020).

3.1.2. Understanding Terrorism as a Tool

As mentioned before, terrorism is a concept that has negative social, economic, and psychological effects on society and the state. In this context, this ongoing concept and

the fact that there is no end to terrorist acts bring to mind that this concept is used as a tool.

Carr (2003) and Telhami (2004) see terrorism as a means to an end. They argue that many states carried out terrorism as a means in the 20th century. In support of this, Rummel (1996) states that 196 million people (including civilians) have died as a result of state actions. There are also some important psychological consequences of terrorism as a tool. This kind of psychology emerged from the motivation-action interface theory and cognitively based research on goals (Kruglanski et al. 2006, p. 46). The theory and research suggest that the psychological utility of a particular action is realized through a high level of psychological utility compared to other means. On the other hand, the expected utility is associated with how much the tool contributes to achieving the goal. In this context, it can be concluded that the extent to which the use of terrorism as a tool is good in achieving the goal and its support is an undeniable fact. At this point, it is important to reveal the areas of use of terrorism as a tool.

3.1.2.1. Terrorism as a Tool of Diplomacy

Every state in history and today has the aim of establishing political, military, and economic superiority over neighboring or non-neighboring states in accordance with its interests. The means used to implement and achieve these objectives are called political/diplomatic instruments. With industrialization, especially the French Revolution, important changes have taken place in the industrial revolution. Especially under the name of colonization, raw materials, and technology were exported to various parts of the world. However, the states where these investments are made can move freely in their territories and confiscate these investments. At this point, the idea of nationalism brought by the French Revolution emerged as a powerful diplomacy tool. Especially in the 19th century, this idea became so widespread that nationalism was at the root of the revolts that occurred in this period. What is interesting is the presence of Western capitalist states as mandatory in the places where the rebellion occurred, after the rebellion was suppressed (Toreli, 2020, p. 2064).

The Industrial Revolution, which first started in Europe, pushed European states to colonize other states. The USA joined these states in the late period. With the transformation of absolute monarchies into constitutional monarchies and the beginning of the constitutional period, diplomacy carried out with nationalism was replaced by opposition groups that can be called radical within the society. Afterward, technology exports and investments started to be used as a tool of diplomacy, especially with the capital exports of London and Paris-based banks. With this method, they increased their income in the colonial regions. Thus, with the opening of schools, which was the next target, it was possible to raise a group of people who were close to and supportive of them within the society. Especially in the second half of the 19th century, all these imperialist forces intensively used missionary schools as a tool of diplomacy. The 19th century's new diplomacy tool is "Intimidation". This word is used as a synonym for terrorism and means "terrorizing, threat, pressure, intimidation (Toreli, 2020, p. 2065)". It can be said that many of the conflicts and uprisings (such as Serbian, Greek, Wallachian-Boghdan, Cretan, etc.) that took place in the relevant period were based on the imperialist states. The method used at this point started with supporting the state to make reforms.

In the beginning, the churches were at the center of all these uprisings. It is seen that the churches, which lacked state control in terms of their religious status, shifted to missionary schools when this aspect was realized.

Looking at this aspect of the uprisings, respectively;

- 1- An uprising is started by instilling nationalism.
- 2- Rebels are eliminated.
- 3- Great powers intervene and are persuaded to make reforms and autonomy is granted.
- 4- Independence negotiations were initiated and these states were granted independence (Toreli, 2020, p. 2066).

On the other hand, the new era was characterized by two major wars that resulted in the deaths of millions of people, followed by a nuclear arms race and a bipolar world. During

this period, ideologies came to the fore (socialism, communism, capitalism) and ideologies dominated diplomacy. It is known that ideological conflicts, economic stagnation, and coups took place in many Middle Eastern, South, and Central African countries, including Turkey after the US emerged victorious in this race. Russia's loss in this race and its policy of descending to the warm seas continued with the invasion of Afghanistan, and the US established the Taliban in Pakistan and structured an organization that received all kinds of support against the Soviets. This is the first example of proxy wars.

3.1.2.2. Terrorism as a Tool of Guardianship

Terrorism primarily appears as a crime committed against civilians and state officials in peacetime (Wisnewski, 2008, p. 175). Nevertheless, terrorism is a concept that has been abused by governments and non-state groups. For this reason, a group considered as a terrorist organization by one group or state may be seen as a freedom fighter by another group or state. In addition, some states today are also characterized as terrorist states. In this context, terrorism gains an international meaning and is used as an asymmetric and ambiguous power by some countries to expand their control and sphere of influence over other countries. On the other hand, it would not be correct to say that terrorism is a tool used only by imperial powers. Terrorism can also arise as a result of the actions of a political, economic, social, and ideological group or organization (Şengöz, 2023, p. 141). In this case, it can be emphasized that these groups and organizations have evolved into organizations that serve the wishes of their supporters. In this context, while causing great damage and losses, it can also be effective in making a political decision.

“In this context, today's terrorist organizations have evolved from classical hierarchical and formal organizational structures to non-state armed structures with network-type organizational structures, flexible, capable of preparing a war and conflict environment anywhere in the world, able to use the opportunities provided by technology at the highest level, with advanced communication and command relations (Şengöz, 2023)”. What should be understood from this point of view is that terrorist organizations act like a

company, can establish cooperation, and have become more mobile and influential. At this point, asymmetric warfare, in other words, warfare that eliminates the imbalance of power and provides difference and superiority with weapons and methods, aims to eliminate the target country's will to fight and bring fear to the forefront outside the classical battlefields. In other words, it threatens political strategic decision-making mechanisms.

3.1.3. Motivations and Reasons behind Terrorism

Under this heading, the focus will be on the motivations and reasons that drive individuals or groups to resort to terrorism. These motivations and reasons may include political grievances, social injustice, identity issues, or religious ideologies. The aim is to understand the underlying factors that contribute to resorting to acts of terrorism.

3.1.3.1. Reasons of Terrorism

When the conditions are right, man can become savage. However, it is difficult for this to cause individual harm. For this reason, the urge for aggression and brutality in the individual is brought to light by the environment and social sphere. Terrorism can have many causes and may vary from society to society. In one society, economic stagnation and hardship may be seen as the cause, while in another society the cause may be ethnicity. Taking this into account, it should not be expected that terrorism can be explained by considering a single cause. At this point, it is crucial to address the general causes of terrorism and to reveal the sources of motivation.

Terrorism is linked to historical rather than economic causes. At the same time, the social space in which individuals who commit acts of terrorism live is also important. Therefore, one should focus on the enabling and enabling causes of terrorism (Salur, 2006, p. 84). According to a study conducted in 49 different societies, Salur (2006) as cited in Türkdoğan (1996, p. 346) tried to reveal the common factors of social violence with seven factors such as individual income inequality, political violence, abundance, social

mobility, socio-cultural heterogeneity, population size. These were determined as the main factors. If this study look at the causes of terrorism in general; economic weakness, inequalities, government and power (these are called internal factors); education, cultural problems, health, and media problems (these are called external factors). In an international dimension, it can be expressed as conflicts of interest, changes in international balances, lack of security, decrease in national consciousness, and authority vacuum (Çınar, 1997, p. 247; Şehirli, 2002, p. 98). However, it would be useful to state that these internal and external reasons do not cause terrorism on their own, but are triggering factors.

As can be seen, terrorism has many different causes. These reasons may vary depending on the place and time of the terrorist act. Many of the above-mentioned and many other reasons may be the cause or maybe the sources from which terrorism feeds. Just like the problem in the definition of terrorism, there is no clear definition or list of causes. One of the most important reasons for this is that each society has a different understanding of violence and terrorism, and the historical conditions of that society also determine its understanding of violence.

3.1.3.2. Motivations of Terrorism

As mentioned above, the causes of terrorism can be very diverse. I also believe that the motivation for terrorism needs to be identified. Generally speaking, there is a general classification of terrorism. Classification in science can be expressed as the separation of the characteristics of objects or events in a certain cluster according to sub-sets, and the sub-sets can be sorted into sub-sets with a higher hierarchical level (Buker, 2017). Here this thesis will classify terrorism as ethno-nationalist (ENT), religiously motivated (RMT) and revolutionary terrorism (RT). While making this classification, this study will mention the common motivations of these three different categories.

a. Ethnic-Nationalist Terrorism:

ENS terrorism, while alarming in the 1970s, appears to be a less risky form of terrorism for the contemporary world. It came to the fore with the IRA (Irish Republican Army), ETA, and the National Organization of Cypriot Cypriot Fighters (EOKA). In simple terms, the deepest motivation of ENT is the attempt to free an existing ethnic group from political authority or to gain autonomy for an ethnic group (Burke, 2017). It is also motivated by restoring the rights of that ethnic group and preventing cultural assimilation. With the idea of nationalism on which it bases its legitimacy, it gives importance to nation, culture, and race and shapes its motivation accordingly.

b. Religiously Motivated Terrorism:

Religion is a phenomenon that aims to bring peace to humanity on earth. The concept of religion combined with terrorism poses many difficulties in explaining this phenomenon. Scholars such as Tucker even oppose the use of the terms religious terrorism together (Tucker, 2001, pp. 1-14). According to Ranstrop (1996), RMT is seen as "one of the most widespread and dangerous trends in the post-cold War world". In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, RMT is often associated with Islam and the Middle East. However, many other religions that involve fanaticism are also included in this scope. An example is the Jewish fundamentalist Kach movement, which organized an attack against Muslim worshippers in the West Bank in 1994. Although there are movements of different religions, the common aspect of the RMT's activities and motivation is "obeying the commands of Allah (a supreme power)" and its reflection. At this point, the RMT's intertwined motivational goals can be expressed as immediate and ultimate. The immediate goals are the motivation of these organizations to establish a religious government. For example, ISIS and Al-Qaeda can be given as examples. The ultimate goals are spreading the message of God, apocalypse, or messiahship (Burker, 2017). Gush Emunim in Israel is an example of an organization with an apocalyptic motivation.

c. Revolutionary Terrorism

Problematic in definition, a revolution is an action or strategy that leads to major changes in society in general. RT, on the other hand, is usually the use of terrorism by reformist or revolutionary organizations to transform and achieve their aims. Rumphrey et al. argue that reformists are often intellectual and motivated by a desire to extract concessions from rulers to revolutionize and commit acts of violence.

As a result of all these motivations, the motivation of a terrorist organization will make a difference in the overall activities, tactics, and goals of terrorism.

3.2. Manipulation and Propaganda

The word manipulation is French in origin and means "to change by manipulation, selection, addition or subtraction". This can be verbal, auditory, visual, etc. At this point, according to Dijk, manipulation is dominated by power and the abuse of power (2006, pp. 359-360). In summary, manipulation is the psychological and sociological influence of one person on another person or group to knowingly or willingly influence, direct, and change their behavior. The concept of manipulation brings two different concepts together. These are coercion and persuasion.

Persuasion is defined as the presentation of information, analysis, and reasons, in some cases aiming at approval. In this respect, persuasion shows a method that distances the target from its agency and a situation that affects decision-making processes. Coercion, on the other hand, can be explained as influencing one person to conform to the will of another by threatening the reason for the other's abstention. The difference between manipulation and coercion lies in the concealment of the manipulator's intentions. Therefore, manipulation impairs autonomy.

However, at this point, it would be appropriate to focus on propaganda used as a manipulation tool. In the 21st century, states, groups, and organizations use certain tools

to influence people or societies. At this point, propaganda is involved. In general, certain changes have occurred on a personal basis with globalization. Especially with the development of technology, individuals can closely follow the lives of other individuals and this has led to a conflict in their self-concept or a deterioration in their identity. Stating that the history of humanity has been the most war-free for 57 years, Tehran stated that the reason for this was the fear of the end of history in case of the existence and use of nuclear weapons. During the Cold War, the capitalist world applied psychological warfare methods well and had a significant impact on people's beliefs, thoughts, and lifestyles. This has brought propaganda tools and manipulative state actions to the surface instead of bloody warfare.

Etymologically, the word propaganda derives from the Latin verb "propagare" meaning "to spread" (Great Laurese, 2012, p. 9582). In the Turkish Language Association (TDK) dictionary, propaganda is defined as "a dissemination applied utilizing speech, writing, etc. to introduce, adopt or spread a doctrine, thought or belief to others" (Türkiye Büyük Sözlük, 2011, p. 1738). One of the most important definitions was made by Qualter. According to him; "a conscious activity of an individual or a group of individuals or groups to influence, shape, control, change the attitudes of other individuals or groups following their purposes by utilizing the means of communication" (Qualter, 1987, p. 279). It is useful and obligatory to note that the point to be emphasized here is the expression "consciously". It is also important to mention here the concepts of propaganda evaluation and persuasion, as a sub-branch of communication studies, and as a tool of religion and political systems (Akgül, 2007, p. 36). On the other hand, having a say on individuals or groups, influencing decisions, instilling opinions, and imprinting thoughts in the minds of individuals through visual, auditory, or other means without their awareness can also be seen among its objectives. Based on all the definitions mentioned above, this study can define propaganda as a psychological method that is effective in directing individuals, groups, or states toward their own goals, such as influencing, accepting, directing, creating public opinion, mobilizing, triggering, and changing perceptions.

3.2.1. A Form of Terrorism: Propaganda

It shows that the actions carried out with terrorism, the message desired to be given and the environment of fear desired to be created, in short, almost every action subject to terrorism is a propaganda operation. This situation proves that terrorism is an illegal propaganda product (Inceoğlu, 138). For example, Auguste Vaillant, during his trial after the bomb attack, said: *"Dear jurors, you are the representatives of the bourgeois society. If you want my head, take it, but don't think you can stop Anarchist propaganda by doing so. Be careful, you reap what you sow."* He gave the message that the action taken here was propaganda and that punishment would increase propaganda and actions (Yavuz, 2023, p. 81). According to propaganda through action, which is a doctrine, it is emphasized that propaganda without action is less effective in achieving the intended result. It is stated that it effectively achieves the goal when the propagandist puts his/her goals into action. At this point, it can be concluded that terrorism cannot be separated from propaganda and will occur simultaneously with propaganda. Theodore Kaczynski's statement in his manifesto: *"We had to kill people to carry our message to the public and make an impact* (Kaczynski, 2020, p. 85)" shows that terrorism is a form of propaganda. As a result, terrorism is both propaganda itself and a type of propaganda.

3.3. Terrorism in terms of Political Psychology

By definition, political psychology can be defined by focusing on the relationships of masses, groups and nations and assessing the psychological factors that play a role in these relationships (Çevik, 2009, p. 15). In other words, it can be express it as the interaction studies of politics on psychology and the impact of psychology on politics (Houghton, 2015, p. 27). Thus, the basic motivations underlying behaviors will be perceived. Political psychology, one of the aims of which is to reveal terrorism, terrorist behavior, and psychology, is a new concept and a field that needs to be focused on. McGraw (2000, p. 806) considers political psychology, which is an interdisciplinary discipline, as a comprehensive field that deals with extreme activities such as terrorism and war. Political psychology, which focuses on social cognition, is closely related to Fiske and Taylor's Social Cognitive Theory. At this point, it is an important concept to understand in terms

of its structure and focus. Perez (2001, as cited in Karalı, 2011, p. 2) divides the structure of political psychology into three parts: firstly, it is sensitive to social events and analyzes conflicts (for example, the evaluation of the Arab-Israeli Conflict), secondly, it acts as a bridge that unites psychology and politics and adapts its theories to politics, and finally, it focuses on enlightening society.

The existence of political psychology goes back even further, but its emergence as a concept and as a science is recent. Historically, Machiavelli's views on human psychology were followed by Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau's "State of Nature" (Karaklı, 2011). In addition to all these definitions and classifications, Montore (1996, pp. 414-440) argued that this field should focus more on political traumas, terrorism, and the place and conflicts of minorities and groups in politics. R. Hudson (1999), who suggests focusing on terrorists as individuals when terrorism is considered psycho-politically, states that their belief systems, character structures, and motivations can be examined at this point (Mete & Gündoğmuş, 2021, p. 113). Thus, it is emphasized that the analysis of individuals is very important for understanding terrorism. In general, political psychology, which deals with terrorism in terms of individuals, shows that the reasons that push individuals to terrorism are factors such as political and economic instability of countries, income inequalities, and inequality. At the same time, these factors also constitute the propaganda basis of terrorist organizations (Karaklı, 2011). In a study conducted by the American Federal Research Association, it was concluded that terrorists do not have a soul subordinate, but they feel intense loyalty to the ideology of the group they are in (Hudson, 1999). Therefore, addressing terrorists under an identity within the group brings about healthier results.

As can be seen, political psychology focuses on terrorism, and terrorism is a concept that focuses on ideology, identity, the individual, or the underlying reasons of the individual before joining the organization. This study aims to analyze and interpret the concept at the state level concerning terrorism in the following sections.

4. MEDIA AND ISLAMOPHOBIC DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN THE CONTEXT OF TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS AND ATTACKS

4.1. An Overview of Al-Qaeda

In this chapter, the establishment, ideology, objectives and effects of Al-Qaeda terrorist organization on the Western world will be examined. First of all, how and under what circumstances Al-Qaeda was founded, who supported it and what were the first activities of the organization will be discussed. In this context, the main objectives and ideological foundations of the organisation will be examined in depth, its worldview based on Islamist radicalism and the role of this ideology within the organization will be discussed. The attacks of 11 September 2001 will be highlighted as one of the critical turning points in the history of Al-Qaeda and how this event shaped the Middle East policies of the West, especially the US. The changes in Western policies towards the Middle East following the attacks will be analyzed through the impact of these policies on the region and the world at large.

Al-Qaeda's major attacks and their impact on global terrorism will also be analyzed. Finally, it will be discussed how Al-Qaeda's attacks are covered in the Western media and how these acts are manipulated to feed Islamophobic discourses. This analysis will allow us to understand the role of Al-Qaeda in the formation of Islamophobic discourses and how these discourses are used in the Western media.

4.1.1. Foundation

In order to better understand the al-Qaeda terrorist organization, it is worth first looking at the meaning of its name. It comes from the Arabic root kaf-ayn-dal and means 'a centralized place like a camp or a house' or 'the foundation under a house' (Burke, 2004, p. 10). It can also mean rule, principle, method, example. However, in the dictionary meaning, it is seen that a definition is given according to the objectives of the organization rather than the meaning of the word. Accordingly, "Al-Qaeda is a radical Sunni Muslim

organization founded by Osama Bin Laden in 1988, which sees the elimination of Western entities in Arab countries as its main goal (Aydın Erdoğan, 2018, p. 44)”.

Al-Qaeda emerged in Afghanistan, with Pakistan to the south and east, Iran to the west, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan to the north. In this study, look at the society in general, 80% are Sunni, 19% are Shiite and the rest are members of other sects and religions. Historically, Afghanistan, which was occupied by the Mongolian invasion and later by the US, has rich natural resources. This situation constitutes some of the reasons that lead states to these lands.

The founding steps of today's Afghanistan were taken in the 18th century by Ahmet Shah Abdal, the leader of the Druze (Polat, 2015, p. 35). In the 19th century, it was at war with the British, and this period was followed by coups and changing kings. With Muhammad Daoud Khan, it became closer to the USSR, and with Zahir Shah in 1975, rapprochement with the USA continued. After many turbulent periods, Soviet troops entered Afghanistan on December 27, 1979. After this invasion, the Afghan Jihad, which would sow the seeds of Al-Qaeda, began. Especially after 1982, the Soviets failed to gain the upper hand against the Afghan jihadists and withdrew due to the Perestroika process. During this period, it is known that the Afghan jihad was supported by the US with the contributions of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan (Polat, 2015). Pakistani intelligence and the CIA (US Central Intelligence Agency) provided arms and ammunition (Kepel, 1994, p. 143). Some sources state that Al-Qaeda was officially founded by the US as part of its strategy of asymmetric warfare against the USSR. Accordingly, the CIA found, armed and trained Muslim youth to fight in this conflict and under the name of jihad (Chomsky, 2002, p. 16.). There may be two reasons for this US support. One of them is to mobilize Muslims around the world against the USSR under this jihad movement in Afghanistan, and the other is to characterize the Iranian revolution as a Shiite movement by placing the distinction between Shiites and Sunnis on a political basis (Gürbüz, 2008, p. 50). It has been expressed that Osama Bin Laden was trained by the CIA and later appeared as the first person on the wanted list. On the other hand, there are those like Jason Burke who argue that he was not financed by the CIA. Burke in a nutshell;

“The claim that bin Laden was financed by the CIA is widely considered to be misinformation. In reality, the financing system set up by General Zia-ul-Haq, who came to power in Pakistan in 1977, makes it practically impossible for the CIA to have financed bin Laden. One of the conditions of Zia's contribution to the American plan to turn Afghanistan into the Soviet Vietnam was that all American financial aid to the Afghan resistance would be channeled through the Pakistani government. This was to be done through the Afghan bureau of the ISI, Pakistan's military intelligence agency. In addition to American aid, which was directed specifically to the Afghan mujahideen and not to Arab volunteers, funds raised by the Saudi government were also channeled to Afghanistan. Today, many aid organizations in the Gulf countries have been set up to raise funds for Afghans, both civilians and fighters, or to transfer government funds to Afghans. In fact, only 25 percent of the money raised for the Afghan jihad was provided directly by governments (Burke, 2004, p. 8).”

In particular, Abdullah Azzam founded the MAK (Mektep al-Hidamet) in 1980, which allegedly operates like a corporation and has offices in many parts of the world, collects aid and uses this aid from the Middle East to financially support the families of those affected by the conflicts in the name of jihad. This organization is seen by Muslims as a charity. It has therefore managed to attract the support of Muslims. In this respect, the MAK is very important for al-Qaeda. It played a major role in its development and increasing its supporters.

Al-Qaeda was established in the region in 1988 with the Soviet withdrawal (Kean & Hamilton, 2004). Abdullah Azzam was initially considered as the leader, but Osama Bin Laden became the leader. Osama Bin Laden is a leader who was influenced by Wahhabism, which has a revolutionary understanding of Islam, and who lived a life based on keeping it alive, and who was also influenced by the defeat of the Arab-Israeli war. At this point, as a leader, he influenced Muslims, found economic resources and founded al-Qaeda in order to attract Muslims into the Afghan jihad movement. It can be seen that radicalism and fundamentalism were on the rise at the time al-Qaeda was founded. The

foundations of political Islam, which is quite widespread and on the rise today, were laid in this period. One of Ahmed Rashid's important observations is that Muslims around the world came together for a common cause and established an ideologically based and tactical bond by communicating with each other (Gürbüz, 2008, p. 52). This observation is appropriate as it created an organizational structure and ground for Al-Qaeda.

In the light of the information given above, Al-Qaeda emerged after the 1980s as an organization that emerged after 1988 under the leadership of Osama bin Laden, systematically structured and operating in the so-called jihad zones around the world (Gürbüz, 2008). In the beginning, it was used as a propaganda tool for jihad by gathering people from different parts of the world around a system, but since it was highly accepted, it resulted in the realization of terrorist acts against the US and Israel by gathering all Muslims under one roof. Thus, it can be said that it has achieved its goal at some point. According to J. Burke (2004), who argues that this terrorist organization is different from known norms, al-Qaeda does not appear as a unified, coherent structural organization. The reason for this is that it is considered as a terrorist organization that can be continuous and spread internationally at this point, rather than an organizational and organizational member structure that clings to a leader. As a matter of fact, even though the perpetrator of this attack was captured after the September 11 attacks, the continuity of actions and movements confirms Burke's view.

4.1.2. Objectives

Al-Qaeda is seen as a terrorist organization in the world and is seen as an organization that brought the concept of international terrorism to the literature. At this point, it is of great importance to understand these actions and the purposes for which this organization was founded and what it serves. Al-Qaeda advocates the establishment of a state governed by Sharia law in which all Muslims around the world participate and fight with arms. At this point, it can be stated that an active understanding of Pan-Islamism prevailed. With this understanding, they cooperate with Muslim countries and extremist (radical) Islamist groups close to them to expel Western powers from Islamic countries and to create an

Islamic state in the Middle East. In Ayman al-Zawahiri's statements, two different theses about al-Qaeda's aims come to the fore. The first one is the removal of the United States from Afghan territory, to create a threat to the West and make it tremble with fear through the actions to be carried out, and to establish an Islamic caliphate in Egypt. The second is jihad against the West, where religion is more prominent, and the victory of God against the USA and the Jews (Kilcullen, 2009 as cited in Şen, 2021, p. 59).

According to Al Qaeda and its leader Osama bin Laden, who is considered a terrorist organization by many states around the world, there is no problem in being considered a terrorist, he argues that the biggest terrorist against Muslims is the United States and that any force is legitimate to defeat the United States and emphasizes that this terrorism is “good terrorism” (Polat, 2015, p. 37). Osama bin Laden and other radical Islamists do not aim to occupy territory, they only want Muslims to be free from Western influence and establish Islamic rule (Gürbüz, 2008, p. 155). The only basis for the establishment of the caliphate is the use of force, and when listing their enemies, they identify countries and organizations such as the US, Israel, the UK, NATO and the UN.

4.1.3. Ideology

With the transformation in terrorist acts, ideology plays an important role in the motivation of new model terrorists. When al-Qaeda is analyzed, the brainwashing factor is clearly seen in its educational infrastructure. For example, in the September 11 attacks, the first striking aspect of the activists who did not receive a significant military training is the idea that they are ready to die for Allah. At this point, it can be stated that al-Qaeda is dominated by a religious ideology. Two different systems of thought - Salafism and Wahhabism - have been effective in the ideological structuring of the organization. When al-Qaeda is examined in general, it is seen that it adopts Islamism, is anti-Western and adopts terrorism as a strategy to carry out these actions. However, on the other hand, some authors state that al-Qaeda also has an ideological infrastructure dominated by Marxism. It can be said that its thought structure consists of four stages: emigration, war against the enemies of God, and establishing a state in accordance with Islamic law and rules. If these four stages

of goals are realized, the transition to jihad will be made. Although its main target is religious, economic and financial centers are also among al-Qaeda's targets. With its organization in various countries, it can be said that the first goal is to be able to attack the US from almost anywhere in the world, and the second is to prevent the US from focusing its attention directly on al-Qaeda.

This thesis have already mentioned that al-Qaeda's ultimate goal is jihad. A clear understanding of this concept is important both for understanding the ideology of the organization and for interpreting its actions. Generally speaking, jihad is understood in two ways: one that excludes violence and one that includes it. Jihad, which is used as an Islamic policy tool, emerges during the transmission of the messages contained in the Holy Quran to other societies (Arı & Arslan, 2005, p. 124). Jihad, which means to show effort and endeavor in what is being done and to spend all means, power and energy in that way, is a phenomenon that is used and validated in resistance movements and especially in order to give legitimacy to terrorist movements that emerged in the 20th and 21st centuries and to influence the masses (Gürbüz, 2008, p. 157). At this point, this concept is quite exceptional with the interpretations made throughout the history of Islam. When the books and articles on the concept of jihad are examined, it is seen that the words jihad and war are used interchangeably. In the Qur'an, the words “kital” and “harb” are used for war. At this point, the word jihad should not be used synonymously with the word war (Gürbüz, 2008). Because while war serves the purpose of realizing a political goal, jihad is carried out to eliminate aggression, protect Muslims, eliminate oppression, and implement the principles of justice and goodness. In the section described so far, it has been tried to give a general overview of the concept of jihad and to express how it should be and how it should be perceived in Islamic terms.

However, this situation is different from the perspective of al-Qaeda. Although al-Qaeda's interpretation of jihad and its adoption of jihad as a basic ideology and goal is similar to other Islamic terrorist organizations, it differs from them in terms of giving this concept a global dimension (Arı & Aslan, 2008, p. 211). At this point, Osama bin Laden did not only adopt a jihad against the governments in the Islamic world, but also gave this concept

an international dimension by expanding it to be against the West and the United States. At this point, the Wahhabi movement and al-Qaeda's understanding of jihad have the same characteristics (Gürbüz, 2008, p. 164). According to the Salafi-Wahhabi understanding of jihad as an ideology, jihad is violent attacks by Muslims against those hostile to Islam. In other words, it contains an ideology and understanding that sees the use of violence as a necessity. In order to legitimize the actions, the verses of the Qur'an are taken literally, not figuratively (Gürbüz, 2008). According to Burke, sword verses lie at the basis of the characterization of the actions carried out by Al-Qaeda as jihad (Burke, 2004, p. 42). Surat al-Tawbah, verse 5: "When those forbidden months are over, then kill those polytheists wherever you find them, capture them, detain them, hold all their places of passage..." (Surat al-Tawbah, 9:5). When this verse is considered independently of the other verses of the surah, it explains why only being a polytheist is considered a reason for war, but when it is considered together with the other verses of the surah, it is seen that the war is directed against those who fight Muslims and do not abide by the covenant between them.

In conclusion, the jihad mentioned in the Qur'an and the jihad advocated by al-Qaeda do not seem to be compatible. This is evident from Azzam's claim that the Qur'anic verses that fit his ideology are authentic (clear), while the others are fabricated. Al-Qaeda's understanding of jihad is at one point a concept used to mobilize the masses, to exploit Islamic values and brainwash individuals to carry out their actions and to legitimize them.

4.1.4. The September 11th Events and the Change in the Middle East Policies of the West, Especially the United States

The attacks of 11 September 2001 shocked the world and led to radical changes in international relations and security policies. In particular, the Middle East policies of the United States of America underwent a significant transformation. In the aftermath of these attacks, the US launched a global war against terrorism and intervened militarily in Afghanistan and Iraq. Large-scale military operations, intelligence activities and diplomatic initiatives were undertaken to stabilise the Middle East and eliminate terrorist threats. This process radically affected and transformed both the internal dynamics of the

countries in the region and the nature of relations between the West and the Middle East. In this study, pre- and post-September 11 policies and their changes will be briefly discussed.

4.1.4.1. A Brief Overview of US Policy in the Middle East

It has already been noted in this study that al-Qaeda is not a regional power but an international terrorist organization. At this point, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 created a major global shock and affected the policies of countries around the world. In the aftermath of these al-Qaeda attacks, Europe and the United States reshaped their security policies and took a series of measures under the name of combating terrorism. In addition, these events led to a fear of Islam in the world and paved the way for the rise of Islamophobia. Under this heading, the changes in the policies implemented in the geography called the West after the September 11 attacks and the relationship between these changes and Islamophobia will be discussed. However, before addressing this part explicitly, it would be useful to discuss the US policies in the Middle East prior to the September 11 attacks. The impact of the existing US policies is undeniable in the emergence of al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization capable of carrying out major and bloody acts in the international arena with its targets against the West and especially the United States. In 1957, during the negotiations on the Eisenhower Doctrine, John Foster Dulles defined the Middle East as the area surrounding Libya to the west, Pakistan to the east, Turkey to the north, and the Arabian Peninsula, Sudan and Ethiopia to the south (Davison, 1960). In the following period, just like the UK, the US expanded the borders of this defined region in line with its interests. Historically, the importance of the Middle East has always attracted the attention of great powers. Until the geographical discoveries, goods from China and India were transported to Europe via this route. In addition, the Ottoman Empire maintained its dominance in the region with the Ridaniye and Mercidabik wars. Another economically important point is that 52.1% of the world's oil reserves and 48.1% of natural gas reserves are located in this region (BP, 2013). This data shows us that the Middle East is important for opening energy reserves to the market, and

at the same time, since the vast majority of this energy is located in this region, it directs the interest of large states such as the United States to this region. The policies towards the Middle East during and after the Cold War show the importance of this region. The end of the Cold War, the dissolution of the USSR and the emergence of the USA as the sole superpower led to significant changes in the Middle East. Having lost the economic and military support of the USSR, especially Syria and the Arab states, Israel, known for its US support, has become an important power in the region. In particular, the US's statement that it would increase its military ties with the Gulf and that Iraq would be cleansed of weapons of mass destruction and thus the Palestinian issue would be resolved, and that it would strive for the spread of human rights (Mansfield, 1991/2012) increased its presence in the region and placed its fifth navy fleet in the Persian Gulf and its troops in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait (Kurt, 2014, p. 80). Apart from this, Turkey has increased its military presence in the region with the Incirlik base in Turkey and the sixth navy fleet in the west and has surrounded the region.

After the 1988 Iraq-Iran war, Iraq invaded Kuwait and declared the country as its own province due to problems such as Saddam Hussein's policies against Kuwait and his refusal to repay the loans he received from Iran, his lowering prices by producing oil outside the oil quota set by OPEC, and his claim on the oil belonging to Iraq (Arı, 2007, p. 436). This situation had a great repercussion in the international arena, especially the US took action in order not to jeopardize its national interests. On January 16, 1991, the US bombarded Iraq for 42 days (Cleveland, 2004, p. 531), launched a ground invasion on February 24, and on February 28, the Iraqi army was expelled from Kuwait. In the aftermath of this war, the US made its message clear with its military power and technology, its ability to rapidly deploy military power away from its country, and its capacity to intervene. After these events and the events that took place in various parts of the Middle East afterwards, factors such as the interventions in the region, the rivalry of the great powers, oil revenues, Israel's activities and US support, and unemployment can be listed as explanations for the rise of terrorism in the Middle East, especially in the 1980s. This has led to the association of terrorism with Muslims and the clash of civilizations. However, Bernar Lewis;

"Most Muslims are not fundamentalists and most fundamentalists are not terrorists, but most terrorists today are Muslim and proud to be Muslim. For understandable reasons, Muslims are uncomfortable with the media referring to terrorist movements and acts as "Islamist" and ask why Irish and Basque terrorists and terrorist acts are not called "Christian". The answer is clear and simple: Because they do not identify themselves as Christians. The complaint of Muslims is understandable, but their complaints are addressed to those who do the reporting, not those who report it. Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda followers may not represent Islam, and much of what they say and do is in direct contradiction to the principles and teachings of Islam, but they came out of Islamic civilization just as Hitler and the Nazis came out of Christianity, and they must be seen in their own cultural, religious and historical context" (Lewis, 2003, p. 119).

After this point, the rise of radicalism in the Middle East and the dominance of terrorist organizations in the region and the actions they have carried out have brought new possibilities of intervention. In particular, the actions of al-Qaeda have made a global impact. As a matter of fact, the attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001 led to significant changes in the policies of the whole world and especially the United States. In order to legitimize this, the United States has aimed to increase its dominance over the Middle East by putting forward justifications such as the fight against international terrorism, democratization and human rights.

4.1.4.2. Change in Western Policies

On the morning of September 11, 2001, 19 al-Qaeda-linked terrorists hijacked four commercial airliners. Two crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, a third crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. A fourth crashed into a field in Pennsylvania after passengers intercepted the terrorists. These attacks killed nearly 3,000 people and injured thousands more. The aim of the attacks was to draw attention to al-Qaeda's ideological and strategic goals and to cause massive destruction and chaos in

the heart of the United States. At this point, the intended situation became a reality and caused a huge repercussion all over the world. From this point on, the policies of the US and the West have undergone a major change.

World politics changed after the attack. At this point, then US President George W. Bush first invaded Afghanistan and then Iraq. With his “war on terrorism” campaign, Bush invoked Article 5¹ of the NATO and received the support of many Western states, especially Britain. With this attack carried out by Al-Qaeda, the distinction between Islam and the Western world became sharply visible and not only that, it spread to wider segments of the population (Erdin, 2014, p. 13) In addition, the US deployed its military forces to Afghanistan with the aim of preventing support for international terrorism and democratizing the country, first capturing Kabul with Operation Enduring Freedom and then ending its leadership. Both before and after this operation, with the support it received from other states, the United States (Washington administration) legitimized itself in the international arena (Kurt, 2014, p. 89). Unable to find the same support during the Iraq invasion, the U.S. resorted to the same justifications to occupy the region. From this point, the U.S. sought to gain the support of the United Nations by asserting that Iraq had become a threat, using the pretext of possessing weapons of mass destruction to further legitimize its stance. Following this claim, the UN's decision that inspections had not found any weapons of mass destruction in Iraq was unacceptable to the U.S. (Ari, 2007). It can be said that the 9/11 attacks provided the U.S. with a pretext. Indeed, the notion that the U.S. would bring democracy to these countries, a common rhetoric in both Afghanistan and Iraq, substantiates this situation. The Bush administration, adopting a more interventionist approach in its policies and rhetoric, aligned itself with the neoconservative ideology that emerged prominently in the 1990s through figures like William Kristol and Robert Kagan. This ideology advocated for opposing dictatorial regimes and ideologies, supporting liberal principles and American interests, showing loyalty to American allies, and creating a missile defense system to protect the homeland. They argued for the removal of aggressive regimes and their replacement with democratic systems (Fukuyama, 2006, as

¹ This article is considered the most important article of NATO. It states that 'the Parties agree that an attack against one or more of them in Europe and North America shall be deemed to be an attack against all of them.

cited in Kurt, 2014, p. 90). Based on this stance, following the 9/11 attacks, the United States pursued an offensive policy to the extent that it disregarded international law and institutions.

Strategies were formulated in March 1990 and August 1991. The first of these strategies addressed the security of the United States in the Middle East, as well as the security of Israel, moderate Arab states, and their oil resources, against any form of threat and destructive attack. This point suggests that the actions and interventions conducted in this context were aimed at supporting specific interests, reflecting the notion that, alongside supporting Israel, control over regional oil resources was a primary objective. Additionally, the document emphasized the issue of "religious fanaticism²," expressing concerns that it could jeopardize the security of energy-rich allies in the Middle East, and stated that states supporting terrorism would be subject to intervention. The August document highlighted that the U.S. could act globally in line with its interests. In contrast to the Bush administration, the Clinton administration attempted to act more in accordance with international law. This approach preferred utilizing police forces and courts (Bulut, 2021, p. 199). It is worth noting that during this period, among the twelve terrorist groups accused of negatively impacting the Middle East peace process, neither Osama bin Laden nor Al-Qaeda were mentioned.

In conclusion, Clearly observing the transformation of the United States both before and after the 2001 attacks. The key point to emphasize here is that under the guise of international terrorism, the U.S. revealed its interventionist tendencies, and, with the support of the international community and states, was able to act freely in its own interests under this banner. Another important aspect is the rhetoric used during the invasions of both Iraq and Afghanistan, emphasizing the bringing of democracy to these countries, which helps us understand the situation more clearly. The attacks created an environment that allowed the U.S. to exhibit its offensive policies in the region, enabling it to act with greater ease. Another critical point is the idea that the U.S. used its counter-terrorism policies as a tool to achieve its strategic objectives in the Middle East. This

² For detailed informations: National Security Strategy of the United States, March 1990, White House.

perspective highlights the significance of the existence of groups like Al-Qaeda, as previously mentioned, to legitimize military interventions and maintain a military presence in the region. Additionally, the notion that creating instability in the Middle East served as a pretext for the U.S. to control the region and interfere in the domestic affairs and political arrangements of regional states is noteworthy. Following the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, the U.S. entrenched itself in the Middle East, and its presence in the region became a subject of controversy. On August 7, 2003, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice published an article in the Washington Post titled "Transforming The Middle East," which introduced a new project that shook the international agenda. This article, which later became known as the Greater Middle East Initiative or the Broader Middle East and North Africa Project (BMEP), signaled significant changes in the Middle East.

4.1.5. El-Qaeda's Actions

El-Qaeda, a terrorist organization that emerged prominently in the context of radicalism, was founded by Osama bin Laden in 1998. Since the late 1990s, it has attracted attention worldwide with terrorist incidents, ideologically opposing the West and its presence in the Muslim world. This thesis mentioned earlier that the attacks carried out by the organization, particularly the September 11 attacks, led to changes in policies even at the level of counterterrorism.

The actions carried out by the organization have not only affected target countries but also had extensive global repercussions. Especially after the September 11 attacks, the United States and its allies adopted more proactive and aggressive policies in combating terrorism. The most significant evidence of this shift can be seen in the interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq. El-Qaeda not only targeted military areas but also carried out attacks targeting civilians, achieving its goal of instilling fear and chaos, thereby creating tension among civilians. These actions have also increased phobias, particularly Islamophobia, within Muslim communities.

In this context, it is deemed important to analyze the attacks carried out by the organization to support the thesis. Furthermore, examining the relationship between terrorist attacks and Islamophobia will shed light on how manipulation affects societies. Understanding the organization's actions and their global impacts is of critical importance.

4.1.5.1. 1998 Africa Embassy Bombings

The attacks on the U.S. embassies in Africa in 1998 emerged as one of El-Qaeda's first major terrorist acts on a global scale. Simultaneous bombings occurred on August 7, 1998, targeting the U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. These attacks resulted in the loss of 224 lives and injuries to over 5,000 individuals. The bombings vividly displayed El-Qaeda's operational capacity and its animosity towards the West. Evaluating these attacks, one could consider them as directed against the U.S. dominance in the region and its free movement, despite its policies.

4.1.5.2. USS Cole Attack

On October 12, 2000, El-Qaeda launched an attack on the USS Cole, a U.S. Navy destroyer docked in the port of Aden, Yemen. This suicide attack resulted in the deaths of 17 American sailors and injuries to 39 others. The attack demonstrated El-Qaeda's capability to pose a serious threat to military targets. It is believed to be one of the first major attacks against the U.S. Navy. El-Qaeda's assault challenged the U.S. military might and underscored its hostility towards the West. Following the attack, the U.S. strengthened cooperation with the Yemeni government and intensified counterterrorism efforts in the region. The attack emphasized the need for the U.S. to maintain its military presence in the Middle East and adopt more aggressive measures in combating terrorism.

4.1.5.3. September 11, 2001 Attacks

September 11, 2001, marked El-Qaeda's largest and most devastating attack, where four hijacked passenger planes were flown into targets in New York City and Washington, D.C. Coordinated attacks were carried out on the same day, resulting in the destruction of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City and the deaths of

approximately 3,000 people. A third plane crashed into the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., killing 125 people. The fourth plane crashed into a field in Pennsylvania due to passenger resistance. These attacks profoundly shook the United States and led to changes in global counterterrorism policies. In response, the U.S. launched a comprehensive counterterrorism operation, overthrowing the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and conducting operations against senior El-Qaeda leaders. The September 11 attacks fundamentally changed U.S. security policy and strengthened international cooperation in counterterrorism efforts. These attacks elevated El-Qaeda to a significant actor in global terrorism and shed light on the group's ideological and strategic objectives. September 11 also revealed the seriousness of the global terrorism threat and El-Qaeda's operational capabilities.

4.1.5.4. Madrid Train Bombings

On March 11, 2004, radical Islamists linked to El-Qaeda carried out the Madrid train bombings in the Spanish capital. The coordinated bombings targeted four different train stations in the city. The attacks resulted in the deaths of 193 people and injuries to approximately 2,000 others. The incident was significant in demonstrating El-Qaeda's presence and influence in Europe. The Madrid bombings were seen as retaliation against Spain's military presence in Iraq. Following the attacks, Spain reviewed its counterterrorism policy and reconsidered its participation in foreign military interventions. The incident led to increased counterterrorism strategies and security measures across Europe. The Madrid bombings highlighted El-Qaeda's coordinated actions through radical cells in Europe and were considered part of the group's global terrorism strategy. The timing and targets of the attacks were seen as integral to El-Qaeda's global terrorism strategy.

4.1.5.5. London Bombings

The bombings on London's public transportation system on July 7, 2005, marked El-Qaeda's second major attack in Europe. Bombs were detonated simultaneously on three metro stations and a bus in the city. The attacks resulted in the deaths of 52 civilians and

injuries to more than 700 people. The London bombings demonstrated El-Qaeda's capacity to target public transportation systems in major Western cities. Following the attacks, the UK tightened its counterterrorism laws and increased security measures. The bombings were part of a series of coordinated attacks carried out by El-Qaeda through radical cells in Western countries. The attacks were seen as retaliation against the UK's military presence in Afghanistan and Iraq. The London bombings were viewed as part of El-Qaeda's global terrorism strategy and hostility towards the West. The incident prompted the UK to review its counterterrorism policies and reshape its national security strategies.

4.1.6. Analysis of Al-Qaeda Attacks and Islamophobic Media Manipulation

It was previously reported that al-Qaeda's attacks have attracted worldwide attention and received extensive coverage in the Western media. These attacks not only caused physical destruction but also destroyed the psychology and social fabric of societies. Therefore, it is crucial to examine how Al-Qaeda's attacks were portrayed in the media and how this portrayal shaped societal perceptions. Terror attacks, disseminated through manipulative news and propaganda via media and social media, instilled fear and panic in society, contributing to the rise of Islamophobia.

Looking at Al-Qaeda's attacks, the most prominent and globally devastating were the September 11 attacks. These attacks triggered the U.S.-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, igniting the global war on terrorism. The counterterrorism operations initiated after these attacks significantly influenced Western countries' security policies and societal perceptions (Jackson, 2005). Other significant Al-Qaeda attacks include the 2004 Madrid train bombings and the 2005 London bombings, which revealed the presence of a terrorism threat in Europe and led to changes in regional security policies. These attacks also heightened terrorism fears within society, leading to tightened security policies and increased fear of terrorism, especially in the UK (Silva, 2017).

While Al-Qaeda's attacks received extensive coverage in Western media, they were often accompanied by manipulative news and propaganda. The media's portrayal of the attacks

often created an atmosphere of fear and panic, fostering negative perceptions of Islam and Muslims within society. For example, immediately after the September 11 attacks, many Western media outlets published reports associating Islam with terrorism, fueling Islamophobic sentiments in society (Nacos, 2002). Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube have become significant tools for disseminating this manipulation and propaganda. These platforms facilitated the rapid spread of terrorist incidents to large audiences, where misinformation, conspiracy theories, and hate speech contributed to the rise of Islamophobia. Such content on social media increased users' feelings of fear and anger and deepened negative perceptions of Islam (Lynch, 2011). It's essential to address some media reports that may have a manipulative and negative impact on societies. This phenomenon essentially used media tools targeting a specific religion, which could spread Islamophobia to wider audiences.

Sample News 1: Identification of Islam with Terrorism

Title: "Is Islam the Holy Book of Terror? Al-Qaeda Attacks Make Muslims Targets of Hate"

News Channel/Newspaper: CNN International

News Brief: This news article emphasizes the increasing Islamophobia after the Al Qaeda attacks. The identification of Islam with terrorism and the increasing hate speech against Muslims in the Western media constitute the focus of this news report (Nacos, 2002).

Sample News 2: Increasing Islamophobic Discourse in Society

Title: "Islamophobia after September 11th: The Role of the Media"

News Channel/Newspaper: The Guardian

News Brief: This article discusses the media's contribution to Islamophobia in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks. By identifying the terrorist attacks with Islam, the Western media can be effective in increasing discrimination and hatred against Muslims in society (Poole, 2002).

Sample News 3: Social Media's Feeding Islamophobia

Title: "Rising Islamophobia on Twitter and Facebook: The Social Media Impact of Terrorist Attacks"

News Channel/Newspaper: BBC News

News Brief: This news report reveals how social media has fueled Islamophobia in the wake of the terrorist attacks. It discusses how false news and rhetoric on platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Youtube reinforce negative stereotypes of Muslims and Islam (Lynch, 2011).

Sample News 4: Manipulative News on Islamophobia and Terrorist Attacks

Title: "Is Islam a Natural Product of Terrorism? Rising Islamophobia in the Western Media"

Media Channel/Newspaper: Fox News

News Brief: This report focuses on the rise of Islamophobia in the Western media following the terrorist attacks. In particular, news headlines and comments that generalize Muslims as terrorists and equate Islam with terrorism increase discrimination and hatred in society.

Such news reports reinforce Islamophobic discourses in the aftermath of terrorist attacks and contribute to deepening prejudices against Muslims in society (Johnson, 2018).

Case Study 5: Social Media's Contribution to the Spread of Islamophobia

Title: "Rising Islamophobia on Twitter and Facebook: The Impact of Terrorist Attacks on Social Media"

Media Channel/Newspaper: BBC News

News Brief: This report examines how social media is fueling Islamophobia in the wake of the terrorist attacks. Hate speech and misinformation spread on platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube are fueling prejudice against Muslims in society.

Islamophobic content on social media platforms is fueling hatred against Muslims in the wake of terrorist attacks. This situation requires us to discuss the role and impact of social media in the fight against terrorism (Garcia, 2020).

Sample News 6: Islamophobia and Political Communication

Title: "Islamophobic Rhetoric by Political Leaders: Manipulation of Terror Attacks?"

Media Channel/Newspaper: The Guardian

News Brief: This news report focuses on the impact of anti-Islamic statements made by political leaders following the terrorist attacks on society. In particular, statements by political leaders linking terrorist attacks to Islam and inciting hatred against Muslims lead to increased discrimination in society.

When political leaders use terrorist attacks to strengthen their Islamophobic discourse, this leads to increased discrimination against Muslims and social division (Jones, 2021).

In the light of all these examples, in today's world where the media has so much influence, it has the opportunity to influence societies on a global scale, from the news made to the texts written. In certain areas, with the effect of this speed of spread, media elements make media reports that increase Islamophobia and focus on singularization. The Western media's strategy to increase Islamophobia in the aftermath of terrorist attacks is usually carried out through news headlines and comments that generalize and portray Muslims as enemies. Such manipulative strategies contribute to deepening the Islamophobic atmosphere by increasing discrimination and hatred in society (Smith, 2019).

4.2. Charlie Hebdo Attack And Islamophobia: Traces of Manipulation and Propaganda

The 2015 attack on the offices of Charlie Hebdo magazine in Paris caused worldwide outrage and deepened the debate on Islamophobia. This incident should be evaluated not only as a terrorist attack but also as a reflection of the Islamic cartoon crisis and Islamophobia. In this section, this study will discuss the Charlie Hebdo attack and the Islamophobic discourses behind it from different angles and analyze the manipulative elements that feed Islamophobia. Muslims are seen seriously in Europe today, especially in the recent past, with the labor migration to Europe and the various migrations that took place afterwards. At the same time, with this increasing Muslim population in Europe taking part in almost every aspect of the society, it was wanted to be made visible as in other media tools. It has been seen that France does not have a different press from Europe due to the attack, which constitutes the main theme of this title, and the use of the media for manipulation purposes and thus the ability to influence and mobilize the masses, and will be discussed by going first to Europe and then to France. At this point, the representation of Muslims in the European press is handled in a very negative and incomplete manner (Varol, 2019, p. 184). Another concept that the press in Europe in general feeds on is orientalism (Öksüz, 2023, p. 30). The Muslim identity is represented by the press-media tools in a way that fits the perception of the other, and the arguments used at this point are generally represented as women, violence, terrorism, men wearing turbans and praying (Öksüz, 2023).

Islamophobia in Europe Report 2018 was published by Enes Bayraklı and Farid Hafez. According to the report, the Greece-based Eleftheri Ora newspaper reported in an Islamophobic style with a far-right approach. For example, headlines such as "Islam's Extreme Hijab Shocks Piraeus" were used. Similarly, on August 14, 2018, Italy's right-wing Libero newspaper interpreted the collapse of the bridge in Genoa as a warning from Allah and linked it to the ban on Muslims building mosques. In such reports, it is implied that Muslims are rejoicing at the incident and see it as a form of punishment. In the Netherlands, De Telegraaf newspaper deliberately juxtaposed the word Muslim with the

term terrorist and made statements on how to recognize a "Muslim terrorist". Such statements have become commonplace and unsurprising for many in Europe³. The method used by the media, which can be considered quite simple, is firstly to use insulting and insulting discourses against the sensitive points of Muslims, and then to be processed by the media in the face of the reactions and presented back as an islamophobic justification. This can be considered as a point that makes the person guilty despite being a victim (Yağıbasan & Örsöğlu, 2017, p. 417). According to Bauman, societies reveal their own foreign elements themselves, and in doing so, they use the methods they have determined as methods. If what we call foreign is people who do not conform to the moral elements of the world, this shows that every society allows the creation of such a foreign element (Bauman, 2013). Therefore, while it is possible to see people in the foreign category in every society, the fact that this situation is perceived as "other" in European society brings along a negative point for Europeans (Öksüz, 2023, p. 32).

4.2.1. French Press And Islam Before The Attack

The Charlie Hebdo attack, which took place in early 2015, had global repercussions and had an impact on keeping the concept of Islamophobia on the agenda. With the attack, Muslims have been associated with terrorism and treated as the other, as in 9/11. At this point, it will be important for us to understand the topics of the news published in major media outlets about Muslims before and after the attack. At this point, the texts and studies published in recent years before and after 2015 are discussed. Looking at France, it is known that there are close to 5 million Muslims (Statista, 2021) and according to a study, this corresponds to 5% of the French population (Pew Research Center, 2017).

Although newspapers have started to lose their influence with the development of technology, they are still used as a media tool used to get news. At this point, in the study conducted by Öksüz (2023), the author's approach to Muslims and Islam is covered in the article dated December 30, 2014 in Le Figaro newspaper. At this point, according to Öksüz, the author of the article used the following statements about Islam: "La religion la

³ For detailed information on countries, see https://setav.org/assets/uploads/2019/09/EIR_2018.pdf

plus con, c'est quand même l'islam. Quand on lit le Coran, on est effondré... effondré!" (The most stupid religion is still Islam. When the Holy Quran is read , we are devastated... devastated!") seems to have sparked a debate. This is followed by an emphasis on the fact that Islam is dangerous and that this has been the case from the very beginning. Finally, he concluded by emphasizing that Islam is intolerant (Öksüz, 2023, p. 63)⁴. When the articles published in the newspaper are analyzed in general, it is evident that the subject has something to do with Islam, and the language used is insulting and condescending, which proves Islamophobia. In the article "De septembre 2001 à septembre 2014: l'inquiétante expansion du terrorisme islamique" (From September 2001 to September 2014: The alarming expansion of Islamic terrorism (Öksüz, 2023) published in 2014, which is again related to Islam and deals with the September 11 attacks, the power of Islamic terrorism and the developing understanding of jihad are emphasized even 13 years later. In addition to this, if Islamic terrorism could not be prevented, it was seen as a threat to the mobility of the Salafist approach until 2025. In addition, in this rather long article, it is stated that terrorist organizations are associated with Islam and that their financial support is provided by Islamic countries. The point that needs to be addressed here is that the author fails to see and clearly understand the distinction between the jihad mentioned in the Quran and the jihad advocated by terrorist organizations.

Another newspaper, Le Monde, is one of the most established newspapers in France. Many of the articles published in this newspaper have a negative attitude towards Islam. At this point, especially in the article written by Guy Sorman⁵ in 2014, he states that the main target of Islam is women, and almost all of the Islamist movements such as Hamas, Al-Qaeda, Hezbollah and Taliban act according to the Koran. Although they are composed of different cultures, these groups basically state that their religion and ideology are common and emphasize that their main hatred is women (Öksüz, 2023, p. 74). However, unlike the other publications reviewed, the distinction between Islam and jihad is well

⁴ For detailed information about the newspaper, see. <https://www.dassault.fr/filiales/le-figaro>

⁵ https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2012/03/26/presence-musulmane-croissante-dans-larmee_1675739_3232.html

explained in this article. However, it is still possible that this situation can be used as a manipulation and propaganda tool that can arouse hatred towards Islam among the masses.

In addition, in the publications published in Le Figaro in 2024 under the keyword Islam, it is noticeable that far-right politicians frequently mentioned Islam for political propaganda purposes. In the news report published by Wally Bordas, in the campaign launched under the name 'Reconquer! Islamization of France and Europe', the president of Reconquête clearly demonstrates a manipulative attitude by denigrating Islam with a nationalist attitude throughout his speech, telling the audience that he wanted to lead the fight against the Islamic civilization developing in France and Europe, "Do you want an Islamized Europe or a Europe that is still European?"⁶.

Figure 4.1: Women are the main target of Radical Islam.



Des femmes voilées participent le 17 janvier 2004 à Paris à une manifestation qui a rassemblé plusieurs milliers de personnes pour protester contre le projet de loi laïcité qui prévoit d'interdire le voile à l'école AFP/JOEL ROBINE

Reference: (Sorman, 2014)

⁶ Check <https://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/reconquete-en-campagne-contre-l-islamisation-de-la-france-et-de-l-europe-2020310>

On the other hand, La Croix, which bears a religious name, is a Catholic newspaper. Although it is a newspaper that publishes news on religious themes, there is not much news on Islam. However, in the article it published for informational purposes, it mentioned the number of mosques in France and discussed the concepts of Salafism and communiqué. He defined Salafism in two different ways, defining jihadist Salafists as violent. On the other hand, he also gives a general number and states that the number of silent Salafists is increasing (L'islam en France, 2010)⁷. As can be seen, even before the attacks, comments and articles on Islam were critical of Islam and dealt with issues that could cause negative emotions in the public mind. This situation brings to the surface the fear and hatred of Islam, which was triggered especially after the September 11 attacks, and which has settled both in the press and in the language of the public, and the effect of these publications on increasing this Islamophobia cannot be denied.

The other magazine to be analysed, and in particular the Charlie Hebdo magazine, which had an influence on the attack, and the L'Express magazine, which supports it, are liberal-conservative magazines. (Öksüz, 2023, p. 104). It has made publications that treat Islam's depiction of the prophet as a rule to be followed only by those associated with Islam, and has made statements that this is not binding as a requirement of the rule of law and freedom of expression. As a matter of fact, Charlie Hebdo magazine, which was attacked with a Molotov cocktail before the attack, faced this attack again because of a cartoon it published. The cartoon that caused the attack depicts Muhammad on the cover and the sarcastic phrase "100 lashes if you don't die laughing" in a positioned speech bubble. (Charlie Hebdo, 2011)⁸.

⁷ For the full text and detailed information see. https://www.la-croix.com/Religion/Actualite/L-islam-enFrance-_NG_-2010-06-27-553548

⁸ For the full text and detailed information see. https://www.lexpress.fr/economie/charlie-hebdo-l-islaminterdit-la-representation-du-prophete-pas-la-loi_1047105.html

Figure 4.2: One of the reasons for the Attack.



Reference: Nouvelobs Interactif, 2011)

In 2010, Le Point magazine published an article "Les Allemands rejettent de plus en plus l'islam"⁹ (Germans are rejecting Islam more and more every day) with a cover photo of two women in a mosque from behind. A survey shows that racist sentiments are on the rise in Germany, with more than 58.4% of Germans in favor of restrictions on Muslim worship. The survey shows that there is no good opinion of Arabs. It is noteworthy that after the September 11 attacks, it was the Arabs who posed a danger, but today it is the Turks (Les Allemands rejettent de plus en plus l'islam, 2010). On the other hand, this situation is also seen as an expression that targets ethnic origins and aims to create racism and the other not only in terms of Islam but also in ethnic terms. According to another article entitled "L'Islam vu comme 'une menace' en France" dated January 5, 2011, a poll conducted by Ifop revealed that the majority of French people believe that they have failed to integrate Muslims into society. The poll, conducted for Le Monde and published by Le Point, shows that nearly 40% of French and German respondents see Islam as a threat to their country. According to the poll, 68% of French and 75% of Germans believe that Muslims are not integrated into their societies. In France, 42% of respondents perceive

⁹ For visuals and detailed information see: https://www.lepoint.fr/monde/les-allemands-rejettent-de-plus-en-plus-l-islam-13-10-2010-1248923_24.php

Muslims as a threat, 22% see them as a cultural asset, while 38% have a neutral view. Similar results were observed in Germany. Only 4% of French and German respondents think that Muslims are fully integrated, while 28% of French and 21% of Germans think that Muslims are partially integrated. The survey was conducted among 809 respondents aged 18 and over in France and 801 in Germany (L'Islam vu comme 'une menace' en France, 2011)¹⁰. Up to this point, some publications and news items published in newspapers and magazines have been shared, which may serve to increase hatred against Islam and create negative situations in the minds of the general public. In what follows, both the process leading up to the attack and some general news after the attack will be analyzed.

4.2.2. French Press and Islam During and After The Attack

To understand the Charlie Hebdo attacks, it is important to look at the history and mentality of the magazine. Charlie Hebdo is the successor of the magazine Hara Kiri, which published provocative content in the 1960s. Hara Kiri was banned in 1970 due to the death of then French President Charles de Gaulle and ugly cartoons depicting a catastrophe. After this ban, the magazine changed its name to Charlie Hebdo and continued to publish along the same lines. The provocative and critical tone of the magazine is part of the dynamics that prepared the attack. The attack was not a sudden event, but a result of the magazine's mentality from the past (Dalkılıç, 2017, p. 70). The magazine, which has not changed in its attitude and sarcasm, has an aggressive and provocative attitude towards certain groups, especially under the name of satire. When it was looked at the Twitter account, the image dated September 9, 2014 was an image about child abuse targeting and humiliating imams. At this point, with the sentence "Y a pas que les curés qui aiment les petits enfants, les imams aussi..." (It is not only priests who love little children, but also imams...), 3 different imams, who are portrayed as malicious and who are associated with Islam based on their clothing and appearance, are associated with child abuse.

¹⁰ For the original text see: https://www.lepoint.fr/societe/l-islam-vu-comme-une-menace-enfrance-05-01-2011-126783_23.php

Figure 4.3: A Post on Islam Shared by Charlie Hedbo Magazine on Twitter.



Reference: (https://x.com/charlie_hebdo_/status/509367523427352576?lang=fr) (Date of Access: 08/05/2024)

Not only that, but on September 30, 2014, the magazine drew attention to a caricature of a terrorist, presumably a member of ISIS, kneeling in a turban (apparently Muhammad) and wearing a mask, with the phrase "Si Mahomet Revenait..." (If Muhammad were to return...). At this point, even if the Prophet Muhammad were to come back, he would not be able to do anything because of the point the religion has reached, and it contains insults and ridicule on the unifying power of the Prophet, which is important for Islam.

Figure: 4.4: Charlie Hebdo Magazine's Twitter Post about Islamic Values.



Reference: (Charlie Hedbo, 2014)

It is also important to consider the following cartoon published by the magazine in 2006. As a matter of fact, it proves that the magazine did not adopt a different attitude before the attack and in the period close to the attack, but continued in the same provocative manner. Also published on this date The cartoon depicts the Prophet and then insults Muslims. "C'est dur d'être aimé par les cons" (It is very difficult to be loved by fools). Muslims are the ones understood by the expression "fools" in the sentence.(Öksüz, 2023, p. 120)"

To summarize, it can be said that the attack on Charlie Hedbo magazine was not only motivated by the ideological reasons have examined above, but also by revenge for the magazine's mocking attitude towards religious values and its insulting cartoons. 8

journalists and 12 people in total lost their lives in the armed attack on the office in Paris. It should not be understood from this that such an outcome must occur as a result of every excess in the context of freedom of the press. In fact, there are legal remedies for such cases and this attack triggered a bad perception of Muslims and an increase in Islamophobic discourse.

In a video headline published in Le Monde newspaper after the attack, this event, which was seen as a terrorist attempt, was considered as an attack on the freedom of the press and freedom of expression (Öksüz, 2023, p. 123). On November 16, 2015, according to the news article published with the title "Les musulmans doivent prendre publiquement leur distances avec l'islamisme" (Muslims should publicly distance themselves from Islamism), this terrorist attack was carried out in the name of Islam and the only aim was to make terrorism widespread in France. This column argues that the perpetrators target everyone, regardless of identity and status. It is also mentioned that terrorism threatens everyone at this point and that such attacks undermine public security. In particular, the author emphasizes that this incident should not be blamed on Muslims and that the main thing to prevent terrorist acts is to stop them. One of the most important points of the article is the emphasis that Muslims can be important allies in this struggle. By emphasizing the peaceful and true values of Islam, it may be possible to remove the legitimacy claims of Islamist terrorism. In this respect, this column is seen as important and valuable in terms of expressing that Muslims will play a key role in this struggle (Bouthors, 2015)¹¹. In a study published in Le Figaro newspaper, IFOP's 2018 survey reveals a significant change in French society's view of Islam. In 2016, 56% of French people thought that Islam was incompatible with French values, whereas in 2018 this figure dropped to 43%. This change shows that in two years a more positive view of Islam has developed. However, in the same period, policies such as the introduction of a tax on halal products to finance the Muslim faith have met with great resistance, with 70% of the French public opposing such a practice. This reflects the complexity and nuances of the view of Islam in France. On the one hand, people think that Islam can be compatible with

¹¹ See: https://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2015/11/16/les-musulmans-doivent-prendre-publiquement-leurs-distances-avec-l-islamisme_4811113_3232.html

society, but on the other hand they are concerned about religious practices and financing (Négroni, 2016). In another article, Yves Thérard discussed the attack on the Bayonne Mosque on October 29, 2019 and the debate on Islam in France. Thérard argues that this attack is one of the harmful consequences of hysterical debates about Islam. Since 2012, there have been a number of terrorist attacks in France that have caused serious public concern. The fact that jihadism is seen as a constant threat and identity-based Islam is becoming more visible in the public sphere is increasing feelings of anxiety and rejection among the population. This is felt not only among non-Muslims but also within Muslim communities. Thérard emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between Islam and Islamism and states that the communitarian and militant expressions of Islam should not be ignored. In this context, the threats to secularism and the sensitivities of the French people must be understood. Macron's request to the CFCM (Islamic Council of France) to intervene in this matter shows the state's effort to combat radical Islam and define the requirements of acceptable religiosity. The CFCM argues that acceptable religious practices of Islam must be distinguished from radical Islam (Guénois, 2017).

Overall, it reflects the complex and changing situation regarding the integration of Islam and Muslims in France. From 2016 to 2018, French attitudes towards Islam have become more positive, suggesting that some segments of society are more optimistic about integration. At the same time, however, the rejection of policies such as a tax on halal products shows that concerns about economic and religious practices persist. Thérard's analysis highlights concerns about the increasing number of terrorist attacks in France and the increasing visibility of identity-based Islam in the public sphere. These concerns affect not only security and counter-terrorism policies but also secularism and social cohesion. Macron's effort to involve the CFCM in this process shows the state's willingness to cooperate with religious communities to prevent radicalism and promote peace in society. In conclusion, these texts reveal in detail the complexity and variability of attitudes towards Islam and Muslims in France, as well as the measures and responses taken by the state and society.

On the other hand, in the aftermath of the Charlie Hebdo attack, an increase in Islamophobic discourse was observed in the European media, especially in *Le Figaro*, one of the most widely read right-wing newspapers. Renaud Girard's article "Les chrétiens défendent les musulmans opprimés, on cherche la réciprocité" (Christians defend oppressed Muslims, we seek reciprocity) (December 23, 2019) is an important example that reinforces Islamophobic perceptions. The article cites various examples of Christian powers helping oppressed Muslims, but implies that Muslims do not show a similar reaction. Girard's approach portrays Muslims as powerless or passive and reflects an Islamophobic perspective. The fact that much of the article is only available to subscribers may limit the reach of such content to a wider audience, but even the title and abstract can contribute to Islamophobic perceptions (Girard, 2019). On the other hand, in Marie-Amélie Lombard Latune's article dated 7 April 2015, in an interview with French writer and philosopher Abdenour Bidar, Bidar is quoted as saying "Islam is the sick man of modern civilization". This headline reinforces Islamophobic perceptions by portraying Islam in a negative light. Bidar claims that Islam is incompatible with modern society, arguing that many Muslims living in France are constantly forced into submission due to traditional practices. Although much of the article is exclusive to subscribers, even the title and abstract reflect an Islamophobic perspective (Lombard-Latune, 2015). Ivan Rioufol's article "Macron doit nommer le terrorisme islamiste!" (Macron must name Islamist terrorism) criticizes Macron for not adequately addressing Islamist threats. Rioufol argues that Macron has not addressed the Islamist identity of terrorist incidents and that this has led to the trivialization of Islamist terrorism. This article develops an Islamophobic discourse by framing Islam and terrorism in the same framework. Moreover, Islamophobic sentiments are fueled by using phrases such as Islam's war against France (Rioufol, 2018).

A short article published in *L'Express* titled 'La menace terroriste dans le monde' (The threat of terrorism in the world) deals with the issue of terrorism and draws attention to the threat posed by Islamist organizations in particular. The text emphasizes that the word 'terrorism' is confused with 'Islam' and this leads to the spread of an Islamophobic perception. In *Le Monde*, Marie Ego's article "Les Turcs s'appauvrissent, Erdogan s'en

remet au Coran" (The Turks are getting poorer, Erdoğan leans on the Koran) examines the link between Turkey's economic problems and Erdoğan's religious references. The title of the article reflects an Islamophobic perspective by pointing to religious references as the main cause of Turkey's economic problems (Ego, 2021).

The Charlie Hebdo attack has gone down in history as an important event that fueled Islamophobia in the European media. In the aftermath of the attack, the media, especially right-wing publications, increased Islamophobic sentiments in society by adding content linking Islam and Muslims to terrorism. In Le Figaro, writers such as Renaud Girard, Marie-Amélie Lombard Latune and Ivan Rioufol presented Islam as a dangerous element incompatible with modern society. By associating Islam with terrorism, these authors developed discourses that portrayed Muslims in a passive or threatening position. Girard's article "Les chrétiens défendent les musulmans opprimés, on cherche la réciproque" confirms the idea that Muslims need help and are in a passive position. Latune's statement "Islam is the sick man of modern civilization" emphasizes the incompatibility of Islam with modern society and accuses Muslims of backwardness. "Macron doit nommer le terrorisme islamiste!" by Rioufoli! His article directly associates Islam with terrorism and feeds Islamophobia through this discourse. Other media outlets such as L'Express and Le Monde have also published content linking Islam to terrorism. The article published in L'Express titled "Terrorists' war dans le monde" reinforces this idea by associating terrorism with Islam. Marie Jégo's article in Le Monde developed an Islamophobic discourse linking Turkey's economic problems to Erdoğan's religious references. Pauline Moullet's article in Libération criticizes far-right publications for unfairly associating Muslims with the Notre Dame fire. This criticism highlights the dangers of far-right Islamophobic propaganda against Muslims. Le Canard Enchaîné's cartoon about the World Cup in Qatar is another example that reinforces Islamophobic perceptions by portraying Muslims as barbaric and dangerous. After the attack, Charlie Hebdo magazine criticized Islam and the Prophet Muhammad. It continued to publish cartoons insulting the Prophet Muhammad and continued its Islamophobic discourse. The September 6, 2022 cartoon depicts Muslims as dangerous and ignorant and reinforces Islamophobic discourse. Such content alienates Muslims from society and increases prejudice. The

publication of such Islamophobic content in the media shapes social perception and increases prejudice against Muslims. This leads to discrimination and exclusion of Muslims from society. Islamophobic debates are spread through media propaganda and manipulative tools and cause deep wounds in society. In this context, it is of great importance that media organizations adhere to the principle of responsible broadcasting and present content that unites society, not divides it. In order to ensure social peace and tolerance, it is important for the media to avoid content that associates Muslims with terrorism and incites Islamophobia. For this reason, Islamophobic discourse in the media after the Charlie Hebdo attack increased discrimination against Muslims and caused deep wounds in society. This situation shows how media organizations can use propaganda and manipulation tools and their social effects. It is important for the media to act in accordance with the principle of responsible broadcasting to ensure social peace and tolerance.

4.3. 2019 Christchurch Mosque Attacks: Media Influence and Islamophobia

The 2019 Christchurch mosque attacks can be considered the most horrific acts in modern history. On March 15, 2019, these attacks took place in Christchurch, New Zealand, and caused an outcry both domestically and internationally. The attacks targeted the Al Noor Mosque and the Linwood Islamic Center, resulting in the deaths of 51 people and many others injured. Especially with the development of social media, Brenton Harrison Tarrant, who carried out the attack, broadcasted it live on Facebook and turned it into a terrorist act that made an impact in many parts of the world at the same time. Tarrant, who published a 74-page manifesto before the attack, stated that there were invaders and immigrants almost everywhere after his travels to the cities of France. At this point, he stated that the West was occupied with a racist and otherizing discourse that exists in the West and that non-whites are racist and otherizing, and targeted Muslims in particular. In this context, when the relevant literature is examined, the way media organizations handled the incident is generally examined. In his study, Dündar (2019) analyzed British newspapers and concluded that Muslims (the victims of the incident) were not adequately represented in British newspapers and that the focus was on the role of social media rather

than the terrorist act. On the other hand, Satır (2020), focusing on the relationship between ideology and power in relation to the incident, concluded that the incident was handled in different ways and was expressed as an attack rather than being characterized as an act of terrorism. Soliman et al. (2021), in their study, examined the news about the New Zealand attack in media outlets such as BBC, CNN and DW, focusing on the reactions to the terrorist attack by BBC, DW associated the terrorist attack with right-wing extremism, while CNN focused on the role of facebook and new media in the attack. Öztürk (2019) analyzed the media coverage of the Christchurch attack in Muslim-majority countries and Western countries. The results showed that the media avoided using terms such as "terror", "terrorist" or "terrorism" about the perpetrator and the act. Öztürk noted that the reporting language of media outlets was in line with the official ideologies of the countries. For example, Arab media only sent condolence messages to Muslims regarding the incident. Gölcü et al. (2019) found that six Turkish newspapers preferred language structures and narratives in line with their editorial policies. The study showed that the terrorist incident was covered from various angles and the beliefs of the newspaper were reflected in the language and content of the news. Çiftçi (2020) comparatively analyzed the effects of the terrorist attack in New Zealand on the press in Northern Cyprus and Turkey. The study showed that while the press in Northern Cyprus defined the attack as an isolated act, the Turkish press defined the attack as an Islamophobic act. This difference shows the differences in the way the media outlets of the two regions view the events and the differences in their news language. Batool et al. (2020) conducted a comparative analysis of the Christchurch terrorist attack in Muslim and non-Muslim international media. According to the study, while Western media focused more on the attacks, Muslim media emphasized the attack more positively through Muslim narratives. Western media did not pay much attention to discussing Muslim narratives and did not define the incident as Islamophobia.

These studies show that the media's coverage of terrorist incidents is closely related to the official ideology of the country where the incident takes place and the general structure of the society. Öztürk (2019) and Gölcü et al. (2019) argue that media outlets are influenced by the political and social structures of countries while reporting events. The fact that the

Arab media only passed over the attack with a condolence message shows the sensitivity and political stance within Muslim societies. This shows that the Islamic world is afraid of portraying the attack as a direct political and ideological conflict. Gölcü et al.'s (2019) study shows that different newspapers in Turkey covered the attack from different angles according to their editorial policies. This is an important finding for understanding how the media's ideological stance is reflected in news language and content. In particular, the fact that the Turkish press characterized the attack as Islamophobic suggests that media outlets in Turkey are more sensitive to Islamophobia and tend to cover such incidents as anti-Muslim hate crimes.

In Çiftçi's (2020) study, the fact that the media in Northern Cyprus saw the attack as an isolated act shows that the media in Northern Cyprus tends to evaluate events in a more neutral or local context. The Turkish media, on the other hand, characterized the attack as Islamophobic, indicating that the society and media in Turkey have a higher awareness of Islamophobia and treat such incidents as anti-Muslim violence. Batool et al.'s (2020) study highlights the differences in the way Muslim and non-Muslim media covered the attack. Muslim media highlighted the attack with a more positive narrative, reflecting the solidarity of Muslim communities and the desire to develop a common response to the attack. On the other hand, the Western media's lack of coverage of Muslim narratives and failure to characterize the incident as Islamophobia suggests that Western media outlets are not sufficiently sensitive to anti-Muslim hate crimes. These studies show how the media's coverage of events is influenced by the social and political context and how important the role of the media is in this context. Events such as the Christchurch attack provide important cases to understand how media coverage shapes public perceptions and important social issues such as Islamophobia. Therefore, it is crucial for the media to be more careful and impartial in reporting terrorist incidents in order to prevent discrimination and hate crimes in society.

4.3.1. Islamophobia and Media Affect

When the cultural origins of Islamophobia, which has become an important problem in America and Europe today, are analyzed, it is seen that the perception of Islam by orientalist thinkers comes to the fore first. In the history of Western civilization, the Muslim profile drawn by orientalist thinkers has been shaped with words full of negative connotations and this perception has continued its influence until today. Orientalists' prejudiced perspectives characterized Muslim societies as patriarchal, rude, bigoted, warlike and ignorant, which led to the reinforcement of the negative perception of Muslims in the West. As Mesic (2011) points out, various campaigns against Islam and Muslims are carried out through the media, and Western media organizations try to introduce the public to a negative portrait of Islam. This negative image of Muslims created by Orientalists is further reinforced and legitimized in the social consciousness through global media organizations. As Genel (2014) points out, a negative image of Muslims is circulated through huge communication tools and media monopolies, local actors, statesmen and media members recruited from within the Muslim community. In addition to its contemporary dimensions, Islamophobia also has historical and cultural roots, and these roots cause perceptions and images to become ingrained in minds. These images, which are embedded in the social consciousness, emerge reflexively in every event with the influence of the media. This negative attitude of the Western media towards Islam and Muslims has a historical background. The media's systematic continuation of its anti-Islamic discourse and making it a state policy plays an important role in the spread of Islamophobia. Nathan Lean attributes the rise of anti-Islamic sentiments in America after 9/11 to the "Islamophobia industry". This industry consists of various actors such as bigoted bloggers, racist politicians, fundamentalist religious leaders and Fox News pundits.

The role of media organizations in the production of Islamophobia is not only about perpetuating negative and stereotypical images of Muslims and Islam. At the same time, their efforts to destroy positive images of Muslims are also noteworthy. For example, the "All-American Muslim" program on TLC, which focuses on the lives of Muslim families,

faced backlash from the Islamophobia industry and lost advertising support. This shows how powerful the Islamophobia industry is in America. The PEW Research Center's (2017) public opinion poll reveals that media-generated Islamophobia has turned into discrimination in social life. A large proportion of Muslims living in the United States report experiencing more than one discriminatory behavior in social life. The study of Elke T. Schneider from the University of Twente also shows that the media contributes to the reproduction and legitimization of Islamophobia in social consciousness. The role of the Western media in the production of Islamophobia, combined with the images of violence spread by terrorist organizations emerging in the Islamic world, facilitates the identification of Islam with terrorism. This situation serves the legitimization of media hatred against Islam and Muslims in Western societies and the social support of global policies. The 2019 Christchurch Mosque Attacks are a painful example of Islamophobic rhetoric and hatred turning into acts of violence. These attacks have shown how Islamophobic perceptions and prejudices can lead to dangerous and deadly consequences. It has already been mentioned that the Islamophobia industry works systematically through the media to reinforce negative images of Islam and Muslims. This industry is made up of a variety of actors and can unfortunately lead to acts of violence that are the product of this industry, as was the case with the 2019 Christchurch attack. The impact of the Christchurch attack can be attributed to the role of Western media in reinforcing Islamophobia and embedding it in public consciousness. By continuously disseminating images of violence and negative images of Islam spread by terrorist organizations, the media has contributed to the strengthening of a negative perception of Islam and Muslims in society. Such acts of violence serve to concretize this negative perception through violence and further legitimize Islamophobia. The Christchurch attack also demonstrated how Islamophobic rhetoric and hatred are spread on online platforms. The fact that the attacker published his anti-Islam manifesto on the internet before carrying out the attack shows how online platforms serve the spread of radicalization and hatred. This shows that in addition to the media, the internet also plays an important role in the spread of Islamophobia.

The attacks took place in an environment that fueled the Western media's negative discourse and stereotypes against Islam and Muslims. As a product of Orientalist thought and anti-Islamic propaganda, Muslims are often identified with violence and terrorism, and Muslim societies are portrayed as patriarchal, crude and bigoted. Such manipulation and propaganda can lead to the strengthening of Islamophobic attitudes and hostility towards Muslims in society. The Christchurch attacks can also be seen as a consequence of the negative image of Muslims that the media has entrenched in the public consciousness through its use of Islamophobic discourses and stereotypes. The attacks are a reflection of the media's constant labeling of Muslims as terrorists and the way this labeling shapes public perception. In this way, negative images created through manipulation and propaganda can translate into acts of violence in the real world.

The Christchurch Mosque Attacks are an example of the dangerous consequences of the media's anti-Islamic discourse and discriminatory propaganda methods. This incident highlights the importance of the role of the media in combating Islamophobia and the negative images created in public consciousness. Such negative images created through manipulation and propaganda can have serious and deadly consequences, as seen in the real-life example.

4.4. ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq) and The West's Manipulation of It

First of all, it should be noted that there are many uncertainties about the purpose and establishment of ISIS. At this point, the historical circumstances such as the invasion of Afghanistan, the September 11 attacks, the invasion of Iraq, etc. come to the fore in the establishment of this de facto¹² organization. At this point, when sources such as ISIS's own websites, magazines and books are considered, it is seen that due to the occupation of Iraq by the USA, Muslims came together in one ranks to fight the USA effectively (Uçar, 2022, p. 41). On the other hand, another point that needs to be mentioned and creates a contradiction is that according to some US bureaucrats and intelligence officers,

¹² Unofficial, something that has not been officially recognized but has actually happened (https://tr.wiktionary.org/wiki/de_facto)

this organization was founded by the US itself (Alhazeera, 2016). While the organization's initial objectives were to purge the imperial powers from the region, weaken the Shiites in Iraq and establish an Islamic state, its actions and strategies show that it has deviated from these objectives. What it wants to establish is an Islamic state governed by Sharia law in accordance with Islam. However, it has not aimed to lead a decent life and bring prosperity to its people, and has made itself known in the international arena by resorting to inhumane acts of violence such as bloodshed and decapitation. As mentioned before, there are many different claims. According to the documents obtained by Iraqi intelligence, ISIS was founded by the US with the aim of organizing terrorist acts in Iraq. According to this claim, this decision was discussed in a meeting between French intellectual Bernard-Henry Levi and Kurdish leader Masoud Barzani in 2001 (Ağar, 2015, pp. 432-435). In addition, former CIA employee Edward Snowden claims that ISIS was founded by the US, UK and Israeli intelligence organizations. According to Snowden, this organization was created to ensure the security of Zionist Israel, to possess the rich energy resources of the Middle East and to serve the interests of the US, Britain and Israel by taking advantage of the political instability in the region (Demirtaş, 2015). These claims support the theories that ISIS is not only a regional radical group but also used by the great powers to realize their strategic goals in the region.

Considering these allegations, it is necessary to think about the purpose of ISIS' establishment and its growth. If it is indeed a "strategic organization" created for the goals and strategies of great powers, its rapid growth and dominance in the region can explain its power. However, such claims need to be supported by hard evidence. At this point, it should be taken into account that geopolitical dynamics, energy resources, and ethno-religious conflicts in the region have accelerated the growth of ISIS.

In 2010, Abu Bakr al Baghdadi was appointed as the leader of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant after the leader of the organization, Abu Omar al Baghdadi, was killed in an operation organized by the United States. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi announced the establishment of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant on April 8, 2013 with a message published in order to use the civil unrest in Syria in favor of the organization (Uçar, 2022,

p. 42). This announcement disturbed al-Qaeda's then leader Ayman al-Zawahiri, who stated that they did not accept the announcement. However, Baghdadi did not give up his actions in line with all these objections, and Zawahiri stated in a letter that ISIS would continue to exist separately and independently. The important point to emphasize here is that for the first time, an organization resisted and opposed al-Qaeda. Colani, the leader of the Nusra Front, also denied the text published by Baghdadi on the internet and reiterated his loyalty to al-Qaeda. However, despite this statement, many Nusra Front militants joined ISIS. The Syrian state took advantage of this conflict environment and gave ISIS space and directed it towards the opposition in order to make the conflict even more violent. ISIS expanded this region and took control of Hasakah, Deir ez-Zor and Raqqa. With the capture of these regions, ISIS secured the border between Iraq and Syria and provided financial support to itself by seizing the oil deposits in the region (Bozkurt, 2019, p. 167). Another point that gave strength to ISIS was the exclusionary and oppressive policies implemented by the Iraqi government leader Shiite Maliki against Sunnis. This led to a movement of Shiites and Sunnis migrating to places where the sect is concentrated. In the meantime, the April 30, 2014 elections in Iraq and Maliki's re-election as a result of the elections, had an impact on the deepening of this process. He started to impose Sharia in the areas he captured and later gained superiority over Iraq's Ghost Armies. This organization, which stands out with its expansionist attitude, has managed to attract attention in the international arena. Following this rapid advance, the then US leader Barak Obama decided to intervene against ISIS on August 8, 2014 in order to secure the lives of US citizens living in Erbil and to stop the advance. Subsequently, countries such as the Netherlands and France joined the airstrikes.

4.4.1. Ideology of The Organization

In the report titled "Waves of Terrorism" published by David Rapoport, the emergence of religious terrorist organizations is dated to the late 1979s and early 1980s. There are 3 important reasons for the emergence of religion-based organizations. The Camp David Accords, the Iranian Revolution and the invasion of Afghanistan. As a result of the Camp David Accords, peace was established between the state of Israel and Egypt, and Palestine

became isolated against Israel. The revolution in Iran, led by Ayatollah Khomeini, increased the idea that religious belief could be considered as an important force. As the last straw, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to the emergence of many terrorist organizations with religious references. At this point, many religious-based terrorist organizations such as the Taliban, ISIS and al-Qaeda have focused on Salafism and Wahhabism, which are Sunni-based sects known as fundamentalist, in order to gain legitimacy for their actions and attacks.

Therefore, if terms of the ideological foundations of ISIS are considered, it can be said that it has a Salafi-Jihadi line. This ideology, as mentioned earlier, advocates a return to the early Islam and advocates the strict implementation of the Sharia. Salafi-Jihadism took shape in the 1980s and has been adopted by terrorist organizations, including al-Qaeda, which generally refer to religion. However, ISIS adopts this ideology in a more radical form (Lister, 2014, pp. 2-4). Secondly, Salafi-jihadism advocates a return to the first three generations of Islam, the so-called "salaf". the main focus is on removing Islam from the influence of modernism and the West and practicing a pure Islam. Jihad is used here not only for defense, but also for expansion and dominance by taking the center stage (Gerges, 2016, pp. 15-18). On the other hand, ideologically, ISIS attaches importance to takfiri, the idea of declaring other Muslims infidels. At this point, it goes beyond the concept of sharia and jihad in Islam. Because with this ideology, it targets Muslims or other religious groups that do not conform to its radical views by declaring them infidels and legitimizes violence. This explains ISIS's attacks against different religious groups such as Shiite Muslims, Yazidis and Christians. ISIS also reinforces its ideology through religious leadership and fatwas. In order to legitimize their ideology, the leaders of the organization have issued fatwas and ensured that they act accordingly. With these fatwas, the organization has created a source of motivation in the minds of its supporters to see acts of violence and terrorism as a religious obligation.. Apocalyptic thinking can be mentioned as another element. At this point, militants saw themselves as a representative of Armageddon, the final battle of Islam, and acted to accelerate this battle. On the basis of this idea, infidels and Muslims will face each other and Muslims will be the victors.

Apocalyptic thinking plays an important role in motivating the militants of the organization (Cockburn, 2015, pp. 35).

In conclusion, it can be stated that ISIS has shaped its ideology along Salafi-Jihadi lines and has made its strategic and tactical decisions in line with this ideology. This ideology has not only legitimized its acts of violence, but has also been a source of motivation that has enabled the organization to be globally effective. This, beyond military and political power, has continued to increase the threat of radicalization and terrorism.

4.4.2. ISIS, Media and Propaganda

As mentioned earlier, the concept of propaganda is the potential to mobilize individuals, targeting people's emotions. Here, propaganda activities are frequently used by terrorist organizations in order to maintain their survival and operational continuity. In this respect, the ISIS terrorist organization carries out effective propaganda activities such as creating a legitimate environment for itself, increasing and motivating its members, spreading to large masses, and encouraging terrorist acts.

When ISIS's media organization is examined, it is seen that propaganda stands out. It presents every activity it carries out internationally as a media output. At this point, it appears as an organization that is aware of the importance of social media, media and the internet. Every propaganda activity is classified as a jihad and those who sympathize with it are characterized as mujahideen. One of the reasons why ISIS stands out among active terrorist organizations, besides its rapid rise and control over vast territories, is its professionally prepared propaganda. This propaganda is organized under the organization's "Media Council". Many media outlets working under the Media Council broadcast different genres. Among them, Al-Hayat Media Center produces remarkable propaganda videos and regularly publishes five different magazines. Dabiq is published in English, Dar Al-Islam in French, Konstantiniyye in Turkish, Al Manba' in Russian and Rumiya in ten languages (English, French, German, Russian, Turkish, Indonesian, Bosnian, Uyghur, Kurdish and Pashto). All magazines can be accessed online via the

internet. The organization also publishes the Arabic-language An-Naba magazine to reach the people in the regions under its control (Ayhan & Çiftçi, 2018, p. 22). All of these organizations are responsible for carrying out propaganda activities in different fields. In addition, thanks to the Hollywood-style high quality shots and the dominance of a non-individualistic expression, the organization emphasizes "all of us" and elaborates on the others (Luizard, 2016, pp. 107-110). Thanks to platforms such as X (Twitter), Facebook, Youtube, Telegram, WhatsApp, which are actively used globally and have a large number of users, whatever video, image, etc. shared for propaganda purposes can spread quickly. This is seen as important for creating a global environment of awareness, fear and panic. In addition, in order to increase its impact on young people and attract them to the organization, the game "Call of Jihad" was developed by adding religious and cultural elements (Wilson, 2017, pp. 2-5).

When looking at ISIS propaganda, it is seen that two points stand out in general. The utilitarian ones are stability, livelihood conditions and security, while the second one is perceptual in-group and out-group identities and structural solutions (Ingram, 2015:735-736 as cited in (Ayhan & Çiftçi, 2018). When it is looked at the target audience, it is seen that it does not serve a single society or thought. At this point, every segment is included in ISIS's target audience. In addition, symbols and discourses are also prominent in ISIS propaganda. At this point, when the flag is considered, the symbol of "tawhid" written in white on a black background draws attention. While it represents the basic beliefs of Islam, it also reflects its radical ideology. The sword and warrior figures also emphasize its pro-violence and warrior identity. In their discourse, religious references and calls for jihad are very common. It also uses Quranic verses and hadiths to justify its goals with religion. When looking at the propaganda videos, it is seen that scenes of violence and war are prominent. The aim here is to instill fear in its enemies and encourage its supporters. In addition, it is seen that the themes of victimization, compassion and utopianism are used to embrace those who turn to it and to gain new members. In addition, with its emphasis on Islamic Sharia, it tries to show that it is a strong and real state.

In light of all these, it is necessary to remind how important the media's ability to influence organizations, states and individuals is, especially in the 21st century. At this point, ISIS has its own broadcasting network, which it actively uses for purposes such as attracting members and instilling fear. In addition, another point that needs to be mentioned is that thanks to this wide spread, it creates pressure on societies and can manifest itself as a threat to states.

4.4.3. ISIS as a Trigger of Islamophobia

In recent years, Islamophobia has emerged as an important problem in Western societies. This situation has increased even more with the activities of radical terrorist organizations such as ISIS. ISIS's violent acts and propaganda increase prejudices against Islam and Muslims. The concept of Islamophobia is a product of Western-centered thinking and has evolved over time from orientalism and cultural elements to a religion-oriented action and thought. Described by Halliday (1999, p. 892) as the anxiety of the time, Islamophobia has spread into a political sphere and is presented as a source of conflicts and problems in many European and US-based organizations. In this respect, while 19th and 20th century orientalism expresses how the West sees and represents the East, Islamophobia can be defined as the growing fear and hostility towards Islam. Considering the socio-economic and cultural situation of Islamic countries, it is seen that they are dependent on the West and opposed to the West in the process of identity formation. The coexistence of this dependence and antagonism further reinforces Islamophobic thoughts on the Western side. Especially after the events of September 11, 2001, this concept has come to the fore. According to Sheridan (Sheridan, 2006, pp. 34-35), Islamophobia is an important point of religious hatred discrimination, and it is a long-lasting separation that finds a space for discussion in short periods of time.

There is a needy relationship between ISIS and the rising Islamophobia in the US, Europe and the UK, in short, in the West. ISIS's brutal execution images and acts of terrorism are used by the far right wing in the West to increase violence and oppression against Muslims (Ayhan & Çiftçi, 2018, p. 25). Incidents such as the arson of mosques and attacks on

women's headscarves are directly proportional to the spread of Islamophobic thinking. These attacks are used as a tool by ISIS, and Muslims living in the West are radicalized and encouraged to carry out their actions and goals. At this point, there is a cyclical need, a situation of feeding each other from both the Western and ISIS perspectives.

4.5. Islamophobic Discourse and Propaganda of Far-Right Parties

In general terms, advertising is a marketing communication activity carried out using mass media in order to promote a particular service or product and increase its sales (Kocabaş & Elden, 2008). Political advertising, on the other hand, refers to the political communication activities carried out by political parties or candidates in order to increase their vote rates in elections and to create a positive image in the eyes of the masses. The importance of political advertising has increased with the emergence of professional advertising agencies around the world. These agencies try to improve the image of political parties and candidates in the eyes of voters by conducting advertising campaigns in a professional manner. By managing an effective political campaign process, they play an important role in determining the strategic action plans and promises of parties and candidates (Yaşın, 2006).

Traditional media such as television, newspapers and radio have been the main communication tools of political campaigns for many years. In recent years, however, social media platforms have become one of the most effective tools of political campaigns. Parties can reach large masses at low cost by sharing up-to-date information on social media. Social media has made political communication more dynamic by enabling direct participation of voters in campaign processes (Akyol, 2015, p. 101). The evolution of the tools used in political campaigns has progressed in parallel with the development of mass media. Political posters have been used as an important tool in political campaigns since the second half of the 19th century. Posters have been effective in conveying the promises and ideological messages of parties directly to the masses. Especially in periods of low literacy rates, visual texts were able to reach larger masses than written texts. In this period, professional painters and cartoonists were frequently utilized to increase the visual

aesthetics and impact of posters (Harris, 1993, p. 184). Today, political parties use many mass communication tools together in their campaign planning. Communication tools that have emerged and developed with the development of technology are frequently used for propaganda purposes in the political communication process. The critical role played by radios in propaganda during the Second World War led to the period being known as the "War of the Radios". Today, the internet and social media assume this important role in political communication (Akyol & Tuğ, 2015, p. 101).

In this context, it would be appropriate to discuss the discourses of political parties and leaders and their posters used for propaganda purposes. The posters of Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) for Germany, SVP for Switzerland and the Freedom Party (FP) for Austria will be analyzed and an evaluation will be made on Islamophobic discourse.

Figure 4.5: School Theme Advert.



Reference: (Akyol & Tuğ, 2015).

When the school-themed advertisement campaign above is analyzed, it is seen that it reads "German Basic Culture! Schools without Islam!". It can be said that especially the exclamation mark here aims to draw the attention of the masses to the text rather than the visual. The AfD party strongly criticizes education models of different religions. In this respect, it is seen that it is fundamentally opposed to the implementation of an Islamic education model in Germany. The desire and support for the exclusion of Islam from the school theme and the fact that the AfD party uses this as a propaganda tool may be one of the facts that lead to a negative perception or escalation of hatred of Islam.

Figure 4.6: Woman Theme Advert.



Reference: (Akyol & Tuğ, 2015).

Much of the AfD's anti-Islamic rhetoric focuses on the dress of Muslims (2019). It argues that women should be banned from wearing the black burqa and veil and, as can be seen in the picture, women wearing the veil are treated as a metonymy of Muslim women. Although not all Muslim women wear the veil and burqa, a generalization is made here to emphasize the point. When examined as a whole, it is seen that Islam is seen as a metaphor

of fear, that Islamization must be stopped urgently, and for this, the election propaganda was carried out through Islam with the sign "Choose AfD". This situation may again have an effect on the society by increasing hatred and marginalization, especially for the masses who are not sympathetic to Islam and Muslims.

Figure 4.7: AfD Poster on the theme “Europe must not become Arabia”¹³.



Reference: (VOA Türkçe, 2019).

Looking at the above poster, it can be said that ideological prejudices about Islam are again dominant. The poster generally depicts Arab-looking men examining a naked western woman in a slave market. At this point, the devaluation of women is associated with Islam, while at the same time slavery is emphasized.

¹³ <https://www.voaturkce.com/a/afdden-tartismali-secim-afisleri/4869829.html>

Figure 4.8: Yes to the Minaret Ban (Swiss People's Party).



Reference: (Tunçel, 2022).

This poster, an election campaign by the Swiss People's Party (SVP), features the phrase "Ja zum Minarettverbot" meaning "Yes to the Minaret Ban" and the word "Stopp" meaning "Stop". The visual style of the poster and the language used clearly show Islamophobic messages. The aim here is to reinforce anti-Islamic sentiments and to influence through the politics of fear. With the veiled woman figure, a marginalized face of Islam is tried to be emphasized. It is clear that there is a negative message intended to be conveyed by restricting individual freedoms and violating women's rights. Minarets are among the symbols of mosques and therefore of Islam. Here, minarets are depicted as pointed like a spear, which conveys the image of Islam as a threat to Swedish culture and a perception of aggression and violence. Such posters aim to gain political support by manipulating voters' fear, security and identity. This SVP poster is another clear example of Islamophobic propaganda and has the potential to increase negative perceptions of Muslims.

Figure 4.9: Stop Islamization.



Reference: (Çebi, 2015).

This poster of the Swiss People's Party (SVP) is a striking example of Islamophobia propaganda. Such posters reflect efforts to achieve political gain through the demonization of a particular religious group. The visual and textual elements of the poster clearly reveal anti-Muslim rhetoric and fear-based propaganda. The minaret in the poster is deliberately depicted in contrast to the traditional architecture of Switzerland. The prominence of the minaret, incongruous with the historic Swiss landscape, conveys the message that Islam poses a threat to local cultural values. The contrast between the minaret and the Swiss church in the background symbolizes a religious and cultural conflict. In this way, the perception is created that Islam is not compatible with the religious and cultural fabric of Switzerland. The depiction of the minaret as large and frightening aims to create fear in the subconscious mind. Such visual manipulations cause the viewer to subconsciously perceive Islam as a threat. The black and white colors used in the poster create a dramatic contrast, reinforcing the sense of fear and danger. The phrase "Stop Islamization!"

emphasizes the need to prevent the spread of Islam. This discourse portrays the growth of the Muslim population as a threat and implies that this threat is an urgent problem. Such discourses reinforce negative attitudes towards Muslims in society and marginalize Muslim communities. In conclusion, this SVP poster is a clear example of Islamophobia propaganda and aims to reinforce negative perceptions of Muslims in Swiss society. Islamophobia undermines social cohesion and faith in democracy, violates human rights and is an unethical political strategy. Therefore, the use of Islamophobia propaganda by political parties is wrong and dangerous for both social and democratic values.

Figure 4.10: Austrian Freedom Party Ad on Stop



Reference: (Akyol & Tuğ, 2015)

This election campaign poster of the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) shows how Islamophobia is used in political communication. By targeting a specific religious group, the poster aims to create fear and prejudice among the voter base. The red text boxes emphasize the phrase "Die Islamisierung gehört gestoppt" (Islamization must be stopped),

increasing the importance of the message. This use of language triggers voters' emotional reactions and pursues a strategy to win votes through fear and prejudice rather than rational thought. The upper left corner of the poster reads "Der Islam gehört zu Österreich" (Islam belongs to Austria), while the lower right corner reads "Die Islamisierung gehört gestoppt" (Islamization must be stopped). Comparing these two discourses draws the viewer's attention to different aspects of the existence and spread of Islam. On the one hand, the view that Islam should be accepted is criticized, on the other hand, the dangers of Islamization are highlighted and a contrast is created. This approach aims to make political gains by feeding existing fears and prejudices in society. The expression "Islamization must be stopped" creates a direct perception of threat and aims to instill fear in society. Such rhetoric conveys the message that the spread of Islam will harm Austria's values and culture. This language triggers emotional reactions of voters and attempts to win votes based on fears and prejudices rather than rational thinking. This has the potential to create tension and conflict between different segments of society. This FPO poster is a clear example of Islamophobia propaganda and aims to reinforce negative perceptions of Muslims in Austrian society. Islamophobia undermines social cohesion and democracy, violates human rights and is an unethical political strategy. Therefore, the use of Islamophobia by political parties is extremely wrong in terms of social peace and democratic values. It is essential for the healthy functioning of democratic processes that political parties act in a way that protects social unity and peace.

As a result, political parties are indispensable elements of democratic life. In this respect, the discourses of political parties and the leaders representing them and the propaganda and advertising activities they carry out in the hope of attracting votes during election times have impressive and mobilizing features on society. In the major posters analyzed above, the religion of Islam, which is turned into a political element, is used as a propaganda activity through the relevant sample countries and parties. When the discourse and visual elements are taken into consideration, these posters, which are focused on hatred, fear, panic, racism and religious marginalization, shape the thoughts of a certain mass forming a base in the society and create prejudice and hatred against Islam and people belonging to this religion. When issues such as ethnicity and religion, which may

be considered important in the minds of people, are addressed for political propaganda purposes, a situation of targeting a segment of society and triggering a conflict may arise. As a matter of fact, at this point, it is seen that the main problem of this thesis is that western states use Islam and terrorist organizations, including their political propaganda, to spread and highlight Islamophobia.



5. CONCLUSION

This thesis questions whether Islam and terrorist organisations are used by Western states to spread Islamophobia. In order to reach this conclusion, firstly, the concepts that need to be known are clearly defined. Considering the aim of the thesis, it was considered useful to present these three different disciplines (political psychology, political science and international relations) together in order to fill this gap in the literature. Islamic fundamentalism emerged as a reaction to Western modernisation and secularisation. Since the mid-20th century, Islamic fundamentalist movements have taken shape as a resistance to Western colonial policies and political interventions. In this historical context, organisations such as al-Qaeda and ISIS have seen themselves as a defence and resistance movement against the West. However, Western media and politicians have often equated these movements with violence and terrorism, fuelling Islamophobic discourses. Edward Said's concept of Orientalism explains the West's portrayal of the East, and Islam in particular, as exotic, dangerous and backward. Western media and academic circles have taken their views on Islam from this Orientalist perspective. In the West, Islam is often seen as a threat to Western civilisation and this has led to Islamophobia in Western societies. In addition, the concepts of ethnocentrism and xenophobia can also be associated with Islamophobia. Ethnocentrism is the way people judge other cultures by centring their own culture. This method has increased prejudices against Islam and Muslims in Western societies. The source of fear and hatred against Islam and Muslims in Western societies is xenophobia, also known as xenophobia. Generalisations made in the media and politics after terrorist incidents have made it difficult for Muslims to integrate into society and have led to racism. Islamophobia has existed since the first contacts of Islam with the West. However, today, especially after the 11 September attacks, this phenomenon has become clearer and more widespread. Throughout history, the West has seen Islam as a threat during the Crusades and the Ottoman Empire. This belief has continued in various forms today. The constant emphasis on Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism in the Western media has revitalised and reinforced this historical perception of hostility.

Especially in the case studies discussed in the fourth chapter of the thesis, terrorist organisations such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS are frequently used by the Western media to criticise Islam and create a negative image on societies. Looking at the attacks carried out by the organizations, it can be said that there are terrorist attacks that attract attention worldwide. However, the fact that such aggressive and radical groups have shown religion as a reference does not mean generalising over all people of the Islamic religion. However, as can be seen from the case studies, Islam and Muslims are reflected in relation to terrorism by using in the media as a propaganda tool. It is also obvious that they are associated with terrorism by Western States. Especially after the 11 September attacks, Al-Qaeda has become a symbol of Islamic fundamentalism. This is an effect that radically changes the perception of the West. However, what should be emphasised here is that the West also portrays Islam and Muslims as a threat for the purpose of manipulating organisations such as ISIS and Al-Qaeda, which have become symbols of Islamic fundamentalism.

The analyses and the results show how Western media and political discourses instrumentalise terrorist incidents to spread Islamophobic sentiments. When reporting on terrorist attacks, the media often emphasise the Islamic identity of the perpetrators and ignore other causes or contextual factors. This selective representation creates widespread fear and suspicion about Islam and Muslims. How media narratives reinforce Islamophobic rhetoric is particularly evident when analysing events such as the Christchurch mosque attacks and the Charlie Hebdo attacks. Highlighting the Islamic identity of the attackers ignores individual actions or broader political contexts, which in turn reinforces stereotypes.

Political leaders and parties, especially those from the far right, have used the fear of Islamic terrorism to mobilise support. The rise of far-right parties in Europe contributes to the spread of Islamophobic sentiments. The examples of posters used in the study support this. Politicians and statesmen portray Muslim communities in a negative light by using discourses and policies that associate Islam with violence and backwardness. Such

discourses create widespread suspicion and hostility towards Islam and Muslims in society.

According to Social Constructionism theory, social interaction constructs interests and identities. This thesis shows how Western countries portray Islam as a threat and how these bad representations affect politics and society. Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilisations thesis emphasises the importance of clashes and differences between civilisations in the post-Cold War era. According to Huntington, cultural and intercivilisational conflicts shape global politics more than ideological and economic conflicts. Therefore, the West redefined itself and looked for a new "other", seeing Islam as a threat, especially at a time when non-Western civilisations were gaining economic and military power.

The results show that the 11 September attacks were an important turning point in the West's perception of Islam and its policies worldwide. These attacks led to the perception of Islamic fundamentalism as a threat and the association of Islam with terrorism. The frequent use of terms such as "Islamic fundamentalism" and "jihadism" in politics and the media is the result of deep-seated prejudice. Terrorist organisations are seen as an Islamophobic threat in the West, even though they are based on complex socio-political conditions. Politicians and states use this presentation to justify domestic and foreign policies.

In order to prevent the spread of Islamophobia in Western media and political discourse, the media should report in a more balanced manner. Instead of overemphasising the religion of the perpetrators when reporting on terrorist incidents, evaluating the events in context will reduce Islamophobic discourses. Journalists should have ethical codes and standards to avoid sensationalist reporting that fuels fear and prejudice. Education programmes that promote media literacy will enable people to critically examine news sources and narratives. Emphasising diverse views and voices can prevent the spread of Islamophobia. Political leaders and parties should avoid and be held accountable for discourse that promotes hatred and division. Legal frameworks and public condemnations combating hate speech and discrimination can be useful in reducing Islamophobia.

Inclusive policies that integrate Muslim communities into other societies should be promoted. This will promote mutual understanding and reduce alienation. Initiatives promoting dialogue between non-Muslim communities and Muslims should be supported. Enabling people to learn more about different cultural and religious practices can dispel stereotypes and strengthen solidarity. Given the fact that terrorism is a complex and multifaceted issue, it is important to continue to examine the impact of media and political discourse on Islam and Muslims. At this point, for future research, the reactions to what can be called a visible, if not official, genocide in this conflict between Palestine and Israel, which has made a sound in recent times, and the evaluation and attitude of the Western media in the face of this humanitarian drama can be addressed in future studies. On the other hand, a research can be conducted on the effect of the discourse of politicians on the public and this can be analysed in the context of both spreading Islamophobia and influencing the society. Long-term research should monitor the impact of interventions and changes in attitudes. The role of social media in disseminating Islamophobic content should be examined and strategies developed to combat online radicalisation and hate speech.

In conclusion, although terrorism is a complex and multifaceted problem, the portrayal of Islam and Muslims in Western media and political discourse contributes significantly to the spread of Islamophobia. To combat Islamophobia and build a more inclusive and understanding society, it is possible to improve the media, promote educational programmes, hold political actors accountable, encourage dialogue and increase research. This thesis investigates whether Western states use Islam and terrorist organisations as manipulative tools to spread Islamophobia. The results obtained strongly support this claim. Consequently, concrete actions to promote peace and understanding between societies should be taken in conjunction with the proposed methods. This thesis reveals that although terrorism is a complex and multifaceted problem, the portrayals of Islam and Muslims in Western media and political discourse contribute significantly to the spread of Islamophobia. In order to combat Islamophobia and build a more inclusive and understanding society, it is possible to control the media, promote education, hold political actors accountable, encourage dialogue and conduct further research.

Briefly, media coverage of terrorist attacks emphasizes the Islamic identity of the perpetrators while ignoring other causes or contextual factors. This selective representation has created a generalized fear and suspicion of Islam and Muslims. Analyses of incidents such as the Christchurch mosque attacks and the Charlie Hebdo attacks show how media narratives reinforce Islamophobic discourses. The Muslim identity of the attackers reinforces stereotypes rather than individual acts and ignores broader political contexts.

The fear of Islamic terrorism has been particularly exploited by radical political leaders and parties. This is evident in the rise of far-right parties in Europe that have adopted anti-Islamic platforms, reinforcing Islamophobic sentiments among the population. Politicians create a negative image of Muslim communities by associating Islam with violence and backwardness. Terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS are often portrayed as part of an existential Islamic threat discourse, albeit based on complex socio-political circumstances. Western states use this portrayal to support their controversial domestic and foreign policies. In this context, it can be argued that Western states, especially in the Middle East, use the media and terrorism as tools to spread Islamophobia among societies by using such terrorist organizations. For the sake of their political aims, they consistently associate Islam and Muslims with violence by presenting the activities of terrorist organizations in an exaggerated and one-sided manner. This strategy is part of their efforts to legitimize their controversial foreign policies by manipulating public opinion.

Terrorist organizations and Western states use the media to shape public opinion, making propaganda a two-sided weapon. In Western discourse, terms such as "jihadism" and "Islamic fundamentalism" reflect a deep-seated prejudice that associates Islam with violence. In this context, the dynamics between the media, political leaders and terrorist organizations play a critical role in shaping perceptions of Islam and Muslims, with selective media representation and political discourse contributing to the spread of Islamophobia and increasing social polarization.

These conclusions show how powerful the media's influence on social perceptions is and how political actors can manipulate this influence. The media is more than just a tool that provides news; it has the power to shape and determine social realities. Therefore, it is crucial that media organizations adopt a more balanced and impartial approach when presenting news. Likewise, politicians and leaders need to be more careful in their discourse and use language that promotes social peace. Preventing Islamophobia requires different segments of society to come together on the basis of empathy and understanding. Through education and awareness-raising campaigns, it is possible to break down prejudices and increase social solidarity.

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