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A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON "NEW TERRORISM": THE CASE OF ISIS

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YENİ TERÖRİZM ÜZERİNE SOSYOLOJİK BİR BAKIŞ: İŞİD VAKASI

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"Learning is always a painful process!"

A quote from *Lucy*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AQI</b>	: Al-Qaeda in Iraq
<b>EOKA</b>	: Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston
<b>ETA</b>	: Euskadi Ta Askatasuna / Basque Homeland and Freedom
<b>EU</b>	: European Union
<b>FLN</b>	: Front de Liberation Nationale / National Liberation Front
<b>IGO</b>	: Intergovernmental Organization
<b>IRA</b>	: Irish Republican Army
<b>IS</b>	: Islamic State
<b>ISIL</b>	: Islamic State of Iraq and Levant
<b>ISIS</b>	: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
<b>İŞİD</b>	: Irak Şam İslam Devleti / Islamic State of Iraq and Damascus
<b>NGO</b>	: Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>NSMT</b>	: New Social Movement Theory
<b>PLO</b>	: Palestine Liberation Organization
<b>RAF</b>	: Rote Arme Fraktion / Red Army Faction
<b>SMT</b>	: Social Movement Theory
<b>TBB</b>	: Türkiye Barolar Birliđi / Union of Turkish Bar Associations
<b>TSS</b>	: Terrorist Semi-States
<b>UN</b>	: United Nations
<b>UNEP</b>	: United Nations Environment Program
<b>US</b>	: United States
<b>USA</b>	: United States of America
<b>USSR</b>	: United Soviet Socialist Republics
<b>UTSAM</b>	: Uluslararası Terörizm ve Sınırşan Suçlarla Mücadele Merkezi

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## ABSTRACT

It can be said that the concept of terrorism is as old as human history. However, particularly after the 9/11 attacks, it is seen that the parameters of terrorism have altered radically. When the organizational schemes of the current terrorist organizations are evaluated, these schemes are organized in the form of flexible, cell-based networks with a very low level of the command chain. Moreover, it is observed that global terrorist organizations have begun to use high-intensity weapons in their actions and that the opportunities for access to weapons of mass destruction are increasing gradually. Furthermore, religious or mystical motivations constitute the basis of the thinking of the terrorist movements of this period. In this context, ISIS will be discussed in terms of new terrorism perspective as the case study within the scope of this thesis in-depth. Its digital and physical power will be analyzed in the case study section. Precisely, ISIS specializes in the use of the internet and social media very much. Social media offers a unique opportunity for ISIS to propagate, radicalize, recruit members and receive funds without the need for traditional media. In particular, ISIS and radical right organizations are expanding their online capacity and use of social media sophisticatedly. In this sense, this thesis is aimed to examine what is called “New Terrorism” in terms of ISIS, it is also considered as an important threat to the international system. The tools of political science are not sufficient to carry out this analysis, so the sociological approaches are needed to be used in this thesis. Conceptual and methodological tools of social movement theory such as political opportunity structures, framing process, resource mobilization, organizational mobility strategies, and identity-building processes can contribute to the holistic approach required for political violence analysis. This approach is necessary to understand better the political violence that occurs at different times and places.

**Key Words:** Political Violence, New Terrorism, Social Movement Theory, ISIS, Social Media.

## ÖZET

Terörizm kavramının insanlık tarihi kadar eski olduğu söylenmektedir. Fakat, özellikle 9/11 saldırılarından sonra terörün parametrelerinin radikal bir şekilde değiştiği görülmektedir. Günümüzde terör örgütlerinin organizasyon şemaları incelendiğinde, bu şemaların oldukça düşük seviyede emir komuta zincirine sahip, esnek ve hücre temelli ağlar şeklinde örgütlendikleri görülmektedir. Ayrıca, küresel terör örgütlerinin eylemlerinde yüksek yoğunluklu silahları da kullanmaya başladıkları ve kitle imha silahlarına da erişim olanaklarının her geçen gün arttığı söylenmektedir. İlave olarak bu dönemdeki terörist hareketlerin düşünce zeminini daha çok dine dayalı veya mistik motivasyonlar oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, tez kapsamında IŞİD vaka analizi olarak yeni terörizm perspektifinden derinlemesine tartışılacaktır. Vaka analizi bölümünde IŞİD'in dijital ve fiziksel gücü analiz edilecektir. Kesin olarak, IŞİD internet ve sosyal medya kullanımında oldukça uzmanlaşmıştır. Sosyal medya, IŞİD'e geleneksel medyaya ihtiyaç duymadan propaganda mesajlarını ve materyallerini yaymaları, radikalleşmeleri, üye kazanmaları ve fonlar almaları için eşsiz fırsatlar sunmaktadır. Özellikle IŞİD ve radikal sağ örgütler çevrimiçi kapasitelerini arttırmakta ve sosyal medyayı her geçen gün daha sofistike kullanmaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda, tez kapsamında uluslararası sisteme önemli bir tehdit olarak görülen “Yeni Terörizm” kavramı IŞİD açısından analiz edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Bu analizin yapılması için siyaset biliminin araçları yeterli olmamakta, sosyolojik açıdan da meseleye yaklaşmak gerekmektedir. Sosyal hareketler teorisinin siyasal fırsat yapıları, çerçeveleme süreci, kaynak mobilizasyonu, örgütsel hareketlilik stratejileri, kimlik inşası süreçleri gibi kavramsal ve metodolojik araçlarıyla, politik şiddet analizi için gerekli olan bütüncül yaklaşıma katkı sunulabilir. Bu yaklaşım, farklı zaman ve mekanlarda ortaya çıkan siyasal şiddetin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için gereklidir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Siyasi Şiddet, Yeni Terörizm, Sosyal Hareketler Teorisi, IŞİD, Sosyal Medya,

## INTRODUCTION

The collapse of the USSR in the beginning 1990s and the end of the bipolar world order brought following radical changes and the world order was restructured by the “western” world under the leadership of the USA. “The new world order” has increased the trend of international integration and cooperation, while gradually reducing the risk of inter-state conflict. In this process, however, new threats have emerged with terrorism featuring among the most important ones.

On September 11, 2001; the economic (World Trade Center), military (Pentagon) and political (White House) symbols of the USA were attacked by Al-Qaeda. It can be said that these attacks constituted a milestone in the history of terrorism. The only superpower of the world system was struck with great losses in its own territory. These attacks showed that in the post-Cold War era, a weak non-state actor can harm even the most important power of the system. The terrorist attacks that took place in numerous parts of the world from September 11 onwards indicate a transformation in the actors, motivations, aims, tactics, and manner of action of terrorist activities. During the Cold War, terrorist activities were mostly carried out by members of an organization with command and control mechanisms. These organizations carried out their actions in a limited area. In the new era, it is seen that the terrorists are capable of making wider international connections and having a loose structure. In order to express this change in terrorist organizations and to reveal the difference between the old-style organizations, the recent forms of terrorism are called “new terrorism”. One of the questions that this thesis seeks to answer therefore is this: what are the latest tendencies in terrorism after 9/11?

While there are many institutional and academic studies on terrorism, many of them involve security-centric approaches to how to counter-terrorism. There are relatively fewer studies on why individuals and organizations are radicalized except for more psychologically oriented studies. This thesis examines the concept from a sociological perspective in order to cover this deficiency in “understanding” of new terrorism. Thus, the questions of “what factors trigger it”, “how do individuals become terrorists”, “what role does media play in promoting or discouraging the term” will be prominent to answer in this thesis. It is aimed to answer these questions by establishing a correlation between social movement studies and political violence analysis. Hence, this thesis aims to contribute to the debates on political violence analysis. All in all, this thesis aims to examine the new technological developments that dominate terrorism by using concepts of

sociology discipline. Then, ISIS is going to be examined within the scope of social movement theory in terms of the new terrorism perspective.

In this thesis, changes in the concept of terrorism are discussed in the literature comprehensively, then a specific definition has been attempted to determine. The evaluation of the historical transformation of terrorism and how the changing and developing technology has been instrumentalized in the world for the last 20 years has been discussed in detail in terms of ISIS, which is one of the most complicated and sophisticated terrorist organizations in the world. There to, it is discussed that ISIS' goals, which are concrete examples of the new concept of terrorism, are not purely religious. Moreover, it is underlined that terrorism is a sort of political violence by itself and that changes in the strategies of terrorism are the result of political and technological transformation. Thus, it will be established that terrorism is not unique to a region or religion, but shares similar theoretical realities all over the world.

In this thesis, qualitative information obtained from research and literature surveys has been based on this thesis. Besides, primary and secondary sources such as online magazines and social media sharing, and posts of terrorist groups were utilized. In this thesis, the case study has been included in order to grasp in a better way the subjects and to give an empirical approach to the presented case. This thesis is restricted to the analysis of material provided through accessible sources due to the closure of websites, online magazines and social media accounts linked to terrorist organizations.

In the first chapter titled "The Literature" the conceptual framework of terrorism is examined, and the main focus is to demonstrate the difficulty in defining terrorism. The definition of terrorism by sociologists is specified under a separate title. Considering that the concept of new terrorism emerged in the last two decades, contemporary sociologists have been taken into consideration here. In this section, the historical development of terrorism is also discussed in order to understand the new version of it, thus the historical background of terrorism will be evaluated. Strategies, causes, and conceptualization of terrorism are also briefly mentioned. Finally, the differences in the concept of "new terrorism" from the old ones are examined in this part of the study. At the end of the chapter, there is a concluding chapter that summarizes the conceptual framework.

In the second part of the thesis, the title of “Sociological Theories Related to Terrorism” focuses on sociological theories that will help us to understand terrorism in terms of a theoretical perspective. Although these theories are not directly associate with terrorism, the tools of these theories can be utilized in the analysis of terrorism. In this respect, firstly, rational choice theory and relative deprivation theory are addressed. After defining the shortcomings of these theories, social movement theory and its evaluation in terms of new terrorism will be emphasized deeply.

In the third part of the thesis, the title of “A Case Study on New Terrorism” will demonstrate the emergence and development of ISIS terrorist organization, its power and its differences from other similar terrorist organizations in detail. While analyzing ISIS terrorist organization, the analysis tools of social movement theory will be utilized. Resource mobilization, political opportunities, and fragmentation approaches, which are considered sub-theories of social movement theory, make significant contributions in analyzing these violent terrorist actions. Moreover, ISIS and Al-Nusra will be compared on a sociological basis in order to demonstrate ISIS-specific features. The thesis is concluded with the results section where the findings will be evaluated.

## CHAPTER I: THE LITERATURE

### 1.1.Problems of Definition: What is Terrorism?

The word terror, which comes from the Latin word “terrere” has the meaning of great fear (Vocabulary Dictionary, 2019). The word first entered dictionaries in 1795, to refer to government intimidation during the Reign of Terror in France (March 1793-July 1794). Etymologically, it comes from French *terrorisme*, noted in English by 1795 as a coinage of the Revolution, from Latin terror "great fear, dread, alarm, panic; object of fear, cause of alarm; terrible news," from PIE root \*tres- to tremble (Etymology Dictionary, 2019). In the scope of The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research, terrorism is defined as follows:

Terrorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties (Schmid, 2011, p.158).

Although there are many studies and discussions on terrorism, it is nearly impossible to obtain a precise definition of it. According to Schmid (2004a, p.380), there are numerous reasons why "terrorism" is hard to be determined. Firstly, terrorism is a “contested concept” and political, legal, social science and popular concepts of it are often diverging. Jenkins (1980, p.4) claims that terrorism has lately become a vague concept used randomly and frequently applied to various acts that are not rigidly terrorism. Secondly, the definition question is associated with (de) legitimization and criminalization. Naming any kind of political movement as terrorism means that putting the actors in an informal and criminal situation, so the label of “terrorism” is wanted to be used by the political oppositions because it is carrying a similar negative charge like the concepts of terms “fascism”, “racism”, and “imperialism”. For example, Bangladesh labeled government critics as media terrorists or intellectual terrorists, signifying the willingness of some countries to use fighting terrorism as a justification for eliminating political criticism and opposition (Dobratz, B. et al., 2016, p.22). According to Herbst (2003, p.26), “the term terrorism is frequently used in order to place one's group on a higher moral plane, condemn the enemy, rally members around a cause, silence or shape policy discussion, and achieve a broad type of agenda”. Terrorism threatens to become a mere invective in political discussions where charges and counter-charges compete

for the moral indignation or consent of relevant audiences (Schmid, 2004a, p. 397). Except for all of these reasons, the transformation of the meaning of terrorism within the 200 years can be another reason for having various sorts of terrorism.

Another challenge in defining terrorism is its confusion with other forms of political violence. The characterization of acts of violence varies according to political interests. Geopolitical disputes and ideological strife acted as a catalyst for terrorism. In this respect, the nation-states want to increase their power in regional or international arenas and to create counterparties in developing countries. In order to clarify this argument, we may evaluate the Cold War era. While the rebellious groups in this period, who were fighting against the socialist regimes, were named as “freedom fighters”, the anti-American movements were named as “terrorists” by the US. On the one hand, the Soviet Union claimed that the United States labeled these groups as terrorists to discredit them, but for the Soviet Union they were legitimate groups who were using the right of “self-determination”. Similarly, Israel and United States name Palestinian groups as terrorist who are struggling against Israel to save occupied lands, while some other states, most of whom are Arabic states, name them as “freedom fighters”, and blame Israel with using terrorist methods against these groups (Topal, 2004, p.25).

The various approaches to terrorism cause a dilemma. A situation can be regarded as a legitimate revolt movement and also it can be seen as a terrorist movement. The various evaluations of the same situation come from the different approaches of terrorism. According to Ganor (2010, p.5), the statement, “One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter,” has become not only a cliché but also one of the most challenging difficulties in coping with terrorism.

The absence of a common definition of terrorism does not mean that it does not have a definition. From academics to politicians; from international organizations to individual states, there is a variety of definitions of terrorism. In the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, terrorism is described as “the use of violent action in order to achieve political goals or to force a government to act” (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary, 2019). Philip Jenkins defines terrorism for Encyclopedia Britannica; “the regular use of violence to create a general fear atmosphere in community and thereby to bring about a particular political objective” (Britannica, 2019). The common point of these two definitions is that terrorism is a political concept. We also learn from these definitions that terrorism has a goal, is not just random or crazy actions. However,

these definitions still remain too broad and inadequate. Hoffman (2006, p.39), defines terrorism as “the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change”. According to Hoffman “terrorism is particularly designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim(s) of the terrorist attack”. Namely, terrorists aim to influence audiences wider than the direct victims. This is a useful instrument to differentiate terrorism from other sorts of violence. Hoffman also argues that “terrorism is perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity” (Hoffman, 2006, p. 40). He overlooks state terrorism but we know that many states use terrorism to sustain their oppressive regimes from past to present. Ganor (2005, p.12), suggests a definition for “terrorism as a deliberate use of violence aimed against civilians in order to achieve political ends”. It can be observable that he underlines the civilian identities of the victims of terrorism. Ganor’s definition very adequate but creates new problems. First, can any attack on civilians be considered terrorism? For instance, would a country that intentionally or unintentionally caused civilian deaths throughout a war become a terrorist state? Although it is a crime to cause the death of civilians even in war, it is not ethical to extend the definition of terrorism so much. When civilians are deliberately targeted in the war, this is called a war crime. “Military personnel are bound to adhere to the laws of war and risk punishment if he violates these laws” (Ganor, 2005, p.15).

Another important question about Ganor’s definition is that if the attacks were directed against armed forces, wouldn’t that be terrorism? Ganor considers targeting the armed governmental personnel as guerrilla warfare in any event but the situation may become more complicated in concrete events. For example, civilian officers may die in an attack on military target or military personnel can be targeted when unarmed and not on duty. To dismiss this uncertainty, the term “non-combatant” has been added to many definitions. Hudson (1999, p.26) defines “terrorism is the deliberate and planned use of (or attempt to use) immediate, unexpected, and unlawful violence against civilians and other non-combatants – a category that may include off-duty (non-uniformed) military and security personnel or peacekeeping forces in peaceful situations”. “US State Department improved non-combatant in addition to civilians, military personnel (whether or not armed or on duty) who are not deployed in a war zone or a war-like setting” (Schmid, 2011, p.46). The definition of the US State Department shows us the term “non-combatant” can be used very flexibly. “It even expanded the definition to include any combatants attacked outside of war zones. It blurs the distinction between armed conflict and terrorism”

(Hudson, 1999, p.27). It is a fact that attacks on military zones are morally different from attacks targeting civilians, even if not legally.

Schmid and Jongman published a study in 1984 which showed that there were 109 different definitions for terrorism between the years 1936 and 1981. When the principal elements which were highlighted in these definitions are classified according to their frequency of use, a table is made as follows:

**Table 1. Frequencies of Definitional Elements**

Elements	Frequency (percent)
1. Violence, force	83.5
2. Political	65
3. Fear, terror emphasized	51
4. Threat	47
5. (Psych) effects and reactions	41.5
6. Victim-target differentiation	37.5
7. Purposive, planned, systematic, organized action	32
8. Method of combat, strategy, and tactic	30.5

**Source:** Schmid, A. and Jongman, A.J. (2017), p. 5.

It is seen that 109 different terrorism definitions are examined to explain terrorism through this comprehensive research. Terrorism definitions vary from country to country due to the political regime system, and because the positions and thoughts of countries vary in the international system, a specific definition cannot be made. As can be seen from the table, the frequency of use of the concepts of violence, political and fear are very high in the definitions of terrorism within the scope of this study. Although there is no consensus on the definition of terrorism in the literature, it is seen that these concepts are used almost in each definition. In this regard, the problem is that it is difficult to draw a precise boundary of the concept of terrorism.

After the study of Schmid and Jongman, new definitions have been made and also the structure of terrorism has been changed through time. These authors made new definitions with considering these changes of structure of terrorism and they used 16 elements out of 22 elements which they determined with these definitions (Schmid and Jongman, 2017, p. 28).

Terrorism can be defined as the systematic use of violent actions by individuals, groups, or state-sponsored agents to instill anxiety or fear amongst people. Terrorist acts can be carried out for individual, felonious, or political reasons. Also, unlike assassination, the direct targets of a terrorist act are not the main targets. Terrorists usually choose their direct targets either randomly or selectively from a target society that conveys certain messages. The communication process among the terrorist group, victims, and main targets are based on threat and violent acts and are used to inspire fear among the main target mass. Thus, the terrorist organization aims to convey its demands or attract attention and seeks to achieve intimidation, oppression, or propaganda.

Schmid's definition is the product of many years of work on terrorism and tries to cover the deficiencies in many other definitions. Although this definition is accepted in many respects, there are some aspects to be discussed as well. First, this definition seems to be extremely long and is more like a description than a definition. Secondly, violent action does not have to be 'repeated'; it can consist of only one act. Thirdly, acts of assassination are not the same as acts of terrorism. According to Schmid, an act of assassination is the targeted killing of someone while an act of terrorism does not consider who is killed (Schmid and Jongman, 2017, p.29). However, the assassination is a tactic that has been used by terrorist organizations since the past. The target of terrorist attacks is not always random. In some cases, the identity of the victim is also significant.

For the purposes of this study, Waldman and Richardson's definition can be used if it is necessary to choose a definition that is convenient for the content of the study. Accordingly, "terrorism as a specific form of political violence carried out by sub-state groups that plan and perform their politically motivated violent actions from a semi-legal or illegal milieu against civilians and state institutions. The choice of victims and the type of terrorist activities are of symbolic importance and aim to spread insecurity and win sympathy" (Weinhauer, 2017, p. 546).

It must be noted that despite the frequent interchangeable use of the terms insurgency and terrorism, the two are not exactly the same. In particular, after the Second World War, insurgency spread all around the world. Insurgency can be defined as “an armed resistance with broad participation, including propaganda and psychological warfare efforts to get public support against a government, an invading force, or an imperialist power” (Hoffman, 2006, p.35). Terrorism, on the other hand, can be defined as “a symbolic action designed to influence political behavior in an unusual way, including using violence or threats of violence” (Thornton, 1964, p.73). However, it should also be noted that there is no precise boundary between terrorism and insurgency. For instance, terrorist attacks can be used as a tool in uprisings or they can turn into an uprising when they receive sufficient social support.

In order to understand the new version of the terrorism, we shall look at the old-style terrorism. In this context, we should evaluate its historical background briefly. Terrorism is an act with broad historical background. Since the above debates on terrorism are inadequate, looking at its historical process may provide us a better understanding.

When the terror is considered as the use of violence to gain the aims, it is rooted as old as human history. “History records one of the first manifestations of organized terrorism in the first century in Palestine. The Zealot sect was one of the first groups to practice systematic terror” (Chaliand and Blin, 2016, p.55). The members of the religious organization attacked their enemies unexpectedly. Their main weapons were the short swords which they called “sica”, so the organization is known as “Sicarii”. “Zealots who were fighting against the Romans who destroyed the monasteries of Herodian priests and abolished the state archive and bonds of moneylenders to prevent the repayment of the debts. They also burned the wheat warehouses and destroyed the water channels of Jerusalem” (Yayla, 1990, p. 343; Laquer, 2012, p.7). The historians of terrorism take the assassins as the second oldest terrorist organization after the Zealots. Assassins were identified with their founder Hassan Sabbah who was from the branch of the Ismailia sect. They were fighting against the Seljuk Empire in the Middle East. They used the assassination as a method and made it more systematic. They targeted their victims on holy days, in holy and public places (Ündücü, 2011, p.8). Assassins’ terrorism campaign which was made with small and disciplined power systematically, was an effective political power between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Ayhan, 2015, p.123). Sabbah, who connected with his disciples through drugs, used the disciples to kill

the leaders of the enemies instead of using the organized army in the war place. He chose this way to get a chance to complete the lack of authority which appears with the death of the leaders (Yayla, 1990, p.346).

The general organizational way of this old terrorism was religious cult-sect structures which continued until the French Revolution. Organizations supplied the secrecy with religious rituals. Their aims included political and religious elements. The profiles of the attackers were usually the assassins who were motivated by the promise of heaven (Union of Turkish Bar Associations [TBB], 2006, p.28).

In the literature on terrorism, the French Revolution is regarded as a turning point. There is a consensus that “modern terrorism was born with the French Revolution” (Chaliand and Blin, 2016, p. 104). The Republicans who took over the government after the revolution fought against the counter-revolutionaries within the country, and also they defended their republican systems against the other kingdoms of Europe. The expected wealth could not be supplied in social life as it was hoped after the revolution, and a new administration took harsh policies to protect the republican regime. This caused the hostility of some parts of the public against the republic (Kanat, 2014, p.200). The period March 1793 and July 1794 during the French Revolution is referred to as Reign of Terror. The term was used with a positive meaning by the Jacobins. However, after the 9<sup>th</sup> of Thermidor, which marked the end of the Reign of Terror, the term “terrorist” started to be used as a term of abuse with criminal implications (Laquer, 2012, p.6). During the reign of terror period in France, more than 300 thousand people were killed. The sixteen thousands of them were executed by guillotine without any judgment. Total executes were about 40 thousand (Chaliand and Blin, 2016, p.124). During the terrorism period, the Thermidor government used terrorism to empower the state authority. By the help of terrorism, they wanted to strengthen the regime, and threaten the anti-regime supporters inside and outside the country (Kanat, 2014, p.201). With the French Revolution, nation-states became one of the actors that use terrorism. French Revolution is the creator of state terrorism which also called terror from above (TBB, 2006, p.29).

When we evaluate terrorism as the concept, we should concentrate on it in terms of the IGOs as well. Fighting against terrorism is one of the main agenda items of international organizations. It is necessary to define “terrorism” in order to make this struggle effective. In this regard, the United Nations made a definition in 1999. According the definition of the UN terrorism defined as

“any act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian, or to any person not taking an active part in the hostilities in a situation of armed conflict, when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act” (UN, 1999). This definition of the UN takes into account human losses only and ignores terrorist attacks that cause loss of property. Furthermore, it prefers to restrict the using of the term terrorism to people and groups. European Council ensured a common definition of terrorism for the EU Members. According to Council Framework Decision (2002, 13 June), offenses that committed with the aim of:

- “seriously intimidating a population,
- unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act,
- seriously de-establishing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization” are defined as an act of terrorism.

By this classification, the European Union approved a common definition of terrorism. This definition includes three sections. First part is about the content of the action, “terrorist actions are the intention actions that truly damage a nation-state or an international organization, the second one is related to objective of the action, terrorist actions are made to intimidate the people of the country seriously and to coerce a nation-state or an international organization to do or not do something, and the last one is the actions that are made to damage or to make nonfunctional the political, societal, financial, or legal system of a nation-state or of an international organization” (Akçadağ, 2010, p.77).

According to Turkey’s Anti-Terrorism Law (Law No: 3713), terrorism is defined as; “Any kind of act done by one or more persons belonging to an organization with the aim of changing the characteristics of the Republic as specified in the Constitution, its political, legal, social, secular and economic system, damaging the indivisible unity of the State with its territory and nation, endangering the existence of the Turkish State and Republic, weakening or destroying or seizing the authority of the State, eliminating fundamental rights and freedoms, or damaging the internal and external security of the State, public order or general health by means of pressure, force and violence, terror, intimidation, oppression or threat” (Turkey’s Anti-Terrorism Law, 1991).

Terrorism is a conflictual concept which have numerous definitions. The majority of definition approximately conforms with the complexity of the issue. "People use the same term to refer to a broad variety of events, ranging from state coercion and killing of civilians to shootings in public places by lone gunmen" (Akçadağ, 2010, p.78). Some definitions are either extremely exclusive or excessively ambiguous, they focus on specific aspects of the issue deemphasizing others, or types of NGOs that deal with terrorism.

These definitions focus on the apparent goal of terrorist individuals, organizations or states. In a result-oriented definition, destructiveness of terrorism come to the forefront and the reasons are secondary. This would lead to a condemnatory attitude rather than understanding terrorism. Although terrorism is primarily a political concept, understanding terrorism requires not only political engagement but also sociological and psychological engagement. In order to answer such questions as to how does society define terrorism, what factors increase its likelihood, how do individuals become terrorist, what is the logic of suicide terrorism, what is the future of terrorism a sociological theory is needed but firstly a sociological definition of terror should be made.

## **1.2. Definition of Terrorism with Sociological Perspective**

After 9/11, few researches of terrorism and regarding matters had been carried out from a diversely sociological perspective, during other social sciences were more considerably represented in the field of terrorism studies (Deflem, 2004, p.1). In the social sciences, most of the research on terrorism and counter-terrorism strategies were conducted in the fields of political science, international studies and law. However, after 9/11, sociologists also began to investigate terrorism intensively (Deflem, 2004, p.2).

The political aspects to terrorism generally focus on the aims of the terrorist attacks (political requests). Juristic approaches tend to consider the issue in a more logistic and normative way (in the context of purpose-tool-outcome). In this respect, a sociological approach may give a way to explain and countermeasure the terrorist attacks in a middle-long term. Main analyses take the question of "how" as a center to analyze the terror and violence, but the question of "why", which brings the possibility to understand the socio-political background and the relation with the social changes of the terror and violence, is generally disregarded. Particularly, the sociological roots are generally disregarded. In this respect, the review of terrorist attacks, the reasons and the processes

of involvement in the terrorist actions for the groups and individuals gain more importance (Küçükcan, 2010, 37).

The difficulty in the definition of terrorism is applicable for sociology. There is no consensus on the definition and the meaning of terrorism in sociological studies. Donald Black who is an American sociologist and the creator of pure sociology clarifies human attitudes through the social geometry that he created (Black 2014a, p.6). He applied this paradigm to terrorism in his two articles: “The Geometry of Terrorism” and “Terrorism as Social Control”. Black (2014a, p.17) explains the pure terrorism as the covertly and massive application of the violence on the civilians, which is applied by the organized civilians. Pure terrorism also includes the covert plans, attempts, and threats of the violence for the civilians. For Black, like all of the other violence types, a pure version of terrorism is a kind of social control. It defines the perverted behavior and re-answers it. It is a self- search for rights, and it is a collective violence which is normally unilateral. Pure terrorism is alike to war more than the other types of collective violence. The typical international character and the being between ethnicities features of pure terrorism are also similar to the war, but it is not a real war. It is a kind of semi-war model.

Black (2014a, p.19) argues that terrorists use weapons that have the capacity to kill a large number of people (nuclear, biological, or chemical), and this reminds the conventional wars. As distinct from conventional war, terrorism is covered and unilateral rather than being open and multilateral, and the target of terrorism is civilians rather than the soldiers. At the same time, the rules of war such as wearing uniforms, non-violence against the ones who surrender, non-usage of the weapons which are considered unfair and inhuman are not included in terrorism.

According to Black (2014b, p.12), classifying terrorism as just a criminal act causes a shadow on its sociological identity and makes it scientifically obscure, so a social control theory is needed for terrorism. The main point is in Black’s definition that the definition does not consider the attacks which do not directly target civilians as pure terrorism. For instance, the attacks in Oklahoma City in 1995, which are the bomb attacks to the state-building, are not considered pure terrorism because the attack targeted the state institutions and it was not an organized action.

According to Tilly (2004, p.5), the concepts terror, terrorism, and terrorist do not define causally coherent and distinct societal events. As a word terror addresses to a broadly repetitive but

uncertainly restricted political strategy. Tilly defines that strategy as “asymmetrical deployment of threats and violence against enemies using means that fall outside the forms of political struggle regularly operating within some latest regime” (Tilly, 2004, p.6). Tilly argues that “a broad type of people, groups, and networks sometimes employ that strategy.” Moreover, “specialists in coercion (armies, police, militias, paramilitaries, and the like) sometimes deploy terror under certain political circumstances, usually with far more devastating effects than the terror operations of non-specialists” (Tilly, 2004, p.7).

Lizardo (2008, p.101) draws on “global approaches from international relations and World systems theories to propose a definition of terrorism by concentrating on terrorist actors rather than terrorist behavior”. Actor- centered approach seeks what type of actor starts the movement and what sort of actor is the target” (Lizardo, 2008, p.102). For Lizardo, the current international system gives the monopoly of political violence to the nation-state. The use of political violence, which is legal for countries, is not legal for non-state organizations. In this regard, “non-state affiliated violence producing organizations are tagged as “terrorists,” because of their challenge to the monopoly of political violence held by a state within a territory” (Lizardo, 2008, p.103). Within the scope of this approach, “terrorism is a violent interaction between representatives of a non-state organization and representatives of a country” (Lizardo, 2008, p.106). Terrorists target the delegates of the countries. Civilians are the most logistically alluring and tactically accessible delegates of the nation-state, so this makes them the main targets for terrorists. In fact, terrorists attack the symbolic representatives of the states who have a monopoly on political violence. This symbolic representative can be the citizens or the president of the country. Also, the target can be a building or a monument.

In light of these views Lizardo’s (2008, p.105) definition of terrorism goes as follows:

Modern terrorism refers to a type of violent interaction initiated by a non-state actor, which is not formally recognized as a legitimate wielder of the means of violence or a valid initiator of violent interactions, directed against the representatives (human, material or symbolic) of a formally recognized state actor in the international system, which does not follow the institutionalized rules and conventions of military engagement.

Oberschall (2004, p.28) argues that “terrorism is an extreme, violent response to a failed political process engaging political regimes and ethnic and ideological adversaries over fundamental governance issues”. To Oberschall, the emergence of terrorism entails four elements. First of all, the discontent has to be widespread. The presence of discontent distinguishes terrorist organizations from organized crime aimed at achieving individual interests. Secondly, an ideology or belief system has to be present. If the terrorist group does not have an ideology that legitimizes its actions, its acts of terrorism will not receive acceptance from people who shelter them. Thirdly, terrorist groups require certain elements of an organization such as recruiting, generating financial support, leadership, internal communication, and decision-making. Finally, acts of terrorism may be performed when there is support from people or political allies or when there is an international climate favoring them.

Giddens (2008, p.930) describes terrorism as the attacks against the civilians to force the governments to change politics or to harm the image of the country in the international area. Giddens divides terrorism into two as the old style and the new style, and demonstrates the old type of terrorism starts with the rise of nationalism. Most of the types of this style are related to nations that have no state. Generally, they aim to establish a state in a national area (IRA, ETA, etc.). Even if the numbers of dead and injured people are important in the old style of terrorism, the usage of violence was limited, because the aims of these type (in anyways they were scary and spooky) was limited as well. The current form of terrorism differs from the former type of terrorism in several aspects especially it differs from the extension of the claims. For instance, the distinguishing feature of Al-Qaeda’s vision is its global and geopolitical aims. The organization tries to reconstruct the world society. Secondly, the new sort of terrorism differs from the former type of terrorism with its organizational structure. In the new style of terrorism, terrorists behave with the sense of the mission and dedication. This sense of the mission and the dedication led to the growth and development of weak global organizations. The third and the last difference of the new type of terrorism form the old one is its cruelty to the use of any tool. In addition, the aims are limited and the use of violence is limited in the old type.

For Cirhinlioğlu (2004, p.19), in order to grasp the question of “what can we understand from terrorism” the usage of it in daily life should be examined. The efforts for giving a scientific depth to the concept can end up with ignorance of the social reality.

The difficulty of the definition of terrorism comes from its political content. They change according to time and place. It is so natural that there is no consensus on the meaning of the definition of the term of terrorism because it already has a rooted historical past and continuously new political meanings are added to it, hence the meaning of terrorism is metamorphosed. Political meanings, punishments, and symbols are changeable from society to society.

Anders Behring Breivik's case can be given as an example above statement. As per the penal code of Norway, Section 138, Terrorist acts are defined as; "A penalty of imprisonment for a term not exceeding 21 years shall be applied to any person who sends, places, fires or detonates an explosive charge or other potentially lethal device to, in or against a public place, a state or public facility, a public infrastructure facility or a public transport system with intent to cause loss of human life or considerable harm to body, property or the environment" (The Penal Code of Norway, 2018). Crime rates are very low in Norway, the country has almost no experience of political violence and terrorism. Except for bookstore bombing in Tromsø on October 1977, the bombing during the march of 1<sup>st</sup> of May in 1979 and two minor incidents in the 80s, the Norwegian public did not encounter terrorism (Akçalı and Toker, 2012, p.29). This unexpected tragic event on July 22, 2011, shocked Norwegian society with its size and brutality. Anders Behring Breivik's trial would be a good example regarding the penal code. "On July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2011, Breivik blew up a bomb that he put in a car in front of the government building in the capital city of Oslo, then he went to Utoya Island where he shot members of the Norwegian Labor Party who were camping there. Breivik killed 77 people in two separate attacks. Anders Behring Breivik was sentenced to 21 years in prison for terrorism in his last trial" (Milliyet, 2012). As seen, the severest punishment is 21 years of imprisonment in Norway. However, while one evaluates other countries in terms of terrorist acts, one can see that they have quite high penalties, such as aggravated life imprisonment. With respect to the background of these penal codes, fears and the socio-cultural structure of societies and the historical background of the states' terrorism plays a crucial role. In order to evaluate this case better, the definition of the concept of the lone wolf should be evaluated. After the attacks in Norway, media, security units and researchers began to interest in lone-wolf terrorism. "Lone-wolf terrorism which also named as freelance terrorism, leaderless resistance, solo-actor terrorism or personal Jihad, refers to terrorist attacks conducted individually and independently of existing terrorist organizations and networks" (Gable and Jackson, 2011, p.382).

Lone wolf terrorist acts have been taking place for quite a while now. Even in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, lone wolves, who advocated that individual acts of violence were an essential part of revolutions, committed violent acts of terrorism. Particularly after the 1950s, those who believed that the white race is superior to other races conducted lone wolf terrorism. Such terrorist acts gained popularity again after the encouragement of the Al-Qaeda and its affiliates. Al-Qaeda released videos and magazines where it promoted lone-wolf terrorist acts as an effectual method against the enemy. Influenced or motivated by their ideology, some Muslims in different parts of the world commit violent acts alone, outside of their command structure (Spaaij, 2011, p.98). Lone-wolf terrorism has become more widespread around the world after terrorist groups adopted lone-wolf attacks as a method. In this respect, and as mentioned above, lone wolves are motivated by what the terrorist organization advocates. Gable and Jackson (2011, p.384) argue that right-wing terrorists are not lone wolves; rather, they have links with and receive support from terrorist organizations with which they share common ideologies.

Despite the fact that it is not a new phenomenon, the media has recently portrayed leaderless lone-wolf terror as a security threat that is increasingly becoming widespread. Recent lone-wolf terrorist attacks include the assassination of Pim Fortuyn, a Dutch politician, by animal rights activist Volkert van der Graaf in 2002, the killing of 13 people in the Fort Hood mass shooting by Nidal Hasan in 2009, a series of terrorist attacks carried out by Mohammed Merah in Toulouse and Montauban, and the murdering of an 82-year-old man and plotting explosions near mosques by Pavlo Lapshyn, a Ukrainian right-wing terrorist, in 2013 (Appleton, 2014, p.130).

What these lone wolves share in common is that they adopt extreme political or religious aspirations themselves. In other words, they are not members of or directly involved in terrorist organizations although they may have had touch with them. Hence, second sources such as books, videos, online magazines, and manifestos are the major factors that play a role in their commitment to the ideals of the terrorist organization (Bates, 2012, p.4).

### **1.3. Political Violence and Terrorism**

As we argued about there is always a political aspect to terrorism. In this context, David C. Rapoport's (2004, p.52) study which is "The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism" that modern terrorism spreads as four waves. For Rapoport, the most important feature of these waves is their

internationality. They can arise in more than one country. The first wave, the “anarchic wave” emerged in Russia in the 1880s and continued till the 1920s. In the anarchic wave, the main targets of the actions were monarchies, government authorities, and bureaucrats. Although there were many factors triggering the first wave, two important developments came to the fore and influenced the following waves. The first of these developments was in the communication and transportation technologies (Rapoport, 2004, p.52). Telegraph, daily mass newspapers and radios rose in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and developments in a country had become known in another place within a day. Leading Russian anarchists inspired other sympathizers and other groups by traveling elsewhere. A second factor contributing to the emergence of the first wave was doctrine or culture. The ideological roots of the anarchic wave were emerged by Sergei Nechaev, Michail Bakunin, and Alexeyevich Kropotkin during the emergence of ideological effects that arose from the Enlightenment and French Revolution. Terrorist actions were perceived as the fastest and the most efficient method to destroy the existing order. The acts of terrorism are exalted because of their vital risk and a deep commitment. “This wave expanded to the Balkans and Asia as well as Western Europe. “One of the most well-known anarchist groups of this period was the Narodnaya Volya, which acted against the Russian state and led to the assassination of Tsar Alexander II” (Rapoport, 2004, p.54). For Rapoport, the second wave is the anti-colonial wave which emerged in the 1920s. The nationalism which emerged after the French Revolution and World War I started this wave. During this period ethnic minority groups in the multinational empires established terrorist organizations to have their own state. The Armenian organizations to leave the Ottoman Empire, the Bosnian, Serbian, Bulgarian organizations in Balkans, Jewish organizations in the Middle East, the IRA in England are examples of the terrorist organizations that were established with separatist aims (Rapoport, 2004, p.56). In the second wave, terrorist organizations adopted the strategy of small but effective action. With this wave the terrorist organizations make their attacks to the officials of the states with secrecy. They are selective on the place of the attack, the time of the attack, and the person of the attack. The Diasporas and the foreign support of the countries stopped the economic problems which were seen before for the terrorist organizations. The main difference of this wave from the first one is that they understood the problem of the use of the word “terrorism, and they started to use the words “freedom fighter” or “guerrilla” for themselves during this period. The anti-colonial wave which emerged after the 1920s continued until the 1960s and then is removed by the third wave which named “the new left” (Rapoport, 2004, p. 58).

The failure of the USA in Vietnam caused the emergence of new ideas for an alternative of the bipolar world that led to the establishment of the left ideological terrorist organizations. It was argued that the “68 movements” in France which is a student movement sustained these developments. Thus, ideological terrorist organizations whose aim is to have a communist regime started to emerge elsewhere in the world. The right ideological organizations were also established against these left ones. These organizations were supported by the powers of the bipolar world in the global system (Sandıklı, 2015, p.11). Red Army of Japan, the RAF in Germany, Red Brigades in Italy are some of the organizations that established during the second wave. For Rapoport, the most important organization that takes the attention in this wave is the Palestine Liberation Organization. Especially after the American failure in Vietnam, this organization became a model (Sandıklı, 2015, p.13). The reasons for becoming an idol for the PLO are their sensational actions and their training camps in Lebanon which was also used by the other organizations.

According to Rapoport the most significant difference between the second and the third waves are that in third-wave the targets are symbolic like in the first wave. International air piracy is an important example. In the first 10 years of the third wave, 700 hijackings were recognized. Hostage crises, assassinations, and kidnappings have become the classics of the third wave. The term “international terror” started to be used again during this wave. In some studies of this wave, the connection between the policies of the great powers and terrorism can be seen. For instance, Chomsky explains the rise of terrorism in the Cold War period with the preferences of the USA and the USSR. In this sense, these two powers could not take the cost of direct battle and they used the terror strategically to achieve military, economic, and political interests (Kaya, 2017, p.60).

Iran Revolution of 1979 and the USSR invasion of Afghanistan created a new wave of terrorism: the religious wave. For Rapoport, Iranian Revolution gave some kind of hope to some parts of the Islamic community. The failure of the Soviets in Afghanistan increased their hopes. These developments caused the establishment of the terrorist organizations that take religion as a point of reference. Religious terrorist organizations are not just related to Islam. During this period other terrorist organizations claimed that they were fighting for other religions emerged. Arm Shrinkyo in Japan, the organizations in India which were established by the Sikhs, and the religion-oriented organizations in America can be the examples, but it can be accepted that most of the terrorist organizations of this period had Islamic motifs.

After the Soviets' invasion of Afghanistan, many people from all over the world went to Afghanistan for Jihad. These groups were organized and armed by the USA, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabia. They became the main actors in conflicts in Bosnia, Chechnya, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, and Kashmir by protecting their connection with Afghanistan. They became the "professional Jihadists" and from the late 1990s, they came together as Al-Qaeda under the leadership of Osama Bin Laden. Al-Qaeda started global attacks against the US and its allies (Rapoport, 2004, p.63).

Bin Laden went to Saudi Arabia from Afghanistan at the end of the 1980s. In 1990 he protested the use of the Saudi Arabian land for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Because of his harsh criticism of the alliance between Saudis and Iraq, the Saudi government decided that they would not tolerate any further indignation for bin Laden's actions and deported Bin Laden in 1991 (Sandıklı, 2015, p.14). After being deported, Bin Laden went to Sudan and reshaped his organizational structure. The first action of the Al-Qaeda was in Yemen in 1992, the terrorists attacked a hotel that they thought the American soldiers were staying, but they were mistaken the soldiers were staying another hotel. The attacks caused the death of two Australian civilians. After this attack on February 16, 1993, a group under the leadership of Ramzi Yousef attacked the World Trade Center in New York. After the attack, 6 people lost their lives, and 1.500 people were injured (Research Center for International Terrorism and Transnational Crime [UTSAM], 2013, p. 10). In 1996, Sudan deported Osama Bin Laden as a result of international pressure. After leaving Sudan, Bin Laden went back Afghanistan to find a place and establish good relations with Taliban (Özbudak, 2015, p.70). Bin Laden made a clear call in 1996, and called Muslims to fight against the US and its allies, to get rid of the US' soldiers in the Arab Peninsula, to save the holy cities of Muslims Mecca and Medina, to destroy the Saudi Government, and to support the revolutionist groups in the world. In 1998, Bin Laden, Ayman al-Zawahiri, and some other members of the organization published a fatwa that every Muslim who has the power must kill the Americans and their allies whether or not they are civilians and no matter what country they are in (UTSAM, 2013, p.11).

On September 11, 2001, it can be considered that the terrorist attack can be considered as the supreme terrorist attack in history witnessed. The militants of Al-Qaeda hijacked passenger planes and they attacked to World Trade Center and Pentagon. "A total of almost three thousand people were killed in the attacks. Among the dead were citizens of some eighty different countries,

although the largest numbers of casualty were U.S. citizens” (Hoffman, 2006, p.19). The attacks of Al-Qaeda continued after September 11. There were bomb attacks in Istanbul, Madrid, and London that many people lost their lives. On 11 May 2011, the American Army made an operation to the Abbottabad city of Pakistan and they captured the Osama Bin Laden as dead. His dead body was brought to Afghanistan and thrown into the sea in 24 hours. After the death of Bin Laden, extensions of the Al-Qaeda in the other places of the world have evolved in different terrorist organizations and increased their actions (Sandıklı, 2015, p.15).

The classification of Rapoport ends with the religious wave. This wave is still continuing and for Rapoport, it will continue until 2025. It is important to mention that the separation of these waves from each other with clear lines is not possible. Each wave named with the most dominant type of terrorism in the periods. Nationalist groups can be seen in every wave and every wave shapes them differently (Rapoport, 2004, p.46). For example, in the fourth wave, the radical Islamist terrorist groups led to the rise of the right extremists in the western world.

Rapoport’s four waves offer a framework to assess how international terrorism has evolved over this time. Wave theory is in common definitions and classifications with most of the studies classifying modern terrorism. Therefore, in this study, wave theory was used to examine the historical development of terrorism. Rapoport predicts that the current wave will last for 40 years like other waves but he does not explain why this wave will end. The fact that the waves of the past lasted one generation does not indicate that this wave would last as long. Technological developments may shorten this period or the social events to be experienced may extend this period further. So, Rapoport’s wave theory can be used as a tool for deeply comprehension of the international spread of terrorism, not for predicting the future. Furthermore, “religion” is observed as the main source of motivation for the current terrorist activities. Although it is a fact that terrorist organizations commonly use religion today, there are many political, social and political reasons for the development of these terrorist organizations.

In Rapoport’s theory, religion, especially Islam, is recognized as the main source of motivation for the current terrorist activities. The expression of religiously motivated terrorism has referred to some problems. “First, religious beliefs do not lead per se to terrorism. Religious communities sometimes resort to violence while experiencing political and social isolation and under threat. Second, the acts of religious terrorism do not belong only to the Islamic religion.

Christian fundamentalists or Jewish militants also appear to have committed terrorist acts. Third, religious, political, nationalist and even local anxieties are often very closely related” (Weinhauer, 2017, p.550). Although it is a fact that terrorist organizations commonly use religion today, there are many political, societal and political reasons for the development of these terrorist organizations.

There are some other studies in the literature that bring further the wave metaphor of Rapoport. For instance, Jeffrey Kaplan (2007, p.552) mentions about a new wave of terrorism, which is not much appropriate with Rapoport’s four waves, as “new tribalism” in his study “The Fifth Wave: The New Tribalism?” What Kaplan described as a group of movements constituting the ‘fifth wave’ of modern terrorism has begun to be carried out in a particular area rather than on an international scale. These fifth-wave terrorist groups advocate ethnic, racial, or tribal beliefs on a local scale and are in quest of transforming the society in which they operate. Examples of such terrorist organizations include Khmer Rouge, a brutal regime that ruled Cambodia 1975 to 1979, and Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA), a rebel group Uganda. According to Kaplan, this fifth-wave of terrorism does not encompass Islamic extremist groups. On the other hand, Anthony Celso (2015, p.257) defends that jihadist organizations like Boko Haram and ISIS that are supporters of the issuance of takfir are fifth-wave terrorist organizations. These organizations aim to destroy the modern world or cause terminate Western civilization and establish an Islamic state under the leadership of a caliphate. To achieve these goals, they do not hesitate to commit ruthless acts of violence such as child theft, forced marriage, slavery, and ethnic cleansing and sectarian killings. Honig and Yahel (2017) argue that the fifth wave led to the emergence of terrorist semi-states (TSS). A TSS, according to them, is a terrorist group controlling some of the territories of a state that lacks strong military organization. In addition to exerting influence over the controlled territory, the TSS also carries out acts of violence in and against other states. There are some prominent differences between fourth wave terrorism and TSSs. First of all, they focus on the control of their territory. For this reason, they establish a so-called state in that territory and carry out governmental activities. Secondly, they perform killings of people who are believers of the same religion. Lastly, they prioritize their local goals rather than international goals. Simon (2011, p.49) argues that the fifth wave terrorism is the “technological wave” since technology plays a major role in this new terrorism phenomenon. No ideology dominates the fifth wave of terrorism as none of the terrorist groups has exclusive control or possession of technology. Simon holds that

following the 9/11 attacks, there was an increasing interest in religious terrorist groups which led to the negligence of other types of terrorist organizations. Therefore, although ethnonationalism, separatism, narco-terrorism, and single-issue terrorism are still active, the media's focus on Islamic terrorism and global attempts to stop Islamic terror organizations have turned public interest away from these types of terrorist organizations. In Simon's model, "lone operators" are given particular emphasis. These lone operators, who are not members of a terrorist organization, usually adopt the ideology of the terrorist organization through the internet. They are motivated by diverse ideological approaches such as white supremacy, anti-abortion, anti-government, and Islamist extremist beliefs.

The historical evolution of the terrorist movements shows that the structure and tactical features of terrorist organizations have been transformed. Especially the terrorist attacks of September 11, and afterward are identified as a different type of terrorism by the scholars. This model is depicted as "new terrorism". The main characteristic of the "new terrorism" is going to be examined in the following sections.

#### **1.4. Causes of Terrorism**

Having no consensus on the meaning of terrorism makes it hard to define the causes of it too. It is not possible to say that one reason is suitable for all types of terror. A factor that affects a terrorist group or an individual can be insignificant for the other group or individual. There is distinctive sort of terrorism with deeply diverse foundations, and it has also various levels of correlations and causalities (Bjorgo, 2005, p.2).

Terrorists may be educated or uneducated, women or men and even young or old. Terrorism can be seen in prosperous, modern, industrialized countries as well as in less developed, poor and less democratic countries. Different types of terrorism also have distinctive reasons (Lia and Skjolberg, 2004, p.8). Therefore, terrorists cannot be depicted in certain types, and we cannot define terrorists by evaluating their ethnicities, religions, their identities and countries.

Some explanations for the causes of terrorism center on psychological explanations. A pure psychological theory of terrorism considers non-violent act as norm, terrorist behavior as abnormal. The general characteristics of terrorists are claimed to be spoiled, perverted, psychotic, maniac and irrational. This approach does not apply to the vast majority of terrorist incidents. These psycho-

pathological explanations overlook the political aspect of terrorism. Many studies claim that terrorists do not actually show a serious psychopathology feature, vice versa, the most important characteristics of terrorists are that they act perfectly normal (Lia and Skjolberg, 2004, p.10).

Bjorgo (2005, p.5), separates the reasons for terrorism into four parts: “structural causes, accelerating causes, motivating causes and triggering causes. Structural causes are the causes that influence individuals’ lives at the macro level. Demographic imbalances, globalization, rapid modernization, transitional societies, increasing individualism, and class structure can be the examples of these causes. The main structural causes are socioeconomic factors like poverty, inequality, societal or political exclusion, and insufficient level of education”. Accelerating causes are the environmental conditions that make terrorism possible. Transport, communication, and advances in weapon technology or the weakening of a state's domination in the region are among these causes. Motivating reasons are the current victimizations that mobilize individuals. Ideologies can be evaluated in this class. Sometimes a provocative action or an important political development can cause the start of the terrorist actions. These kinds of causes can be depicted triggering causes.

It is argued that poverty is the main reason of terrorism. According to Çınar (2009, p.97), “terrorism is a political problem not economic problem”. Powerful nation-states influence the international political structure through the economic sanctions. Individuals blame politicians for their poverty and backwardness. This may lead them to rebellion and violence. Klaus Topfer, Executive Director of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), discussed that “poverty, disease and hopelessness rise in societies that cannot reach fresh water, air and soil to meet basic human needs. Hopeless people can accept terrorism as the only solution for their problems” (Newman, 2006, p.752). Economic hardship also prevents good education, and ignorant people are very available to be exploited. “In communities where economic income distribution creates profound inequalities, the feelings of race, religion, ethnic identity and regional belonging of certain classes can easily be channeled into violence. In societies where unemployment is intense, class differences are deepened and political power does not care about such concerns of the people and also does not seek radical solutions to problems, sociological and psychological circumstances are available for provoking a section of society against elected government or constitutional regime” (Küçükcan, 2010, p. 45). However, some researchers believe that poverty is not directly

related to terrorism. Malecukova (2005, p.37) conducted a research on the characteristics of participation in terrorist actions and also suicide actions in the Middle East. She also looked at “cross-country data on the connection between economic circumstances on the national level and the occurrence of terrorism by individuals from many nation-states and analyzed public opinion polls on the strength of support for attacks against Israel targets in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The evidence on both the individual and the national levels indicated that there is no direct connection between poverty and terrorism. The perpetrators of international terrorism are more likely to be drawn from the middle and upper classes than from impoverished families. This suggests that socioeconomic deprivation at an individual level might also be significant” (Malecukova, 2005, p.38).

The roots of terrorism can be located in globalization and rapid modernization. Anti-Western movements around the world might constitute a sample to people who are intimidated by the economic and cultural impact that globalization would bring. For this reason, symbols of modernization and Western culture are often targeted by Islamic extremists or radical leftist parties (Özbudak, 2015, pp.31-32).

One of the causes of terrorism is secular or religious extremism. Nevertheless, people generally embrace extremist movements as a result of certain political or personal reasons. In his study “Social revolutionary terrorism in Latin America and Europe,” Waldmann (2005, p.158) explores the origin of far-left terrorism. According to Waldmann, ‘subjective’ factors such as ideologies and beliefs help us better develop an insight into the emergence of these groups than ‘objective’ factors such as poverty, social injustice, political corruption, etc. Since the 9/11 attacks, there has been an increase in the number of studies arguing that religion, particularly Islam, has given rise to terrorist acts in the western world. Çınar (2009, p.41) states that although people hold religion responsible for terrorism, it does not directly cause terrorism. Religion may help people to alleviate their frustrations, but it does not lead to the emergence of these frustrations.

In fact, political reasons rather than economic, social or cultural reasons can be shown to be the main cause of terrorism. Many local terrorist acts of violence are rooted in a lack of democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. If democratic elections fail to serve as tools to remove an unpopular ruler from the position, then, pro-violence movements gain popularity among people. If political institutions cannot find a solution to the social inequality that has been present for many

years, and if people are not optimistic about its solution, then it should not amaze us when some desperate individuals turn to dying or killing for a cause which they perceive to be a 'just cause' (Schmid, 2005, p.227). Besides this, the development of the nation-state caused the spread of ethnic terror. Moreover, the lack of authority which is caused by the weakening of a state is another political reason that causes terrorism.

### **1.5. Conceptualizing Terrorism**

At the beginning of the thesis, the difficulty to have a consensus on the definition of terrorism has been mentioned. In order to conceptualize terrorism, it is necessary to focus on what terror is seen as. In "Frameworks for Conceptualizing Terrorism," Schmid (2004b, p.211) defined various frameworks for terrorism such as crime, politics, warfare, communication, and fundamentalism.

Firstly, terrorism is a "crime". Actions such as armed assault, bombing, hijacking and assassination of civilians are acts in terms of criminal law both nationally and internationally. However, it can be said that terrorist actions have different sanctions than ordinary crimes, which is the subject of criminal law and criminology. That is to say, an ordinary murderer kills a person he wants to kill, and kills him only if he intends to kill, whereas for a terrorist killing the people is not the aim it is the tool. The murder helps the terrorist to make his voice heard. Most of the time targets of the terrorists are not specified, or they do not target the pre-planned individuals or people. The people who were killed by chance were the target of the terrorist and they had no prior acquaintance or mutual hostility. In this respect crime of murder and a terrorist attack are the same in terms of the result, but they differ in terms of the aims (Özerkmen, 2017, p.251). What separates terrorists and ordinary criminals is that the terrorists have a political purpose.

The main purpose of the terrorist acts to disrupt public order is political. Because it is the political power that determines and maintains the public order and acts of terrorism are made to weaken this will. The application of violence on the public has some objections. They aim to show the weakening of the governments and by this way, they also want to make their objections to be accepted by the governments or take over the government, because there is only one legitimate authority that has the ability to use any kind of power, and that is the government.

When defining terrorism, it is also mentioned that it is a kind of “war”. There are many studies in the literature that make a distinction between the conventional wars, guerilla war, and terrorism. For Jenkins (1980, p.5), states some kind of rules when they are in war. At least theoretically they do not attack the civilians or they do not take civilians as hostages. There are binding rules and international sanctions on the use of certain weapons. For terrorists, these rules make no sense. They do not care about the death of civilians. They can hostage the civilians and use them. Terrorism is not the same thing with the guerrilla wars. The main difference between them is that terrorist actions are symbolic. In guerrilla wars, the actions are made for the result, but terrorism is symbolic. The terrorist does not make their actions openly like guerrillas. Generally, they do not invade a geographical land. Their main aim is to spread violence into the civilians and civil targets whereas the main aim of the guerrillas is spread the violence into the armed forces (Taşdemir, 2006, p.32).

One of the oldest power balance policy is that nation-states try to gain an advantage by destabilizing each other. Especially in situations where war is not possible, states try to cause internal problems in the other states by using their economic, ethnic, and social problems. In such situations, the opposition groups or the terrorist organizations get support from the foreign states. If both of the rival states are powerful, direct use of effective power can be dangerous and risky. Especially during the Cold War, USSR and the USA could not take the risk of direct conflict and the power struggle between the two states was made by terrorist organizations. In terms of International Law and morality, the support of the states for the terrorist organizations is hard to prove, so states choose to cause terror instead of going in a war because the states who go into war can face the legal sanctions (Helvacıköylü, 2017).

Theoretically, the aim of terrorists is not mass murder, even though they murder a lot of people. Their primary purpose is to attract the attention of the masses, make their voices heard, and make the people affected by their actions. In this regard, terrorism is a kind of propaganda. This propaganda consists of three aims. The first one is to humiliate the hegemon power that they attacked, the second one is to scare the people living under that hegemon power, and the final one is to give motivation to their supporters. These three aims can be reached only with the mass media. For this reason, in most of the terrorist actions in history such as kidnapping, taking hostages, or hijacking the first request of the terrorists is to give their “messages” to the public before stopping

the actions (Kongar, 2001). It argues that terrorist attack which does not be broadcast in the media is considered wasted because it cannot reach the target audience (Hoffman, 2006 p.174). As discussed before, terrorist organizations use social and mass media very well. They publish magazines and manage social media accounts. They declare their goals to the world by publishing manifestos on the Internet just before or after their actions. Compared to the past, the capacity of terrorist organizations to reach the target group has increased significantly, especially after 9/11. In the past, religious fanatics, which have a limited source of opportunities to reach the target group, are now trying to justify terrorist actions by religious manifestos as they did in the past through social media.

As mentioned above, religious fanatics have resorted to terrorism throughout history and have tried to justify these acts by turning to religious sources. Neither religious fanaticism nor the use of terrorism as a manifestation of this fanaticism is limited to any religion. All the major religions such as Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, etc. disapprove of terrorism; however, from time to time, believers of each religion have performed terrorist acts which they tried to justify by resorting to their religious sources (Başeren, 2008, p.9). There must also be additional factors to combine religion with political violence. The poverty of people, social inequality, and state oppression, which can cause people to migrate, riot, perpetrate crimes, or commit suicide, are listed as the main causes of terrorism. Terrorist groups are usually motivated by some or all of these causes (Schmid, 2004b, p.212).

Terrorism can be defined as an organizational phenomenon. The groups that commit acts of terrorism can adopt any or all three forms of organization: an organization, a network, and social movement. Terrorist groups can have an organizational structure where one person is in charge of a certain area. They can be a network of connected individuals who can organize themselves. Terrorist groups can be embedded in social movements where a common complaint in society brings organizations and individuals together. According to Comas et al. (2014, p.2), terrorist groups are generally a few of them. We should not regard terrorist groups as just an organizational structure. There is usually little information as to how they coordinate and the responsibility is deliberately distributed to different members.

Terrorist groups are able to reach many critical resources such as people, finance and information despite the many difficulties they face. This capacity exists in networks of individuals

or in loosely connected groups or affiliates. Terrorist groups can also emerge as a network of formal organizations, institutions and other organized elements working to achieve a number of, and sometimes conflicting, objectives. Besides, they can operate as a group advocating a certain ideology or belief on a global scale. All types of terrorism include voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal communication and exchange as their characteristic features. For this reason, terrorist groups resemble “postmodern organizations” that encompass a variety of self-managed and self-controlled teams networked through a number of coordination centers (Comas et al., 2014, p. 3).

It is possible to define a social movement as a joint effort to encourage or resist change in community. Social movements can contribute to the creation of favorable environments for terrorism. They can cause various emotions to emerge in humans and provide a suitable environment for extremism. Jihadism, eco-terrorism, violence in defense of animal rights, and anti-abortion violence can be given as examples to social movements that commit acts of terrorism. In fact, all of these movements are respectively rooted in larger social movements Wahhabism, environmentalism, animal rights, and Christian fundamentalism (Comas et al., 2014, p. 4). The following chapters will discuss this issue in greater detail.

In short, terrorism is a crime in terms of the law, it is an undeclared war in the perspective of military and strategy, and it is an ideology or a religion in terms of politics. For Kodaman (1985) “terrorism only itself is not a crime or an ideology, it is not a war or a craziness, but it includes all of these and it is very complicated” (Özerkmen, 2017, p.251).

## **1.6. Strategies of Political Violence**

At the beginning of the thesis, the various definitions of the concept of terrorism have been addressed. In many of the studies, terrorism is examined as a “strategy”. In fact, sometimes terrorism is used as a strategy by the countries and NGOs. States sometimes use the strategy of weakening to other states by using the tools of terrorism instead of a direct state attack. In terms of terrorist organizations, terrorism is a strategy for the “weak” who cannot directly cope with the power of the state.

Although terrorism itself a strategy, terrorists also have their own strategies to reach their aims. In this regard, distinguishing between the goal, strategy, and tactics would be helpful. Goal defines the situation that is expected to be reached in the future. Goals are the general results that

are expected to access. Even though the goals of the terrorist organizations are different from each other, the most common goals are; regime change, territorial change, and policy change. Regime change means the overthrow of the government and the change of the administration. Most of the Marxist organizations have this goal. Territorial change means the establishment of a new state with breaking the boundaries of another state. Generally, ethnic terrorist organizations have this goal. “ The policy change is a comprehensively category of lesser demands, such as Al-Qaeda's demand that the United States drop its support for Israel and corrupt Arab regimes such as Saudi Arabia” (Kydd and Walter, 2006, p.53). The word strategy is used to mean “the way to achieve the goals”. The strategy is the set of decisions that give to the organizations to reach their goals and targets (Aşgin, 2008, p.126). Tactics are the methods that are used to carry out the strategies. Abduction, bank robbery, assassination, hijacking, suicide, and bombing are some of the terrorist tactics.

According to Harmon (2001, p.44), there are 5 main strategies in terrorism, the first of which is to create a social relocation, a sense of fear, and even anarchy among people, or to further the existing feeling. Mostly revolutionaries adopt this strategy. However, this strategy also benefits state-sponsored terrorism, which aims to instill fear among people through bombings and other crimes so as to increase public support for further law enforcement measures, or even dictatorship. The second terrorist strategy is to denigrate, demolish or eliminate a certain government. They attack public buildings and public officials to undermine the effectiveness and prestige of the government”. The third strategy is harming the economy. Terrorist organizations try to disrupt the economic balance of the country by launching attacks on large companies or public goods. The fourth strategy is to kill security forces or destroy military targets. Terrorist organizations that implement guerrilla tactics apply this strategy more. The fifth and the last strategy is spreading fear for international effects. Contemporary terrorist organizations want to make international actions and make their voices heard all around the world. Terrorist actions in a country can encourage other groups in that country or in another country to collaborate with them or engage in militant acts on their own.

According to Kydd and Walter (2006, p.67), “there are five main critical logics of costly signaling at work in terrorist operations: (1) attrition, (2) intimidation, (3) provocation, (4) spoiling, and (5) outbidding. In the attrition strategy, the most crucial assignment for the terrorist

organization is to ensure that the hostile government responds to the demands of the terrorists by convincing the hostile government that it is tough and determined to cause important harm. Intimidation is most commonly applied when terrorist organizations want to abolish a government or take control of an audience". Intimidation demonstrates that the terrorist organization has the power to punish everyone who does not obey the organization, and the government does not have the power to stop it. "A strategy of intimidation may include a series of actions—from assassinations of individuals in positions of power to car bombings of police recruits. For instance, In Afghanistan, the Taliban beheaded the principal of a school to deter others from providing education for girls" (Kydd and Walter, 2006, p.68),

The provocation strategy is a strategy that will allow the government to respond violently to the violence of the terrorist organization and to radicalize the public and make them support the terrorists. The terrorist organizations which are using the provocation strategy try to make the target government use armed forces against the public. The aim of this case is to convince people that the government is too bad and, in this way, they try to get the support of the public to legitimize their goals. Since the 9/11 attacks, the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq by the Bush administration caused the reaction in the Middle Eastern countries and it triggered an interest in Al-Qaeda and similar organizations. In this regard, it can be said that the provocation strategy of Al-Qaeda was successful.

Spoiling strategy consist of the sabotages for the peace negotiations. Terrorist organizations apply to a spoiling strategy when its enemies' relations are getting better and also a peace treaty threaten its long-term goals. Outbidding happens when local parties compete for their leadership and the public cannot decide which party will best represent their profits. The rivalry between Hamas and Al-Fatah is the classical example of this strategy.

According to Neumann and Smith (2008, p.37), terrorists follow a three-stage strategy to achieve their goals. They call the first stage 'disorientation': terrorists attempt to evoke among the population a feeling of alienation from the government institutions and reduce citizens' trust in the government's potency. The second stage is called a target response, wherein the aim is to cause a reaction that causes the target government to inadvertently damage its authority. In the final stage, terrorists seek to gain legitimacy: the emotional impact that violent acts cause serves to voice an alternative political message and widen the support for the terrorist group. They often make use of

the media and front organizations to achieve this. Shortly, considering terrorist acts as irrational and pathological events would be wrong as violence and terrorism have emerged as an option for certain political and strategic causes.

### **1.7. Main Characteristics of the New Terrorism**

September 11 attacks in 2001 led to the spread of the concept of the “new terrorism”. Actually, the concept of “new” terrorism which indicates a change in the structure and strategy of terrorism has been discussed from the beginning of the 1990s. During this period the impact of organizations such as IRA, ETO, RAF, PLO who were effective since the 1960s were decreasing. The Al-Qaeda attacks in 1993 which caused the death of 6 people in New York, the chemical attacks on Japan subway on 20 March 1995 which organized by Aum Sinrikyo organization caused the death of 12 people, the bomb attacks on Oklahoma which organized by Timothy McVeigh caused the death of 168 people and injury of 600 people in 1995 are the signals that the term terrorism has been evolving (Ağkaya, 2017, p.212).

According to Simon and Benjamin (2000, p.63), “four developments mark the advent of this new form of terror: a) the emergence of religiously motivated terrorist attacks; b) the increasing lethality c) the increasing technological and operational competence of terrorist d) the access to weapons of mass destruction”. Hoffman (1999, p.16) argues that terrorist organizations have below characteristic features:

- They quit the hierarchical structure and have started to be organized as networks,
- They become globalized with cross-border targets and actions,
- They do not only target the state officials but also the civilians.

Neumann (2009, p.15) focuses on the change of terrorism within three categories: structure, aim, and method. Neumann argues that “the structures of terrorist organizations have altered from hierarchy to network, religion is a significant source of motivation for their goals and ideologies, and their methods have shifted towards the application of extreme forms of violence” (Neumann, 2009, p.16).

Jenkins (2006, p.122) identifies apparent trends of terrorism. He emphasizes that “terrorism has developed new financial resources therefore that they are less dependent on state sponsors”

(Jenkins 2006, p.122). They have effectively exploited latest communications technologies and evolved latest models of organization. From these evaluations the main characteristics of contemporary terrorism can be discussed as below.

Primarily, effective religious extremism will be discussed in this scope. Secular concerns rooted in political ideology, separatist aspirations, and ethnic conflicts were the driving factors of traditional terrorist organizations. On the other hand, the motivational source of modern terrorism is religious ideologies or orders (Gofas, 2012, p.25). Hoffman (2006, p.43) states that the 1990s witnessed a rise in religious terrorism. Of all the forty-nine international terrorist organizations, only thirteen of them were categorized as religious in 1994; however, in 2004, half of fifty-two terrorist organizations were engaged in religious terrorism. These groups addressed political and social issues in a religious context and turned to religious sources in order to seek solutions to these issues. Hence, rather than an instrument to justify acts of violence, religion was regarded as the purpose of terrorist acts (Simon and Benjamin, 2000, p. 66).

When religious radical organizations are mentioned Al-Qaeda and ISIS are the first ones that come to mind. The aims of these organizations are the removal of US from the Arab World, end of the Muslim states and regimes who are the western allies, and creation of an Islamic state with the caliphate in the Middle East (Sandıklı, 2015, p.14). Although the jihadists who claim that they are combating on behalf of Islam are seen as the most obvious threat, there are some other terrorist organizations that are coming from other religious backgrounds. For example, there was a terrorist attack with poisonous gas in Japan subway in 1995 by the terrorist organization which is from the Aum Shinrikyo belief. In 1993 Hindu fanatics burned the Ayodha Mosque in Bombay which caused the death of 400 people. One of the most striking examples of the instrumentalization of the Jewish faith is the murder of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by a young terrorist Yigal Amir who claimed that he took the order of the murder from God. On the other hand, it is known that some of the members of the Sikh religion in India started a religious war in order to establish an independent Sikh State (Khalistan). Nearly twenty thousand Sikhs lost their lives in the armed conflict with the Indian army over the occupation of the Golden Temple in Amritsar in 1984 (Küçükcan, 2010, p.49).

Many characteristics of modern terrorism are also manifested in Christian terrorism. Christian terrorists adopt violent tactics against other religions or denominations, but also against

movements which they believe threaten their “white Christian way of life”. They believe that the end of the world is imminent so they must fight against the “forces of evil.” For them, it is their mission to accelerate the happening of this divine plan; so, they do not hesitate to resort to greater use of physical force (Morgan, 2004, p.35).

Basically, the idea is that new terrorism is religiously motivated. For Duyvesteyn (2004), it is seen that members of the organization gathered in a certain religious belief in previous terrorist organizations as well. “The IRA, for instance, had an almost exclusive Catholic membership. Moreover, Irgun was a Jewish terrorist organization, EOKA in Cyprus was inspired by the Greek Orthodox Church, and the FLN fighters in Algeria were exclusively Muslim. Moreover, new terrorists are not purely motivated by religions” (Duyvesteyn, 2004). According to Spencer (2006, p.21), religion motivated terrorist organizations are historical phenomena. Religion has been used as a legitimizing tool by terrorist organizations from the first ones. Religious terrorism is not a new feature but more a cyclical return to the old version of terrorism. Crenshaw (2008, p.129) says that it is not easy to classify terrorist organizations. Some terrorist organizations can have both religious and nationalist motivations. According to Crenshaw, not all members of terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda were religious extremists. These groups included members from the middle-class educated in modern educational institutions rather than in madrassas” (Crenshaw 2008, p.130).

Another significant factor is that having the structure of a loose network will be argued as follow. Terrorist organizations acting in a hierarchical structure connected to a central chain of command have been replaced by terrorist organizations whose flexibility and organizational structure are less obvious. Tucker (2001, p.4) argues that “terrorists are willing to develop network forms of organization as businesses. Minimizing costs of communication, allows organizations to push functions outside a controlling hierarchical structure”. Transforming from a hierarchical structure to the network structure brings some advantages. “Terrorists become more flexible, adaptive and resilient because each of their unit’s senses and reacts on their own in loose coordination with the others. A network, unlike a hierarchy, cannot be destroyed by decapitation” (Tucker, 2001, p.1). Paul Wilkinson argues that in contrast with ‘traditional’ terrorism, modern terrorism spreads over a wider area and is less hierarchical: rather than the conventional hierarchical structure based in an area, they use networks of cells spread over a wide area (Gofas, 2012, p. 22). This model can best be exemplified with Al-Qaeda. Although it has a hierarchical

leadership structure, it is not pyramidal. Moreover, its decentralized but connected organizational scheme can collect and distribute resources and organize operations. To operate efficiently, networks need to share beliefs and a common goal and have a sense of trust (Jenkins, 2006, p.123).

For instance, in 2003, Al-Qaeda made a call for attacks without waiting for the instructions, and in 2006 the terrorist organization published an essay “how to fight alone” to encourage the members for the attacks. ISIS also invited its sympathizers who could not reach Iraq and Syria to take action in the West. The strategy of moving without a leader is popular within the right-wing extremists too. The racists organized singly or in small cells without a leader thought that they would not be caught in the networks of the intelligence services, and would not give anyone away if they were caught (Önal, 2018, pp. 247-248).

Furthermore, increasing lethality and indiscriminate use of violence should be discussed. Another important development is that terrorism has become bloodier and indiscriminate. When we look at the actions of the terrorist organizations in the past, it is observed that they killed civilians, but these actions are more modest and more specific. According to Jenkins (2006, p.122), in the past, terrorist organizations were aimed at reaching a large audience, not the deaths of a large number of people, but most of the current terrorist organizations want to have a large audience and also high civilian casualties. According to Hoffman “many reasons account for terrorism’s enhanced lethality. At first, terrorists think that they need to carry out wide actions to draw attention of the public and the media as well. Terrorists feel compelled to undertake ever more drastically or destructively lethal attacks now in order to obtain the same influence that a fewer bloody action might have had in the past. Secondly, terrorists benefit from past experiences and are more ready to kill” (Hoffman, 1999, p.30). They have more effective and sophisticated weapons. The biggest danger threatening the modern world is weapons of mass destruction. Biological, chemical, and nuclear WMDs all pose grave dangers to the welfare of humanity. Activities of cults such as Aum Shinrikyo, which carried out a lethal chemical attack, provide further evidence of the threat that WMDs pose (Morgan, 2004, p. 40).

The third reason for increased lethality is the active role played by states in supporting and sponsoring terrorism. Even though terrorists do not need the support of the states as they did in the past, they can acquire more effective weapons via this support. In this way, they increase their power and capacity. According to Hoffman (1999, p.31) “an increase in religious motivated

terrorist groups correlates with an increase in lethality. "Religious terrorism tends to be more lethal than secular terrorism because of the radically different value systems, mechanisms of legitimization and justification and concepts of morality. This sort of terrorists thinks their struggle as good against evil and regarding non-members of the organization to be infidels" (Hoffman, 1999, p.31). Crenshaw, on the other hand, gives examples of the lethal actions of the differently motivated terrorist organizations. For Spencer (2006, p.25) the rise of the lethality of the terrorist actions comes from the technologic developments rather than the motivations of the organizations. Finally, the participation of unprofessional actors in the terrorist attacks increased the lethality of terrorist actions. In the past period, participating in a terrorist attack required some kind of capacity. Training in the terrorist camps and having access to weapons were not easy. Lately, methods of terrorism can be easily obtained thanks to the internet. Amateurs who do not have an organizational training and who learn how to make a bomb at home are more dangerous, and it is also more difficult to identify these people.

Last but not the least, increasing use of information and communication technology is very crucial point for this thesis. The use of latest communication methods by terrorist organizations can be considered in two aspects. At first, terrorist organizations are capable of conducting cyber-attacks instead of attacking physical assault. Secondly, they can intensively use advanced communication technologies for organizational purposes or for their propaganda. Cyber terrorism is an illegal threat and damaging attack on computers, network systems, information and databases of official units to intimidate political and social authorities and individuals (Sandıklı and Yivciğer, 2004, p. 5). Terrorist organizations can theoretically damage the computer systems of officials or individuals by following the methods of hackers. They can make useless the military, financial and service sectors. In addition to these, it is observable that terrorist organizations mostly use the developments in information technology for their organization and propaganda activities. "The Internet is at the center of an ongoing revolution in communications and networking which enables new forms of organization and greater dissemination of information" (Michael, 2013, p.41). "Recently, the internet is a vital instrument for international terrorism" (Lewis, 2005, p.113). "Terrorist organizations use the internet very effectively for psychological struggle and propaganda, information and data collection, assistance and fundraising, providing elements to the organization and mobilization, networking, planning and coordinating actions to share information" (Taşdemir, 2017, p.736). As mentioned before terrorist organizations are organizing

as networks today. “The Internet has become a very important tool in providing basic needs such as planning, command, control and communication among scattered groups that have low hierarchy or infrastructure” (Lewis, 2005, p.112). A further innovation that terrorist groups benefit is the cryptography that is more robust, efficient, and accessible. For example, Telegram, a free messaging software, was used by ISIS as one of its key outlets to claim responsibility for terrorist attacks. Encrypted messaging platforms like Telegram offered a powerful new strategic method, enabling the Islamic State and other terrorist groups to launch, schedule, organize, and broadcast attacks (Burke, 2016, p.19).

Jenkins (2006, p.128) argues that for terrorists, not weapons, but direct communication with their supporters is the most important technology. Technological developments have enabled terrorists to reach people around the world instantly. By committing visually dramatic acts of violence, terrorists may virtually guarantee publicity, which, in turn, intensifies terror and inflates their own significance. Terrorists no longer prefer traditional media because of censorship and filtering. They find the internet and social media more appropriate to reach more people because these ways are easy to access. The control or censorship of the government in these areas is slight or not exist. They are widespread throughout the world and have a large audience. Communication is confidential. It is also possible to have a rapid flow of information between users (Kartal, 2018, p.65).

As can be seen that several terrorist and extremist subcultures employ the new media and internet — including blogs, web forums, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube to pursue their goals (Michael, 2013, p.40). In this sense, ISIS is one of the most effective terrorist organizations using the internet and social media. ISIS has media offices to produce and distribute propaganda. The agencies of “Al-Furqan” and “Al-I’tisaam” make Arabic films. The media center “Al-Hayat” is responsible for the movies and publications for the westerns. “Al-Ajnad” also makes religious publications. The organization has a radio station called “Al-Bayan” which carries out propaganda activities in the area that is called “Islamic State” and “Islamic Caliphate”, and has a news agency on Twitter (Kartal, 2018, p.68). The most widely used social media channel of ISIS is Twitter. English and Arabic are the most widely used languages that are available in European and Middle Eastern countries. The evaluation of ISIS and its differences with Al-Nusra are going to be discussed in the case study chapter.

## **1.8.Conclusion**

Even though terrorism is a very popular term to talk about, it is practically impossible to find a consensus on the definition of the term. Being a political concept causes a lack of common definition. Those who are declared as terrorists by some can be considered as “freedom fighters” or “folk heroes” by others. As countries approach the term in terms of their national interests, the individuals’ political and religious tendencies are decisive in their definitions. The use of the word “terrorism” to gain moral superiority or to affect the opponents increases the ambiguity of the term. The common definition of terrorism is desirable both in terms of fighting internationally and in the prosecution and punishment of perpetrators. However, it is also possible for a static definition to remain inadequate after a certain period of time due to the dynamic and variable nature of terrorism. Despite the fact that there is no universal definition of terrorism, the definitions have some common features: terrorism includes the use of violence aimed at creating a culture of fear, it is brutal and inconsistent with humanitarian values, and one of the main strategies is to draw attention.

Since the early 1990s, there have been widespread views of changes in the structure and strategy of terrorism. Accordingly, when we look at the historical background of terrorism, terrorism was implemented by a certain of individuals who are the member of an identifiable organization that had a clear command and control order and an identified specific political, social or economic purpose. With the disappearance of these traditional terrorist organizations, “new” forms of terrorism have been confronted. After the 9/11 attacks, the concept of “new terrorism” became more widely accepted and used in the literature.

Its global structure is one of the main issues that distinguish the new terrorism from the former one. In parallel with the globalizing world, the phenomenon of terrorism is seen to be globalized as well. Terrorism rapidly detaches from its internal character and is becoming international. The activities of terrorist organizations can cross even a continent. With the period of global terrorism, it has become uncertain when, where, how, by whom and by which country or person the terrorist attacks will be targeted. Terrorist organizations in the modern world have the potential to create threats not only in the geographies of action but also in the global dimension with their cross-border objectives, strategies of a conventional army, weapons that can be found in the inventory of a state, and well-trained personnel from various parts of the world.

In addition to its global nature, the increasing use of lethality and indiscriminate use of violence is another feature of new terrorism. The increase in the bloodshed of terrorism is, in fact, proportional to the purpose of drawing the attention of terrorism. Getting public attention is not as easy as before. Dramatic, remarkable, highly lethal events attract more media and public attention. In addition, today weapons are more sophisticated and deadly. Countries supporting terrorist organizations make it easier for terrorists to reach deadly weapons.

In the modern world, religious extremism has become the most dominant factor of new terrorism. Terrorist groups justify their acts and motivate their militants by using religious arguments. Al-Qaeda and ISIS have been the most effective terrorist networks by conducting several destructive operations across the world, which caused Islamic religion to be identified with terrorism. The use of religious concepts such as jihad by these terrorist organizations has an adverse effect on other observers of Islam. Islamophobia is becoming widespread in the Western world and anti-Islamic radical organizations are strengthening. There are some approaches that defend many features of new terrorism present in the old versions. Even if there is a fair share of these opinions, the main factor for the emergence of new terrorism is technology. Facilitating and inexpensive communication, access to various weapon-making information via the Internet, easier access to materials for weapons, more convenient provision of resources to finance terrorism, the interaction between the terrorist organizations provide the possibility to new terrorism.

## **CHAPTER II: SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES RELATED TO TERRORISM**

### **2.1.Sociological Theories on Terrorism**

Social movements are accepted as a reflection of social changes, which can also be thought as collective movements in order to build a new lifestyle, a new perspective, a new social, political, economic and religious structure in societies. In fact, social movements are an organized structure that endeavors to overcome some problems in society according to their own beliefs (Günay, 2006, 31).

Theories of criminology aims to demonstrate the reasons for committing the crime. It is the subject of criminology to investigate why some regions have higher crime rates and why more crimes are committed in particular periods. After the September 11 attacks, interest in political circles on political violence and terrorism has increased. Sociologists have begun to have more efforts to understand terrorist violence. The fact that the studies of terrorism and political violence were deprived of a general theory and methodology, so these situations have led sociologists to make new expansions. Especially in the last two decades, new forms of terrorism have been faced. Traditional crime theories have failed to explain the reasons for these new forms of terrorism. In this context, the theories are to be discussed within the scope of this thesis belong to the discipline of sociology and psychology. These theories are instrumentalized in defining and making sense of this complex and new concept of terrorism. Regarding theories are also vital for developing a counter-strategy for terrorism. Therefore, either the existing theories of sociology have been updated to include this new terrorism or new theories have been proposed.

In the regards of these theories, which are discussed on a sociological basis religious groups or religious movements are regarded as one of the most emphasized and studied topics in the field of sociology of religion. The whole world has witnessed the emergence of many religious movements after 1950, especially in industrialized Western societies. There are claims that the new religious movements emerged to compensate for the frustration of the modern world with a secular understanding. After these developments, as seen above, these formations were called as New Religious Movements in the sociology of religion literature. In order to understand and explain these movements in the context of the position of religion in the modern world, academic studies have been conducted by many scholars and many theories and models have been formulated within

this framework. Thus, “the Sociology of New Religious Movements” took its place as a new sub-field within the discipline of sociology (Kirman, 2010, pp.2-3).

In the emergence of new religious movements, the effects of modernization, social change, differentiation, rationalization, secularization, individualization, privatization, globalization, pluralism, relativism, and similar processes are observed. Therefore, in order to grasp and explain the emergence of new religious movements at the scientific level, these concepts, which have undergone numerous academic studies, should be understood very well. We wanted to briefly state these concepts (Kirman, 2010, p.20).

In the modern era, mass media such as books, newspapers, magazines, radio, internet and TV have become more effective and widespread throughout the world. It is allowing various religious ideas, beliefs and doctrines that remain local to reach the world community. (For instance, the Bible had been translated into more than 2000 languages. The Qur’an has also lots of translations in many languages and it is mostly read from its translations). All these developments have a profound effect on religious understanding and life in societies. Therefore, it is observable that societies have started to re-perceive, interpret, think and organize themselves for adapting to the modern era, wherever they may be in the world. Thus, religions which have traditional structures have been reinterpreted in order to adapt to this modern era. Although there were religious movements in Islamic world before, these new developments also drive to a new form in religious movements. With this restructuring, in the second half of the 20th century, new religious movements began to spread to countries such as Japan, India, South Korea and the USA (Günay, 2006, p.490).

When we examine the new religious movements, it can be proposed that some of them have a pluralistic understanding and some of them have violence. From this point of view, when the personality structures and mental states of the people who are in demand of these movements are examined, it can be understood that these movements' views on the personal and social values can be understood (Günay, 2006, p.497). Another issue that needs to be emphasized when evaluating new religious movements who demands of such movements? Do people participate in such movements voluntarily? Is there social pressure or imitation? Do people who are unable to deal with their own weaknesses prefer these formations? Psychological and socio-psychological scholars give various answers to these questions. However, according to the research in general, the people participating in the new religious movements; they are in search of meeting their various

needs. As in the case of ISIS, it is understood that being a member of such a group provides both moral and material support to the members and provides them confidence and peace. However, it would be unscientific to interpret the participation in these formations with a reductionist approach as an incomplete personality, because there are those who come to such organizations for religious, philosophical or different research (Günay, 2006, 498).

A single theory fails to explain how, when and why terrorism has developed. One model may be appropriate for explaining one type of terrorism, but may not make sense for another type of terrorism. Therefore, we will discuss the following theories to understand why people are involved in terrorist organizations.

## **2.2.Rational Choice Theory**

The 1950s is known as the decade of great changes and transformations in the world. In this context, new religious movements that have emerged since the 1950s can be given as an example to these developments. All these progresses have been interpreted as a sign of revival in the field of religions in the world. Thus, it can be suggested that there is an interaction between religions and religious groups and their' complex relations, new conceptual debates in development studies have been conducted (Kırman, 2010, p.148-149).

In the modern world, where major changes are taking place, one of the vital issues that have been emphasized is the economy. It is seen that these developments are reflected in the religious field. In fact, when we look at the past, it is clearly seen that religion and economy are the main subjects that stall off societies. Following all of these developments, we may mention a religious market in the world. It is seen that religious groups make an effort to organize and compete for customer and resource supply in this market environment. As a matter of fact, the language and logic of the economy also affected the religious field. In this process, it is seen that religious movements influence the fields of modern life such as education, health, media and they incline to maintain their existence by carrying out economic activities in these fields. In other words, with the economic logic, they produce the religious market and serve it for the needs of people. Notably, it can be stated that there is a supply-demand relationship between religious groups and their members. Sociologists of religion have also begun to think about new theories and approaches to explain economic attitudes in religious groups. One of these approaches is known as the Rational Choice Theory (Kırman, 2010, p.146-148).

The rational choice model is about the self-interest motivations of individuals. In this theory, the main aim of the actors is to maximize their utility. Actors try to maximize their utilization through the rational choice process, so for this theory, it is possible to predict and to analyze human behavior. The rational choice theory assumes that actors make cost and benefit analyses. For Nemeth (2017), there are three basic requirements for the actors to calculate the possible utility gain of the action. The first one is that actors know the possible outcomes of their actions, the second one is that actors can evaluate the outcomes from best to worst, and the last one is that the actors have the ability to choose the most beneficial outcome for themselves (Nemeth, 2017, p.104).

The rational choice model can be applied to terrorism since terrorists are the actors that maximize their utility. The terrorists' purposes are generally related to politics, and they cannot go through legal ways, so they choose to behave illegally. Terrorists also make cost and benefit calculation and choose the most rational action to reach their goals. According to Piquero et al. (2005, p.1034), when legal options are less rewarding it is a rational choice to behave illegally. Dugan et al. use the airline hijacking as an example of the rational choice model's application on terrorist attacks. If the cost of the action increases (if there are strict laws), the possibility of benefit decreases (increase on the security measures), this situation makes hijacking an irrational choice for the terrorists (Piquero et al., 2005, p.1034).

As elaborated above, the rational choice theory claims that human behavior is predictable. Nemeth (2017, p.105) explains that being predictable does not mean that all of the actors are going to choose the same way. For example, while for a terrorist organization the civilian casualties of an attack are the most important outcome, for another one damaging a symbolic place can be more important. The calculation of cost and benefit differs according to the characteristics of the terrorist organizations (Nemeth, 2017, p.106). While applying the rational choice model to terrorism, the question of the rationality of terrorism comes to mind. What can be the benefit of dying to an individual? It does not seem like a rational choice. Caplan (2006, p.92) uses suicide bombers as examples to examine the rationality of terrorist action. Losing the life cannot maximize the utility of ones, but suicide bomber is believed that the death will take them to the paradise and that makes the choice rationale for them (Caplan, 2006, p.92).

Supporters of rational choice theory assume that people make rational choices when trying to explain sociological aspects of social life. The essence of rational choice theory is that when people have to make a choice, they usually prefer the best behavior and the most profitable option. Therefore, it is inevitable to say that social change is a reality. In addition to this, due to the social change in societies depending on their daily life, many institutions and values change and transform in daily life. In this context, theories formed on social phenomena has been changing over time and lose their validity (Kirman, 2010, p.186). It would not be accurate to say that these theories correctly explain social life. The possibility can be considered that these theories cannot clarify social movements.

The rational choice approach states that if the participation of the individual does not have a decisive effect on the course and success of the movement, and individuals who do not want to endure the relatively high cost of violence prefer not to take action. However, this is not a definitive behavior. The individual may derive psychological benefit from participation, regardless of the outcome, or may be directed to participation by a sense of regret caused by failure to participate. Accordingly, participation cannot be seen irrationally in conditions where there is a psychological benefit that exceeds the cost of participation for the individual. The theory does not examine the more abstract and broader reasons affecting participation, or the circumstances in which individuals may exceed the individual gains at which they risk their lives for collective purposes (Timur, 2015, p.32).

### **2.3.Relative Deprivation Theory**

Relative deprivation theory is considered as one of the psychological techniques developed to understand and explain the participation of new religious movements and individuals' tendencies. The common definition of this theory is defined as the psychological process that expresses the feeling of deprivation resulting from people comparing themselves with their environment. However, the sense of deprivation should not be considered only in the context of basic needs, but rather the individual can feel deprived because of the possessions of the person s/he is comparing himself/herself (Kirman, 2010, pp.214-215). For example, we may examine the difference in the perception of deprivation of a person who lives in New York and the perception of deprivation of a person who lives in Syria. Living standards in both countries are very different in each aspect. The main idea is to desire to have more than what the individual has.

However, some sociologists have focused on the role of the sense of deprivation in the emergence of new religious movements which is discussed above. They argue that not only rapid social changes but also relative deprivation have an impact on the emergence of new religious movements. Sociologists such as Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge also delivered speeches in support of this approach. According to them, individuals who marginalized with a sense of deprivation tend to be a member of new religious formations. It is stated that the new religious movements consider solutions to the psychological problems of the individuals. Individuals think to overcome their deprivation feelings both in this world and after life by these movements in this way. It should also be noted that relative deprivation mostly affects youths. The new religious movements' leaders are aware of this weakness of young people perfectly well (Kırman, 2010, p. 216) as it will be discussed in chapter of the case study profoundly.

The theory of relative deprivation argues that individuals who cannot achieve the desired goal may feel deprived and dissatisfied. The relative feeling of deprivation occurs when the individual's wishes and efforts to reach his / her expectations and goals through legitimate and legal means are prevented by society. Some groups in society are more sensitive to social pressure and are more prone to perversity because of this sensitivity (Gözübenli and Şahin, 2016, p. 14). For Gurr, it doesn't matter whether individuals are hindered or suppressed; what matters is how they perceive it (Gözübenli and Şahin, 2016, p.15).

According to Gurr, the intensity and commitment level of the motivation of an individual towards a goal or the obtained value affects the tendency of aggression. At this point, it is not only the current interventions and barriers of the approach; it should also be noted that it considers the conditions such as a better political order and justice system, political participation and equal expectations that may occur soon. Furthermore, it is argued that elements such as disruptions in the physical or social punishment system, institutional mechanisms do not allow non-violent opposition to be expressed, sudden loosening of authoritarian controls, and past common experiences, including aggressive behavior, are determinative in terms of the likelihood of violence (Conteh – Morgan, 2005, p.72).

Analyzing the effect of relative deprivation on leading groups for a violation, mobilizing them for political violence movement, or participating in existing violent movements in this theory are reversed in terms of the process. Relative deprivation is sought on the existing phenomenon's

roots, and violence is constructed as a natural outcome of the relative deprivation. Besides, deprived approaches have argued that aggressive behavior, in general, will be directed to the real or perceived source that causes obstruction. However, it can be said that individual obstacles to public life may in some cases be reflected in private life (such as domestic violence). Contrary to what the approach advocates, it is inevitable that different mechanisms will work in the display of aggressive behavior depending on historical and social conditions. In this context, there will be no possibility of aggressive behavior even in the case of obstruction (Timur, 2015, p.21).

#### **2.4.Social Movement Theory**

Social movements concentrate on how actors get involved in collective action (Della Porta and Diani, 2008, p.20). Social movements interact with clearly identified opponents in conflictual relations; they are interconnected across vast informal networks, sharing a distinct collective identity. Social movement theory (SMT) aims to investigate social movements. SMT is not a homogeneous theory. Therefore, it requires a wide set of theoretical tools to develop an insight into the nature of social movements.

Civil rights movements, student movements, environmentalist movements, ethnic identity movements, nuclear and anti-war movements have started to rise since the 1960s. When the existing social movement approaches have started to be seen as insufficient to explain the increasing diversity of the social movement, new theoretical approaches have become a paramount factor to be researched in this area. Resource mobilization and new theories of social movements are the leading theories of these new fields. According to resource mobilization theory, movements were proposed to be a function of the presence of intense social networks and reach to resources, elites, and innovative mobilization and movement tactics. Resource mobilization theory which becomes distant from the social psychology of the collective action, emphasizes individuals are the rational actors that pursue their interests (Gunning, 2009, p.158).

The resource mobilization approach has brought elements such as diversity of resources, connections of social movements with other groups, the dependence of movements on outer help for achievement, and strategies used by the authority to control movements. In this regard, it can be said that this analysis focuses on the functionality and the efficiency of the action instead of the action itself. The approach thus focuses on “objective” variables such as organization, interests,

resources, opportunities, and strategies (Bodur Ün and Timur, 2016, p. 571). There are new approaches to fulfill the insufficiency of the resource mobilization approach. They are political process/opportunity model and framing model.

In the resource mobilization approach, social movements are not a part of pathology or dysfunction in society, but rather a part of the political system. The discomfort of the individual from the events and phenomena in the society they live in manifests itself in almost every society, but it is not seen in every society that individuals with these complaints are organized and take action. It is hard for individuals to come together, be organized, act collective, and create a social movement. Instead of having a discomfort within the society, emergence, success, and sustainability of the social movements need the resources and actors who enable them to use these resources.

The most important resource for social movement is the material resources precisely. Material resources consist of financial and physical capital that are economical resources, ownership, office and so on. Moral resources include solidarity support, people who have sympathy for the movement, and the legitimacy of the movement within the society. Cultural resources consist of tactical repertoire, organizational pattern, and technical and strategic information which are wide theoretical and informational tools. Social organizational resources include strategies for social organization, social networks, interaction, and communication. Human resources consist of labor, experience, ability, expertise, and leadership that are individual factors that presented to the organization for utilization (Edwards and McCarty, 2004, p.126).

For Tilly, social movements are composed of a group that has the collective control of the resources to activate the actors. These resources are necessary to protect the common interests of labor, power, goods, weapons, etc. According to Tilly, collective movement is an expression of the common interests of a social class, ethnic group, union, party and some other factors. Tilly's social movement includes, "the demands and struggles to authorities on behalf of a social classification who does not have a certain political position". Therefore, Tilly predominantly places the current conflicts on politics and he expresses the emergence of the social movements as a struggle of the marginalized groups to enter the political scene (Çayır, 1999, p.20).

According to Tilly, economic transformation, urbanization, the formation process of the state, and therefore new structures of daily life, have led to the emergence of a new repertoire of movements and new forms of organization. New social movements are trying to have control over power and resources, rather than just resisting. Thus, Tilly defines social movements as interactions between dominant forces and people who demand change in the distribution of resources (Çayır, 1999, p.21). There are new approaches to fulfill the insufficiency of the resource mobilization approach. In other words, they are political process/opportunity model and framing model.

Political process model posits that social movements are the products of pre-existing networks and resources. Also, social movements develop as a result of the current political environment, state policies towards dissidents, and existing socio-economic conditions, which, in short, can be defined as 'political opportunity structure' (Gunning, 2009, p.159). Political opportunity theory also holds that social groups outside institutional politics do not, under normal circumstances, have the chance to influence political decision-making processes in accordance with their interests. Nevertheless, some changes to be made in the political decision-making structure will probably make this structure more fragile, unstable, or more responsive to the demands of different groups. This, in turn, will offer a variety of opportunities to social groups to influence the political decision-making process. Purposeful, organized social movements are born and subsequently grow to grasp opportunities (Özen, 2013, p.47).

In this regard, framing theory should be emphasized which is the concept of identity and ideology which are ignored by the political process/opportunity approaches. Framing theory is utilized to define the justifications and appeals used by social movements to receive support. 'Frame alignment' is important for social movements as they need to voice claims that appeal to a wider audience so that they can increase their popularity among the population. Hence, the meaning attributed by participants to their actions becomes the dominant part of mobilization (Beck, 2008, p.1569). Framing theory that is based on the discourses and speeches of social movements provides a comprehensive tool to compare the rhetoric of various political actors. The theoretical framework demonstrates how political actors think, justify their decisions, and motivate others (Berntzen and Sandberg, 2014, p.767).

The critics on the resource mobilization theory for being insufficient to understand the movements of the identity and lifestyle led the new social movement theory (NSMT) in the

sociology discipline (Atilla and Bodur Ün, 2018, p.793). For new social movement theory, social movements on the “post-industrial” societies differ from the old social movements in terms of their new characteristics of supporters, targets and values. NSMT focuses on the socio-cultural aspect of the social movements. It differed from the latter in its emphasis on culture, emotions, and identity and also by largely ignoring the impact of organizational dynamics on movement outcomes. Its focus was also narrower, concentrating on what is called ‘new social movements’ – movements in post-industrial societies, which were characterized by less hierarchy, less class-focus, and more emphasis on identity and lifestyle than earlier movements (Gunning, 2009, p.181; Atilla and Bodur Ün, 2018, p.792). Even though the social movement studies traditionally focus on the movements which do not include the use of the violence tools, it contains the tools which can contribute to the analysis of the collective political violence movement. Collective political violence movements, like social movements, are forms of collective action based on solidarity and pushing the boundaries of the system in which it belongs. Besides, they are affected by the political opportunity structures that cause the problems of organization, participation, mobilization, and supply of resources (Bodur Ün and Timur, 2016, p.13).

Meaning-making and rhetoric features of terrorism are opportunities for social movement framing theory. Terrorist groups like other social movements pay attention to explain their actions to justify them. Ideological manifestos, calls to action, speeches and notices to followers and possible followers are regular aspects of terrorist campaigns (Beck, 2008, p.1570). In “The Collective Nature of Lone Wolf Terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the Anti-Islamic Social Movement,” Berntzen and Sandberg (2014, p.771) argue that social movement theory, and especially framing theory, can help us understand the nature of lone-wolf terrorism. The diagnostic framing of Breivik closely coincides with that of the anti-Islamic movement in all respects since both are of the opinion that Europe is becoming more and more Islamized and both portray their fight as one between the elite and the ordinary people. This argument and the war metaphors sometimes used in the motivational framework lay the groundwork for an alternative and more apocalyptic world-view promoting violent acts. Gentry (2004, p.286) thinks that the new social movement theory and terrorism studies are different from each other. She argues that the revolutionary dimension of new social movements can be correlated with terrorist groups. Terrorist groups also have collective identities, such as new social movements, and often operate as networks, which could elucidate the mechanisms of commitment and staffing. “Terrorist groups

also have collective identities, like new social movements, and often take network forms that could explain commitment and recruitment” (Gentry, 2004, p.288).

To sum, the reasons that initiated social movements, the formation, development, spread and change of these movements, gathering supporters of the movements, organizing these people, providing all kinds of material and spiritual resources to the movement, the effect capacity of the movement and similar features were the topics covered by sociology and political science. The characteristics of social movements such as struggle, common intention and collective identity creation process are emphasized. The formation, development and change of ISIS discussed in the case analysis section will be examined within the framework of these characteristics. However, social movement theory will be discussed within the framework of new terrorism and it will be aimed to establish this concept in terms of new terrorism.

#### **2.4.1. An Evaluation of the Concept of New Terrorism from the Perspective of Social Movement Theory**

Social movement studies are generally focused on non-violent movements and there are not many studies that focused on violence or terrorist actions. Nevertheless, terrorist organizations share similar processes, dynamics and mechanisms with a social movement that can be understood better with the analysis tools of social movement theory. According to Gunning, “militant organizations are typically part of larger social movements. Militants often start as activists in a wider social movement and move against militancy because of various social dynamics” (Gunning, 2009, p.160).

In the first part of the thesis, the change and transformation in the concept of terrorism have been addressed. Moreover, it can be emphasized that the phenomenon called “new terrorism” had some characteristic features. With the analysis tools of social movement theory, it may be possible to study the new concept of terrorism at a deeper level. This analysis can be performed in three stages: macro, meso and micro. The political opportunities approach for macro analysis, the resource mobilization approach for meso analysis and the frames approach for micro analysis can be utilized. Besides, the characteristics of “new” social movements express the change and transformation in social movements, and also they can be used to understand better “new” terrorism. Although there are points where they are separated from each other in this way, various

approaches will be brought together and used in the headline of social movement theory (Della Porta, 2008, p. 222).

The approach of political opportunities focuses on the environmental circumstances that have an effect on the social movement. The theory argues that political opportunities include shifts in the regime, periods of political unrest, or changes in the composition of the upper-class. These sometimes have a restrictive effect sometimes facilitating effect on the social movement (Della Porta, 2008, p. 223). New terrorism depends on the external environment. For example, Al-Qaeda had the opportunity to flourish in regions where there is no central authority (Afghanistan and Iraq), and they also had the chance to educate its members, gain new members, and plot attacks.

The political gap which causes terrorist attacks is an essential factor in social movements. Furthermore, authoritarian regimes in the Middle East have an effect on the radicalization of the Islamic groups and the Muslims. In the absence of the democratic system, closeness of the political opportunities (not having rights to establish political parties and right of protest, and freedom of speech, etc.) can let the groups, who do not believe that it is possible to solve problems without violence, to act violently. For instance, if the evolution of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt is analyzed it can be easily seen that the close political opportunities led to violence (Della Porta, 2009, p.12).

This approach is also applicable at the international level. The military presence of Western countries, especially the USA, and their invasions in Islamic lands has increased the global popularity of terrorist organizations that put forward anti-Westernism. On the emergence of the social movement, presence of the grievance is a necessity. However, the presence of grievances is not enough by itself. Planned terrorist actions require a specific financial resource and support for being sustainability. The perspective of resource mobilization argues that the main issue of social movement organizations is to bring together necessary resources. Building an organizational capacity to raise supporters and make financial contributions can be a solution to this problem. An examination of the organization of political violence movements becomes part of the meso-level analysis. Similar to nonviolent social movement organizations, terrorist movements are faced with basic problems such as bringing together material and human resources, providing mass mobilization towards the targets, organizational continuity, setting short and long term goals and creating a repertoire that fits the agenda of struggle (Bodur Ün and Timur, 2016, p.538).

Terrorism is a costly initiative. A terrorist group needs resources and support to maintain. For instance, the cost of suicide bomb acts increases. Like the social movements, terrorist groups have some dilemmas because of the cost of the action, therefore, this has enabled terrorist groups to be organized like modern social movement organizations. A highly professionalized core is needed to plan attacks, gather resources and provide leadership to a greater base of followers (Beck, 2008, p.1568). The difficulty in bringing resources together caused contemporary terrorist movements to change their organizational structures. The old solid hierarchical structure has been replaced by new types of terrorist organizations that use high-tech and have loosely tied bonds (Della Porta, 2008, p. 226). In this way, these organizations have boosted their operational capacity. Network structures enable the smaller groups, cells, and individuals a specific number of local autonomies over their operations.

In this context, the resource mobilization approach should be emphasized which is informal institutions and social networks. Social networks have become crucial to recruitment, to increase solidarity among existing members, and to encourage members to take an action. It is particularly popular to use social media and informal tools for mobilization. Nonviolent social movements try to act through informal institutions and social networks, fearing that formal institutions may be the targets of repressive regimes. Terrorist organizations often use social networks to avoid being caught by security forces or intelligence agencies (Wiktorowicz, 2004, p.12). The resource mobilization theory also applies to the terrorist groups that have existed for a long time. In the regions they occupied, Hamas, the Tamil Tigers, and Hezbollah all operated as semi-government, while still carrying out terrorist actions. Therefore, terrorist organizations that were established a long time ago act like formal institutions; so, they are inclined to be restricted and enabled by the same mechanism as social movements (Beck, 2008, p. 1568).

Since the 1960s, there have been research pointing to the importance of interpretive processes in social movements and organizations in reaching and mobilizing their masses. According to Goffman's definition, frames make events meaningful, organizing experience in order and providing action and purpose to the action. Collective action frames make this interpretation function aimed at mobilizing potential supporters, gaining audience support and slowing down adversaries. Therefore, collective action frames are groups of beliefs and meanings for action that inspire and legitimize the actions of a social movement (Güran and Özarslan, 2015, p.40).

Terrorist organizations, like other social movements, pay proper attention to justify their actions. They design manifestos, online videos, and magazines to reach out both to their followers and to people who are their potential followers. For example, Al-Qaeda's leadership prioritized framing work after the invasion of Afghanistan. To this end, Bin Laden and Al Zawahiri made public statements on a regular basis and attempted to influence their supporters. As in other social movements, Al-Qaeda has used media power to spread these narratives. As a central emitter of rhetoric and claims, the media has an important function in the construction of frames (Beck, 2008, p. 1570). Therefore, the terrorist organizations of the new era attach special importance to being effective in the media. Social media accounts, websites, blogs, video sites are suitable areas for disseminating propaganda. The narratives announce to the participants and potential supporters of the movement who the target 'enemy' is and what the method of struggle is so that the movement organizations develop a discourse that justifies the violent action model they pursue. On the other hand, the narratives that build and "demonize" the enemy, do not merely turn into a form of strategy necessary for the creation of identity, but also the promotion of certain specific value systems, emphasizing the threatening diversity of others (Bodur Ün and Timur, 2016, p.539).

Along with new terrorism, changes in the discourses of terrorist organizations are also noticeable. Classically political discourses (left-right or even ethnic-nationalist) were more dominant in the past; however, nowadays, the use of the "clash of civilizations" by various actors entails some new thoughts. To legitimize acts of violence, various religious sources have been used (Della Porta, 2008, p. 228). Terrorists' recent attacks on symbolic targets can also be seen as a framing and meaning-building effort. The cultural and emotional effects of terrorist attacks are more significant than material damage. Terrorists consider how much they will react and the possible psychological effects when choosing their actions. Their desire is to attract attention and makes their voices underlies the bloody actions. Social movements produce frames not only the meaning but also about culture. We need to turn to the concept of collective identity to describe how the contention is sustainable in the absence of formal organizations. Identity creation is crucial to encourage individuals to take action. As part of their identity creation, activists can develop tactical priorities, even to the point of evident irrationality. For instance, religious explanations are used to explain the irrational actions and the attacks on civilians (Beck, 2008, p.1571). According to research, "religious and ethnic groups are more successful at explaining themselves against the

“bad” ones. In this respect, they minimize the problematic image of their violent actions in the eyes of perpetrators” (Beck and Schoon, 2017, p.704).

With regard to this, Framing Theory will also be analyzed in depth. Framing plays an important role in defining and making sense of a social movement. In Framing Theory, collective action frames encompass diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. Diagnostic framing provides answers to the questions of “what goes wrong in the social structure?” and “who or what should be blamed for this?” The answers to these and similar questions show what the social movement is dissatisfied in what ways in political or social life. These answers also create the problems which demand change and transformation. Current terrorist organizations often use diagnostic rhetoric. For example, Middle East centered radical organizations provide anti-western discourses versus the radical right movements of west oriented organizations provide anti-Islamist rhetoric. Prognostic framing shows a way to solve these emphasized questions. It tries to answer the question of “what should it be done?” The terrorist organizations answer these questions according to their beliefs and ideologies, and they try to influence their followers. Despite diagnostic and prognostic frameworks, there is a need to motivate individuals. Motivational frames are used to bring individuals from the stands to the field. For example, “during the effective period of the Al-Qaeda bin Laden, appealed to religious mission and obligation in his 1998 fatwa, declaring that ruling to kill Americans and their allies is a personal mission for each Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it” (Snow and Byrd, 2007, p. 129). Furthermore, the rewards that are going to be won in this world or the afterlife are the tools that are used for motivational framing. In this way, individuals can be convinced to commit risky and/or suicide attacks.

There is a parallel between the defining features of new social movements and the characteristics of new terrorism. According to Sutton and Vertigans (2006, p.103), the first characteristic of new social movements is that they belong to the post-industrial era. At the heart of earlier social movements, issues were like class inequality and income distribution injustice. Along with the changing social and political structure and economic transformation, the structure of social movements has also changed. Class-based social movements have been replaced by new social movements. Similarly, changes in the structure of terrorist organizations are noteworthy. Religious motivated terrorist organizations increase their influence. The narrow and political

demands such as the overthrow of foreign governments or the application of the principle of self-determination have been replaced by requests such as the destruction of the existing world order or the establishment of a global caliphate.

The new social movements offer a change from the characteristics of the people involved in collective action. The participants of traditional social movements were mostly those who complained of the working class or income distribution injustice. The participants of the new social countries are mostly educated middle class without economic problems. Notably, new terrorist activities cannot be explained only by economic deprivations. When religious groups or extreme rightist movements are examined, it can be observable that people over a certain level such as doctors and engineers can join organizations and even lead. Participation in such organizations from the citizens of developed countries shows that individuals are not mobilized to terrorist movements only by economic deprivation. "The combination of largely middle-class leadership and socially differentiated groups of movement supporters is similar to the structure of many other social movements, including new social movements" (Sutton and Vertigans, 2006, p.106).

The organizational structures of the social movements have changed with globalization. New social movements have loose networks, anti-hierarchical structures, and participatory approaches to the organization. As emphasized in many parts of the thesis, terrorist organizations have experienced a similar transformation. While conventional terrorist organizations have a hierarchical system, new groups have a loose network structure. These networks consist of individuals or small cells. "All individuals and groups operate independently of each other, and never report to a central headquarters or single leader for direction or instruction. Therefore, the actions of such groups are called leaderless resistance" (Tucker, 2001, p. 1). Many amateurs can perform actions by learning what they need through the internet without any training or logistical support (Tucker, 2001, p. 2). Many new social movements also lack a charismatic leader, this gives the movement greater flexibility and autonomy in decision-making.

New social movements are significantly different from their predecessors in terms of their use of technology and the fundamental role that technology plays in every stage of the movement. As technology plays a major role in people's daily lives, technological dimensions and opportunities have become prominent for social movements. Especially in the 1990s, developing and widespread communication and information technologies have affected social movements

significantly. There is no doubt that, in the history of modern social movements, almost every type of movement has benefited from the technological possibilities of time. For example, in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, printed media were widely used by social movements. Similarly, the 1968 movements were greatly influenced by the widespread use of television and made as much use of the possibilities offered by the radio or print media as possible. However, in the new social movements, there is an intensive use of technology from organization processes to the coordination process, even while in action. The existence of new social movements (linking the movements, communicating announcements and information to the recipients through these channels, continuous communication between the activists and the movement, etc.) is based on the use of technology. Especially mobile phones have become an integral tool of social movements. Small groups can move around in an organized way thanks to technology and can come together or break up when needed. Since the information are transmitted through social media, people can create synchronicity and coordination between movements (Aldemir, 2010, p.65).

Modern terrorism benefits from technological developments, particularly the internet and social media, which is a feature that is also shared by social movements. Terrorists use the internet to raise and collect funds, to recruit new members, to launch psychological warfare against the enemy, and to influence both the opponents and supports (Taşdemir, 2017, p.736).

Herein, the communication that exists in every stage of life from birth to death is a complex and multi-dimensional process. In addition to being a biological entity, the social and cultural existence of the human being in the process of healthy communication is necessary to transfer the gained experience to the next generation (Güler, 1990, p.479). Van Dijk (2016, p.254) defines the interface as the art of discourse in the rhetorical field. Especially in the field of political communication and verbal communication, rhetoric is discussed in detail. In the field of semiotics, communication is the mediation of mutual subjectivity with signs. In other words, it is the formation of a partnership in subjective interpretations of two persons or parties. It is the establishment of common meanings through common symbols.

Furthermore, technology has been developing considerably. Especially, the internet, which first emerged in the 1960s for military projects and defense industry, has penetrated all areas of life today. Since communication is one of the most significant needs of human beings, the transformation of communication affects many areas of human life (Castells, 2013, p.8). By the

expanding internet usage area, which brings new fields of communication. As it known that the internet is made up of huge computer networks, which consist of a combination of computer networks spread across the world. Using the Internet has increased dramatically after the 1990s (Castells, 2013, p 8). According to Castells, the internet phenomenon is shaping the new media (Yengin, 2012, p 4). Besides, communication technologies are becoming more and more online, and thus media has become more important than any other conventional communication way. There is a difference between the audience in the traditional media and the attendance on the internet, and this difference causes the internet users to be content producers and have a more dynamic structure (Fuchs, 2015, p.13). The Internet has a more expansive feature compared to conventional media because the users are also resources. It has been the emergence of www that changed the course of the internet, and hence the internet has become more popular for electronic publications, corporate communications, and entertainment (Van Dijk, 2016, p. 256). According to TUIK research, the rapidly growing internet usage due to the huge young population in Turkey, the total internet usage in households were increased to 72,9% in 2018 (TUIK, 2018).

In particular, social media is one of the factors that influence communication in a fast and different dimension. Social media which develops within the framework of new media connects both individual and social worlds, and provides interpersonal interaction (Van Dijk, 2016, p.251). People construct networks to be with others, and this is a connectedness supported by the spread of communication. Through social media, users communicate with each other in different dimensions as well as physical communication (Castells, 2013, p.13).

As the power of the media and the virtual world is realized, it has been started to use more effectively by different organizations for social engineering. To understand the power of media, we need to evaluate the term "propaganda." The history of propaganda is as old as the history of human beings and is considered to develop by the development of language. For the first time in history, documents containing information about propaganda and the use of this word were found in the Vatican archives. When the Protestant sect began to break the pope's sphere of influence, Pope Gregory the 15th noticed this threat, he convened the "Congregation de Propagandists" in 1622, and he assigned the propaganda as a task to the Cardinals (Başdoğan, 1960, p.5). Propaganda is defined in the dictionary as the effect made by words, writings, or other means to spread any ideas and to increase the supporters. According to Aziz, propaganda can be defined as the unilateral

and intense transmission of messages to the audience in an authoritarian manner (Aziz, 2011, p.44). Terence H. Qualter describes propaganda as an informed activity by an individual or group using communication tools to shape, control, or change the attitudes of other individuals or groups (Qualter, 1973, p.279). Bektaş describes propaganda as all systemic actions to influence the beliefs, attitudes, or acts of individuals and groups through symbols in spreading truth, semi-truth, or false information to influence public opinion (Bektaş, 1996, p.36). Propaganda is the activity of creating a change in behavior by sending various messages to the audience through communication to realize a particular purpose or set of objectives (Tarhan, 2015, p.36). According to Jean Marie Domenach, propaganda is an attempt to influence society to change their views and behaviors in a way that enables them to adopt a particular aspect or a specific practice (Domenach, 2003, p.17). In the light of these definitions, the concept of propaganda can be defined as any kind of work carried out by means of word, writing and similar means, in order to introduce, adopt and disseminate a doctrine, thought, belief and politics to others.

“Concerning the widespread use of the internet as a result of the developments in information technologies, the internet "social media" began to be used as a propaganda tool in the early 2000s” (Borins, 2011, p.19). Since it is cheap, straightforward, and fast to reach the target group and it enables anyone to reach numerous people simultaneously, social media is being used more and more as a propaganda tool.

Castells (2008) called the technological paradigm of the modern world; it has caused radical changes in every aspect of our lives, such as political, social, and economic structures. The technological paradigm has altered the social world dramatically; it has created new patterns of relationship and has caused this society to be called a "network society". When it first emerged, the internet was used as a means of communication and information. It has become a social communication tool in time. The number of tweets is around 500 million per day on Twitter, and Facebook has estimated that 2.7 billion users. YouTube broadcasts approximately 95 billion videos per month (Statisticbrain, 2019).

These social media tools have been used as a propaganda means in the initiation of popular movements called the Arab Spring and, in the announcement, and legitimacy of this movement to the world (Szajkowski, 2011, p.427; Korkmaz, 2012, p.2149). It should be noted that the Occupy Wall Street movement, which started in the US and has influenced all over the world. The

Indignados movement began in Spain and shaped in all Europe spread via social media (Shirky, 2011, p.36).

There are many advantages of social media to be chosen as a propaganda tool for many reasons. One of the crucial benefits of social media compared to traditional propaganda tools is that this method is either free or meager cost compared to conventional propaganda tools. Therefore, this new method removes the politics from the monopoly of a limited number of elites and makes it a field that anyone who thinks about socio-political problems and who intends to influence the political system can work. It is easy to reach vast masses in a short time; the formation of content is elementary; it leads to able to reach the masses without any preparation; it's difficult to be controlled by political authorities. The use of social media is inexpensive in comparison to classical propaganda methods in terms of cost (Wolfsfeld, 2013, p.3). These concepts will be discussed in –depth in the next section through the case analysis.

## CHAPTER III: A CASE STUDY ON NEW TERRORISM

### 3.1. The Evaluation of ISIS in terms of New Terrorism Perspective

Since the beginning of the 2000s, face-to-face communication has been replaced by many different communication types and techniques. By the spread of the internet and developments in technology, face-to-face communication has started to lose its former importance and power. Discussion on the internet has created the basis for interaction in many different forms and fields. The power of communication has been understood much more over time, so the media has been accepted as the fourth element and has been called the “soft power”.

The term is soft power was defined by Joseph S. Nye; "it is the ability to achieve what is desired by the charm that is possessed, rather than coercion and money" (Nye, 2014, p.5). “That is, a country can get what it wants in international politics because other countries want to be like it, admire its values, and desire to reach its level of prosperity and development” (Nye, 2003, pp.10-11). As can be understood from this definition, soft power refers to the ability to seduce and attract. “The effect of attraction on others is manifested as voluntary obedience and imitation” (Nye, 2003, p.10). Soft power plays an essential role in shaping the preferences of ones in this way without any coercion.

As discussed earlier, social media has become a propaganda tool for individuals, states, NGOs. In this context, terrorist organizations also started to use this tool very effectively. ISIS is at the top of these organizations. The Arabic name was called *al-Dawlah al-Islamiyah fi al-'Irāq wa-al-Shām*, Islamic State (IS) is known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), has taken different names since its establishment. In the first phase of its establishment, it was founded under the name of Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (Organization of Tawhid and Jihad), and it used the name of *Tanzīm qā'idat al-Jihād fī Bilād Ar-Rāfidayn* which means Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) on October 2004 (Zelin, 2014). It merged with a few radical Islamic groups which were close to its ideology under the name of Mujahideen Shura, then on October 2006, it was named as the Islamic State of Iraq. ISIS started to use the most commonly called in the literature "Islamic State of Iraq and Syria" on 8 April 2013 (Duman, 2013). In June 2014, the leader of the Iraqi Damascus Islamic State, Abu Bakr al Baghdadi, declared the caliphate and the establishment of the Islamic State in a Friday

sermon at the Nuri Mosque<sup>1</sup> in Mosul (Weiss & Hassan, 2016, p. 18). ISIS in foreign sources (Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham), ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) Iraq and Levant Islamic State (ILIS) (Ishaan, 2014), AQI (Al-Qaeda of Iraq), IS (Islamic State) DAESH (al-Dawlah al-Islamīyah fī al-‘Irāq wa-al-Shām). However, since the name ISIS was widely used in Western literature, it was preferred to use this name in this thesis.<sup>2</sup>

In order to understand the current structure of the organization, the period of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi should be briefly evaluated. The legal foundations of ISIS started with the Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (Organization of Tawhid and Jihad), founded by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi in 2000 in Afghanistan. When the USA invaded Afghanistan after the 9/11, Zarqawi fought to defend al-Qaeda and the Taliban. Wounded in battle, he fled in 2002 to Iran, and from there to Iraq (Stern and Berger, 2016, p.17). Upon the US invasion of Iraq, the organization increased its struggle against coalition forces, gained effectiveness, expanded and was taken the name Iraqi al-Qaeda in 2004. By June, Zarqawi had been tracked down and killed by the USA. In October 2006, the name of the umbrella organization was changed to the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI). Again, it was headed by a man with an Iraqi moniker, Abu Omar al-Baghdadi, although most commentators agree that the actual leader of al-Qaeda's branch at the time was an Egyptian, Abu Ayyub al-Masri (Atwan, 2015, p.51). The organization, which took advantage of the weakening of the central authority due to the civil war, moved its existence into Syria, expanded the area it controlled and changed its name to the Islamic State of Iraq in 2013 (Stern and Berger, 2016, p.43). In Syria, we witness the dissolution of the country and the complete militancy of the state. According to Max Weber, the state is a successful mafia organization. The state, which has control over a certain region, has the right to go to war to protect its people. On the other hand, the current situation shows us a state that destroys its own community in order to survive (Henin, 2015, p.46).

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<sup>1</sup> Salahuddin Ayyubi preached in this mosque before joining the second Crusade (Weiss & Hassan, 2016, p. 18).

<sup>2</sup> The name of the organization is a controversial issue in the literature. Translations of previous names of the organization caused confusion. The names (ISIS and ISIL) are two abbreviations based on different English translations as explained above. In addition, Daesh or Da'ish, another abbreviation of Arabic origin, has also gained popularity in places where the Arabic language is spoken around the world. Although the word (Daesh or Da'ish) means nothing in Arabic, it does not sound very good and the supporters of the organization do not favor to use it. Daesh also resembles an Arabic verb, which means tread underfoot, trample down, or crush something. Finally, the organization's current name caused controversy due to its English translation as the Islamic State (IS), and as a result, all the abbreviations of the organization are widely used in the literature (Henin, 2015, p.10).

Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, who was a very important person for the organization and he led the establishment of the Iraqi Damascus Islamic State, was born in Jordan in 1966 and he adopted an understanding of violent jihad. Zarqawi's mother, Um Sayal, was worried about her son would be a member of radical organizations, this is why she enrolled her son in the religious classes of the Ali Bin Hussein Mosque in Amman. In this period, Al-Zarqawi stopped drinking and started to participate in the classes where the Qur'an conversations have been held on Fridays. During this period, he constantly watched propaganda films of Afghanistan, Bosnia and Chechnya. He accepted the call of an imam who was seeking a volunteer to Afghanistan and he decided to go to Afghanistan when he was 22 to fight against the Soviet soldiers (Weiss & Hassan, 2016, pp. 2-3). After the war, he went to Jordan in 1992. He was arrested after the attack he organized in a movie theater in 1993 and remained in prison until 1999. He has improved his "violent" understanding of jihad when he was in prison (Erdem et al, 2016, p. 279). While Zarqawi expected to remain in prison until 2009, however, King Abdullah came into power in 1999, was released from prison in 1994, benefiting from the amnesty he had announced. He went to Afghanistan one more time and tried to establish a good relationship with Osama bin Laden but he could not. The tattoos that al-Zarqawi had when he tried to wipe with hydrochloric acid in prison, disturbed Osama bin Laden, but what was more important than all of them was the arrogance and "strict views" of al-Zarqawi that disturbed bin-Laden (Weiss & Hassan, 2016, s. 13). Al-Zarqawi, who did not achieve his goal, so in 2000, founded the Organization of Tawhid and Jihad to attract jihadists from Palestine, Jordan Syria, Turkey. Herat was chosen because of its proximity to the Iranian border, where it was easy to move men and materiel across. Over time, Syrians, Jordanians, Palestinians, Lebanese, and Iraqis arrived. Zarqawi also reached out to the Kurdish Ansar- al Islam organization in northern Iraq (McCants, 2015, p.8).

Due to the difficult conditions after the US invaded Afghanistan in 2001, Al-Zarqawi moved the Organization of Tawhid and Jihad to Iran and then to the north of Iraq. In the days prior to September 11, bin Laden repeatedly sought bayah, a religiously binding oath of allegiance from Al-Zarqawi, who refused to comply (Weiss & Hassan, 2016, p. 15). Thus, al-Zarqawi did not participate in al-Qaeda until 2004 and carried out his own independent war. In this region, he joined Ansar al-Islam, a Kurdish jihadist group. This organization had close cooperation with al-Qaeda as well. After the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, the Iraqi army, which broke up, strengthened with weapons, equipment, and increased its resistance against the US invasion (Stern and Berger, 2016,

p.17). He called on foreign fighters to join the resistance through an international network connection. Hundreds of foreign fighters came to Iraq to join this organization in a short time. Some of them were experienced warriors who had previously fought on fronts such as Afghanistan, Chechnya, Bosnia and Kashmir. They were young people who came to fight from all over the Arab and Islamic world. Al-Zarqawi led the insurgents in the Fallujah conflict in April 2004. The US soldiers, who could not succeed against the resistance, withdrew by declaring a unilateral ceasefire. This development was a great victory for insurgents, and his charismatic personality strengthened Al-Zarqawi's leadership as well (Kirdar, 2011). A large number of insurgents obeyed him as the command of the Islamic Caliphate. Al-Zarqawi declared bayah (allegiance) to bin Laden on October 17, 2004, and changed the organization's name to Al-Qaeda in the Land of the Two Rivers (Tanzim Qaedat al Jihad fi Bilad al Rafidayn). Osama bin Laden stated that he welcomed Al-Zarqawi's participation, which he previously rejected due to his extreme hostility towards the Shiites and his activities that did not comply with Islam, and told the fighters in Iraq to swear allegiance to Al-Zarqawi. He addressed him as "my noble brother" (Weiss & Hassan, 2016, s. 38).

Another al-Qaeda leader in Bin Laden's inner circle, Atiyya Abd al-Rahman, was blunter in a December 2005 letter to Zarqawi. Echoing the nineteenth-century Prussian military theorist Carl von Clausewitz, Atiyya reminded Zarqawi that "policy must be dominant over militarism. This is one of the pillars of war that is agreed upon by all nations, whether they are Muslims or unbelievers." Atiyya cautioned that unless the jihadists' "short-term goals and successes" serve their "ultimate goal and highest aims," they would simply exhaust themselves to no effect. Atiyya reminded Zarqawi of the fate of the Algerian jihadists in the 1990s. After Algerian Islamists had won the first round of voting for parliament in 1991, the military had canceled the elections. Some Islamists turned to violence and, as the civil war dragged on, a jihadist faction began to murder civilians. Their short-term tactical successes won through brutality blinded them to how much they had alienated the Muslim masses. As Atiyya reminded Zarqawi, "They destroyed themselves with their own hands, with their lack of reason, delusions, their ignoring of people, their alienation of them through oppression, deviance, and severity, coupled with a lack of kindness, sympathy, and friendliness." It was not their enemy that defeated them; "they defeated themselves" (Mccants, 2015, p.13). Like Zawahiri, Atiyya reminded Zarqawi of the long-term objective he was fighting for: the establishment of the caliphate. "My brother," Atiyya wrote, "what use is it for us to delight in some operations and successful strikes when the immediate repercussion is a defeat for us of our

call, and a loss of the justice of our cause and its logic in the minds of the masses who make up the people of the Muslim nation?" "You need all of these people," Atiyya observed if you want "to destroy the power and a state and erect on its rubble the state of Islam." "What am I commanding you to do?" Atiyya asked rhetorically. "Remedy the deficiency." Atiyya detailed what he and other al-Qaeda leaders expected of Zarqawi. He should make no major strategic decisions without first consulting Bin Laden and Zawahiri. And he was to win over and work with influential Sunnis in Iraq, even the heterodox. Stop killing them, "no matter what." Atiyya also counseled Zarqawi to stop insisting Sunni rebels join his organization and leave other jihadist groups: "Whether they come into the organization with us or not . . . they are our brothers." Zarqawi initially agreed with Zawahiri and Atiyya that expelling the Americans was the priority. "First, we will expel the enemy," he explained in an interview. "Then we will establish the State of Islam." After that, the jihadists would "embark on a conquest of Muslim lands to reclaim them," and then set their sights on the infidels. But by April 2006, Zarqawi had changed his mind. When he announced a consultative council composed of several jihadist groups including al-Qaeda, he described it as the "nucleus for establishing an Islamic state." That state, he proclaimed, would be established in three months. (Mccants, 2015, p.14)

With the participation of Al-Zarqawi to Al-Qaeda, the organization's effectiveness increased in Iraq, and the organization strengthened with the support of al-Qaeda. The organization became an important actor in Iraq in a short time with its disciplined and professional war tactics (Acun, 2014, p.2). The organization established the Derna Mujahideen Shura (DMS) in early 2006 to better collaborate with the other Sunni resistance groups (Lister, 2014, p. 8). Although Al-Zarqawi had disagreements with Al-Qaeda at times, he continued his actions as the leader of the al-Qaeda in Iraq until June 2006, when American air forces were killed in an airstrike. After the death of Al-Zarqawi, Abu Ayyub al-Masri, who was the second man of al-Qaeda became the leader of the organization (Boz, 2014, p. 9).

In 2010, al-Masri was killed as a result of the US-backed operation of the Iraqi security forces. After this incident, there was a change in the leadership team of the Iraqi Islamic State and Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi came into power to the organization (Hashim, 2014, p. 7). Following the leadership of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the organization's effectiveness increased in Iraq.

The charismatic stance and the use of intense violent methods of al-Baghdadi, who had high rhetoric ability, were important factors that increased the commitment and strength of the jihadist militants to al-Baghdadi and its organization. In addition, significant changes in the region have caused the strength of the organization to increase. These developments are the Sunni resistance that emerged after the withdrawal of the USA from Iraq and the civil war in Syria (Lewis, 2013, pp.9-10).

Its discourse, images of execution, the changing balances in the Middle East, and making this change very quickly have caused the attention of the whole world to focus on this geography and especially to the ISIS terrorist organization. This structure, which is accepted as a terrorist organization by Western countries in particular; calls itself the Islamic State (IS). The territory under the control of ISIS is approximately 100 thousand square km, and around 12 million people are living in this territory in 2014 (Maggie, 2014). ISIS aims to get public support for the maintenance of this declared state. For this purpose, it takes administrative measures, and it is structured in a bureaucratic sense. In the regions under control, it is ensured to apply Sharia to all territories of life as a priority, and it is checked whether the people comply with these rules or not.

Due to the complex structure of the region, the lack of a safe region, and restricted opportunities for research; it is estimated that there are almost 10 thousand ISIS fighters in Mosul. The US had previously announced that there were 30,000 ISIS fighters in Iraq. Syrian Human Rights Watch report published on August 2014, the number of ISIS fighters was almost 50,000 in Syria and 30,000 in Iraq (Haber7, 2016). It was stated that around 3,000 members of this organization consist of foreign militants from 81 different countries (Lister, 2014; Barrett, 2014). The militants from Western countries are mostly from the USA, European Union, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand (Barrett, 2014). The majority of the fighters in this geography are citizens of close geography and Islamic countries (Carter et al, 2014).

The political opportunities approach of social movements theory focuses on the effect of external conditions on movements. Considering the development of ISIS in this respect, ISIS has benefited from the power vacuum due to weak central powers in Iraq and Syria. The sectarian policies of the Iraqi central government and the internal conflicts in the region and the alienation of the Sunni population created a favorable environment for the expansion of the ISIS sphere of influence.

Only the openness of political opportunities is not enough to explain the development of a movement. Why have not other organizations with the same opportunities developed as ISIS? Resource mobilization and framing approaches to social movements theory may help in explaining this. As discussed earlier, the resource mobilization approach implies that the necessary resources must be available for the movements to take collective action. It is stated that the factors that keep the members of the organization together; these are arms, territorial integrity, money, and charismatic leader as well as friendship and unconditional social acceptance. Individuals are seeking a place where they want to feel a sense of belonging. While the individual begins to fight by adopting the group's ideology, other factors that motivate him/her later come to the forefront (Barrett, 2014).

The human resources of the organization are the disintegration of the military forces connected to the central government of Iraq, leading to the organization's progress and acquiring new fighters (Gürler and Özdemir, 2014a, p.137). The commanding team of the organization is mainly composed of professional soldiers of the Iraq army, which disintegrated after the collapse of the Saddam regime. This gives the organization a serious advantage in terms of propaganda and structuring. In a statement about the manpower of the organization, Hashimi stated that there are around 25,000 members of the organization, and about 1,000 commanders trained in technical, security and military fields. Stating that the members of the organization work in a certain region and that everyone has a duty, Hashimi also stated that the members of the organization receive monthly salaries between USD 300 and USD 2,000 according to the degree of duties that they do (The Telegraph, 2014).

ISIS' ability to pay monthly salaries to its members reflects its economic strength. ISIS' main sources of income are oil wells, taxation and tribute from minorities. The Islamic State had the most efficient economy among terrorist organizations. The Obama government has described its success in self-financing as the best-funded organization in the world. Illegal oil swaps in the regions it controls in Iraq and Syria provided an estimated \$ 1 million per day. Although it seems remarkable, it was a very small part of the annual budget that the United States estimated at two billion dollars. Intelligence services found it difficult to identify the intermediaries that purchase this dirty oil, which is sold in crude or semi-refined form. A network of dubious financiers launders incoming money through screens. Among other income sources of IS was historical artifact

smuggling. Artifacts in archaeological sites, museums or churches were sold to smugglers. The Islamic State also controlled customs gates within its borders and received several hundred dollars of tribute per truck (Henin, 2015, p.49). Economic incentives also have a role in ISIS recruitment. In June 2014, a military staff in Aleppo said that in an interview "Syrians join ISIS. There is a simple explanation of this choice, they need money!" (Lister, 2014) has interpreted the case. According to the behaviorist learning theory, reinforcement behavior is continued and the punished behavior disappears slowly (Ragland and Saxon, 1985, p.59). In addition to the arguments presented to militants; promising high wages and booty as a great motivation increases the attractiveness of the organization for these people. Because the militants in the organization are in search of identity and belonging to the group, the financial gain is an important factor that reinforces their participation and continuity within the organization.

One of the factors that enable ISIS militants to participate in and stay in the organization is the representation of women in the conquered regions as "halal<sup>3</sup>" according to their beliefs. Women in conquered regions are used as awards for ISIS militants and sold as slaves in markets. 14-year-old girls can be presented as a gift to ISIS militants (Washington Post, 2014). Thousands of women are being held under ISIS' force obtrusively, often tortured. The captured girls are held in a prison used to torture the Shiites in Mosul and they are trained in obedience and beauty care to be given to ISIS militants. They are then sold to men identified by ISIS as husbands for at least \$ 25 (Friedland, 2015).

It is seen that ISIS is very successful in recruiting militants to the organization. This situation cannot be explained only by economic promises. The frames created by ISIS with its high propaganda power play an important role in the recruitment of personnel from all over the world. When the militant strategies of the organization are evaluated, it uses arguments such as ideology, caliphate, and martyrdom in addition to economic promises. Through these arguments, it deals with the propaganda that Muslims are victims, and the only salvation of Islam is to jihad on behalf of the Islamic State.

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<sup>3</sup> "The concept of halal is the Arabic word which means "lawful" or "permitted". It is a wide concept covering what is permitted within the scope of Islamic law" (Independent, 2014).

ISIS aims to create the perception that it is the real protector of the Sunnis<sup>4</sup> by keeping the sectarian conflict alive by adopting the cell structure as well as the state structure in regions it controls. Attacks on military targets are another type of action. In this type of operation, the aim is to reduce the motivation of military units, to create fear on them, and to weaken the capabilities of military units. For example, senior commanders and officials in civilian authorities are first killed by individual assassinations and reducing the absolute power of other parties. Subsequently, bomb and vehicle suicide attacks are conducted at a lower level, such as checkpoints (Lister, 2014).

ISIS is actively using technological opportunities, especially the Internet. It is seen that the Internet and social media play a crucial role in recruiting staff, primarily by ensuring the participation of foreign militants in the organization (UN Report, 2014). On November 2006, ISIS established Al-Furqan Foundation Media Production for the creation of brochures, posters, CDs, DVDs, and web pages for the propaganda process of the organization (Roggio, 2007). In March 2013, the organization began to expand its media framework and established the Al-Itisam Media Foundation. It especially enriched the concept of divine and sound (Zelin, 2013). In 2014, Al-Hayat Media Centre was created to produce materials that broadcast in English, German, Russian, and French for the Western target groups (Gertz, 2014). Thus, the organization had the opportunity to convey its propaganda to the target group quickly and effectively.

Unlike terrorist organizations such as Al-Nusra and Al-Qaeda, which are nourished by the same ideology, ISIS uses social media not only to address the Middle East Muslims but the whole world. The differences between both organizations Al-Nusra and ISIS will be evaluated in the following section. While other radical religious groups stand out in Arabic as the language of use on the Internet, ISIS offers a wide range of informatics with its use of different styles and internet chat rooms, high-resolution violent videos, social media, so-called martyrdom images and jihad forums (Kirdar, 2011). During the effect of ISIS, the media coverage of torture in the Fallujah and Abu Ghraib prisons and the use of fatwa against violence against Iraqi coalition forces had a major impact. As a result of the effective use of the internet and the media and the success of this field, the participation of foreign fighters in the organization increased the donations from both their opponents and international donors (Kirdar, 2011).

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<sup>4</sup> "Sunni, member of one of the two major branches of Islam, the branch that consists of the majority of that religion's adherents" (Britannica, 2019).

ISIS started to conduct a series of internet propaganda through Al-Hayat Media Centre, which was established on May 2014. The website created for propaganda purposes includes various magazines and videos. The first video was broadcasted on June 19, 2014. The jihad call videos, which included the call of the Western fighters to join the organization, were presented in high resolution and different languages on the website. The magazine Dabiq was published online by Al Hayat Media, has been conducting for propaganda and recruitment process. The name of the magazine comes from a place where a great war between infidels and the Muslims would take place in an apocalyptic time. Infidels and Muslims will meet in a land which is Dabiq, and just after the defeat of the infidels, then the sky will fall (Ryan, 2014). The magazine was published in several languages, including English, and was first published on July 2014 under the title "The Return of Khilafah". Dabiq defines itself as a periodically released magazine that focuses on issues of oneness, searching of truth (Dabiq, 2014). On November 2015, the 12<sup>th</sup> issue was published. The title of this issue was "Terror." This issue included the following matters; terrorist attack in Paris, the bombing in Beirut, and the downfall of the Russian plane. It called the terrorist attacks by ISIS as a response to the atrocities committed against Muslims and defines those who fight for this cause as jihadists<sup>5</sup>. Terrorist attacks were legitimized by claiming that this war is a struggle of honor for Muslims. The magazine, which was enriched with visual materials, was designed professionally, and the photographs were used to create the perception of anti-Western and Islamic State was strengthening in readers (Dabiq, 2015).

Dabiq magazine published fifteen issues regularly for two years. Compared to the Konstantiniyye magazine, it is striking that visuality is much more prominent. It is noticed that the organization's most talented team of experts took part in the preparation of Dabiq magazine. Instead of the ordinary text and visuals, each page has been designed creatively. Like Konstantiniyye magazine, in this respect, Dabiq has a regular feature that is appealing to the international reader, the visuality of the magazine was at the forefront. At this point, it is seen that it aims to keep the reader in hand and enriches the narration utilizing visuals.

Konstantiniyye, Turkish magazine of ISIS, has been digitally publishing by Al Hayat Media Centre since 2015 (Hunter, 2015). In the first issue of this magazine, it was stated that Istanbul was

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<sup>5</sup>"Jihad is a contested term. Its linguistic origin is tied to the word "striving", typically in the path of God. Many Muslims embrace this idea as an individual's struggle to act as his or her best self in the face of our baser instincts: to care for loved ones, be kind to strangers, and otherwise be good" (Byman, 2019, pp.6-7).

not conquered in a real sense, and the main goal was to conquer Istanbul. This discourse shows us a message that ISIS intended to seize the determined territories, including Istanbul. As a matter of fact, this period was the time when ISIS conducted the bloody acts of terrorism in Turkey. In 2015, the terrorist attacks in Suruç, then Ankara Station, Sultanahmet, Beyoğlu, and also the attack of Istanbul Atatürk Airport on June 2016 coincided with the period of publication of Konstantiniyye magazine. The organization itself directly promote the broadcasts in Turkish and tried to affect the Turkish public opinion before starting the bloody actions against Turkey and also aimed to provide legitimacy for their actions. The aim of the journal was started in the first issue as follows: “We aim to publish our magazine on a monthly basis, it will also address Muslims in Turkey who are concerned about the Islamic State. We will not let people who make black propaganda against the Islamic State. In this sense, responding to suspicions of the Islamic State will not allow them to slander” (Konstantiniyye, 2015a). Consequently, it is substantial to remember that terrorism is a tactic, but that this tactic must have strategic goals behind it to succeed. For this reason, it is necessary to focus on the strategic objectives of ISIS when evaluating the Istanbul attack. ISIS attacks targeting Turkey have different strategic goals of its attacks in the West. Although Brussels and Istanbul airports were attacked with similar tactics, between Turkey and Belgium have significant differences in terms of ISIS' strategic calculations.

Konstantiniyye, which was planned to be published every month, has been published in only seven issues without a periodic order for about one year. In each subject, a topic that was important for ISIS was highlighted and given with a full-page photograph on the cover page. The cover page issues were determined following the action strategy of ISIS and complemented each other with terrorist acts. For example, although ISIS did not formally undertake the bloody deeds in Suruç and Ankara, it legitimized suicide acts on the cover page of the 3<sup>rd</sup> issue of the magazine on September 2015. On the cover issues of other matters, it is seen that ISIS targets explicitly and tries to discredit identities, ideologies, and communities that they perceive as a threat to their ideology.

It claims that democracy is a circulatory system, and it is necessary to fight against it and they want to conquer Paris after they blew up the White House in response to Western attacks on ISIS. Besides, after the Charlie Hebdo attack in France, increased the interest in Islamic books in France, the Islamic State seized Beyci Refinery, the tribal leaders in Anbar obey the caliph, the caliphate soldiers carried out an armed attack in Texas (Konstantiniyye, 2015b). In the 4<sup>th</sup> issue of

November 2015, there was detailed information about the Turkish National Education System, which claims that it is not compatible with Sharia, hence children should not go through this education system (Konstantiniyye, 2015b).

The design and content of the magazine included formal syntax features that are common in Turkey. The cover page was followed by a table of contents, followed by a preface for each issue written by the editor. There were even references to readers' comments and congratulations parts from the previous issue, such as a legal journal. Each magazine consists of an average of fifty-five pages and contains eight articles. These articles included translations from publications of the organization in other languages. Besides, texts of speeches that were made by ISIS' leading staff were included in the magazine. The articles in the magazines were kept short in order to avoid boredom. Formal codes that were used for the target group were used in order to enable the reader to focus on the content without being bored (Konstantiniyye, 2015a). The design of the magazine had a modern look and conformed by the formal codes of magazines sold at dealers. Some spots were placed within the scope of the texts and some expressions were highlighted. Besides, special attention was paid to visuality. Captions and subtexts were placed in the photographs. The reader-oriented approach of ISIS preparing these publications had the aim of keeping in the readers hand, such as rating anxiety. ISIS used formal codes that were appropriate to the target group in order not to lose the attention of the readers. The Top 10 video list in each issue is the best example. This list is presented with a striking design that we are familiar with, again, popular cultural codes. At the bottom of each page was highlighted hashtags of the organization's Twitter. This is the way that enhances the reader's experience through social media. The last issue of Konstantiniyye magazine, 7<sup>th</sup> issue, was published on August 2016. This date has been a turning point for ISIS' publications. On October 2016, within the scope of the Euphrates Shield Operation initiated by the Turkish Armed Forces on 24 August 2016, Dabiq village was completely cleared of ISIS. This defeat of ISIS also destroyed the myths emphasized in magazines. For this reason, while the publications of Konstantiniyye magazine ended, Dabiq, which was published in English, had to change its name and continued as Rumiyah. The last issue of Dabiq magazine was published on July 2016 and was replaced by Rumiyah magazine on September 2016.

The organization propagates the ideology of the organization to a broader audience with the reports named "Insight into the Islamic State". In these publications, it is stated that scenarios on

how to join ISIS from the West are possible (Becker, 2014). The organization enables the communication of personal information through its smartphone application and coordinates the group activities and shares through this program (Lister, 2014). Besides, the organization has a radio company called Al Bayan, which broadcasts in Arabic, Russian and English in Iraq, Syria, and Libya (The Daily Telegraph, 2015). While the organization is actively using the internet for communication and propaganda purposes, it uses American-made radios that were seized from the Iraq Army to ensure communication in military operations (Chandrasekaran, 2014). However, the organization provides communication between cell structures, especially in foreign countries through couriers and thus, it ensures confidentiality at the highest level (O'Neill, 2014).

Some of the US social media experts pointed out that ISIS is even more sophisticated in terms of using social media than some American companies. The organization regularly makes propaganda via social media and organizes #hashtag campaigns, primarily through Twitter, and produces new software that sends automatic propaganda materials to its followers (Berger, 2014). ISIS gives more significance to social media than other jihadist groups and acts in a multi-coordinated manner on social media (Sheera, 2014). On August 2014, Twitter managers closed some of the accounts associated with ISIS. However, the organization continued to be active on Twitter with new accounts in a short while. The organization then continued to be organized in alternative social media networks such as Quitter, Friendica and Diaspora. However, Quitter and Friendica intend not to host ISIS-related accounts on their websites (Friedman, 2014).

One of the most critical studies of ISIS on the use of social networks is Berger and Morgan's efforts to identify the accounts that support the organization on Twitter (Berger and Morgan, 2015). ISIS follows a tactic that disables Twitter's algorithms for detecting spam messages, allowing its supporters to share tweets with links, hashtags, and images. The organization applied this tactic so effectively that it tried to reach a wider audience by using the popular hashtags of the organization during the Brazilian world cup. However, as Twitter began to follow a strict policy on suspending terrorist sympathizers, members of the organization turned to the use of a more secret messaging system, Telegram. An encrypted messaging program, Telegram allows users to create message groups and anonymously share visual, audio and written content. ISIS circulates the latest journals, the most recent propaganda videos and even statements made to undertake terrorist acts through Telegram (Berger and Morgan, 2015). Following the intensive use of Telegram by the members of

the organization, the company management strives to prevent these users and the content they share by taking more stringent measures. In the future, the organization can find new channels of communication using different tactics.

One of the studies investigating the use of the organization's social networking was published by the Brookings Institution. According to the results of the research announced on September 2014, 46.000 Twitter accounts related to the organization were identified and traced. According to a study, the majority of ISIS supporters are in Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. One-fifth of the supporters of ISIS speak English and three-quarters of them speak Arabic (Erdirin, 2017, p.128). When ISIS invaded Mosul in 2014, they shared many things with #AllEyesOnISIS tag on Twitter to depress the Iraqi army (Burke, 2016, p. 19). In terms of Facebook usage, two types of Facebook pages can be defined for ISIS' official ones and unofficial ones. In the official accounts, the shared posts mostly about the persecution against Muslims to construct an ideological infrastructure and to legitimize the actions. Unofficial pages are led by the supporters of the organization for propaganda. ISIS often uses YouTube to share visual posts. In the videos, the killing of soldiers taken prisoners and the violence, such as hand, head, and neck cuts to release fear. In some videos, some parts of the social lives of the people who are living in the territories captured by ISIS are shown. They are shown as peacefully living people for making propaganda of the organization.

In modern terrorism, Go-Pro cameras (action cameras) have started to be widely used. Mohamed Merah, a 24-year-old French citizen of Algerian descent, killed seven in 2012 in southwest France and filmed all of the killings using a Go-Pro camera. He then made a video of the video images (Burke, 2016, p.20). Some terrorists even live-streamed their attacks on social media. On March 2019, Brenton Tarrant, a 28-year-old man from Australia, engaged in a terrorist act and killed 51 people in two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand. It turned out that 49 people were killed live on Facebook. In the video, it is observed that the attacker performed an attack similar to computer games. Facebook announced that more than 200 users watched the attack live, but no one reported it (Flynn, 2019).

It is aimed to demoralize and frighten the other party under the actions taken by ISIS using different methods to show in social media platforms, especially on YouTube. It is emphasized that this war, which is conducted by ISIS, is a life-and-death war and also it is better to die than to be taken prisoner by the infidels (Gürler & Özdemir, 2014, p.120). This makes it possible for ISIS to

achieve the desired return, especially for young people who are connected through social media. One of the most important arguments used by ISIS is the propaganda that dead jihadists have won paradise. Photos of dead militants with an exposure of the so-called ISIS greeting which can be demonstrated as raising the right index finger with a happy and smiling face, are often broadcasted on social media (Ruthven, 2015). This is considered to be an essential factor in positively influencing the perception of ISIS on people's minds.

One of the fields of propaganda on the internet is that there is serious persecution against Islam and the only advocate of this is ISIS. Basically, in this propaganda, what the Serbs did in Yugoslavia, what the Russians did in Chechnya and Afghanistan, what the US did in Afghanistan and Iraq, and lastly, what the Assad regime did in Syria were used as materials. ISIS uses people who live in the region and are exposed to violence by the US regime as a means of agitation. The fact that the organization is accepted by people who have suffered due to their beliefs in various parts of the world enables them to join the organization (Cengil and Aydın, 2014, p.57). By all the political and religious arguments that have been using, ISIS has polarized people by calling itself absolute right. The ones who have not supported theirs' ideology are called infidels and unjust. Hence, it aims to radicalize people further. Through rationalization, it tries to justify its actions. It claims that it did all armed/unarmed actions on behalf of Islam and oppressed Muslims (Cengil and Aydın, 2014, p.58).

ISIS creates frames through social media and the internet to mobilize followers. As discussed above, there are three main framing tasks: diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing. ISIS uses rhetoric against the USA and the West as diagnostic framing. It is often emphasized that the weakness of Muslims makes embarrassment that Muslims lack a state governed under Islamic rules, and that the caliphate should return. These narratives indicate to the followers the existence of problems that need to be solved.

Prognostic framing provides solutions to existing problems. ISIS' proposal is jihad in its ranks. According to ISIS, Muslims should establish an Islamic State in Iraq and Syria and this state should be sustainable. For this reason, ISIS invites its supporters to fight in Syria. Although the war in Syria is a priority for ISIS, its understanding of jihad is global. Supporters should act in favor of ISIS in their country. Technically, ISIS radicalizes individuals with this propaganda. Motivational frameworks are also needed for individuals to take action. For instance, promising

to go to heaven as a martyr is a common motivation for members of the organization. Moreover, ISIS shows the territories that are experienced as an emotional sharing environment where people live through the bond of brotherhood (Ruthven, 2015). In this way, it prefers to demonstrate an attracting style to its sympathizers as well as building an empire of fear and proving its power to its enemies.

When we look at ISIS as one of the forms of the social movement, it is seen that it has a large number of the main features of the new social movements. In terms of social stratum, there is no restriction on the sub-stratum, identity searches are dominant rather than the idea of obtaining economic interest, and reactive attitudes and practices against alienation are seen. Mass media, social media, and the internet are used extensively. When we look at it in terms of organization, it also shows a different, if not entirely different, character from the old type of terrorist organizations. ISIS has some extent to some of the elements of the leader-oriented, vertical hierarchy seen in old social movements and terrorist organizations. However, it is difficult to say that there is only leader-based interaction within the organization. Because the members of the organization can be as impressive as the leaders and occupy the agenda by using today's technological opportunities at the highest level in their actions (Geyik Yıldırım, 2018, p.174).

It is arguing that the sociological and psychological processes that leads an ordinary person to deal with terrorist acts in the name of religion by the concepts of attitude and perception. Attitude is preceded by behavior and is a structure that guides our movements (Arkonaç, 1998, p. 169) and is defined as the tendency that provides the formation of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of an individual towards any object (Usal and Kuşlivan, 2000, p. 125). As it was discussed in the theory chapter, emotions, thoughts, and behaviors are the most essential factors in the formation of attitudes (İnceoğlu, 2000, p. 9). In order to gain perspective to the militants of the organization, it is imposed that the absolute right and real information which is obtained from the publication organs of the organization (Taşçı, 1987, p.34). Thus, the members of the organization act as desired by the organization and can make the individuals they adopt their ideologies to do whatever they want in the dimension of behavior.

The process of interpretation and sense-making of data reaching the brain from sensory organs is called perception (Atkinson, R. L et al. , 1990, p. 156). Religion has been shaped by the attitude of individuals and it is adapted to the social life in that direction (Bemholz et al., 2004, p.

363). As discussed in the theory chapter, ISIS, as the terrorist organization, plays games on individuals' perception of religion and leads them as they wish. It exploits individuals with the knowledge of faith in individuals within the framework of their ideology. Religion is used as an opium and propaganda tool in the process of social engineering.

Erich Fromm states that modern societies are unable to respond to the basic needs of people, such as identity, social acceptance, and the need for love; as a result, they become lonely and alienated (Topses, 2003, p.149). This resulting alienation creates uncertainty and existential gaps for individuals (Karacoşkun, 2002). As it was discussed in the Relative Deprivation Theory, in an increasingly individualized world, people may seek to combat alienation and existential gaps. Sometimes, individuals may choose to join new religious formations to find a solution to this gap. ISIS, which uses this weakness of individuals, makes the best use of this gap by presenting itself as the only region where Islam is experienced and its understanding of religion as the only genuine religion.

As addressed in the section of new religious movements, individuals who are unable to integrate with society and experience a spiritual gap are turning to new religious movements. According to Relative Deprivation Theory, no matter how prosperous the individual lives, s/he will not be able to fill the spiritual emptiness within it unless it can interact with society. The militant profile of ISIS is composed of individuals with low socioeconomic status, low educational level, religious knowledge at the superficial level and they have criminal records. For this reason, it can be more comfortable for ISIS to radicalize these low socio-cultural level militants by using perception management effectively (Cengiz, 2015).

For the purposes of this thesis, the difference between Al-Nusra and ISIS will be examined. The aim of the comparison of these organizations is to better analyze the ISIS-specific features and its strength in depth. The common points of two organizations can be examined in terms of the evaluation of the "new terrorism" that is added to the latest wave of terror. After Rapoport's classification of four terrorist waves shown up (Anarchist, Anti-Colonial, Revolutionary Left, Religious wave) (Rapoport, 2004, p.58). Jeffrey Kaplan presented the formations such as ISIS as the fifth wave of terror which is called as "new terrorism" (Kaplan, 2008, p.16). He adapted the characteristics of the fifth wave of terror to Al-Qaeda, ISIS, Al-Nusra derived terrorist organizations.

**Table 2. Differences between ISIS and Al-Nusra**

<b>ISIS</b>	<b>AL-NUSRA</b>
ISIS follows its own agenda.	Al-Nusra serves Al-Qaeda's global goals
It reduces Sunnism to a narrow ground. It considers Sunnis to be the same as Salafism and sees the Shiites as the primary enemy.	The primary target is not Shiites or other religions.
It imposes its own rules through coercion to the public.	Unlike ISIS, it is more respected and less fragile for the public because it does not force the public.
Recruiting target is Western Muslim	Syrians are being targeted in the recruitment.
A charismatic and young leader at the head of the organization makes the recruitment process more accessible.	It has an older and unexcited leader in the central sense that adversely affects participation in the organization.
It tries to keep a large piece of territory under its control. This causes the organization to be a clear target.	From the vacuum created by the whole world's struggle against ISIS is trying to benefit.
ISIS effectively uses social media and the Internet.	It is not able to use social media and the internet as effectively as ISIS.
It is in good financial terms.	It is not in very good financial terms.
Al-Qaeda's Maghreb Branch (AQIM), Tunisian Branch (Ansar al-Dine), Boko Haram and the Arab Peninsula (AQAP) have joined ISIS	It has been affected because of Al-Qaeda's sphere of influence is reduced

Source: Cafarella, J. et al (2016).

When we analyze the above table, the differences between Al-Nusra and ISIS is clearly seen. Technically, these organizations are located in the same geography, and they are the vital actors for the territorial balance. Both organizations are sectarian and ideological Wahhabi-Salafist organizations. The Wahhabis ignored the sects and traditions that emerged after three generations after the Prophet Muhammad. This is the underlying philosophy of what is now called Salafism.

In the West, Hilmi Demir calls this understanding as Jihadi Salafism as Revolutionary Salafism. (Demir, 2014, p.16).

Once we consider the recruitment process of ISIS and Al-Nusra, their ideological backgrounds are entirely different. For example, ISIS, the Iraq branch of Al-Qaeda in the beginning, broke off its contact with Al-Qaeda on February 2014. However, Al-Nusra, the Syrian branch of Al-Qaeda, continues to communicate with Al-Qaeda. While Al-Nusra serves Al-Qaeda's global goals, but ISIS follows its agenda. While ISIS has the idea of seizing a piece of territory and forming a state there; there is no announcement of establishing a permanent state even though Al-Nusra has territorial control. In Al-Nusra, while the idea of jihad comes into prominence; the current regime's disappearance is targeted.

It is argued that the ISIS reduces Sunnism to a narrow ground. It considers Sunnis to be the same as Salafism and sees the Shiites as the primary enemy. Al-Nusra did not regard Shiites or other religions as a prime target. The current regime is the priority target for it. In an interview with Golani, even the Nusayri minority, which supported the Assad regime, declared that they did not target (Al-Jazeera, 2015). Al-Nusra strives to be more careful with the local population, aiming to minimize the damage to civilians. It is trying not to repeat the same mistakes which were made by ISIS and Al-Qaeda in Iraq. Furthermore, it provides social assistance by providing electricity, fresh water, and food to the people in the territories under its control (UN Report, 2014). Although the ideology of Al-Nusra and ISIS is the same, they behave differently in recruitment, actions, and dialogue against the people. But both of them do not prefer to impose sharia rules strictly and drive people away. The rhetoric used by Al-Nusra is also much softer than ISIS (Kagan et al. 2016). For example, while Al-Nusra treats UN officials well, ISIS sees almost every segment as an enemy.

ISIS aims at Europe in the recruitment process. It identified “non-religious” Muslims who live in the suburbs as its target group. In this way, they take advantage of their insufficient knowledge of religion. It mainly focuses on the social problems of young Western Muslims population and mentions that “their solution is in jihad” (Gendron, 2016, p. 14). ISIS prefers to use a charismatic clergy for making propaganda. Al-Nusra, on the other hand, aims at local staff in its recruitment. Baghdadi, the leader of ISIS, is seen as a charismatic young leader, this factor that makes it easier for young people to join the organization. Al-Nusra is influenced by the fact that it is centrally connected to Al-Qaeda. The fact that the leader Ayman al-Zawahiri, who came after

the death of Bin Laden, is older and not excited who makes it difficult for Al-Nusra to recruit staff according to ISIS (Cafarella et al, 2016).

ISIS has been trying to control a large piece of territory since 2014. This puts itself in a secure target position. Al-Nusra, on the other hand, seeks to benefit from the vacuum created by the world's struggle against ISIS. ISIS also uses social media and the internet more efficiently than al-Nusra, which was discussed in the above section. Thanks to the ISIS-controlled oil fields, it is in much better shape than Al-Nusra in terms of financing. Due to the rise of ISIS, other Al-Qaeda elements such as Al-Qaeda's Maghreb Branch (AQIM), Tunisian Branch (Ansar al-Dine), Boko Haram and the Arab Peninsula (AQAP) have joined ISIS. This affected Al-Nusra as well.

To sum, as addressed in the section of Relative Deprivation Theory, individuals who are participating in terrorist organizations such as ISIS or Al-Nusra, it is a source of motivation a pride of belonging to a specific group (Abdo et.al, 2016), pioneering to Muslim people and to protect Islam against the infidels and the Shiites (Cambanis, 2014). In this sense, the optimum of realizing a meaningful aim "in their worthless lives" increases the motivation of individuals. For the marginalized and alienated generations in the Western world, these organizations are the fields in which they can feel the sense of group belonging (Stern and Berger, 2015) because these organizations offer the opportunity to satisfy the feeling of revenge for real or perceived victimization. This is also the way it reacts to those who see themselves as responsible for their own current position.

For both generations with traditional characteristics participating in this organization and young generations who live in the West and trapped between the West and the East, and sometimes they can have some networks where close relationships might be established. This can be constructed with acceptable ideologies. In addition to Islamic fundamentalism, instrumentalized doctrines can serve this purpose.

Lastly, to strengthen social support, Al-Nusra seeks to get the help of the people, especially in the territories it seizes, by taking care of the needs of the people. In fact, people who have no special concern with Al-Nusra feel sympathy for this organization that meets their short-term needs. In this context, Al-Nusra was keeping the furnaces open to meet the needs of the people in the conflicts in Aleppo, it does not impose sharia rules as well, and ISIS deprived the public of the clashes in Aleppo. Al-Nusra acts in contrast to ISIS (Turner, 2015, p.216). ISIS is also aware of

the importance of social capital which pointed out in the Social Movement Theory. Therefore, the spokesman of the organization, Sheikh Abu Muhammad Al-Adnani apologized by stating that they had done wrong in this respect. ISIS embarked on a project to seize a piece of territory in a very short time and control it. This has been seen as a success story and has been more advantageous than Al-Nusra in recruiting staff. To sum, the growth of the organization in a short time has offered a promise of success.

### **3.3. Conclusion**

ISIS is accepted as a global terrorist organization that has been able to focus the world's attention on itself through its worldwide actions and widespread use of the internet. There were often questions about how the organization could carry out large-scale actions at the international level, as well as for the purpose of people's involvement in such a terrorist organization. In this case study, to find answers to the above questions, it is necessary to show how actively they use the internet and propaganda tools, which are the most critical elements that differentiate the organization from other terrorist organizations.

Considering the ISIS' strategy, the following recommendations can be considered to prevent the spread of terrorism and to develop a counter-strategy against ISIS.

Firstly, the rapid transformation in the digital world allows the organization to develop new tactics in a little while. In order to keep the terrorist organization under constant and close supervision, it is necessary to know the possibilities and transformation of the digital world well and to predict how it will affect the behavior of the organization. Secondly, counter-campaigns should be developed to break ISIS' effectiveness in social media. The themes of peace and brotherhood should be highlighted against the themes of violence and terrorism that the organization takes on its agenda. Thirdly, it is not technically doable to completely delete or quickly prevent material such as magazines and videos published by the organization on the Internet. Instead, content bombardment may be performed to depreciate in value these materials. Fourthly, the message must be traceable and remarkable to reach the audience. In the face of propaganda of the organization, which effectively uses the language of popular culture, counter-propaganda should be maintained by using global codes and social media language. Fifthly, the weaknesses of ISIS' discourses should be identified and their invalidity should be demonstrated. The discourse

that Islam is a religion of war is one of them. Sixthly, the organization asks its members to unconditionally swear an oath of allegiance instead of using their logic. Necessary operations that can eliminate these claims of the organization can be arranged. For instance, the seizure of Dabiq village which has symbolic importance by the Turkish Armed Forces. Seventhly, the organization analyzes the negative effects of the modern world and nation-state on individuals and uses them in its propaganda campaign. The weakening of sociological justifications supporting ISIS may limit participation in the organization. Lastly, ISIS has lost field dominance in Syria and Iraq. However, it is not known how the organization and actions of the organization will be evolved. Las Vegas and London attacks indicate that the organization is capable of action without establishing field dominance. For this reason, it is important to follow ISIS propaganda activities closely.

## CONCLUSION

The escalation of terrorism has been one of the main developments in the “new world order” since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Terrorist activities have taken place in every period of the world, yet after the cold war period terrorism has been an issue that has been tackled more in the recent years. Moreover, terrorism has been accepted as a serious threat within the framework of the international system. Structural changes in terrorist activities and organizations have also contributed to the increase in the threat of terrorism. Indeed, terrorism has taken on a new form since the 1990s and has been highlighted under “new terrorism” with a view to separate it from its former version.

In the first chapter, due to the lack of a clear definition of the concept of terrorism in the literature, firstly the existing definitions have been discussed and correlated by using sociological definitions, in which a specific definition of terrorism has been determined. Furthermore, the old concept and historical background of terrorism have been briefly discussed as well, to provide a clear understanding of the concept of new one. In other words, the concept of terror was conceptualized and the discussion of the new concept of terrorism was made on four separate grounds.

In the second chapter, a section was allocated to Rational Choice Theory, Relative Deprivation Theory and Social Movement Theory to better substantiate the theoretical perspective of the new concept of terrorism and to understand the section relating to case analysis. In the theory section, regarding theories are chosen on how and why individuals are considered as terrorists within the perspective of sociology and psychology. It further aimed to answer these questions under the social movement theory.

Finally, under the case analysis section discussed on chapter three, ISIS is examined in depth. Herein, ISIS is taken as a concrete example on the discussion on new terrorism, where its physical and digital power is discussed. With its policies, motives, tools and objectives, this organization constitutes the answer of this thesis’ research question. As discussed thoroughly at the beginning of this thesis, ISIS effectively used the internet for recruitment and to build a ground for economic income. With a view to present the danger of ISIS, it could be seen that ISIS has not hesitated to show its power to the world through its actions, journals and online resources published in many languages. In this context, what sort of measures are to be taken both globally and digitally against

ISIS and potential future terrorism organizations are discussed under the conclusion part of the analysis section. In the case study section, ISIS and Al-Nusra are also compared on a sociological basis. This comparison aims to better illustrate the strength of ISIS. These organizations have been trying to reach their own goals by adopting different methods. The main difference between two is their attitudes towards the social ground they were fed on and the social ground where they appear as targets. In addition to the military perspective, a sociological perspective is also required in the struggle against these organizations. Although it is very hard to limit terrorism in the global world where borders are abolished, all national states, IGOs, NGOs have important duties thereof.

Therefore, this thesis examines the new trends that dominate terrorism by using tools and concepts from sociology. Terrorism has become international or supranational in the last three decades. The weapons have become more lethal and there are serious increases in civilian casualties. The extreme right and religious terrorist organizations have started to rise. The organization structures of terrorist organizations have changed and hierarchical organizations have been replaced by weaker bonds and cell-type structures. The most important one is the increase in the usage of internet and media by terrorist organizations. Terrorist organizations make serious use of social media, especially for propaganda, recruitment and funding. ISIS is the most outstanding one that uses these tools.

It is important to follow the trends on the concept of “new terrorism”, yet it is not enough. A narrative that can explain why and how individuals and organizations tend to radicalize and engage in acts of violence is required. In this context, the lack of a general theory and methodology has become the main problem of political violence studies and a holistic perspective has not been established among violence studies. The sociological theories that have been developed in the recent period could aid in this regard. Terrorist organizations can be viewed as international social movements, and the social movement theory will still provide a valuable theoretical model for political violence and terrorism. Social movement studies, as a common tendency, have excluded violent movements from their analysis. However, a link between terrorism and social movement theory can make significant contributions to the study of terrorism, since terrorist groups and other social movements have similar dynamics and come across similar problems.

Resource mobilization, political opportunities and framing approaches articulated in social movement studies are useful approaches that can be used in terrorist studies. The political

opportunities approach argues that social movements are influenced by political conditions and structures. Environmental factors sometimes have restrictive and facilitating effects on social action. Similar to social movements, political violence movements are constantly changing depending on conditions, such as regime change and political instability. The process of overthrowing the central authority by occupying Iraq has facilitated the development of violent movements demanding reorganization of the areas of mobilization and the division of power in Iraq. ISIS took advantage of the power vacuum in the countries that had weak central power.

The resource mobilization approach offers that the essential issue for collective action is their sources convenient for mobilization. The term resources ranges from a wide range of infrastructures such as economic, human resources and ideological, which can all lead a social movement to success. A solution to the resource problem is to build organizational capacity to gather supporters, make financial contributions, and organize collective movement into action. Like social movements, terrorist organizations need fundraising, logistics or armament, and recruitment requires sustained campaigns. Terrorism is an expensive initiative, and terrorist organizations must comply with changing world conditions to survive. The cost of leading attacks led terrorist groups to organize like modern social movement organizations. Like other social structures that can survive by closely following the latest technological changes in the world, especially ISIS and right-wing extreme organizations use advanced communication technologies to maintain their existence and continuity as well. Since there are mostly young people in their target group, it is possible to reach the world in a short time by using social media effectively. This reveals once again how important the role of propaganda and communication techniques could be developed by the target group.

Political violence and terrorism is a controversial arena that there is no conceptual and theoretical consensus. To make an effective analysis of this field general theory and methodology is required. Social movement theory can be an applicable tool to analyze political violence and terrorism with its mechanisms such as resource mobilization, political opportunities, and framing because terrorism is also a social movement and it is natural to analyze it by the tools of the social movement theory. Both social movements and terrorist organizations aim to make participation, commitment and mobilization continuous. Therefore, based on their discourse, they produce frameworks regarding the source of the problem and the method of solution. Frameworks provide

cultural references and interpretation schemes, to aid participants in their development of understanding the concrete developments in the world. In this context, the frameworks serve as a conceptual bridge between the individual participants and the movement organization. Frameworks play an important role in the positioning, meaning, identification and labeling of individuals. Like social movements, terrorist organizations spend a lot of time and effort with ideological manifestations, calls for action, speeches, declarations and campaigns for justifying their actions. They produce frames that define the problem, opponents, and supporters of which they struggle with their discourse and thus ensure the continuity of commitment and recruitment. Moreover, social media plays an important role in the radicalization of the people. ISIS tries to recruit young people by analyzing their identity crises and spiritual gaps and presenting materials that address them. In the videos it broadcasts, it presents sections of the so-called Islamic State, emphasizing the elements of friendship and brotherhood experienced in the images, and make room to those who are not in peace with the society which may experience social unification thereof and will gradually be accepted in this territory unconditionally.

This thesis concludes that terrorism is a form of political violence, and therefore the aim of terrorism, religion, ethnicity and ideological beliefs, appears to be political, despite the emergence of different sources of motivation. As discussed thoroughly in this thesis, the concept of new terrorism, including the introduction of the internet into all areas of modern life, and the instrumentalization of the internet by terrorist organizations, especially after the 9/11 attacks, led to the development of new techniques and tactics, and the capacity of the ISIS terrorist organization. In addition, this thesis also aimed to highlight the fact that all nation-states are targeted by radical terrorist organizations. Terrorism, which affects every aspect of life, has accelerated its evolution even further in recent years with the opportunities offered by the digital world. This situation included the concept of new terrorism in our lives expeditiously. What distinguishes this thesis from other studies is that ISIS is examined within the scope of social movement theory in terms of the new terrorism perspective because as the term of new terrorism has not been studied before in terms of this theoretical approach. The new propaganda methods which are developed by ISIS and how to prevent them have analyzed better thanks to social movement theory within the scope of this thesis. To conclude, this research aimed to provide a contribution to terrorism studies from the viewpoint of discussion on modern terrorism and help

develop a structure for understanding political violence. To recognize terror as a form of political violence is crucial to develop and enforce policies that combat terrorism efficiently.

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