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Religious Messages in DEASH's Media: The Case of Konstantiniyye Magazine*

DAEŞ Medyasında Dini Mesajlar: Konstantiniyye Dergisi Örneği

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Abstract: Since the beginning of 2000s, the atmosphere in the Middle East has led to the emergence of radical terrorist organizations. One of these terrorist organizations is Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (DEASH). The organization, which has become one of the most important problems of the world with its black flags, brutal practices in the regions it has captured, and bombing actions, gained attention with its effective usage of the media. Just as other terrorist organizations, media is one of the basic tools to gain public attention for DEASH. For this purpose, the organization designed its actions in a way that will attract the attention of media to gain visibility in the mainstream media. In addition, there are media organs that the organization manages and uses to motivate the members of the organization. Another important characteristic of the organization is that it has created itself on a religious ground. DEASH emerged with a religious discourse and defined itself so-called "Islamic State". Hence, it is important to reveal what is the meaning of religion for DEASH. This study aims to analyse DEASH's religious messages through the organization's Turkish publication, Konstantiniyye Magazine. DAESH has made extensive use of the opportunities technology offers to the media, and has also published many digital magazines in this regard. Konstantiniyye is a digital magazine published by DEASH between May 2015 and August 2016 in seven volumes. It wasn't published after DEASH lost Dabiq. Because Dabiq region had a central position in DEASH's religious discourse. In the study, the analysis of the religious messages in the magazine is based on the content and discourse analysis methods.

Structured Abstract: Terror is a reality of this century. Almost all countries are affected by this reality one way or another. Defense expenditures, border security and migration policies are only some basic issues which are affected by terror. Moreover, terror affects public opinion by fear. Citizens living in countries affected by terror have a life full of fear and can hold their governments responsible for this situation. Indeed, this is one of the basic aims of terrorist organizations. They kill one and terrify a thousand. Media is the key element on this process. Terrorist organizations use media as an effective tool, just as guns and bombs to achieve their objectives. In this context DAESH can be considered as one of the significant illustrations of terrorist organizations that benefit the media effectively and build existence largely through the media. Considering that the ground on which DAESH has created itself is religion, the messages regarding religion gain significance in terms of making determinations about the organization. As it is known, terrorist organizations create themselves through a certain ideology. In organizations such as DAESH, which are

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accepted as terrorist organizations with "religious origins" in the literature, this ideology leaves its place to religion. In this context, the subject of this study is the analysis of DAESH's religious messages. This analysis will be carried out through the Turkish publication of DAESH, Konstantinye. Terror and terrorism studies have a comprehensive literature. A great number of studies which focus religion-oriented terrorist organizations including DEASH are available. Although existence of this huge literature, it is seen that studies on religious messages of DEASH through media are limited. Revealing religious messages given by DEASH through media is important both for understanding organization's religion perspective and media usage. The study will also include an assessment of the relationship between terror and the media and the position of DAESH on this point.

Within in the scope of the study, answers were sought to following questions: How did DEASH benefit from the media? What is the place of religion in DEASH's media messages? Which religious themes did DAESH bring to the fore? What kind of discourse does DAESH have while giving religious messages through the media? Content analysis and discourse analysis methods were used to find answers to these questions. The magazine Konstantinye, published by DAESH for Turkish speakers, was chosen as an example. All content in the magazine was categorized by content analysis method, and the weight of religious messages in all messages was determined. Then, content analysis method was applied to specifically religious messages. Finally, religious messages were examined with discourse analysis and how the organization built a discourse on religion was examined.

As a result of the study, the analysis made specifically for the Konstantiyee revealed that a little more than half of the magazine's content was devoted to religious messages. This is related to the importance that the organization attaches to the spread of its understanding of religion. As it is known, a moderate Islamic tradition based on Sufism is dominant in Türkiye. Addressing Türkiye, where radical views have difficulty in finding a base, the organization gave its priority to conveying its radical religious views. It is not possible for people who do not adopt the Islamic interpretation followed by DAESH to look at the organization with sympathy. For this reason, the organization primarily tried to consolidate its interpretation of religion in its magazine addressing Turkish speakers. In these contents, which try to position Türkiye outside of Islam, the organization's discourse has been shaped around concepts such as "friend of the crusader, apostate, infidel".

DAESH has frequently used verses and hadiths as a part of its discourse while giving its religious messages. The organization highlighted certain verses and hadiths and presented them out of context. In this way, the religious and political understanding represented by the organization was tried to be legitimized. The organization presented the religion of Islam as a religion of war with an exclusionary rhetoric. This situation has also manifested itself in the concept sets used in the magazine. While concepts such as kufr, polytheism, infidel, and war are frequently repeated, concepts with positive contexts such as peace, and tolerance are rarely used. The organization explained what was wrong at the discursive level and presented itself as the correct one.

In terms of religious messages DAESH's discourse has two main characteristics: affirmation of the Islamic State (in other words, equating itself with Islam) and the praise of war. The organization has shown itself as an address, regardless of the religious subject it gives a message to. In the discourse of the organization, the only place where Islam can be lived correctly and effectively is the regions under the control of it. This discourse was tried to be strengthened by the messages that the organization applied the provisions of Allah in the lands it seized, that there were no harams in the lands in question, and that there was no safe place for Muslims outside of these lands. By equating itself with Islam, DAESH established itself as one front and the rest of the world as another. This discourse, which seems to be compatible with the organization's strategy of not cooperating with any group and asking for allegiance directly, has a subtext of "me and the other". The messages that fighting against DAESH is actually fighting against Allah and Islam can also be addressed within the scope of this discourse. At this point, it also should be emphasized that DAESH calls its followers to war at every opportunity and speaks of the war with religious enthusiasm. In addition, a fear-themed language was used by expressing that great punishments await those who do not participate in the war.

Key Words: Communication Studies, Media, Terror, DAESH, Content Analysis

Öz: 2000'li yılların başından itibaren Ortadoğu'daki atmosfer radikal terör örgütlerinin ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Bu örgütlerden bir tanesi de Irak ve Şam İslam Devleti'dir (DAEŞ). Siyah bayrakları ve ele geçirdiği bölgelerdeki vahşi uygulamaları ile dünyanın en önemli sorunlarından birisi haline gelen örgüt, medyayı kullanım biçimi ile dikkat çekmiştir. Tıpkı diğer terör örgütleri için olduğu gibi DAEŞ için de medya, kamuoyunun dikkatini çekmenin temel araçlarından birisidir. Örgüt, bu amaç doğrultusunda ana akım medyada görünürlük kazanmak için gerçekleştirdiği eylemleri medyanın ilgisini çekecek şekilde kurgulamıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, örgütün kendisinin yönettiği ve örgüt üyelerini motive etmek için de kullandığı medya organları mevcuttur. DAEŞ'in bir diğer önemli karakteristiği ise kendisini dini bir zeminde var etmiş olmasıdır. DAEŞ dini bir söylem ile ortaya çıkmış ve kendisini sözde İslam Devleti olarak tanımlamıştır. Bu nedenle, DAEŞ için dinin ne anlama geldiğini ortaya koymak önemlidir. Bu çalışma, örgütün Türkçe yayın organı olan Konstantiniyye Dergisi üzerinden örgütün dini söylemini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. DAEŞ, teknolojinin medyaya sunduğu imkânlardan yoğun şekilde faydalanmış, bu minvalde birçok dijital dergi de çıkarmıştır. Konstantiniyye, DAEŞ tarafından Mayıs 2015 ve Ağustos 2016 arasında yedi sayı yayınlanmış bir dijital dergidir. DAEŞ Dabık bölgesini kaybettikten sonra dergi yayınlanmamıştır. Çünkü Dabık, DAEŞ'in dini söyleminde merkezi bir konuma sahiptir. Çalışmada, dergideki dini mesajların analizi içerik ve söylem analizi yöntemlerine dayanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İletişim Çalışmaları, Medya, Terör, DAEŞ, İletişim Çalışmaları, İçerik Analizi

Introduction

Media is a phenomenon which is in the center of political and social life in this century. The media, which is identified as a fourth power- after legislature, executive and judiciary is placed significance and employed by almost all political and social actors. Similarly, terrorist organizations use media as an effective tool, just as guns and bombs to achieve their objectives. Terrorist organizations have begun to undergo structural transformations in the axis of the media, associated with the relationship that they have established with the media and, moreover, they have started to have their own media outlets. These organizations, whose aim is to disrupt the social order and create chaos, utilize both conventional and social media intensively to acquire these goals. In this context DAESH can be considered as one of the significant illustrations of terrorist organizations that benefit the media effectively and build existence largely through the media.

Since 2014, DAESH has abruptly commenced to rise to the top of the world agenda with its black flags, brutal methods, and militants who take satisfaction from killing people. Although its recognition has enlarged with the way it is featured in the media, the history of the organization dates back to relatively old times. The foundations of the organization were laid in Afghanistan at the end of the 90s, later it relocated to Iraq and operated as the Iraqi branch of Al-Qaeda. Over time, troubles arose between two actors and DAESH initiated to act independently from Al Qaeda. The organization, which spread to Syria after the civil war, started to be considered as one of the most significant predicaments in the world after it occupied Mosul, one of the largest cities of Iraq, and then declared the caliphate. It can be said that one of the most critical factors behind the organization's worldwide "reputation" is the importance it attaches to the media and the media tools it uses.

Media tools have been utilized by terrorist organizations since their existence. The DAESH which is one of the terrorist organizations that utilizes the media most sophisticatedly for many purposes such as propaganda, recruiting and intimidation, stands in a disparate place both with the way it takes place in the mainstream media and the media tools it manages. Since the it has adopted the whole world as its target audience, DAESH has used its media tools in a multilingual way. In this context it has published in many languages such as English, French and Arabic, as well as in Turkish. Moreover, it aims to reach not only those living in the Republic of Türkiye but also everyone whose mother tongue is Turkish, with its Turkish publications. Multilingual publication has a very central place in the communication strategy of DAESH, and it has shown itself mostly in digital magazines. It has published digital magazines in the language of the audience it is

addressing, by this way has attempted to mobilize its members and made political/religious propaganda through these magazines.

Considering that the ground on which DAESH has created itself is religion, the messages regarding religion gain significance in terms of making determinations about the organization. As it is known, terrorist organizations create themselves through a certain ideology. In organizations such as DAESH, which are accepted as terrorist organizations with "religious origins" in the literature, this ideology leaves its place to religion. In this context, the subject of this study is the analysis of DAESH's religious messages. This analysis will be carried out through the Turkish publication of DAESH, the *Konstantiniyye*. The determination of the religious messages in the aforementioned magazine will be carried out by the use of content and discourse analysis methods together. Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use (Krippendorff, 2019, p. 18). On the other hand, discourse analysis is the analysis of language in its social context (McCarthy and others, 2019, p. 17). In addition, the study will also include an assessment of the relationship between terror and the media and the position of DAESH on this point.

Terror, Media and DEASH

Terror, just as many other concepts of social sciences, does not have a universal definition. There are many different reasons behind the lack of an agreed definition. First of all, it must be said that terror can be handled according to the perspective of the person or institution examining the concept, and moreover, in terms of history, psychology, value judgments, culture, ideology and law. The evaluation and definition to be originated on the concept can be varied according to these points of views (Aydn, 2012, p. 31). In other words, the way scientists approach the subject, and the diversity of terror can be cited as the reason for the different definitions of terror (Devran, 2015, p. 89). Also, there are external reasons for the development of a common definition of terror, as well as factors arising from the nature of the concept. The non-stationary, constantly shifting and differentiating nature of the concept makes it difficult to reach a common definition. In other words, definitions of terror vary depending on the periodical development of the concept (Şen & Özuyar, 2015, p. 11). The lack of a universally accepted definition of the concept brings along various difficulties both at the academic level, and fighting against terror.

Terror is considered a crime as well as being the subject of academic research. In order to an act to constitute a terrorist crime and the perpetrator to be punished according to this crime, it must contain elements of terror (TBB, 2006, p. 205). Although there is no common definition of terror, the general opinion is that acts of violence that do not contain three basic elements, ideology, organization and action, cannot be defined as terror (Şen & Özuyar, 2015, p. 56). As it can be understood from that, the basic elements of terror are ideology, organization, and action. Ideology is related to the starting point and ultimate purpose, organization determines the organizational model and action affects the target and form of action of terror (Özaydemir, 2009, p. 60). Any action that does not contain all these elements is not considered as terror.

It seems not easy to explain terror for a single reason because it is fed by quite divergent dynamics, and it has a complex structure. For this reason, a specific template which includes the reasons of terror is not available. Hence, to evaluate each terrorist organization with the dynamics of the society and political atmosphere in which it was born is a more appropriate approach. As Acar (2012, p. 169) also states, it is impossible to determine the causes of terror one by one and to reach a conclusion that there is terror in countries where these conditions exist, or that there is no terrorism in countries where these conditions do not exist. This is because terror is a multi-factor and very complex phenomenon. For this reason, it would be a more appropriate approach to avoid from certain judgments while explaining the causes of terrorism and to try to develop organization or country-based explanations.

Terror usually creates itself with an ideology. According to Baharçecek (2000, p. 12), terrorist movements can also emerge based on social, political, religious and ethnic grounds. Şimşek (2016, p. 326) points out that in addition to religious, ideological, socio-economic, political, psychological and cultural reasons, terror can occur due to many reasons, such as historical factors, pressure from leaders, state persecution, violations of international law, and deprivation of fundamental rights. Çelik (2016, pp. 167-168) mentions the expression "probable dynamics that trigger terrorist activities or create a favorable ground for its intensification" instead of the expression "causes of terrorism", and according to him these possible dynamics are; economic factors, such as, income level, human development level and income distribution injustice; political factors, such as, the level of democratization, form of government, political status, and political instability, and spatial factors such as geography.

In the modern world, the media is at the center of political and academic debates just like terror. Today, the media is considered the fourth power after the legislature, executive, and judiciary. Therefore, the path of all actors in social and political life somehow intersects with the media. Terrorist organizations are no exception. Terrorist organizations that want to influence the society and the state within the framework of their own purposes develop relations with the media in various forms. These various relationships constitute terror-media relationship literature. The relationship between terror and the media is commonly expressed as a two-way relationship. The mutual interests between the media and terror determine this two-way relationship. While the media ensures that terrorist acts are heard by large masses, terrorist incidents also cause the media to be followed more (Akçay & Çelenay, 2012, p. 185). At this point, it can be stated that the primary purpose of terrorist acts is to attract media attention. While terror seeks to create social outrage by using the media, the media also gains ratings and financial gain by exaggerating terrorist incidents and making them a material for manipulation, by repeating the same scenes over and over (Devran, 2015, p. 89).

Wilkinson (1997, p. 52) describes terror and media relationship as "symbiotic". The symbiotic relationship, which is expressed as an intertwined and mutually interconnected utilitarian understanding, works for the benefit of both parties. This mutually nurturing bilateral relationship, on the one hand, provides terrorists with opportunities to express themselves and their demands and become popular; on the other hand, it produces resources that can satisfy the news hunger of the media. Thanks to this relationship, terrorist movements, which do not have the right to advertise and cannot speak publicly, compete to win advertising hours through the media (Kazan, 2016, p. 111). In this context, on the one hand, the media's reporting of terrorist events is important for today's international terrorists, and on the other hand, for media outlets with a completely independent status, announcing political actions and news to their readers and listeners is of particular importance in direct proportion to the fact that the country being experienced is a democratic rule of law (Örgün, 2004, p. 81). Considering the aims of terrorism, such as, attracting attention, creating chaos, calling for taking sides, weakening the resistance of the society, and subduing it (Aydın, 2012, pp. 41-43), it becomes clear why terrorist organizations attach so much importance to the media. The fact that many terrorist organizations describe their attacks as "armed propaganda" also includes references to the relationship between terror and the media.

When it comes to the relationship of terrorist organizations with the media, it can be said that one of the most sophisticated examples is DAESH. At this point, it is worth focusing on DAESH, both in terms of its forms of action and the way it uses the media. Although DAESH came to the fore in the world agenda after it started to control large areas in Iraq and Syria, it is an organization that dates back to older times. The organization, whose origins can be traced back to the Soviet-Afghan struggle in the 1980s, is a terrorist organization that eventually evolved from Al-Qaeda (Erdoğan & Deligöz, 2015, p. 22). According to Acun (2014, p. 1), history of the organization is based on the understanding of "jihad" that emerged as a response to the Soviet occupation in the Islamic world. The concept of "jihad", the theory of which was created by

Abdullah Azzam and given a global dimension by Osama Bin Laden in the organizational sense, was channeled DAESH after the US invasion of Iraq. This brought along the process that brought DAESH into existence.

Abu Musa Ez-Zarqawi laid the foundations of the organization in 1999 with the establishment of the organization called Jama'at al-Tawhid wal-Jihad in Afghanistan. In 2004, the organization declared its loyalty to Al-Qaeda, which it felt close to intellectually, and took the name "Al-Qaeda in Iraq" or "Al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia" (DIYK, 2015, p. 12). After Abu Musa Zarqawi was killed by the USA on 7 June 2006 in Iraq, Abu Hamza al Muhacir became the leader of the organization (Cengil & Aydın, 2014, p. 53). Later, in 2006, it came together with some small Sunni groups operating in Iraq and took the name "Mujahideen Shura Council". It declared its name as "Islamic State of Iraq" in the same year, and then changed it to "Islamic State of Iraq and Damascus" in 2013. The organization finally changed its name to "Islamic State" in June 2015, after it occupied Mosul and declared the caliphate.

DAESH is a terrorist organization that emerged and became stronger at the end of a long historical process. There are also various approaches to the factors that make the organization exist. For instance, Kurtuluş (2016, p. 37) states the occupation process in Iraq and the division, and fragmentation process in Syria as the reasons that revealed DAESH. On the other hand, Berktaş (2016, pp. 98-104) states that the decline of the Islamic world against the West, the Palestinian issue, the occupation of Afghanistan and the occupation of Iraq are the reasons of emerge of DAESH. As a result, it can be claimed that the developments that have made DAESH such an important problem in the world are the US invasion/withdrawal of Iraq and the authority vacuum formed after it, the sectarian-oriented policies of Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki and the Syrian Civil War.

The US invasion of Iraq due to the weapons claimed to be in the hands of the Saddam regime ignited the first fuse for the emergence of DAESH, along with many crises. The occupation of an Islamic country by a Western state caused jihadists from all over the world to flock to this country to resist the occupation. In the first years following the invasion, a structure called the Interim Coalition Authority was established by the United States in order to govern Iraq. With the decisions taken by this structure, it has signed a liquidation involving about 30 thousand soldiers from the Iraqi Army by taking a decision that soldiers with the top four ranks in the Iraqi army will not be employed in any government jobs. This decision was followed by a second decision approving the removal of soldiers serving in Special Forces and intelligence units from the army. With such decisions taken, disaffected, unemployed, resentful professional soldiers in Iraq, who see the US as responsible for this situation and whose number reaches 300,000 have become potential militants (Şenol and others, 2016, pp. 279-280). On the other hand, DAESH used this situation for its own interests by promising to take back what belongs to them and take revenge on the West to those who feel that they have been wronged due to the occupation in this environment (Hatehat, 2015, p. 3). In the years that followed it was no surprise that many of DAESH's senior commanders were former Iraqi army commanders. Because of the occupation, a new battlefield has been born in terms of groups with radical ideas, and large masses of people who feel a sense of hopelessness have begun to join radical groups; at least sympathize with these groups. (ORSAM, 2014, p. 7). DAESH has recruited a significant number of militants by taking advantage of the socio-psychological conditions of these people (Şenol and others, 2016, p. 280). Another important point that needs to be expressed here is that this process proceeded on a sectarian basis. The disappearance of the Sunni Arab identity of the country with the invasion of Iraq, and the exclusion of the Sunni Arab section from the newly created system has been an significant factor in the increase of local participation in DAESH (ORSAM, 2014, p. 10). These problems caused by the US occupation but did not end with the withdrawal of the US from Iraq, and the problems deepened further and a serious authority vacuum has emerged in the region. Together with the

policies of the Maliki government, which came to power after the invasion, this situation provided a unique ground for DAESH.

Unlike other terrorist organizations, DAESH has become known in the world public opinion with the way it uses the media. The organization has been discussed with its use of the media as much as its ideological stance and armed actions. Haykel (2016, p. 77), who likens DAESH's usage of media to soft power, states that this aspect of the organization is quite sophisticated. It used a wide spectrum to carry out its propaganda activities. Establishing media centers that are exactly the same as a professional communication agency, publishing high-quality videos, publishing magazines, making multilingual publications and using smartphone applications are just a few examples from this range (Türkoğlu, 2017, p. 167). In addition, the internet has had a very central place in DAESH's media usage. It has closely followed the communication trends on the internet and used them for its own purposes. Besides these technical features, DAESH's media contents are different from other terrorist groups. It is frequently expressed that purpose of DAESH to build a power by using the fear, both among its subordinates and among other groups in the region (Williams, 2016, p. 3, Khawaja & Khan, 2016, p. 104, NATO, 2016, p. 33). It can be said that the way of spreading fear of DAESH is media. The publications, which are the expression of the brutality of the organization, are evaluated in this context. The reason why the video recordings of punishment methods such as beheading, burning alive and throwing people from high buildings are widely seen in all media organs of DAESH- is given the organization's desire to spread fear against both its own members and enemies. Therefore, it can be concluded that the theme of fear has a central position in DAESH's media strategy.

DAESH has established a relationship between legitimacy and power, tried to legitimize its actions, which may even draw the reaction of an ordinary person in a religious sense and tried to show its power in the virtual and real world (Shamieh & Szenes, 2015, p. 7). In this vein, the motivation of the organization to gain legitimacy lies the aim of making the state status accepted (Williams, 2016, p. 3). For this reason, DAESH's communication strategy aimed to convince all Muslims that it is a religious duty to fight for the resurrection of a Caliphate, and it used the media in very sophisticated ways for that aim (Farwell, 2015, p. 49). With these methods, the organization wanted to gain legitimacy in the eyes of both its members and potential supporters. Moreover, the dynamic underlying the effort to establish legitimacy is the claim to be the only true representative of Muslims. This media strategy, which can be seen as an acquiescence production process, also included the use of violence. In this context, DAESH's media strategy has some characteristic features. When all of the media tools used by the organization are considered, these features become evident. Taşdemir (2017, p. 746), states that the main characteristic of DAESH's media strategy are religious, frightening-intimidating, propaganda, destructive- divisive and persuasive, horizontal and vertical character. Greene (2015, pp. 41-45) lists the characteristics of the organization's media use as the fact that those who produce the contents have received Western education, the effort to achieve religious and political legitimacy, the intensive use of violence, the divided world discourse and the immorality of the world outside itself, and the characterization of those who do not support the organization as apostates. According to De Cuia (2015, p. 33), the main characteristics of the organization in the media point are the ability to simultaneously reach both friends and enemies, the synchronization of narrative and action, the centrality of the DAESH brand and the framing of messages with apocalyptic rhetoric. Winter (2015, p. 19), who deals with the organization's media usage at the tactical and strategic level, states that the tactical level is aimed at getting results in the short term, such as gaining more foreign fighters or escalating terrorism, while the strategic level rather includes long-term goals, such as establishing a solid organizational structure or creating a caliphate image. As it can be understood from all these approaches, the organization used the media in an extremely well planned, organized and professional manner and consciously constructed the messages they gave.

DAESH has used the mass media for its purpose, but its own media organs seem more sophisticated. In this context, one of the media tools used by the organization, which wants to explain its ideological infrastructure in detail and deepen its communication, has been digital magazines. In these publications, information such as events that are on the agenda of the organization and the world, articles written on martyrdom, jihad, what the enemy is, and life in the Islamic State were included, and an ideological infrastructure was tried to be created based on this (Türkoğlu, 2017, p. 168). The main digital magazines in question are Islamic State News, Dabiq (later Rumiya), Islamic State Report and Konstantiniyye (Taşdemir, 2017, p. 743). The digital magazine of DAESH, which is published for Turkish natives, and which is considered as a case study in this study, is Kostantiniyye. The magazine defined not only those living in Türkiye but also Turks living in Western countries as its target audience (ORSAM, 2016, p. 2). Kostantiniyye, one of the old names of Istanbul, which was chosen as the name of the magazine, both means an emphasis on locality and is presented as a part of the scenario of the re-conquest of Istanbul, which is also emphasized from time to time in Dabiq (Yeşiltaş and others, 2016, p. 25). The magazine contains articles on many different topics, including the services that the organization has declared in the so-called Islamic State, the military operations it has carried out, the fatwas it has given on current issues, and the commentaries on the foreign policy of the terrorist organization. DAESH stated that its main objective in publishing the magazine is to inform people in Türkiye and to prevent misunderstandings about itself (ORSAM, 2016b, p. 5). Although the magazine was published online, it was sometimes illegally printed by the members of the organization and distributed to its members and sympathizers in Türkiye.

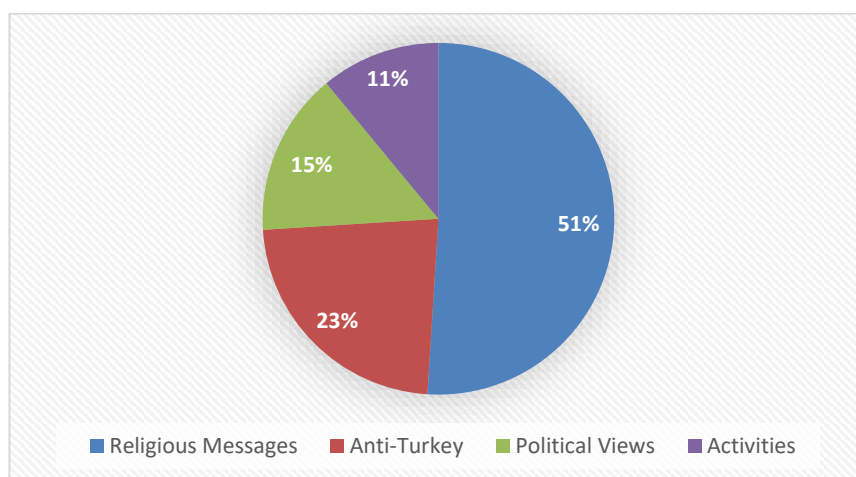
Considering that the ground on which DAESH creates itself is religion, the presence of religion in the above-mentioned media strategy gains importance. In this respect, the analysis of the messages given by the organization on religion in the media is important in terms of revealing the character of the organization. In this context, in this part of the study, the religious themes in the Konstantiniyye will be focused, and the understanding of religion revealed by the organization will be analyzed with content and discourse analysis methods.

Konstantiniyye and Religious Messages of DEASH

Konstantiniyye is a magazine published in Turkish by DAESH, with seven issues between May 2015 and August 2016. The magazine includes two main contents. Some articles are originally produced for Turkish natives and others are translation of articles from DAESH's different magazines. Konstantiniyye, chosen as the name of the magazine, is the name of Istanbul before the Ottoman conquest of the city. Through this naming, DAESH aimed to give the message that Istanbul will be re-conquered. When DAESH lost Dabiq region in 2016, the publication life of the magazine ended. After this stage, DAESH also ended the publication of the English-language journal Dabiq, and started to publish a journal called Rumiya, which was published in many languages, including Turkish. In this part of the study, the religious messages in Konstantiniyye will be focused. After a general evaluation of the contents in the magazine, the weight of religious messages among the general content will be determined and these messages will be examined by content and discourse analysis methods.

Konstantiniyye has covered various issues within the framework of the general religious and ideological tendencies of the DAESH. In the examination made on all the published issues of the magazine, it was seen that the contents of the magazine could be examined under the titles of Religious Messages, Anti-Türkiye, Political Opinions and Activities. Regardless of the category, the organization has prepared the contents of the magazine from its own religious-ideological perspective. As a result of the categorization of the contents in Konstantiniyye, it was determined that 51% of the contents were Religious Messages, 23% Anti-Türkiye, 15% Political Views and 11% Activities.

As it can be seen in the graph showing the distribution of the contents in Konstantiniyye according to sub-categories, the most contacted category is Religious Messages. From this point of view, it can be said that the primary purpose of the DAESH's Turkish journal is to explain the organization's understanding of religion to its followers and to build a paradigm within the religious framework. Anti-Türkiye follows this. The organization made publications in this category to provoke its followers living in Türkiye against the state they live in. The political views and activities of the organization were also used as a motivation tool.

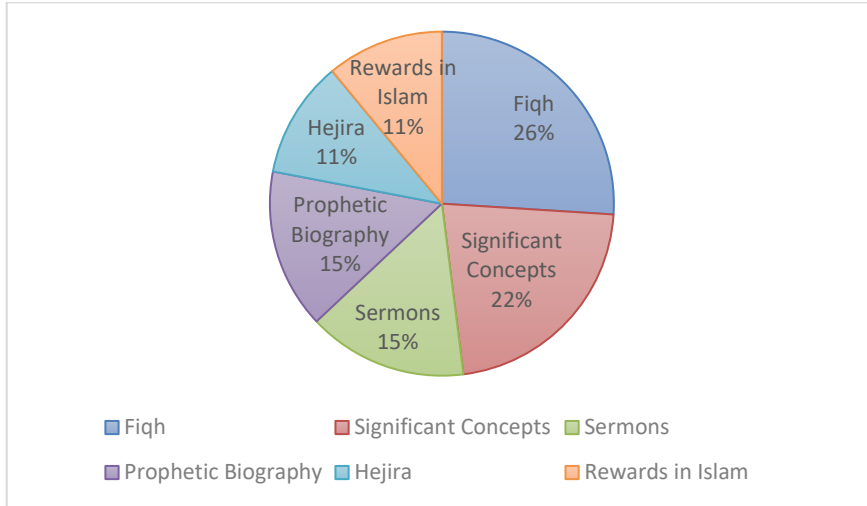


Graph 1: Contents in Konstantiniyye

In the examination made on the magazine, it was seen that the categories of Religious Messages and Anti-Türkiye are included in all issues of the magazine. While the categories of Activities and Political Opinions are not continuous, these two categories are covered continuously and intensively. It can be thought that this situation contains clues about the aim of the magazine. The continuity of these two categories can give rise to the impression that DAESH aims to impose its own religious perspective on its Turkish-speaking followers and provoke them against Türkiye. DAESH follows a Salafist interpretation of Islam. This religious perspective affects all religious messages in Konstantiniyye. In this context, DAESH's religious messages are consisting of these subheadings: fiqh (Islamic law), prophetic biography emphasizing the period of the Prophet Muhammad, hejira (a kind of emigration), the deciphers of the sermons given by the senior figures of the organization, the articles describing the concepts such as jihad and lastly rewards in Islam. Articles about all these subheadings was produced under effect of Salafist and radical religious point of view.

The most prominent content in the Religious Messages category is the articles expressing the organization's fiqh understanding. As it is known, fiqh refers to Islamic law. The organization tried to provide a formation to its followers on issues related to fiqh. In this context, firstly, articles about marriage law draw attention. Issues that can be considered as the subject of civil law are tackled within the framework of the religious understanding of DAESH. "Marry 2, 3, 4", "Law of Slaves and Odaliques in Islam" and "Advice to Martyr's Wives" titles are examples of this category. Secondly, it can be told about articles about war law. Under titles such as "Dispute Etiquette in Darul Islam", "The Permissibility and Virtue of Istishadi Operations" and "Definition of the Harbi Kafirun", DAESH told to its members how they should behave in war. The organization also included various fatwas in this category. One of the interesting examples of these writings is the fatwa titled "The Judgement on Meat from Türkiye", which defines meat from Türkiye as haram.

DAESH has brought some concepts to the fore within the framework of the Salafist understanding. This situation is also seen in the *Konstantiniyye*. Concepts such as apostate, shirk, jihad and takfir can be given as examples. These contents were written in a completely didactic style, and with these articles, the organization aimed to teach its followers the meanings attributed to these concepts by the organization. This situation was also reflected in the titles of the articles, and titles such as "Who is Called an Apostate?", "Shirk in Prayer" came to the fore. It can be considered that paying attention to these concepts and trying to teach their contents to the members of the organization is compatible with the general ideology of the organization.



Graph 2: Religious Messages in *Konstantiniyye*

Some senior figures of DAESH have given sermons in various environments from time to time. It has published the transcripts of these sermons in its magazines. These sermons, mainly given in Arabic, were translated into Turkish and published in the *Konstantiniyye* as well. The content of the sermons in question generally reflected religious perspective of DAESH. These sermons, given under titles such as "O Our People, Respond to God's Invitation", "Let the Living Live with Clear Evidence", "Come to War, Lightly or Hardly", are important in that they reflect the religious understanding of the leadership of the organization. In addition, it can be thought that the content in question was prepared by the leaders of the organization, with the aim of increasing the impact on the followers.

DAESH regarded everything that it believed to have been added to Islam later, as *bidat*, and claimed that the problems of the Islamic world could be solved by returning to the practices in the time of the Prophet. This situation was also reflected in the publications of the organization, and it frequently referred the life of the Prophet and the practices in his period. The Age of Bliss has been described with its own perspectives under titles such as "Nabawi State", "Some Moments of Trouble Threatening the Nabawi State", "Economic and Military Situation of the Nabawi State". While the mentioned period was idealized, DAESH emphasized that only it can revive this period and returned to Prophet's practices. It is possible to evaluate that the DAESH's idealization of Prophet period and expressing itself as the actor who can revive this period is also an expression of the search for a ground of legitimacy.

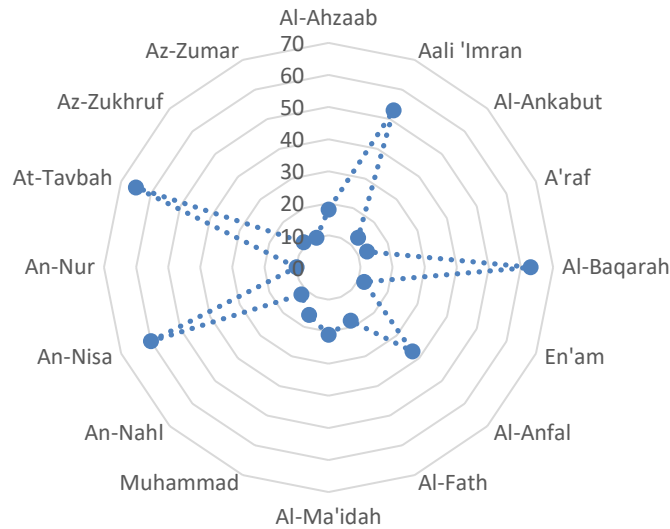
DAESH frequently used the concept of "hejirah" in order to recruit staff. This concept originally refers to Prophet's immigration from Makkah to Madinah. But DAESH defines the concept as immigration to the regions under the control of the organization with the aim to join it. By this way, DAESH shown itself as the true representative of Prophet's time as define its potential militants as people who follow Prophet's path. Also, DAESH published some articles on the

religious dimension of hejirah. Both the religious meaning of the concept and the necessity of "hejirah" for the purpose of joining the organization were emphasized with the titles such as "Hejirah", "There is no excuse for those who do not Hejirah" and "The Judgement of Hejirah". In the aforementioned articles, a connection was made between the hejirah experienced during the Prophet's era and participation in the organization, and it was emphasized that it was not religiously appropriate not to "hejirah" to DAESH because the "real" state of Muslims was established.

Finally, on the religious messages in the Konstantiniyye, the category of Rewards in Islam can be mentioned. In the contents of this category, the rewards of being a "good Muslim" in the sight of Allah are mentioned. What is meant by being a good Muslim here is to be affiliated with the DAESH and to adopt the understanding of religion perspective of the it. Under titles such as "The Reward of the Muttaqis" and "The Establishments of the Victory that Brings Allah's Help", the claim that joining the organization will carry a person to a good place in the sight of Allah has been voiced.

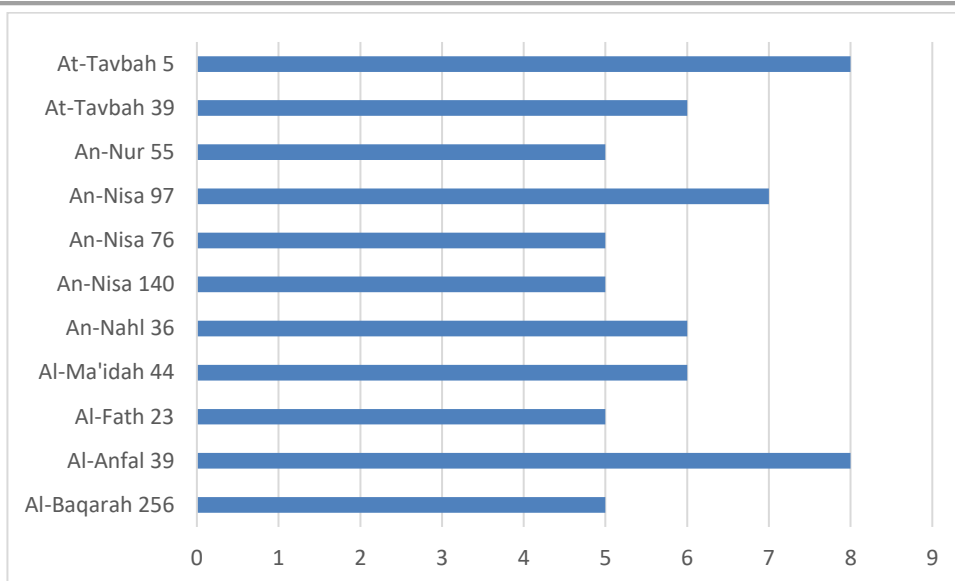
DAESH quite extensively utilized verses and hadiths (words of Prophet) while giving its religious messages. As it is known verses of Quran and hadiths are the main pillars of the religion of Islam. However, it should be stated from the beginning that these uses were shaped around the organization's own interpretation of Islam. While there are different points of view in Islam, especially in the interpretation of verses (tafsir), DAESH has presented its own interpretation by absolutizing the use of verses and hadiths. The intense use of verses and hadiths, which can also be evaluated in terms of increasing credibility and persuasion capacity, also shows the importance that the organization attaches to conveying the religious understanding it has adopted to its followers. A total of 609 verses and 285 hadiths were cited in the seven issues of Konstantiniyye. This means that averagely 87 verses and 40.71 hadiths were used in each issue. The aforementioned verses and hadiths, which are often referred to out of their context and which are expected to form the basis of legitimacy in the subject the organization deals with, have been inserted into the texts in a very professional way. Immediately after the verse and hadith, the interpretations of the senior figures of the religious understanding adopted by the organization were conveyed, and these interpretations and comments were approached as if they were a part of the verse and hadith. It is clear that there are many traditions where interpret the verses of the Qur'an and the hadiths. DAESH ignored this pluralism in Islam and presented its own interpretation of verses and hadiths by making it absolute. In the Konstantiniyye, the religious interpretation of the organization was presented as Islam itself, or in other words, the true Islam.

When the verses cited in the Konstantiniyye are examined, the Surahs of Tawba, Al-i Imran, Bakara, Anfal, and Nisa come to the fore. From the graphic below, which shows the verses cited ten or more times in the magazine, it is understood that the organization does not quote the verses of the Quran in a balanced way, but by highlighting certain parts. As can be seen in the graphic, the most referenced surah is Surah At-Tawba. The main topics covered in Surah At-Tawba are; relations with the polytheists who broke the agreements, the hypocritical attitude of the hypocrites during the Tabuk expedition, relations with the people of the book, the judgements of jizya and zakat, and the purification of idols (DIB, 2018). When these issues are considered together with the previously mentioned issues that DAESH attaches importance to, there seems to be a harmony. Similarly, the numerous references to Surat al-Baqara, in which many subjects related to Islamic Law are covered, seem to be compatible with the ideological stance of DAESH and the issues it highlights. Regarding the social and legal status of women, which is extremely important for the organization, the fact that Surah Nisa is highlighted stands as a meaningful data as well.



Graph 3: Surahs of Qur'an Frequency in Konstantiniyye

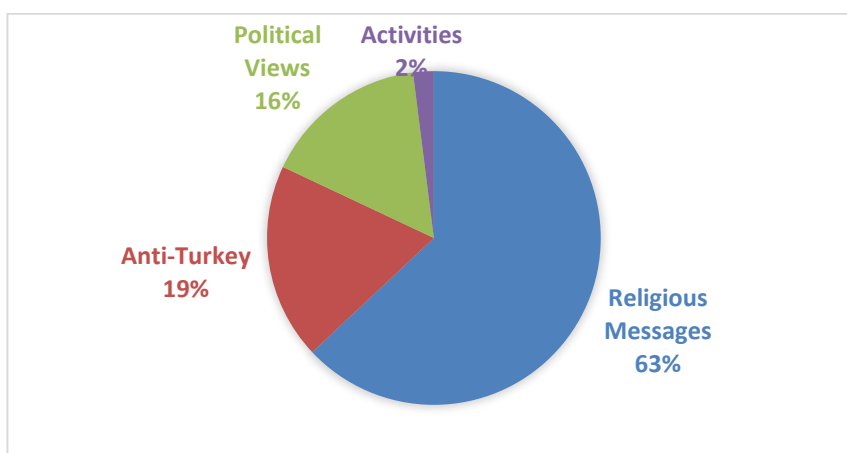
Just as in its approach to the surahs, DAESH has also highlighted some verses in the surahs. The graphic below shows five or more repeated verses. As can be seen, the most prominent verses are the 39th verse of Al-Anfal Surah and the 5th verse of At-Tavbah Surah. The 39th verse of Surah Al-Anfal means; “And fight them until there is no Fitnah (mischief), and total obedience becomes for Allah. So, if they desist, then, Allah is indeed watchful over what they do.” DAESH tries to legitimize its aggressive attitude by repeating the verse frequently. While the organization infers from this verse the meaning of fighting until everyone becomes a Muslim, it ignores the perspectives that interpret the verse as fighting until freedom of religion and conscience is ensured and an environment in which everyone can believe in the religion they want (DIB, 2017). A similar situation is seen in the fifth verse of Surah At-Tavbah. The verse means; “But once the Sacred Months have passed, kill the polytheists who violated their treaties wherever you find them, capture them, besiege them, and lie in wait for them on every way. But if they repent, perform prayers, and pay alms-tax, then set them free. Indeed, Allah is All-Forgiving, Most Merciful.” While there are different approaches regarding the interpretation of the verse, the organization prepared the ground for legitimacy for the massacres it committed through this verse.



Graph 4: Verses of Quran Frequency in Konstantiniyye

The harmony between the issues brought to the fore by the organization and the verses it used is also seen in the 97th verse of Surah An-Nisa. The meaning of this verse is: “While taking the souls of those who were engaged in wronging themselves, the angels asked: ‘In what circumstances were you?’ They replied: ‘We were too weak and helpless in the land.’ The angels said: ‘Was not the earth of Allah wide enough for you to emigrate in it?’ For such men their refuge is Hell – an evil destination indeed.” The word emigration in this verse that means *hejira* is frequently used by the organization. It is meaningful that the organization, which has the discourse that it is not permissible to live anywhere else while there is the so-called Islamic State, frequently uses the verse about the *hejira*. A similar situation can be seen in other frequently used verses.

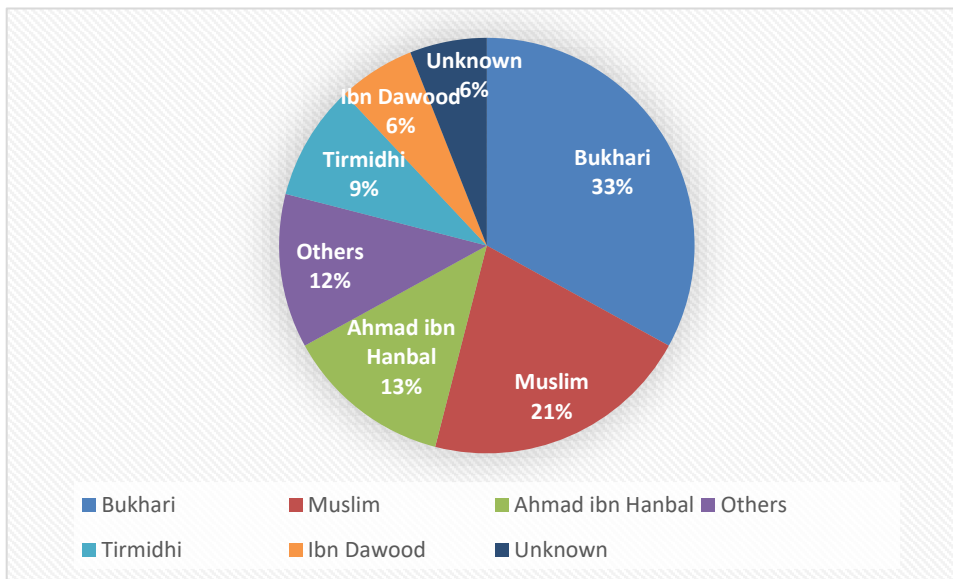
As stated in the previous section, the results of the correlation between the topics that the organization deals with and the use of verses are important in terms of showing on which subjects the organization clings to religion and on which subjects it uses a relatively secular and ideological language. The category that the organization used the most verse was determined as the category of Religious Messages. This is followed by the Anti-Türkiye and Political Views categories.



Graph 5: Issue-Based Verse Usage in Konstantiniyye

DAESH heavily referred to the verses while conveying its own interpretation of religion. 63% of all mentioned verses in the magazine are in religious messages category. From this point of view, it can be claimed that the organization uses the verses to provide legitimacy for its understanding of religion. DAESH cares so much about providing a religious formation to its followers and potential members. Because people who adopt this religious formation can also easily adopt political views and activities of it. Moreover, the main motivation of political behaviors and actions of DAESH is its religious formation. Similarly, DAESH aims to support its Anti-Türkiye opinions with verses. In particular, it seeks persuasiveness through verses in order to provoke its followers living in Türkiye against the Republic of Türkiye. The organization used the verses extensively to convince its followers that they should carry out the attitudes and behaviors that DAESH expect from them, not for the it, but because Allah has written it in his book.

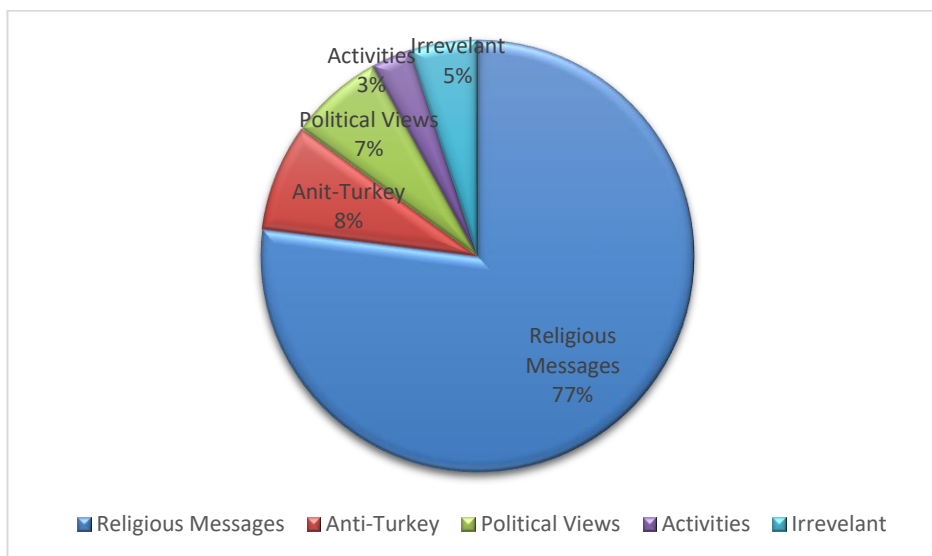
As the source of truth in Islam, after the verses of the Qur'an, Hadiths that are the words of Prophet Muhammad are accepted. DAESH used hadiths extensively, just like the verses. As it is known whether the hadiths are authentic or not is verified by who transmitted the them, and giving references to important hadith transmitters (muhaddis) increases the reliability of the hadith. As it can be seen in the graphic below, DAESH didn't mention a muhaddis only for 6% of all mentioned hadiths. It can be thought that this situation shows the importance that the organization attaches to appearing believable. DAESH, which wants to increase its persuasion ability, strives to make the hadiths understood in the way they want, just like the verses. In addition, as can be seen in the graph, while using the hadiths, DAESH mostly referenced Bukhari and Muslim. These two muhaddis are the most accepted ones in the Islamic world. The muhaddis, which is an important indicator of whether the transmitted hadith is authentic or not, was taken into account by DAESH and the organization turned to the most accepted muhaddises to increase its credibility.



Graph 6: Muhaddises in Konstantiniyye

In the Konstantiniyye, the categories in which the verses are used extensively and the categories in which the hadiths are used are similar. The organization frequently used hadiths in the articles in which it conveyed its own understanding of religion, and highlighted its ideological discourse in other categories. As stated before, one of the main claims of the organization is to return Islam to its essence. Considering that the period of the Prophet is taken as a reference as the essence of Islam, it is understood that the organization is trying to establish a causal relationship between its own practices and the practices in the Prophet's time, by using the hadiths intensively.

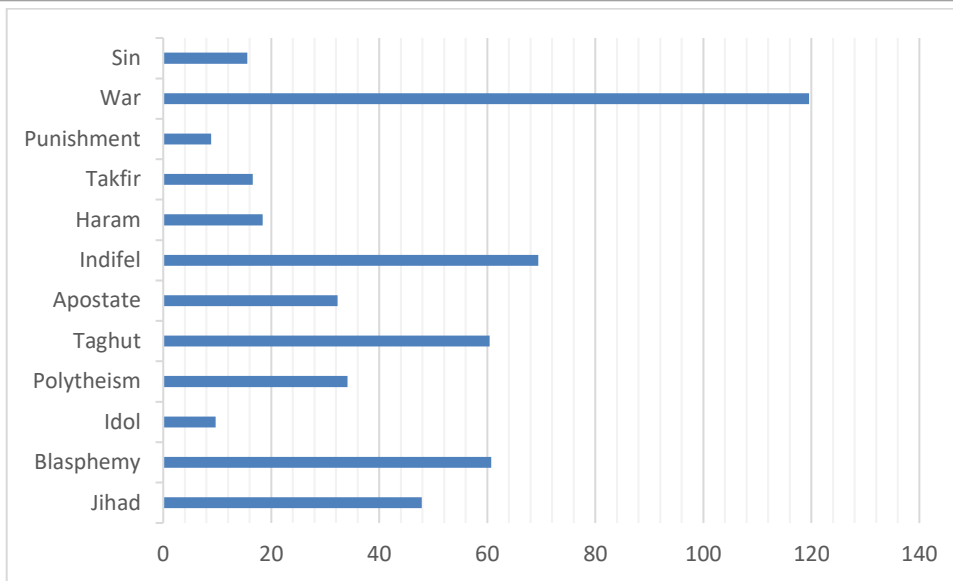
The organization also included various hadiths on the cover, preface and back cover of the magazine, regardless of the subject. In addition to trying to provide legitimacy with the use of hadith, the aim of motivating the members of the organization is also striking.



Graph 7: Issue-Based Hadiths Usage in Konstantiniyye

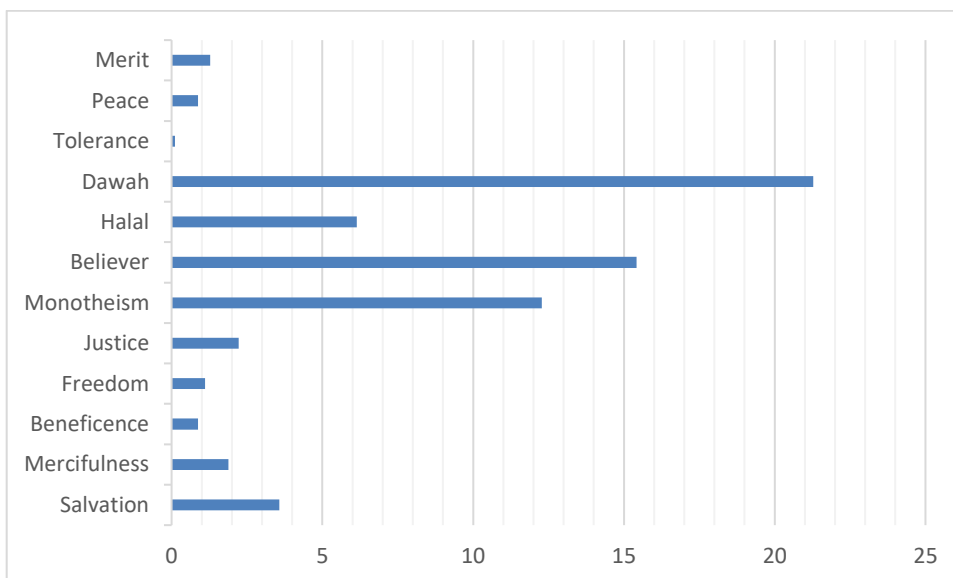
Examining the concepts that the organization emphasizes and/or ignores in order to analyze the religious messages of DAESH can also provide meaningful data. Because frequently used or ignored concepts have the potential to reveal the emotional and behavioral changes that the organization aims to create on its target audience. In this context, the graph below shows the negative concept set that the organization frequently refers to and uses in an exclusionary context. As can be understood from here, DAESH frequently repeated concepts such as war, sin, infidel, apostate, blasphemy, and polytheism. The general tendency in the discourse of the organization is to highlight the negative. This situation reveals that the discourse of the organization is based on fear. Another point that draws attention here is that the organization, which establishes a link between the recruitment of personnel and the discourse, makes frequent reference to the concept of war and develops a discourse that sanctifies and affirms the war.

As can be seen in the graph, the average curve of the organization's negative concept set reaches up to the 120-repetition band. This situation shows the density of negative concepts that the organization uses on average for each issue of Konstantiniyye. The discourse of DAESH in the magazine was built on exclusivism, and it was tried to adopt the ideology of the organization by emphasizing intimidation and punishment. The emphasis on the concept of jihad among the religious messages of the organization is remarkable. In the discourse of the organization, it is often emphasized that jihad is obligatory on all Muslims. Similarly, the "taghut" discourse against the leaders of state and religious groups defined as enemies was also heavily emphasized. The organization has frequently referred to the concepts of "apostate" and "infidel" by repeating the discourse of intimidation by being apostate. In addition, negative concepts such as sin and punishment are frequently used.



Graph 8: Negative Concept Set Averages in Konstantiniyye

DAESH reiterated negative concepts intensively, and used positive concepts rather sparsely. For example, the emphasis on merit is rather faint compared to the emphasis on sin. Similarly, when the emphasis on war is compared with the emphasis on peace or tolerance, a big difference emerges. Although the concept of dawah, which can be interpreted as the opposite of the concept of takfir, is used relatively intensively. But this usage refers to an invitation to the system adopted by the organization. When the concepts of infidel and unbelief are compared with the concepts of believer and salvation, a similar result emerges, and the negative and exclusionary discourse of the organization emerges once again. It can be thought that the main element that feeds this discourse is the organization's way of interpreting religion. Islam has been interpreted as a religion of fear and cruelty in the discourse of DAESH.



Graph 8: Positive Concept Set Averages in Konstantiniyye

The average curve of the positive concept set used in the Konstantiniyye slightly exceeds the maximum 20 repetition band as seen in the graph. Considering that this interval reaches 120 repetition band in the negative concept set, the exclusionary discourse of the organization emerges. The discourse of dawah, believer and monotheism, which are the most repeated positive discourses of the organization, are largely out of context and refer to the organization itself. For example, while the organization was constantly describing who is an infidel, it limitedly defined who the true believer was, and this definition each time resulted in the organization's own understanding of religion. Therefore, it can be claimed that DAESH has created a context problem by referring to its own understanding of religion in its positive discourse, and even here it has a negative connotation. The organization especially stayed away from the concepts of peace and freedom, and almost never used these concepts. While explaining what haram in Islam is very intensely, the halals are emphasized very little. In conclusion, positive concept set averages graph also confirms the organization's discourse based on fear and exclusion.

In the analysis of DAESH's religious messages, the themes of equating Islam with itself and affirming war, which are at the center of the religious discourse in the Konstantiniyye, can be emphasized. Praise and affirmation of the Islamic State occupies a central position in the DAESH discourse. Regardless of the subject discussed, the Islamic State has been shown as the address after its opposite has been explained. The organization tried to attract people by placing the declared Islamic State at the center of its discourse that it is the only place where Islam can live on earth. This situation is reflected in many discourses of the organization.

“The state in which Allah's laws are applied without exception is the Islamic state. The only state in which Allah's punishments are established is the Islamic state. The state in which we manifest our religion most comfortably is the Islamic state. The state in which we perform our fards most comfortably is the Islamic state. The lands where all forms of blasphemy, polytheism and harams have become history are the lands of the Islamic state (Konstantiniyye, 2015b, p. 14).”

“The Islamic State does not allow any haram, let alone any blasphemy or polytheism, to any haram. The Islamic state has declared war on all kinds of unbelief and shirk, and with the grace of Allah, it has rooted out these filths in the areas it controls (Konstantiniyye, 2015b, p. 10)”

“Before you fight the Islamic State, remember that except for the territory of the Islamic State, there is no place on earth that is ruled by Allah's decree and where the judgment belongs only to Allah (Konstantiniyye, 2015c, p. 9)”

“If you want security, there is no security for you except the shadow of the Islamic State, which protects you, prevents those who attack you, protects what you want to protect, protects your honor and property (Konstantiniyye, 2015d, p. 52).

As can be understood from the above statements quoted from various issues of the Konstantiniyye, DAESH has shown itself as the only place where Muslims can live, largely for the purpose of recruiting personnel. It tried to fortify this discourse by saying that it applied the decrees of Allah in the lands it conquered, that there were no harams in the lands in question, and that there was no safe place for Muslims outside of these lands. In this way, the organization showed itself as indispensable and, in a way, equated itself with Islam. Therefore, as part of the discourse in question, it tried to pump up the fear that if the Islamic State were destroyed, Muslims would be in terrible situations.

“O Sunnis, if the Islamic State – God forbid – is destroyed, there will be no Mecca for you after that (no more) and Medina! (Konstantiniyye, 2015, p. 19).”

“When the Islamic state is removed from the places it controls, khats, free Syrian soldiers and groups that call themselves Islamists and support the tyrants of Türkiye, Al-i Selul and Qatar will enter there. They will raise the flags of ignorance and secularism, and lower the flag of tawhid

and sunnah. They will take male and female immigrants as captives, and they will rule over their blood, property and chastity as their whims desire. Shariah will close the courts and replace the laws and rules of groups and delegations. Even if they rule with some rules of Allah, they do not rule with most of the rules of the Shari'a. They will expose Muslims to the strife they were ordered to fight and remove (Konstantiniyye, 2015b, p. 43)"

As can be understood from the statements quoted, DAESH has a discourse that if the organization disappears, even Mecca and Medina will be lost from the hands of Muslims. Since the organization equated itself with Islam in this way, it has constructed itself as one front and the rest of the world as another. This discourse, which seems to be compatible with the organization's strategy of not cooperating with any group and asking for submission directly, is based on a sub-text of "me and the other". This discourse is emphasized in expressions such as "The Islamic State continues on its way alone in a ditch with prudence and steady steps. On the other hand, from every religion and belief; all the states of the world took part in a single ditch against it (Konstantiniyye, 2015, p. 13)." The organization's discourse of equating itself with Islam was also reflected in the expressions it used for groups fighting against the it. In the DAESH discourse, fighting against the organization is essentially fighting against Islam.

"By fighting the Islamic state, you become unbelievable in terms of what you know and do not know (Konstantiniyye, 2015b, p. 34)."

"Actually, the hostility that you and infidels like you express is not against the Islamic State, but on Islam itself (Konstantiniyye, 2015c, p. 53)."

"And there are still Muslims who think that the states and nations of disbelief gather and fight against the Islamic State, that there is no war against the law of Allah and the Ummah of Muhammad (Konstantiniyye, 2016, p. 47)."

"Do you not see that Islam is exalted and religion is established in every inch of land conquered by the Islamic State? Know that by fighting the mujahideen, you became the enemy and adversary of Allah's law (Konstantiniyye, 2015d, p. 51)."

As it can be understood from these statements, the organization coded the groups fighting against it not as enemies of DAESH, but as enemies of Allah and the Prophet, and built a discourse in this way. The praise and affirmation of the Islamic State also shows itself in the discourse of "electedness". The organization has tried to provide legitimacy to its practices by positioning itself as elected. The statements given below were used as part of the organization's electedness discourse and the Islamic State established by the organization was presented as a gift from Allah.

"Our Lord, who once chose Abraham to destroy idols, has chosen the mujahideen of the Islamic state today. By the grace of Allah, these idols and idol houses were destroyed one by one. We herald of the other idol houses with the same fate (Konstantiniyye, 2015, p. 27)."

"Because Allah had mercy on the believers and bestowed the Islamic state on them (Konstantiniyye, 2015d, p. 14)"

In the discourse of DAESH, an affirmation about war is also seen. DAESH called its followers to war at every opportunity and spoke of the war with religious enthusiasm. It also used a fear-themed language, expressing that great punishments await those who do not participate in the war. It invited its followers to war with expressions such as "Come to your war, Muslims! (Konstantiniyye, 2015, p. 19)", "Resist against your enemies and start a war against them! Throw (challenge) on them. By Allah's permission, they will not be able to persevere and resist in front of you (Konstantiniyye, 2015, p. 20)." In addition, the organization has tried to construct the discourse that the war it has made is not a choice but a necessity with the following statements:

“There is no excuse for the people who did not come to this when we said to go to war (Konstantiniyye, 2015c, p. 12)”

“Our Lord makes it obligatory for us to fight them until we eradicate them and their polytheists (Konstantiniyye, 2015c, p. 27)”

“Allah sent the life system that He was pleased with for people on earth through the prophets, and informed them that they had to live this life system and fight to make this life system dominate the whole earth (Konstantiniyye, 2016, p. 5)”

“Allah ordered His Prophet to fight the polytheists who fought him until there was no fitna. In other words, fight them until shirk ends on earth, until there is no one to be worshiped except Him, until the worship of idols, deities and endads is eradicated and worship is done only to Allah (Konstantiniyye, 2016, p. 6)”

“We are fighting to get closer to Allah and to worship Him. Because Allah has ordered us to fight, encouraged us to do so, and made it the most virtuous deed to reach his consent. Praise be to Allah, who ordered us to fight and promised us one of the two beauties (Konstantiniyye, 2016, p. 44)”

The organization has placed the affirmation of war on a religious ground and has transformed its call to war into discourse through the concept of fard, which expresses the obligatory things to be done in Islam. Those who did not support the organization's war rhetoric were threatened with being sinful and the organization supported this rhetoric with the following statements:

“Today, some muwahhids are walking around among the polytheists in the lands of kufr, saying we invite them, and they are holding back from the continental war. Let them know that the one who leaves the continental war is a sinner (Konstantiniyye, 2015c, p. 28)”

“Help the Muslims and fight those who deny Allah. If you do not do this, wait for the disgrace of the world before the punishment of the hereafter (Konstantiniyye, 2015c, p. 66)”.

Conclusion

Terror is a concept that has left its mark on this century, and it has become a common problem in many different parts of the world. Although it doesn't have universally accepted definition. It can be claimed that the most significant obstacle to the fight against terror in the international arena is the lack of a common definition. While there is no consensus on what the terror means, there is a consensus that it is a crime. This crime necessitates elements of terror which are ideology, organization and violence. For an act to be considered a terrorist act, it must contain these three elements. Besides definition problem, the factors that cause terror are frequently discussed in the literature. Although the existence of some political, economic, social and psychological factors is mentioned, it seems difficult to reach a proposition that the existence of some variables breeds terror. For example, the statement that "economic underdevelopment causes terror" may not be confirmed in every economically backward region. Similarly, although there is a widespread belief that terror is more common in anti-democratic regions, it may not arise in all places where there are problems with democracy. For this reason, each region where terror occurs should be specifically addressed and the reasons specific to that region should be revealed. It seems very difficult to claim the existence of common and valid reasons for terror.

Terror and media relationship has come to fore with the developments of communication technologies in the 20th century. Terrorist organizations has started to benefit from advantages offered by media. Moreover, they have begun to harmonize their actions with media. The main aim of terrorist organizations is creating a chaos and fear environment. To achieve this goal media offers many opportunities. Hence, terrorist organizations have started to have their own media

outlets besides taking place in mainstream media. In the mainstream media, it can be mentioned that there is a two-way relationship between terror and the media. While terrorist organizations are making more propaganda by taking place in the media, media attract more readers / viewers by giving place to terrorist news. This relationship, which is described as symbiotic, continues to exist together with the debates on whether terrorist news should be covered in the media and if so, how terror news should be presented.

In terms of terror and media relationship, DAESH seems as one of the most sophisticated examples. Because the way it has used media very effectively and sophisticatedly. Although DAESH has been known by its media usage, it has a long history. The foundations of the DAESH are based on the Tevhid and Jihad Organization founded by Abu Musab Ez Zarfawi. The organization, which moved to the north of Iraq after the US invasion of Afghanistan, pledged allegiance to the Al-Qaeda in 2004 and began to be called Iraqi Al-Qaeda. In 2006, it merged with several groups in Iraq and became the Mujahideen Shura Council, and in the same year it was renamed the Islamic State of Iraq. After the civil war that started in Syria, the organization, which carried its field of activity to Syria, took the name of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant in 2013 and ended its relationship with Al Qaeda. The organization, which became the Islamic State in 2015, declared the caliphate and demanded all Muslims in the world to pledge allegiance to it.

The reasons why DAESH emerged and spread have been discussed for a long time. The authority vacuum that emerged with the US invasion of Iraq and its withdrawal from it is seen as one of the important reasons for the spread of the organization. The sectarian-oriented policies of Nuri al-Maliki, who came to power after the US withdrawal from Iraq, are also considered an important factor in the strengthening of the DAESH. The Maliki government, which followed policies that exclude the Sunni population, pushed the Sunnis into the arms of DAESH in a sense. The internal turmoil that emerged in Syria was also effective in the expansion and gaining power of the organization.

As stated before, DAESH is a terrorist organization that uses the media very effectively. The organization has created media platforms just like professional communication agencies to produce media contents. Taking advantage of all the opportunities and capabilities offered by the media, the organization has also published digital magazines. The digital magazine published for Turkish speakers is *Konstantiniyye*. The organization has largely built its media strategy for Turkish speakers through this magazine and has revealed its discourse.

Considering that DAESH is evaluated in the category of terrorist organizations with a religious affiliation, it becomes important to determine the organization's discourse on religion. In this context, the analysis made specifically for the *Konstantiniyye* revealed that a little more than half of the magazine's content was devoted to religious messages. This is related to the importance that the organization attaches to the spread of its understanding of religion. As it is known, a moderate Islamic tradition based on Sufism is dominant in Türkiye. Addressing Türkiye, where radical views have difficulty in finding a base, the organization gave its priority to conveying its radical religious views. It is not possible for people who do not adopt the Islamic interpretation followed by DAESH to look at the organization with sympathy. For this reason, the organization primarily tried to consolidate its interpretation of religion in its magazine addressing Turkish speakers. For example, it is tried to explain the virtue of suicide attacks to the Turkish people, who are very likely to be skeptical of suicide attacks. After the religious messages, the most common content in the discourse of the organization is opposition to Türkiye. In these contents, which try to position Türkiye outside of Islam, the organization's discourse has been shaped around concepts such as "friend of the crusader, apostate, infidel".

DAESH has frequently used verses and hadiths as a part of its discourse while giving its religious messages. The organization highlighted certain verses and hadiths and presented them out of context. In this way, the religious and political understanding represented by the organization

was tried to be legitimized. The organization presented the religion of Islam as a religion of war with an exclusionary rhetoric. This situation has also manifested itself in the concept sets used in the magazine. While concepts such as kufr, polytheism, infidel, and war are frequently repeated, concepts with positive contexts such as peace, and tolerance are rarely used. The organization explained what was wrong at the discursive level and presented itself as the correct one.

In terms of religious messages DAESH's discourse has two main characteristics: affirmation of the Islamic State (in other words, equating itself with Islam) and the praise of war. The organization has shown itself as an address, regardless of the religious subject it gives a message to. In the discourse of the organization, the only place where Islam can be lived correctly and effectively is the regions under the control of it. This discourse was tried to be strengthened by the messages that the organization applied the provisions of Allah in the lands it seized, that there were no harams in the lands in question, and that there was no safe place for Muslims outside of these lands. By equating itself with Islam, DAESH established itself as one front and the rest of the world as another. This discourse, which seems to be compatible with the organization's strategy of not cooperating with any group and asking for allegiance directly, has a subtext of "me and the other". The messages that fighting against DAESH is actually fighting against Allah and Islam can also be addressed within the scope of this discourse. At this point, it also should be emphasized that DAESH calls its followers to war at every opportunity and speaks of the war with religious enthusiasm. In addition, a fear-themed language was used by expressing that great punishments await those who do not participate in the war.

DAESH is as a terrorist organization that left its mark on a period with its forms of action, the breadth of the areas it controls, the way it constructs itself as a state, and perhaps most importantly, the way it uses the media. In this period when it is discussed whether the organization is completely over or not, the dynamics of terrorist organizations using religion in general, and DAESH in particular should be properly examined. The struggle against such organizations that create themselves with religion should start with the question "which religion?"

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