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# The Role and Place of Strategic Communication in Countering Terrorism

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#### **Abstract**

The concept of Strategic Communication, which is known to be used by competitive institutions in trade and economy to build a reputation and to reach customers by analyzing target audiences, has become widespread recently and applicability thereof has been discussed in the fields of national/international security, politics and countering terrorism. Using the term "Strategic Communication" in lieu of other different definitions and concepts has obscured the nature and the scope of the term, giving rise to confusion. This confusion has caused this concept to be perceived as soft power, public diplomacy, propaganda, information warfare and psychological operations. The purpose of this study is to define Strategic Communication in light of studies and practices that are conducted at the international level, as well as to analyze fundamentals as to how this concept can be applied in countering terrorism. In this context, the application-oriented main idea of the study is to suggest placing emphasis on the discipline of Strategic Communication to focus on countering terrorism in the planning and execution stages and on utilizing conventional kinetic components and capabilities (such as military power or police) as an auxiliary part of planning. This study is important in the sense of analyzing the concept of Strategic Communication, which is not sufficiently known although frequently discussed, in the scope of countering terrorism to shed light on future practices and studies plus to prevent ambiguity and offer suggestions as to how this concept can be applied.

Key words: Strategic Communication, Terror, Terrorism, Political Terrorism, Countering Terrorism.

### Terörizmle Mücadelede Stratejik İletişimin Rolü ve Yeri

Öz

Özellikle ekonomi ve ticaret alanında rekabet eden kurumlar tarafından hedef kitleleri analiz ederek itibar sağlamak ve müşteriye ulaşabilmek için uygulandığı bilinen Stratejik İletişim kavramı; son yıllarda oldukça yaygınlaşmış, ulusal/uluslararası güvenlik, politika, terörizmle mücadele alanlarında da uygulanabilirliği tartışılmaya başlamıştır. Ancak, stratejik iletişimin bu yeni alanlarda farklı tanım ve kavramlar yerine kullanılmasıyla doğası ve kapsamının anlaşılması zorlaşmış, karışıklıklara neden olmuştur. Bu karışıklık, bu kavramın çoğu zaman doğrudan yumuşak güç, kamu diplomasisi, propaganda, bilgi harbi ve psikolojik harekât olarak algılanmasına neden olmuştur. Bu çalışmanın amacı; stratejik iletişim kavramını, uluslararası düzeyde yapılan çalışmalar ve uygulamalar ışığında tanımlamak, terörizmle mücadelede nasıl uygulanabileceğine dair esasları analiz etmektir. Bu kapsamda çalışmanın uygulamaya yönelik ana fikri; terörizmle mücadelede planlama ve icra safhalarının odak noktasına stratejik iletişim disiplininin konulmasını, ayrıca konvansiyonel kinetik yeteneklerin de (askeri güç ve polis gibi) planlamanın yardımcı unsuru olarak kullanılmasını önermektir. Çalışma, son yıllarda sıkça tartışılmasına karşın hâlâ pek fazla bilinmeyen stratejik iletişim kavramının, terörizmle mücadele kapsamında, gelecek uygulama ve çalışmalara ışık tutacak

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şekilde analiz edilmesi ve kavram karmaşasının engellenmesine yönelik olması, ayrıca nasıl uygulanabileceğine dair önerme getirmesi bakımından önem taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Stratejik İletişim, Terör, Terörizm, Siyasal Terörizm, Terörizmle Mücadele.

#### Introduction

When the wars in history are examined closely, one can conclude that the idea towards making only "combat power-focused policies and courses of action" in battles has faded away. While the proportion of the attacker to the defender (like 2:1) with regard to relative combat power calculations is generally taken into account in conventional battles (Tatham, 2010:18); the armaments developed as a result of technologic advancement have become a great force multiplier. Whereas the "combat power" and the "force strength" were considered important in terms of quantitative and proportional superiority in these times, today such factors as public support, legitimacy of the operations, leadership, training, logistic support, theatre, environment, meteorology, climate, and day and night also thought to influence the result of battles. Factors other than military power, which cause radical changes in even such conventional battles, may considerably affect operational activities in combating terrorism (Güler, 2004).

It is well understood in today's international arena that it is impossible to ensure interests only by national economic and military power as in the classic realist paradigm; the need to use a combination of most appropriate one or ones from the diplomatic, political, legal and cultural instruments, as well as military and economic power in both domestic and foreign policy, have become prominent. Strategic Communication, as a common mechanism to provide this combination, as well as disciplines such as perception management and public diplomacy, are considered to play a crucial role in achieving national interests as a force multiplier rather than as just an approach.

The concept of Strategic Communication, which is known to be used by competitive institutions in trade and economy to build a reputation and to reach customers by analyzing target audiences, has become widespread recently and the applicability thereof has been discussed in the fields of national/international security, politics and countering terrorism. Using the term 'Strategic Communication' in lieu of other different definitions and concepts has obscured the nature and the scope of the term, giving rise to confusion. This confusion caused this concept to be directly perceived as soft power, public diplomacy, propaganda, information warfare and psychological operations etc.

The purpose of this study is to define Strategic Communication in light of the studies and practices that are conducted at the international level, as well as to analyze fundamentals as to how this concept can be applied in countering terrorism. In this context, the application-oriented main idea of the study is to suggest placing the discipline of Strategic Communication at the focus of counterterrorism planning and execution stages and utilizing conventional kinetic components and capabilities (such as military power or police) as an auxiliary part of planning. This study is important in the sense of analyzing the concept of Strategic Communication, which is not sufficiently known although frequently discussed, in the scope of countering terrorism to shed light on future practices and studies as well as to prevent ambiguity and offer suggestions as to how this concept can be applied.

This study is composed of three sections. The first section defines the concept of Strategic Communication and examines studies conducted at an international level so that the purpose, method and nature of this concept can be better understood and that future academic studies can further develop this concept. In this scope, institutional structuring, symposiums and workshops conducted by the US since 2006 and by NATO since 2008 regarding the scope of security-related Strategic Communication planning and execution as well as reports, directives, field manuals and other documents are examined. Explaining the differences between conventional communication models and the models that should be used in Strategic Communication, the section sets forth how the Strategic Communication model should operate. An exemple planning process is presented in the first section. The second section of the study defines political terrorism and explains the determining issues of actions in the form of terrorism along with the symbolic importance of terrorism acts; it also sets forth why Strategic Communication should be used in countering terrorism in this context. The concluding section of the study is devoted to an overall evaluation, making certain suggestions to shed light on future studies towards using Strategic Communication in countering terrorism.

#### **Strategic Communication**

Strategic Communication is a systematic series of sustained and coherent activities, conducted across the strategic, operational and tactical levels, that enable the understanding of target audiences, identify effective conduits, and develop and promote ideas and opinions through those conduits to promote and sustain particular forms of behavior (Tatham 2010:19). Tatham and "Commander's Handbook for Strategic

Communication and Communication Strategy (Ver. 3.0)" use an orchestra model as an example to explain Strategic Communication. Accordingly, Strategic Communication is like an orchestra producing harmony. The orchestra's conductor is the 'government.' The musical score is the Strategic Communication Plan and the orchestra itself denotes the various communities and components of operation. The music is the narrative or the main theme used in the Strategic Communication. A major part of Strategic Communication, the narrative is a thematic and sequenced account that conveys meaning about specific events from authors to audiences (Tatham, 2010:19-27). Narrative is not a story. Corman refers to the distinction between the concepts 'narrative' and 'story' as follows: "Story is telling of events in a particular sequence. Narrative is a system of stories" (Corman, 2010:103). All of the musical instruments, of different tones and characteristics, work in harmony during a concert to make music appeal to the listeners. The influence in a concert is achieved by the coordination of the conductor who combines various instruments in accordance with the music score. A misplayed note by a musician spoils the coherence of the concert. Depending on the effect you seek to achieve, different sections of the orchestra will be used at different times, or with different emphasis. The tempo of the music will also vary, depending on what effect the conductor desires. The influence of the concert over the audience is expressed by positive or negative reactions such as applause, sleep or leaving the concert. These reactions perceived as feedback help the conductor and musicians correct their faults; in case of positive reactions, they continue the concert with zest. Strategic Communication planning and working groups, in accordance with the orchestra model, collect actions from such components and disciplines as public diplomacy, public relations, information operations, psychological operations, and military operations, under the control of the government and in line with the intention-purpose of the government to influence the target audience in conformity with the plan; to evaluate the results, measuring the reaction of the audience; and to provide feedback. The government makes use of Strategic Communication as an umbrella discipline so as to use the above mentioned components and disciplines effectively.

According to Laity (2010:98), Strategic Communication requires the proper use of information by way of unifying result-oriented actions and synchronization between relevant institutions; socio-cultural structure, history and customs of the target audience as well as technologic factors should be taken into account in the use and transfer of information. Strategic Communication does not mean producing policies and making decisions

followed by declaring these decisions taken or activities performed and legitimization thereof before the public. Strategic Communication is intended to integrate the information to each and every element of policy, planning and execution; the information is not a trivial concept to be released to the public after decisions are made.

According to Tatham (2010:22-23), civilian academics erroneously describe the concept of Strategic Communication as soft power, public diplomacy or public relations while the military environment may define it as information warfare or psychological operations. Sociologists and cynics might call Strategic Communication 'distortion' or 'propaganda.' Since such approaches are unhelpful and mire us down in the understanding of a complex and important issue, inaccurate terms such as public warfare diplomacy/information negative terms such distortion/propaganda may cause the concept to lose its core meaning. Strategic Communication is not a novel concept used as means for propaganda, media interaction, marketing/advertisement and information operations; such thinking actually limits the influence of Strategic Communication by oversimplifying its range and activities.

Strategic Communication should be based on listening to the audience, being reliable and coherence between "words and deeds." Furthermore; proactive measures as well as practical themes that will undermine narratives of terrorist organizations or ill-willed individuals and groups, which will mislead the masses of people, should be taken. Tatham puts forth that Strategic Communication, besides being transparent, is both reactive – instantly solving the emerging problems/negative behaviors of the target audience – and proactive – predicting and solving the problems before they emerge. Strategic Communication is not a stringent process having a secret agenda which dictates what the target audience must think in order to change the existing perception of the target audience; on the contrary, Strategic Communication is a transparent and sustained persuasion process which, in order to shape the existing perception in a positive manner, shows the target audience what they can additionally think, offering alternatives. Strategic Communication differs from propaganda in these characteristics and does not try to achieve a direct reaction by misleading the public as propaganda or distortion does (Tatham, 2010:22-23).

Strategic Communication in this scope can be defined as "understanding and analyzing the target audience for attaining long term strategic objectives; sharing specified messages (words and deeds package) with the relevant public in a sustained and transparent course at the most

appropriate time, location and conditions via the most appropriate conduit so as to create the strongest influence on the specified target audiences by ensuring the orchestration of the process through the integration of all resources, fields and capabilities." Strategic Communication is an umbrella discipline which is carried out together with economic, political, diplomatic, military, human development and intelligence endeavors by enabling interdisciplinary cohesion and coordination between public diplomacy, public relations, information warfare, psychological operations, perception management and communication, etc., in order to achieve the policies made to attain strategic objectives with flexible planning that can adapt to changing conditions.

### Smart Power Concept and Strategic Communication Studies in the USA

One of the pioneers of liberal thought, Joseph Nye, who was in charge of the Council of National Intelligence and Deputy Defense Secretary under the Clinton administration, puts forth the concept of soft power in his book *Bound To Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*, which was published in 1990. Criticizing the policies of the Bush administration based on the hard power in the aftermath of 9/11, Nye's book *Soft Power*, which was published in 2004, elaborated this concept. These studies reach the conclusion that military power alone is not sufficient to attain national objectives, that soft power including politic and cultural values coupled with hard power involving military power, are needed and that there is a need for a novel foreign policy based on the "*Smart Power*", an integrated strategy constituted by both soft and hard power (Akçadağ, 2010c:5).

The concept of smart power, which emerged as using soft or hard power where needed, puts emphasis on the importance of having a strong military structure; it is an approach which requires governments to attach importance to soft power forces, accompanied by military power, in order to expand domination and to legitimize the diplomacy being executed in today's international relations, which are not dependent solely on military power (Akçadağ, 2010c:5).

The report entitled A Smarter, More Secure America<sup>1</sup>(CSIS, 2007) drawn up in 2006 by the Smart Power Commission within the body of the CSIS (Center for Strategic and International Studies), a well-known 'think tank' of the US, states that the US should project a significant change in strategic concept in order to sustain its global superiority and that the US

cannot ensure its interests only by military power in today's international arena.

In her speech<sup>2</sup> delivered in the Senate on July 15, 2009, Hillary Clinton, Secretary of State, put forward the idea that the absence of US leadership was deeply felt worldwide and that the world would use the most appropriate channel or a combination of the most appropriate channels from the diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal and cultural instruments in order to fill the absence (Akçadağ, 2010a:3). Thus, Clinton regarded diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal and cultural values as 'instruments of smart power' and emphasized that the appropriate instrument/instruments should be selected and synchronized for each situation. As can be grasped from the Clinton speech, in order to attain strategic objectives within the concept of smart power, developing an integrated strategy formed by both hard and soft power has become prominent.

The document called *The New Caucus for Strategic Communication* and Public Diplomacy, which was drawn up on March 02, 2010 by Mark Thornberry and Adam Smith for the House of Representatives (Thornberry and Smith, 2010), reported that radical groups are well aware of Strategic Communication and they make use of the old and new media tools to spread their messages and ideologies. The document claimed that misinformation or disinformation about the US will tarnish the image of the state in a world where everyone can access all kinds of information via such digital media tools as the Internet and mobile phones. The document furthermore stresses that the US should set a certain strategy on Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy so that the US can reach people in other countries directly and effectively. In this context, the common consideration is that US foreign policy was being reshaped to regain the image<sup>3</sup> and leadership of the US which was lost due to the hard practices adopted in the aftermath of 9/11 that were based on military and economic power. Also somewhat responsible were the one-sided policies of the Bush administration. To address this problem, disciplines and capabilities such as public diplomacy, public relations, perception management, information management and Strategic Communication gained importance in order to attain national objectives with the smart power approach, which brings soft power to forefront.

The National Strategic Communication Framework Report,<sup>4</sup> dated March 16, 2010 and published by the White House Administration on March 17, 2010, stated that the concept of Strategic Communication had

become widespread in recent years but the use of different concepts gives rise to confusion and White House Administration should clarify what Strategic Communication means to them (White House Strategic Communications Report to Congress, 2010:2). White House Administration defines Strategic Communication as:

- The coherence between the words and deeds (words and deeds synchronization),
- Understanding how this coherence is perceived by the target audience and
- The need to reach the target audience through public diplomacy, public relations, information operations and other methods.

It is also stated that the message in Strategic Communication which is to be delivered and intended for understanding and communicating with the target audiences is not only "words" but also "cohesion of words and deeds." Emphasis was put on the synchronization of civilian/military disciplines such as public diplomacy, public relations and information operations through Strategic Communication.

In conclusion, it can be observed that the USA is moving towards institutionalizing a framework of Strategic Communication by communicating with target audiences through disciplines such as public diplomacy, media relations, public relations, civil-military cooperation, information operations and psychological operations — all of which are coordinated to protect national interests in order to better understand the audience and create a perception in favor of the interests of the US.

#### **Strategic Communication Studies in NATO**

NATO, playing a significant role in the execution and development of Strategic Communication, has been exerting efforts since 2008 towards institutionalizing the discipline of Strategic Communication in the field of international security.<sup>5</sup> The Allied Command Operations (ACO) is responsible for NATO Strategic Communication activities and execution. AD 95-2, the Strategic Communication Directive (2009) prepared by the ACO, lays down the basics of planning, execution and coordination of Strategic Communication. According to the "Operating Environment" section of the Directive:

• ACO conducts operations to succeed in an age in which information and media have a crucial global importance,

- While the global information environment paves the way for changes that offer unique opportunities in favor of the opponents, as long as structural, mental and methodical changes are not encouraged, conventional institutions will try to overcome these challenges,
- Such is the importance of information to mission success that, on occasion, policies and actions will even need to be adapted in answer to the imperatives of Strategic Communications.

NATO puts the definition and purpose of Strategic Communication in the directive, stating that Strategic Communication is not the conventional press and public relations which is carried out in the framework of "establishing communication only by the press and conveying one sided information to the target audience" but "an administrative mentality" beyond the known communication activities, which needs new institutional structuring and inter-institutional coherence. The directive adds that Strategic Communication has a 'central role' at all stages of the management and operations of public perception and that great importance is placed on Strategic Communication in the fight against the challenges of the new information age. It is also underlined that institutions and quarters which are to be adapted in accordance with the requirements and imperatives of Strategic Communication should be flexible enough to meet the need for change and restructuring on account of emerging developments.

The Global Terrorism and International Cooperation Symposium" was held at the Centre of Excellence-Defense against Terrorism on March 10-15, 2010 in Ankara. Mark Laity, NATO Chief of Strategic Communication, who took the floor to discuss "Strategic Communication in Combating Terrorism" (2010a:97) stated that the primary goal that "AD 95-2 Strategic Communication Directive" — studied by NATO Allied Command Operations — desires to achieve is "not to rename how information is used but to completely change the use of information." He also expressed that this meant focusing on the combination and synchronization of endeavors obtained from psychological operations, information operations and public relations; these departments usually refrain from working together, but when they were forced to do so by official coordination measures, they worked against each other due to institutional competition.

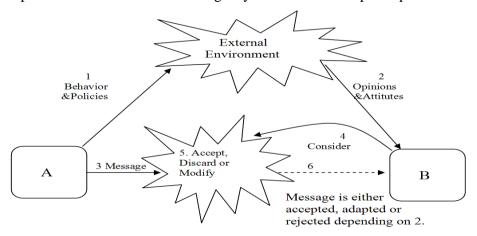
#### The Strategic Communication Model

It will be erroneous to consider Strategic Communication only within a narrow sense: conveying the exact information to a specified target

audience at the right time and through proper methods. Strategic Communication is not only the transmission of information from the resource to the receiver but also a simultaneous dialogue, ongoing mutually between the participants (Corman, 2012:102). Even the communications themselves cannot be simplified as transferring a message between two individuals or groups; on the contrary, it is an arrangement of a quite complex communication system between the resource and the receiver (Corman, Trethewey and Goodall, 2007:9). In this context, the basic principles of the communication should be well comprehended in order to have a better understanding of Strategic Communication. For this purpose, explaining a few communication models will be just to the point (Annex A). The purpose of providing space for conventional communication models as attached in Annex A of this study is to clarify and interpret the experienced communication processes, to put the elements of communication into place within the configuration process of the message, to explain how the message reaches the receiver in a most effective way, and to ensure how the Strategic Communication model and process can be better understood.

Several definitions have been offered for communication, which has been the crucial part of the life since the existence of humankind. Finding a common ground in these definitions of communication, Demiray (2001:7) calls communication the mutual exchange of information and understanding through effective instruments depending on the content of this information. When the conventional communication models (Annex A) used in the communication process are examined, it will be clear that communication is based on the principle of conveying, by the resource, any information through a coded message to a single receiver by means of a conduit resistant to external factors. The major problem with these models is the messagecomposing and message-conveying capabilities of the resource which produce the message, plus the misperception of the message due to interference and noise in the system. According to Corman, repetition of the message could prevent communication failures; however, such features of the message as reliability, criticality and urgency may cause a failure to achieve the desired communicative goals. Furthermore, communication is realized in today's complex and dynamic communication environment as "simultaneous dialogue" ongoing mutually between the participants, instead of conveying the messages from the resource to the receiver (Corman, 2010:102). Structural changes towards a communication process managed by mutual dialogues are needed rather than a communication environment which prescribes waiting for how society or target audience perceives a onesided notification. Communication would be healthier if the resource communicates by listening to and understanding the culture, values, perception and priorities of the audience that the resource will address to (Strategic Listening).

The Pragmatic Complexity Communication Model (PCOM), developed by Steven Corman, Angela Trethewey and Bud Goodall in 2007, (Figure 1) is regarded as a useful communication model to analyze successful and unsuccessful uses of Strategic Communication (Sherkey, 2009:8). The PCOM indicates that communication is not as simple as the transfer of a message between two groups; on the contrary, it is an arrangement of a quite complex communication system between the resource and the receiver (Tatham, 2010:25). The PCOM was designed by inspiration from Niklas Luhmann's communication theory. According to Corman, Trethewey and Godall (2007:9-10), for Luhmann, communication is not an activity of sending a message from one mind to another. Communication is a characteristic of a complex system wherein participants interpret each others' attitude and behaviors; they evaluate the intention, thought and motivations behind these attitude and behaviors. The system is complex because of a double contingency that involves the participants.



**Figure 1.** The Pragmatic Complexity Model **Source:** Tatham, 2010:26

The PCOM assumes that the messages are interpreted within a huge communication system; therefore, A and B have a reciprocal and simultaneous relationship of dependence. According to the model, in the simplest case of a communication system with two participants A and B, the

success of the resource A and its message is dependent not only upon the message conveyed and external conditions, but also on what the receiver B thinks and does. The thoughts and actions of B are influenced by the attitude and behaviors of A as well as the expectations, thoughts and interpretations of B about A. The success of the messages of A is dependent upon the external environment and upon how B perceives A's role in this environment (Tatham, 2010:25).

#### **Strategic Communication Planning and Process**

Annex B provides a process model which shows the overall steps to follow during the execution of Strategic Communication. Strategic Communication varies taking into account the dimension (diplomatic, economic, politic, security etc.) at which Strategic Communication is to be utilized, the desired final object, situation, communication and operating environment, available opportunities/resources and time restrictions. For instance, the model to be followed for promoting a country may differ from the model to be executed for combating terrorism. To determine an overall approach, the prominent stages of models are analysis, planning, execution and evaluation. In light of the above information, this section devises and explains an exemplary model (Annex C), pertaining to a strategic communication process that may be used in the field of security. These are:

- Situation Analysis and Planning at the Strategic Level,
- Planning Strategic Communication,
- Execution of the Plan,
- Planning and Execution of the Communication Strategy
- Audit and Evaluation.

#### Situation Analysis and Planning at the Strategic Level

Planning at the Strategic Level (PSL) is performed in order to shed light on the objectives and tasks of the plan, the first public opinion and population analyses, components constituting the population and the relations of these components with the problem (terrorism, violence, extremism etc.) (Tatham, 2008:12). At this stage, where an overall situation analysis is carried out, while available strategies are examined with regard to purpose, methods, and suitability, the feasibility and acceptability of the strategies are analyzed, too. Strategies that enable orchestration and/or synchronization of military (kinetic) and civil (non-kinetic) components and capabilities, as well as national power components, are developed.

This is the stage where "what behaviors need to be changed" in society are determined, which obtains measurable results to attain strategic objectives. Moreover, this is the stage where certain basic measures that should be taken are determined and common criteria for effectiveness measurement are set (Tatham, 2010:31). Description and analysis of the target audience at this stage is crucial with regard to strategic communication.

#### **Identification of the Target Audience**

Domestic public support is needed to attain long-term strategic objectives of domestic and foreign policy. It is a fact that global public opinion, governments, international institutions and organizations influence addressing many internal affairs, especially in combating terrorism. For this purpose, the grounds to attain any strategic objective should be prepared in advance in the international arena. The rise of weakness in attaining strategic objectives due to external manipulation of the public should be prevented. The perception and expectation of the domestic public should be well analyzed in this context; they should be fed with information, but their exposure to wrong or distorted information should be prevented.

The key target audience must be selected from a range of components in a specified society in order to focus on the most easily accessible ones open and exposed to influence, which have the closest relationship with the envisaged domestic/foreign policies and with the problematic behavior that is intended to be changed (violence, extremism etc.). Strategic Communication activities are directed at this target audience. The individuals and groups of this target audience need to have a particular effect on attaining the final outcome. These may be key influencers (leaders, opinion leaders, etc.), referable/vulnerable communities and a vast audience in both the foreign and domestic public.

#### Target audience analysis

Target audience analysis is the in-depth analysis of the specified target audience. The target audience and its characteristics should be well described and understood. According to Tatham and Rowland (2010:2-3), the following four goals are needed for success:

- Correctly specifying the most appropriate target audience,
- Communicate Being able to measure the accessibility to this target audience.
  - Describing the best accession process to the target audience, and

• Describing and utilizing triggers that can cause impressive, significant and tangible changes in the behavior of the target audience.

Within the scope of analyzing and comprehending mass audiences which constitute an integral part of Strategic Communication, 'Strategic Listening' plays an important role. This listening can be attained by understanding and analyzing the target audience through taking the pulse of the audience; determining their expectations, attitudes and behavior, as well as analyzing characteristics, culture and relations thereof. Strategic listening ensures that the language, culture, symbolic values of the words, body language, beliefs and expectations of the target audience are well understood. Therefore, target audiences should be well listened-to and the most suitable methods that will perform the analysis of the key target audience should be identified.

Priority should be given to obtaining information which will increase 'Situation Awareness,' the perception of environmental elements within a volume of time and space, the capability to discern what the ongoing incidences mean and what these indicators may bring about in the near future. The intelligence and news channels should not be the only tools to follow the media; sources of information such as the tendency of blogs in social networking sites and comments made in news portals should also be taken into account in the communication process. Such questions which may affect the problems will depend on the nature of the problems in a specified area, such as:

- Who is in control of communication?
- Which group thinks what?
- Which group is open to communication?
- Which group is on good terms with the other?"
- How does the communication strategy to be applied to a group affect another? and
- What are the best communication channels for the group? will help obtain the information needed to increase the situation awareness.

#### Planning and execution of the communication strategy

This step involves designing and preparing the words and deeds package that constitute the 'message.' The harmony, coherence and reliability of the words and deeds are crucial to preserving the institutional corporate reputation and effective execution of strategic communication.

The suitable draft plan for resource, conduit and message is devised at this stage; the scope and range of the communication plan and process are also set (Tatham: 2010:31).

The main theme – determined in light of the strategic vision, final object, strategic objective and policies, words and discourses to be used during the communication process and deeds to support these words and discourses – is devised at this stage.

A number of conduits are available in the communication environment. The most appropriate tools and methods, through which the messages are to be shared, are determined at this stage. As can be remembered from the definition of Strategic Communication, selection of channels, which have the strongest and most sustained effect suitable for ensuring the coherence of the messages to be conveyed and taking the pulse of the target audience to help understanding them (Strategic Listening) will increase the chances of success.

These should also be considered: following the harmonization and synchronization between resources, capabilities and components, plus checking the impact and functionality of the plan and taking measures which allow rapid response to any problems occurring in the course of the process. For this purpose, synchronization and execution matrices to be used in executing strategic communication could be formed in which the "component/unit," "space" and "time" aspects are reflected. The decisions taken and the execution matrices formed in the light of the questions "Who-What-Where-When-Why-How," also known as the '5 W's & 1H,' will assist in the synchronization of Strategic Communication between all the components/units.

The execution stage benefits from the previous stages and involves conveying the correct message at the right time using appropriate sources, components, resources and methods through the most proper conduit in the framework of the communication plan devised (Tatham, 2010:31).

#### **Audit and evaluation**

This stage decides whether the strategic communication plan has succeeded or not, determines the degree of success if the plan has succeeded, and checks whether or not a desired and considerable change in specified negative behaviors has occurred. The efficiency of the process is evaluated in accordance with predetermined efficiency criteria. This stage clarifies whether the objects and desired effects have been attained or not,

checks the suitability of the methods and criteria of measurement, and detects the errors made in the measurement (Tatham, 2010:31).

In the evaluation stage, post-activity reports (reports operating results) are drawn up to ensure feedback and the results are re-evaluated so that the plans and tasks are redefined. These also provide data which will lay the foundation for the next communication plan.

#### **Political Terrorism**

In terms of its etymology, the word "terror", derived from the Latin word "terrere", bears the meaning of spreading fear, terrifying, dismaying etc., according to Başeren, Wilkinson and Crenshaw. Terror is mostly out of control: unorganized and non-systematic. Terror may appear as an individual action or as part of a random mass violence movement. For this reason, neither such an individual action alone nor a series of random actions can be termed 'terrorism,' but rather a series of interconnected terror acts towards a certain political purpose and target (Başeren, 2006:7-8; Wilkinson, 1974:9-17; Crenshaw, 1972:384) is needed before one can utter a word about terrorism. Terror is a form of action whereas terrorism is a system (Caşın, 2008:37). Although there are different types of terror and terrorism (Başeren, 2008:2), this study, which is made on strategic communication, discusses political terrorism.

The report entitled *Turkey and Terrorism* published by the Union of Turkish Bar Associations (TBB) in 2006 points out, in the evaluation part of the studies which reveal the characteristics of terrorism, that a sustained violence movement must pursue a political purpose in order to be considered terrorism. Likewise, Wilkinson and Başeren define political terrorism as a strategic approach which uses organized, systematic and continuous terrorism acts in order to illegally change the current situation towards certain political purposes, the method of which is to use violence to intimidate and dismay the public (Wilkinson, 1974:9-17; Başeren, 2008:2).

### Determinants of Terrorism Acts and Symbolic Importance of Terror

In order to define terrorism and put the changing characteristics of terrorism, Başeren (2006:8-9; 2008:2-4) clarifies "determinants" of terrorism acts (Figure 2) and "symbolic importance" of these acts, making use of reason (motive), intention and purpose, which are found in the principles of penal law.

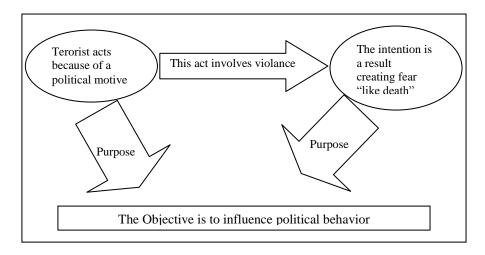


Figure 2. The Determining Issues of Terrorism Acts (Başeren, 2006;8)

The perpetrator in political terrorism is induced by a political motive and takes an "action" involving "violence." This action involving violence creates a great advantage in favor of the terrorist and is directed towards an objective impossible to be predetermined, which usually has no relevance to political conflicts but has importance in public opinion.

"For example, the action leads to a goal such as the murder of diplomats. The perpetrator wants to obtain a benefit beyond that goal: the aim is to affect the masses. In other words, violence and propaganda are used for their effect. The most significant issue underscoring terrorism appears at this point. When the goal exemplified by the murder of diplomats through violent action is compared with the goal which is achieved in terms of its affect upon the masses, the former becomes very small, whereas the final goal is extraordinarily large. That is to say, the effect in proportion to the action is extremely large." (Baseren, 2008:3-4).

Caşin puts the emphasis on the diversity of objectives selected for terrorism acts:

"Depending on the violence and terror acts committed by terrorist organizations, which set up social tensions, and by governments supporting these organizations against all fractions of the society with political, religious and ideological motives under the climate of terror they create, they not only commit crime against the target country but also against the foreign multinational corporations, banks, tourists and they even kill foreign diplomats." (Caşın, 2008:1).

It is clear that the important point for terrorists is to "give messages by creating an environment of fear and tension among wide masses" rather than the identities of the target or the victims. While aiming at objectives important to public opinion, they wish to obtain benefits beyond the result of the act of terror; therefore, violence and propaganda are employed in order to 'influence' the masses. 'Messages' are conveyed through these acts. Başeren, who is of the opinion that influence-oriented terrorism can be explained by the "symbolic importance" of terror acts, underlines that the result of the actions involving violence is so trivial when compared to the result with regard to the influence over the mass and that the obtained result is extraordinarily great, is the most important issue that brings terrorism forward:

"The act of terrorism is, by means of killing one person, to frighten millions and to have an effect upon their political preferences. Therefore, it is essential to say that the act of terrorism is a symbolic one. A direct action is not important in respect of its conclusions. It is very important for the effects which are created beyond the conclusions. In this way the action is not instrumental, but symbolic." (Başeren, 2006:10).

Laity, the NATO Chief of Strategic Communication, who stated that terrorism is the purest form of information warfare, remarked in parallel with this opinion that violence is not unique to terror only; terror acts impact a few people whereas terrorism itself has impact on scores of people through this act (Laity, 2010b:12). This explains the symbolic importance of terrorist incidents. Laity states the "[w]hile we instinctively conduct kinetic operations which have information effects, our opponents instinctively conduct information operations which have kinetic effects" (Laity, 2010b:12), indicating that information-based components will be the main component in combating terrorism. Considering the root of the word "terrorism," Laity summarizes the symbolic importance of terrorism and refers to the fact that terror means terrorizing not killing: "TERROR-ism, not KILL-ism!" (Laity, 2010b:11).

In light of the above remarks, it can be concluded that the main objective and effect of the actions taken in terror acts is to give certain messages, to horrify masses, and to terrorize people by influencing them rather than taking kinetic actions such as killing, annihilating, ravaging and bombing. However, the people must be explicitly informed about what they should fear for terrorizing them. Terrorists therefore use mass communication tools and the media as a stage on which they exhibit their activities. They put such disciplines as strategic communication and public diplomacy as the focus of their activities and plan terror acts as "symbolic"

acts" for the accomplishment of their goals. Counter-insurgency expert David Kilcullen summarizes this fact;

"We typically design physical operations first, and then craft supporting information operations to explain our actions. This is the reverse of al-Qaida's approach. For all our professionalism, compared to the enemy's, our public information is an afterthought. In military terms, for al-Qaida the 'main effort' is information; for us, information is a 'supporting effort.' (Kilcullen, 2007:44).

The distinction between terrorism and conventional warfare is that the priority of the actions taken in conventional battles is result-oriented whereas the actions and acts taken in terrorism, involving violence, are symbolic. This symbolic importance of terror may restrain terrorists from taking action at a place and time they do not desire. If the act of terror is not newsworthy at the national or international level, they may usually refrain from staging such acts even if they have a chance to do so.

## **Instead of Conclusion: The Role and Place of Strategic Communication in Countering Terrorism**

The most important component in combating terrorism is the set of military methods and measures (Özdağ, 2008:296). Leaving the responsibility solely to law enforcement and/or armed forces is a serious mistake that can be made by those ignoring the determinants of terrorism and the symbolic importance of acts of terror, as the remarks of Baseren, Laity and Kilcullen refer to. Such a method in combating terrorism will turn into combat against terrorists and the chances of success will drop. In other words, if governments and international organizations make kinetic operations the focus of countering terrorism and use disciplines such as strategic communication, perception management and public diplomacy as components to support or legitimate their operations, their likelihood of success will decrease. Governments and international organizations following such a path might take measures in response to terror incidents; however, the likelihood of failure to influence terrorist organizations, participation in such organizations, and the attitude and behaviors of the masses having sympathy for them and the facts that cause terrorism will be high. Laity's (2010b:12) remarks that "Combating, encountering and defeating the terrorist in the information game bear great importance in removing the overall threat," "Not only the perpetrator of the action but also the supporters thereof should be neutralized" and "The combat should be not only against the violence but also the opinions and beliefs that drive

some people to use, support or tolerate violence" clarify these aspects of the fight against terrorism.

The concept of Strategic Communication, which prescribes information and effective communication in countering terrorism, subordinates using power as in conventional warfare and planning in accordance with military precautions. This concept is indicated by the following statement: "First we have recently created the concept of strategic communication, which in itself is an acknowledgement of a kind of failure." (Laity, 2010a:97) What has been done so far under the auspices of NATO is wrong, prescribes that kinetic actions (operational measures taken by the police and military) having an 'information effect' will be executed in order to neutralize terrorists and to take control of the region and ensure security of the people. Combating terrorism will succeed by focusing on non-kinetic activities which utilize information such as public diplomacy, psychological operations, information operations and public relations in the coordination of Strategic Communication. This opinion is considered to be suitable in the context of the symbolic importance and the determinant components of terror acts.

This study, which introduces the idea that measures taken against determinants and the symbolic importance of terrorism acts should be placed at the center of gravity of countering terrorism, is of the opinion that strategic communication, which requires understanding and perceiving the target audience (Strategic Listening), will produce favorable effects on the target audience by ensuring the effective harmonization of military and civil components. Communication policies to be followed in combating terrorism should be determined and a road map should be drawn; the scope of the message to be conveyed to the governments, national and international target audiences and terror organizations should be separately set. The engagement that will yield the best effects should be assured through the selection of the most suitable conduit. At this point, one should remember that strategic communication does not involve one-sided information management or perception change by sticking to an ideology or an idea as in propaganda and distortion, but that the practitioners of this strategy try to receive feedback through strategic listening to the target audience and to discover what kind of behavioral change they themselves need to make.

The crucial suggestion brought by this study is to establish a permanent Strategic Communication Department which manages its own funds, has the authority to review strategic objectives, and addresses vast target audiences including friendly and enemy states, peoples of these states,

and even the members and sympathizers of terror organizations. Strategic Communication should be implemented, not only to counter terrorism but also to determine strategic objectives, implement national policies, prepare for periods of crisis, and manage crisis process; in short, Strategic Communication should be used in any field where governments employ the components of national power, in foreign policy. Strategic Communication, which is to be implemented so as to neutralize psychological warfare mechanisms conducted/to be conducted by other governments and terror organizations against a country or international community, will be carried out so as not to represent any political view in the country, to show a coequal approach towards the governments at the international level, and to influence all components, particularly civil/military and bureaucracy.

This Strategic Communication Department should be assigned top level authority and consultancy tasks far from any domestic political view. If the Department comes under the guidance of the Prime Ministry, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of National Defense, Armed Forces or the Police, the Department will focus on issues important only to these institutes. For this purpose, a structure under the title of Strategic Communication Board within the body of the Presidency should be preferred. This Board should employ:

- Civil, military and security experts in institutes and organizations that will ensure effective implementation of the policies determined,
- Academic staff specialized in the fields of sociology, history, law, philosophy, communication, perception management, public diplomacy, public relations and international relations,
  - Mass media specialists in media organizations,
- Expert staff in telecommunication and the Internet (especially against cyber terrorism).

With effective management of Strategic Communication; orchestration and/or synchronization of all components should be ensured to reinforce, preserve and prepare the required conditions to attain national and international interests, policies and objectives; key target audiences should be analyzed, understood and accessed. The Board should work in coordination with institutes and organizations playing a significant role in attainment these objectives, forming cells of institute/force/components with which the Board has a direct contact, and enabling cohesion of the scattered capabilities. Conventional bureaucratic hierarchy should be abandoned in this structuring; institutional structuring

which can take decisions flexibly and rapidly in accordance with the ongoing situations should be used. The Board should ensure that security-oriented activities, all of which have been carried out in a disorganized manner, such as:

- Preparing for periods of crisis and crisis management,
- Preparing for natural disasters and natural disaster management,
- Combating national and international terrorism,
- Fighting against organized crime,
- Effectively managing international relations,
- Taking precautions against cyber terrorism,
- Using web-based news channels,
- Raising situational awareness through the evaluation of national and international social networking sites, blogs and comments are conducted as a whole so as to guide the appropriate authorities and prepare the ground for specialization through training and seminars.

#### **Endnotes**

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the full text of the report see; csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/071106\_csissmart powerreport.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For the text of the speech see; http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2009a/july/126071.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> After taking the Presidency, Barack Obama's primary operation was to improve the image of the US, which had been considerably tarnished, and to establish strategic communication. In the aftermath of September 11, whereas the leadership of the US in the international arena was supported by the 64% of the Europeans in 2002, this figure dropped to 31% in 2004. The supporters of the leadership of the US are 41 % in 2008 (Akçadağ, 2010a:2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the full text of the report see; "Report on Strategic Communication, National Framework For Strategic Communication", http://www.fas.org/man/eprint/pubdip.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For the planning, execution and coordination basics of Strategic Communication see; ACO AD 95-2 Strategic Communication Directive. http://wiegold.focus.de/files/090903-ad-95-2-strategic-communications\_update4.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For general planning phases see; "Strategic Communication Science And Technology Plan", Current Activities, Capability Gaps And Areas For Further Investment, Director Defense Research And Engineering, Rapid Reaction Technology Office.

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#### **Basic Communication Models**

Annex A

Acceptance of communication as a field of study for researchers and scientists dates back to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. – Plato and Aristotle. Aristotle's opinion, expressed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, is regarded as the first communication model and the basis of all following theories of communication. His model incorporates few components or elements: the speaker, the message and the listener. In this model, Aristotle defined the simple communication process where the communication is the address of an orator to a vast audience. Demiray (2008:11) depicts Aristotle's communication model as the transfer of information between the educator and the listener in a classroom environment.

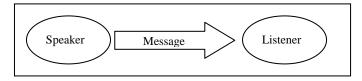


Figure A-1. Aristotle's Communication Model (Demiray, 2008:11)

In 1948, political scientist Harold Laswell of the US designed a formula to explain the communication process, suggesting that the impact or output of the communication may vary as informative, entertaining or persuasive; he shed light on the development of other theories.

Who? 
$$\longrightarrow$$
 What?  $\longrightarrow$  Channel?  $\longrightarrow$  To whom?  $\longrightarrow$  Effect (speaker) (message) (medium) (listener) (effect)

Figure A-2. Laswell's Model

Laswell puts a linear model in his study where he emphasized a "one-sided" communication process "Who tells-what-to which channel-to whom-with which effect?" Demiray is of the opinion that Laswell's model can be criticized due to the fact that feedback is not explicitly mentioned (although feedback exists); Akarsu thinks that the same model receives negative criticism owing to the fact that the model regards communication as a one-sided, linear process and that the model ignores the feedback aspect of communication (Akarsu, 2001:37; Demiray, 2008:12).

In the Mathematical Communication Model developed by Claude E. Shannon and Warren Weaver in 1949, the model is applicable to humans and machines in the situations where information is conveyed (Akarsu, 2001:37).

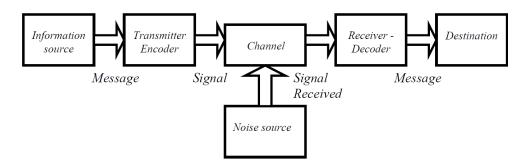


Figure A-3. Mathematical Communication Model

This model, developed by Shannon and Warren when they worked for Bell Phone Company Laboratories, shows problems that arise while sending a message; the model deals particularly with the following questions "Which channel conveys the most signals?" and "To what extent these conveyed messages are damaged by noise?" (Demiray, 2008: 13). In the Mathematical Communication Model shown in Figure A-3, the message selected by the source of information is converted by the sender and transmitter into signals that are conveyed by the communication channel to the receiver (Corman, Trethewey and Goodall, 2007:3). Along with these five functional elements in the communication process, however, noise, which is emphasized in the model as a disruptive element, is included in the communication process as the sixth and nonfunctional element (Corman et al., 2007:3; Akarsu, 2001:37).

In 1970, De Fleur added a "feedback element" in order to determine the results of the message conveyed as well as the impacts of the message conveyed to the sender and the receiver in accordance with the Mathematical Communication Model of Shannon and Weaver. De Fleur therefore completed the Shannon-Weaver Model which has been criticized due to being linear and ignoring feedback. With this method, which enables correction of errors and deviation of the message by returning the message to where it is created, it is possible to determine and change the following messages (Akarsu, 2001:38).

According to Demiray (2008:13-14); the "noise" in the Mathematical Communication Model is an undesired indicator emerging due to physical or technical reasons which reject the order of the message and spoil the message somehow. De Fleur pointed out that the noise element may stem not only from external physical reasons but also from the source or the

target receiver, attributing a "sensory noise" to the noise. A patient source that is off-color, unable to emphasize the message, being miles away while receiving the message or being in a mood which does not allow receiving a specific message, or being inclined to receive a different message, etc. might be given as examples of such noise.

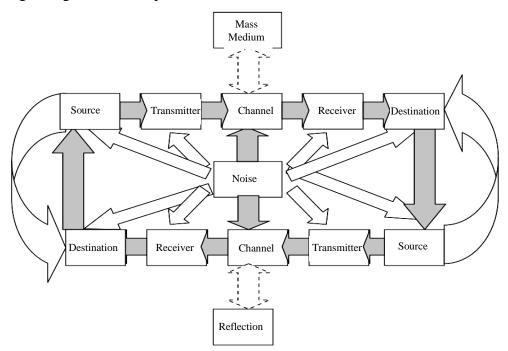
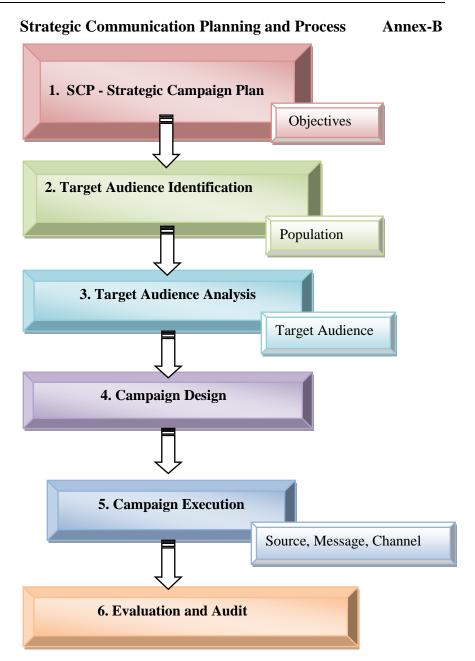


Figure A-4. DeFleur's Communication Model

David Berlo grounded his human communication system model on Shannon's telephone model (Corman, et al., 2007:3; Corman, 2010:102). The model developed by David Berlo is based on the basic elements of the communication process, such as a source having communication skills and attitude; a message composed by the source; channels like image, sound, feel etc. through which the message is conveyed; and a receiver having the same characteristics with the source. The feedback element is also not included in this model.

The message is coded through a variety of factors: communication skills such as thinking, talking, writing and monitoring, all of which determine the behaviors of the source in the communication process (Demiray, 2008:15). The skills, attitudes or behaviors and knowledge of the source on communication and the community structure in which the source

exists are regarded as the main factors determining its communication functions (Demiray, 2008:15-16; Corman, 2010:102). Another receiver having the same characteristics as the source exists on the other side. The receiving element, which is the target of the sent messages, is considered to be important with regard to communication skills, the community structure and the sociocultural environment in which the receiving element exists. Since no feedback element is included in this model, it is impossible to know whether or not the messages are received or to what extent they are received. The chief expectation of the model is to successfully achieve communication without being exposed to noise such as interference. This is the Achilles' heel of Berlo's Model (Demiray, 2008:16).



**Figure B-1.** Strategic Communication Planning and Process **Source:** Tatham, 2010:31

#### Strategic Communication Process Example Annex-C

#### Situation Analysis and Planning at Strategic Level

- Vision and mission.
- Final and intermediate objects and politics at strategic level.
- Military (kinetic) and civil (non-kinetic) components and capabilities,
- National power components,
- · Joint Intelligence,
- Analyze of communication media,
- · Identification of the target audience and its needs.
- Prior information needs, essential elements of information,
- · Operational support requirements, capabilities and limitations.

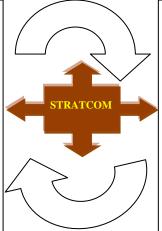
#### Outputs

- · Vision and mission,
- Objects and politics.

  The standard politics.
- Target Audience Analysis
- Criteria and methods for performance-efficiency analysis.

#### **Evaluation and Audit**

- Deciding whether strategic communication plan has succeeded or not;
- Determining the degree of success if the plan has succeeded;
- Checking whether or not a desired and considerable change in specified negative behaviors has occurred.
- Clarifying whether the objects and desired effects have been attained or not.
- Checking the suitability, validity and reliability of the methods and criteria of measurement and detects the errors made in the measurement.
- Revaluation of the plan and tasks.
- Developing the politics.
   Outputs
- Post-activity reports (reports operating results) to ensure feedback
- Data which will lay the foundation of the next communication plan



#### **Planning**

- Planning of Communication Strategy.
- Designing and preparing the words and deeds package that constitute the "message".
- The most appropriate tools and methods, through which the messages are to be shared

#### Outputs

- Communication Plan/Strategy
- Synchronization and execution matrices -to be used in executing strategic communication could be formed in which "component/unit", "space" and "time" aspects are reflected.

#### Execution

 Benefits from the previous stages and involves conveying the correct message at the right time using appropriate sources, components, resources and methods through the most proper conduit.

#### Outputs

- Fragmentary Orders
- Situation Reports (SITREP)