

MEDIA AS A MEANS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: "A REVIEW INTO NEWS OF NEW ZEALAND MOSQUE ATTACKS"

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Abstract

The growth of the Muslim population in Europe has begun to raise doubts about European nationalism, and Europeans have expressed at every opportunity that they do not want them in their own country, discriminating and racism against Muslims there. At a time when social media is widely used, almost every day we see reports of Muslims being discriminated against or news of discrediting the Muslim population there. On Friday March Friday, March 15, 49 people were killed in an attack on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, against Muslims attending Friday prayers. In this article, how this event was approached in the western and American media and in what dimension it was looked at was measured. The universe of this study consists of all foreign media outlets with news about the terrorist incident in New Zealand, and the sample is the news sites of "The Guardian", "BBC", "Daily Mirror", "New York Times" newspapers. In this study, content analysis of the news sites mentioned in the sample about the "mosque attacks in New Zealand" will be carried out. The analysis will include the themes featured, the news actors involved, and the findings of the extent to which news sites approach the event. In the study, written news related to the news mentioned in the sample will be examined. The study is limited to news coverage of events in the city of Christchurch from 15 March to 22 March.

Keywords: *New Zealand, Mosque Attacks, Political Communication, Islamophobia, Political Communication*

INTRODUCTION

The 21st century is the beginning of a century or millennium in which changes in different social structures, different subjects and dimensions are more pronounced all over the world. On the one hand, technology and revolutions are taking place, and on the other hand, the balance of power in the world continues to change. With the event in the 20th Century, cold and hot conflicts between the eastern and Western Blocks leave their place in new warfields. It is possible to say that the numerous terrorist events carried out under the name of the phenomenon of religion marked history at the end of the 20th Century. As these terrorist incidents, which started locally, began to grow, they were described as national and international events. Along with these inter-bloc changes, the formation of a union of European countries, which have been prepared for many years and are becoming increasingly obvious, is one of the important events of the 21st Century (Aziz, 2007).

Political communication continues to become more important as time passes, and is located at the intersection of political science and communication areas. Since the media brings people together, the field of politics has a relationship with the media and politics in order to reach these people, influence their views, and have a share in their decision-making. As a result of interfaith conflicts, history among Christians, Muslims and Jews bears witness to many events. The proliferation of Muslims in Europe has recently made radical Christians suspicious. Friday March 15th the city of Christchurch in New Zealand the aim of this study to the mosque on the day of 50 as a result of the terrorist attacks two Muslim acts of terror that ends with the death of the news of the attack on the manifesto of the person who is doing the action of the weapon when "Facebook" is also involved at the beginning of the live broadcast foreground extraction, which exhibit external perspective from

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any angle, and this story is related to what is written. One of the highlights of the incident is the messages given on the terrorist's weapon about Turkey.

1. Political Information

Political philosophy dates back to Ancient Greece. It is possible to say that the words "politics and philosophy" come from ancient Greek. "Politike" evokes the affairs of the Greek city (police). Philosophia has a literary meaning of love of wisdom. The history of politics is older than ancient Greece. Remnants of politics can be found in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, even in the life of a nomadic Stone Age man. Before the Greek city, the social order was based on tradition, and this order was explained by religious myths outside of independent human judgment. Unlike previous civilizations, Athens, where Socrates lived, required negotiations from its compatriots to establish a certain order and make that order sustainable. At the Agora, the center of life in Athens, citizens were discussing political issues. Athens is the birthplace of rational political thought (Arnhart, 2011, 25).

Aristotle admitted that although people have a natural tendency to share a natural life, they can again be dragged into conflicts by people's selfish desires. Although there are concerns about political life, the satisfaction of these concerns depends on the current circumstances. It is the responsibility of the leadership to secure these conditions. When these conditions "do not conform to the political tendencies of humanity, humans can turn into wild monsters under the domination of hunger and sexual lust". Aristotle, like Plato, refers to nature as the source of political thought. *In politics*, Aristotle often describes certain things as "by nature".

Because political information affects the behavior, views, and attitudes of people related to politics, they are an integral part of their theories of public opinion. From another perspective, political knowledge contributes to consistent and stable political attitudes, helping citizens realize their rights, respecting democratic values compatible with attitudes and preferences, increasing confidence in the political system, and contributing to the formation of political motivations. In democratic systems, the individual creates a political behavior in order to choose actors who will represent and govern themselves as voters. When the voter performs his political behavior, he needs to learn political knowledge to make decisions (Doğan ve Göker, 2018, 1016).

1.2. Politics As Hegemony

The concept of hegemony is one of the key insights to address the "political" question. Taking "politics" into account as the functionality of an existing antagonism, agreeing with the lack of a final basis, and accepting the dimension of indecision that dominates every level. In other words, it requires defining the hegemonic structure of various social orders and being a series of practical products of each society that try to unite at the level of negativity. Boundaries between social and political events are variable and a long time requires changes of location and renegotiation between social perpetrators (Mouffe, 2015, 26). Everything can differ over time; therefore, the basis of each order arises as a result of the exclusion of other possibilities. This order is "political" in this sense, because it is an expression of the structure of power relations. There are opportunities that have been suppressed and there is a possibility that they can move again. Articulating practices that enable the construction of a certain structure and fix the meaning carried by social institutions are "hegemonic practices" (Mouffe, 2015, 26).



When we look at the efforts of societies for democracy, here the social structure needs to be addressed from many aspects.

Gramsci's concept of hegemony is important for the understanding of the methods of establishing authority in power relations. Arguing that classical forms of oppression in developed capitalist societies cannot continue with domination alone, Gramsci sought to reform the concept by focusing on consent and coercion of social sovereignty and political power processes (Biber, 2014, 31).

In societies that strive for democracy, in addition to the struggle for social structure, intense efforts are made to increase the number of governments.

In democratic societies, it is necessary to expand the civil sphere and pluralize the social structure, "not to see power as only a political element; to study areas of power outside of political power". The dominant ideology has the power to create consent in broader areas. Gramsci places the concept of hegemony in a holistic context, drawing attention to the social, economic and cultural aspects of power and its foundations. In this way, power will spread itself not only in the political arena, but also on a wider basis in society (Biber, 2014, 31).

In some of the political structures, although the governments want to reflect their wishes as power and hegeomania, this does not seem possible because there is a distribution of power.

Societies had to achieve a pluralistic structure, increase democratic gains, and establish a mutual and balanced compromise, taking into account the interests and reactions of different segments in which power groups could demonstrate their dominance. The most basic way to establish power in political regimes where oppression and political actions of power are not possible is to "spontaneous consent process" within the framework of a hegemonic order, which makes the ruling class ideology a common sense in society (Biber, 2014, 31).

1.3. Propaganda and Political Communication

There is a close relationship between Propaganda and political communication. Political communication is sometimes described as propaganda. In the concept of Propaganda, it is expected that what is given will be discussed, accepted, approved in the content given, and changed attitudes and behaviors associated with this approval. In propaganda, the time is short; all the messages that are intended to be given are delivered within this short period of time and the result is desired to be reached. Forms of government exist in non-democratic countries, where propaganda is long-term as political communication (Aziz, 2007, 15).

The methods and techniques used in propaganda are also used in political communication, but the discourse between them differs. Features such as reliable sources used in propaganda, preparing the audience for messages, talking about the majority, giving round numbers and proportions instead of numbers, starting from known common points, renewing messages, using mass media to reach a wide audience are in the same ratio as political communication. Propaganda derives its power largely from the language in which it conveys messages. For this reason, there are cases where professionals who effectively use language are involved in preparing messages during propaganda (Aziz, 2007, 16).

1.3.1. Political Reality of Christian Theology

In Western history, the writings of Saint Augustine (354-430 AD) created a bridge between the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations and the Christian culture of Western Europe. The main reason Augustine is



characterized by this role, as a teacher of rhetoric , is that he studied Greek and Roman classics before becoming a bishop in the Christian Church and entering Christianity (Arnhart, 2011, 83).

The last Christian slaughter of the Romans (303-305 AD) was during the reign of Emperor Diocletian. Later, during the period of civil wars (305-204), Emperor Constantine obtained the powers of the western part of the Roman Empire in 312 AD. In the same year, Constantine converted to Christianity. A year later, Christianity became an official religion. In recent centuries, the dangers posed by both extreme idealism and extreme reality have manifested themselves. Idealists have forever advocated an adaptation of a world community in cooperation, where there is no war and injustice. When necessary, "utopian dreams" provided opportunities for unprecedented violence and oppression. From a Christian point of view, the adherence of individuals and regimes to luck does not need to be considered the inevitable content of meaninglessness in their lives (Arnhart, 2011, 94).

2. Islamophobia and anti-Islamism in Europe

Although the word "Islamophobia" and "anti-Islamism" are literally New, their history as an attitude is very old. It is possible to see that these terms appeared in the West, especially after 2001. After that period, the fear of Islam and counter-propaganda in West and North America, where Muslims were a minority, became a current issue, and Muslims there were subjected to all kinds of discrimination and hostile attitudes. After the Cold War in Europe, the perception of "Red danger" was replaced by "Green danger" (Ağçoban, 2016, 151). The beginning of Islamophobia in Europe dates back to the spread of the Islamic religion. In the early periods, European Christian writers wanted to eliminate their claims to Islam through their "polemic literature". In this way, they believed that Christians could be prevented from accepting the religion of Islam by trying to prove that Islam was an unrealistic belief that was incomparable to Christian theories. However, they claimed that Islam not original, it was adapted from Christianity (Ağçoban, 2016, 152).

Islamophobia complicates the lives of many Muslims studying in Europe, working in the private sector or in the public sector by being subjected to racism. Second, the rise of Islamophobia is causing the rhetoric of far-right parties throughout Europe to strengthen and be accepted as normal. Third, Islamophobia creates an internal security problem by normalizing hate crimes against different ethnic groups and communities within the country. It is stated that this situation will be contrary to the purpose and ideals of existence of the European Union (Koç, 2018, 212).

2.1. Political Propaganda

Propaganda refers to the programs that those who want to achieve the political system put forward in order to gain voter support, usually created in accordance with voter expectations. In other words, successful propaganda is considered successful in such a way that it can serve the purpose of its owner and enable it to achieve its wishes (Köseoğlu ve Al, 2013, 107).

Onaran (1984) States the purpose of propaganda in the form of increasing the level of violence and hatred in the target audience, changing the current situation and thinking that exists in the target audience. For these purposes, it is possible to leave the target audience under the influence of the intended ideology and thought. The Propaganda task is not only to change power, but also to be functional in order to expose groups that

cannot be controlled to the center. In order to change the thoughts and actions of the target audience, propaganda includes different methods according to the application environment, the reason for its creation, the root, the equipment and preparation of the groups (Köseoğlu ve Al 2013, 107). Propaganda used by the pope in religious areas and it was transferred to the political sphere after the French Revolution. Propaganda, seen as a form of communication, affects political participation, but is used by opposition parties, whether it is the ruling party or not (Aktan, 2017, 40). The history of propaganda, individuals and communities, politicians and propaganda done by the users face to face, it gained a new dimension now as a result of technological developments, television has become the main function of this process of sliding into the center of political propaganda (Qualter, 1980, 297).

Picture 1. Gun Of Brenton Tarrant, Perpetrator of Attack On Mosques In New Zealand



Source: (<https://images.search.yahoo.com>).

Picture 2. Attacker Brenton Tarrant



Source: (<https://images.search.yahoo.com>)

2.2. Propaganda and communication

With mass media becoming extremely widespread today, propaganda has to be influenced by communication. An example of this is that when people who are undecided about the time of the election see the speech of any presidential candidate on television, their opinion may change and they may elect that candidate as president.



According to communication experts, propaganda is in the process of communication and social interaction. The basic objects that make up the beliefs of their individuals are what they see, hear, listen and read (Bektaş, 2013, 179). Communication is impressive, unlike propaganda, it has more impact. The greatest advantage of propaganda means of communication is that the message is provided to a very wide audience in a short time. The use of "magic bullet", which already exists in mass communication theories, has had great power over the listener and audience. With the development of technology, it is now easy to reach societies located at long distances. The media was successful in keeping the masses together without physically bringing them anywhere. Messages in different ways, whether it is radio, cinema or tv, viewers are under the influence of intense propaganda (Bektaş, 2013, 180).

2.3. Social Media and Propaganda

According to Tatlı (2016), propaganda is the accumulation of works on behalf of the acceptance of ideology, religion, thought, and teaching. Propaganda uses means of communication to achieve its goal. Communication tools are also one of the most effective elements in reaching the audience. Propaganda is also used to project itself into means of communication. Communication tools are a technology that the public has always been in, and they use and adopt it. Due to the fact that the audience is together with the means of communication, the ideology that is intended to be imposed on the community is used as the most effective tool. The propagandist always targets the vast majority. It is this system that propaganda uses most effectively, whichever means of communication has a large audience (Tatlı, 2016, 158). Recently, one of the most effective means of communication for propagandists is the internet. The Internet has managed to shrink your world in a short time. For this reason, people can easily access any content they want, while propagandists can reach millions of people in a short time via the internet. As technology has evolved, social media has continued to evolve along with it. Although individuals are now using social media effectively, they are now positioning social media in an important place in their own lives. Since the 2000s, this interest in social media has started to multiply. Social media thoughts largely add up (Köseoğlu ve Al, 2013, 107; Şeker, 2022, 282). Looking at the relations of politics with social media, you can see "Travel Events", "Arab Spring", Barack Obama's effective use of "youtube" during the election. Especially in repressive regimes, politicians have imposed restrictions on social media in some countries, fearing the firepower of social media and disinformation (Köseoğlu ve Al, 2013, 122). As social media develops, regulation of social media by law always remains a matter of debate. Today, with crowds of people flocking to social media, it is now actively finding its place in politics on social media. "Facebook", "Twitter", "Instagram", "Youtube" are among the most popular social media tools.

3. Purpose, importance and Method of Research

At a time when the number of Muslim populations in Europe is growing, this situation begins to raise doubts about European nationalism, discriminating against Muslims there, racism, and expressing at every opportunity that they do not want them in their own country. At a time when social media is most used, almost every day we see reports that Muslims are discriminated against or that they ignore the Muslim population there. The purpose of this article, on Friday March 15th, Muslims attending Friday prayers in Christchurch, New Zealand,

the death of 49 people in an attack on two mosques echoed in Western and American media reports and the extent to which they looked at the incident.

3.1. Universe and Sample

The universe of this work that "The Guardian", "BBC", "Daily Mirror", "New York Times" are the news sites of all media foreign media outlets that contain news about the terrorist incident in New Zealand. In this study, the sample will also be analyzed for the content of news sites related to the "New Zealand Mosque attacks". The main themes in the analysis are news actors, the extent to which news sites approach the event.

3.2. Scope and Limitations

In the study, written news related to the news mentioned in the sample will be examined. The study is limited to news coverage of events in the city of Christchurch from March 15 to March 22.

Findings

Table 1. "New York Times", "The Guardian", "BBC", "Daily Mirror" on the websites of newspapers featured themes related to The New Zealand Mosque attacks.

Informant	Judgment	Precautions	Diplomacy	Threat	Attack	Attacker	Muslims	Total
BBC	-	2	2	3	4	-	-	11
Daily Mirror	3	4	-	4	6	4	-	21
New York Times	1	4	-	-	5	-	2	12
The Guardian	-	3	4	5	10	8	-	30

Table 2. "News Actors Featured in The News About the Attacks on Mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand

New York Times	Daily Mirror	The Guardian	BBC
Jacinda Ardern	Ramazan Ali	Jacinda Ardern	Facebook
Facebook	Ben Wallace	R. T. Erdoğan	R. T. Erdoğan
Witnesses	Nathan Smith	İmam	Yeni Zelanda
Y.Zelanda's Muslims	Mucad İbrahim	Mustafa Faruk	Mike Shaft
Journalists	Brenton Tarrant	Mohan İbrahim	Jacinda Ardern
Victims	Prens Williams	İrkçı	Asian Network Reports
American Muslims	Senator	'Guardian'	Melvyn

Looking at the news, there are differences in the way newspapers share news. Because of the way the event is narrated and the people who are involved in the explanations related to the event, the news newspapers have shown their point of view. For example: "The Daily Mirror mentions the attacker's name, while" The Guardian



"refers to the attacker as" racist." Newspapers' news sharing numbers are also associated with the newspaper's view of the event. No matter how much media organizations say that they make impartial objective news about events, they still observe events from a specific perspective. In this case, since the attacker's weapon has messages about the threat to Turkey, Turkish politicians are also involved in the incident by making statements. The fact that England responded to the incident in place of New Zealand is one of the interesting things. After the mosque attacks, news sites, media organizations, especially the external press, tried to mitigate the attack by trying to get over the incident.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of political communication continues to gain importance. By institutions and organizations, it is the area of communication in which they are associated together. Currently, social networks themselves contain many areas, including politics. Now social media accounts have become part of us. Efforts are continuing to keep up with the legal level of this process. At events in New Zealand, the attacker opened a live stream on "Facebook" while performing the action, and the writing on his gun distinguishes the incident. This event can also be viewed from the perspective of the proliferation of radical Christians in Europe, which has continued to be built recently. Those who are offended by the majority of Muslims are somehow discriminating against them, racism, and making them go away. If a murder is committed in Europe or America, if his culprit is a Muslim, his Muslim identity will be immediately brought forward. In fact, the purpose of reducing the number of Muslims by making a perception of the religious cause of a criminal is to concern the public. Undoubtedly, the power of the media is undeniable in the fact that they spread so quickly in such a short time. In research, statistics say that hate crimes committed against Muslims are increasing every year. Since countries such as New Zealand are not very used to this situation, it was intended to disturb Muslims there. But in this case, New Zealand has taken an important step by not allowing these events to grow and continue, with the attitude displayed by Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern.

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