ISLAM IN THE MEDIA RHETORIC AS PRECONDITION FOR RADICALIZATION OR COUNTERACTION OF RADICALIZATION

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|------|------------|------|---------|------------|--------|-----------|--|
| Dora STOYNOVA* | : | | University | "St. | Kliment | Ohridski", | Sofia, | Bulgaria, | |

https://doi.org/10.52123/1994-2370-2021-76-1-64 UDC 323.28 CICSTI 11.25.41

Abstract. The aim of the report is to reveal the influence the media has over the relation between religion and politics and its potential to be used agains radicalization in Western societies. The report gives a brief description of the way media works and defines the role it has as a mediator. Secondly, it presents the term «political capital». The paper examines the way in which media provides a possibility for political capital to be accumulated. The hypothesis claims that media can be used as an efficient tool while fighting terrorism and radicalization and to lower the lever of radicalization in Western societies.

Keywords: political capital, media rhetoric, radical Islamism, terrorism, deradicalization, regulator, antiislamism **JEL code:** N45

Андатпа. Есеп берудің мақсаты - БАҚ-тың дін мен саясат арасындағы қарым-қатынасқа әсерін және оның батыс қоғамдарындағы радикалдануды қайта пайдалану потенциалын ашып көрсету. Есеп беруде БАҚ жұмысының қысқаша сипаттамасы берілген және оның медиатор ретіндегі рөлі анықталған. Екіншіден, ол «саяси капитал» терминін ұсынады. Мақалада бұқаралық ақпарат құралдарының саяси капиталды қалай жинау мүмкіндігі қарастырылғандығы, гипотезада бұқаралық ақпарат құралдарының терроризм мен радикалдануға қарсы күрес кезінде және батыс қоғамдарындағы радикалдандыру тетігін төмендету үшін тиімді құрал ретінде пайдалануға болатындығы айтылған.

Түйін сөздер: саяси капитал, БАҚ риторикасы, радикалды исламизм, терроризм, дерадикализация, реттеуші, антиисламизм

JEL коды: N45

Аннотация. Цель отчета - выявить влияние СМИ на отношения между религией и политикой и их потенциал для использования против радикализации в западных обществах. В отчете дается краткое описание того, как работают СМИ, и определяется роль, которую они играют в качестве посредника. Во-вторых, он представляет собой термин «политический капитал». В статье исследуется способ, которым СМИ предоставляют возможность для накопления политического капитала. Гипотеза утверждает, что СМИ могут быть использованы в качестве эффективного инструмента в борьбе с терроризмом и радикализацией, а также для снижения уровня радикализации в западных обществах.

Ключевые слова: политический капитал, риторика СМИ, радикальный исламизм, терроризм, дерадикализация, регулятор, антиисламизм JEL код: N45

Introduction

The role media plays is complicated and complex. It has an impact in a number of areas, including religion, politics and security issues, which are themselves closely interlinked. Moreover, this role is not unequivocal, on the contrary, it could perform completely opposite functions, depending on the way the information is selected and presented to the final user, namely the general public.

The whole process goes through two main phases - that of selection of information, which includes a set of choices, about what topics to present and what part of these topics to present, ie, to what range certain area should be limited, because it is infinite by definition and therefore an appropriate framework must be set. In second place are the issues related to the rhetorics to be used and the visual presentation of the information that is already selected and framed. The information itself, which is presented and as it is presented, is a product of this process and therefore it is rarely completely isolated and free from evaluative connotation. In other words, despite the desire for the information to be presented from a purely objective point of view by most official

^{*} Corresponding author: D. Stoynova, dora_90@abv.bg

media, the process of, figuratively speaking, 'filtering' never goes as smoothly and routinely as in the presented abstract model. That can be a prerequisite for the media circumstance that inevitably generates certain values among society. To the features mentioned above and which explain the given phenomenon, the presence of unscrupulous media, which seek to deliberately and purposefully create such attitudes, is to be added, which further complicates the issues and introduces that need to be additional aspects considered separately.

The present study aims to explore the relation between the information presented by media and the attitudes which exist in society towards Islam. Basically, it presents the hypothesis that media can be used as a tool for reducing the degree of radicalization among citizens of Western societies - a phenomenon whose frequency has risen sharply in the last decade and which can be seen as a strongly negative trend. In order to fulfill the condition set in the hypothesis, certain prerequisites are needed. The need for its suspension and complete cessation or at least its partial reduction and the slowing down of this alarming trend determine the relevance and the importance of the issues under consideration and determine the need for additional theorizing in this scientific field.

Media as a mediator

The problem of the relation between religion and politics is not new. Such a debate exists in the academis sphere and can be found as the subject of a number of scientific studies. The largest number of the hypotheses presented confirm and prove, in an indisputable way, its existence. However, the research process in this direction continues, with the aim of revealing to the full the exact mechanisms by which religion causes certain political actions, and vice versa - how certain political actions involve the use of certain religious beliefs as a tool for the pursuit of personal interests and for the accumulation of political capital. Research aims as much as possible to isolate religion as a factor and an element of political life and security issues, as far as possible and to prove valid in an area where the differentiation of individual units in a purely mechanical way is extremely difficult and rather abstract in nature. There are

many analyzes that look at religion, both from a conceptual point of view and in terms of its specific dimensions, in the face of the three main religions, their divisions and other smaller religious groups and societies. This allows for comparisons and also for certain conclusions to be made, in relation to the considered interrelations between the two.

The word media itself means a channel or conductor, ie, its main function is to transfer information, but due to the specifics and peculiarities of this transfer, a certain value could be added or lost to the object of transfer. Thus, in practice, it turns out that media itself becomes a component of the interconnection of the other elements. and the way in which it affects it depends on the specific media and the rhetoric and style it uses. Thus, the role of the media as a mediator proves to be strategically important in the accumulation or loss of certain political capital, which in turn could have an impact in the fight against terrorism and radical Islam.

According to an article by John Wolfe and Gavin Moorhead, «Religious literacy and a wider vocabulary are needed by all» (2014). Literacy, in turn, is associated with freedom of choice and, in particular, with the ability to make informed choices. Radicalization as а phenomenon, respectively, associated with is the opposite, namely with the loss of the real and objective idea of reality, as well as with incorrect interpretation of the the interrelations between the abstract and the real. From such a position, it could be concluded that literacy, including media literacy, could be used as a tool in the fight against terrorism and radicalization. Such a claim, however, despite its rationality, needs to be seen in the context of the relationship between the media image of Islam and the use of religion as a means of accumulating political capital.

Religion in the field of politics, security issues and radicalization

Political capital

In his article "Political Capital", published in the collection "30 years of the Department of Political Science", Professor Nikolay Naidenov discusses a new concept for the Bulgarian academic community. Moreover, he successfully systematized three main types of political capital, which

additionally grouped two are into subcategories, namely primary and secondary capital. It is important to note that the classification according to the typology of Prof. Naidenov of the identification capital as secondary does not have an evaluative connotation. In other words, secondary capital should not be seen as weaker in terms of the potential that it can generate.

Although identification and comparative capital can distort the political reality, they can predominate for certain regions and in certain periods of time. Similar trends are characteristic of more unstable regions, such as the Middle East. This is due to several factors. In the first place, identification and comparative capital require less resources, ie less investment leads to the accumulation of more capital. Of course, when talking about political capital, quantitative methods could not be applied, because in the political sciences there is no unit of measurement for the studied phenomenon "political capital". Moreover, the latter can be defined metaphorically as an invisible force that drives the processes in the political sphere. It is this that makes it an extremely valuable resource that political actors seek to acquire, both in terms of domestic and in terms of foreign policy. It can be concluded, from what was said, that those who generate more political capital with less investment have an advantage position. As mentioned, it has a number of advantages, including the greater number of people that can be gained for a political cause and support a political entity, which is important in terms of efficiency and timing. This circumstance is determined by the competitive nature which politics has. In other words. leaders who seek to accumulate political capital have no interest in the individual, but they rather seek mass support, which means that the iportant thing is the context, namely who the other players on the domestic and the international political scene are. The situation in relation to others is decisive for the gain or loss of political capital. In essence, the latter is a credible trust on the part of the citizenry. In order for a political entity to gain this trust, it must be "seized" by its opponents.

Media, as a mediator, consciously or not, also becomes an invisible conduit and contributes to the accumulation of political capital in one or more of its forms. The opposition between Islamic and Western cultures and their values, as well as their cultural differences and overall worldview, is a tempting topic from the point of view of journalistic rhetoric. But it is precisely the opposition that most often contributes to the accumulation of political capital by an entity on the international stage. In this way, by creating simplified models in the media space, accessible to the general public and arousing its interest. certain factual distorted. circumstances are and the relation between religion and politics is changed, and the qualitative change that is observed may be different.

It is the understanding of its nature and theorizing in this scientific field that could lead to a higher level of awareness of the relation between politics and religion and how media influences these relations and thus be used in the development of measures in the fight against terrorism and radicalization.

In his article, Professor Naidenov cites more than twenty possible definitions of the term "political capital", as each of the listed concepts contributes in some way to the clarification and understanding of the described phenomenon. However, such a wide range of definitions undoubtedly testifies to the complexity that researchers experience in trying to limit what is meant by the term "political capital" and to distinguish phenomena. other similar it from Prof. Naidenov's article Nevertheless. derive the essential manages to characteristics of the concept studied, namely «its symbolic nature, its rational nature and its relativity, which is determined from the point of view and the context» (2016).These characteristics largely correspond to the above characteristics and features of media as a mediator, because just as it is a kind of transmitter of real events, so do political capital denotes a completely real phenomenon, such as credited trust in a political force or international organization, regardless of its nature. From this point of view, it can be assumed that the interrelation between religion and politics is refracted through more than one prism before a direct relation between the two phenomena can be reached, ie. here it is difficult to speak of direct correspondence, but rather of the

systematic accumulation of a certain influence, a term which could hardly be avoided when it comes to media and political capital, as both seek to provoke a certain change. It is the management of change that could become a prerequisite for the implementation of a strategy in the fight against terrorism and radicalization, which will be as effective as possible and which aims to create a counter-action plan that will further reduce the cases and manifestations of extreme Islamism.

Political capital is also "mobile" or volatile, ie. the accumulated credit of trust can easily be lost or it would be more correct to say that it could easily be redirected from one political force to another. Given this, as well as the characteristics of the phenomenon under consideration described above, a more accurate model of the relation between religion and politics could be created. It is clear that religion is being used as one of the means of accumulating political capital. This in itself is not a new phenomenon. Such tactics have been used since ancient times, so to eliminate them in terms of its complete elimination seems unrealistic. Combating such a phenomenon, which is proving to be historically sustainable, should take the form of a modification rather than an attempt to completely avoid or eliminate the use of this tactic. Another argument for the above statement is the fact that this does not depend on those who implement the strategy, but on those against whom it is implemented. It is undeniable that it would be difficult to influence enemy tactics from the point of view of controlling them, but it is decisive what measures are taken to counter them.

Media is one of the mediators of political capital. Consciously or not, it directs and provokes certain sympathies towards some political forces and movements at the expense of others. As one of the sources of political capital, religion is a topic that often enters the rhetoric used by media. What matters, however, is how they use it and how they manage it. Unfortunately, very often the management and taking of different strategic goals serves interests that are quite different from those of national security. Moreover, sometimes they are even incompatible with it. This is provoced by a number of reasons, perhaps the most important of which is the lack of coordination between media and the institutions responsible for the national security. The lack of interest seems twosided.

The law over the freedom of speech is also a certain problem. In itself, it is extremely necessary, but interpretations and analyzes of it often give rise to disputes, which not only have no practical value, but often even make it more difficult to understand than to facilitate its adequate application in reality. Proper understanding of the functioning and organization of the media is crucial in moderating the relation between religion and politics. The lack of dialogue between the institutions and the media is a significant shortcoming in the measures taken in the fight against terrorism and radicalization. This omission is not new, and the reasons for it are complex.

On the one hand, as mentioned, it is necessary for the full independence and impartiality of media to be ensured and garateed. The freedom of speech, however, does not imply a lack of dialogue. It is this side of the researched problem that is often overlooked. Nor does it mean a lack of awareness, but rather an even higher level of awareness of the national problems, plans and strategies, including security policies and in particular the measures taken by the state in the fight against terrorism. and radicalization. Higher allows for awareness motivated and conscious choices to be made. From this point of view, it is absolutely necessary for the media to be seen as a factor in influencing the accumulation or withdrawal of political capital through religion.

Political capital is not а new phenomenon, but its strategic use to reduce the risk of radicalization and the possibility of this happening through the media is new and unknown. It is necessary to conduct a more extensive study in this direction, which, if the current hypothesis is convincingly proven, to consider the possibilities and mechanisms by which this should happen.

Religious literacy as a method of counter-terrorism and deradicalization

The use of religion to accumulate political capital and to reap political dividends and achieve political goals is a phenomenon that cannot be ignored or deterred. It has deep historical roots. However, it needs to be modified for the needs of certain policy strategies and decisions. According to John Wolfe and Gavin Moorhead, «Religion plays an ambivalent role when it comes to threatening or promoting security» (2014). The latter circumstance also refers to its strategic use for the accumulation of political capital through media.

When it comes to strategic use and making a plan, one of the main aquirements for them to work is the need to build good coordination and sustainable relation between institutions and individuals who are or can be part of a potentially sustainable structure. Only when a coherent system in which each unit is fully aware of the actions taken by it and their consequences, we could talk about a strategic plan and policy focus. In the absence of such coordination, policy decisions and strategies could not have a fully guaranteed outcome, as the outcome of the interaction with unforeseen factors could not be guaranteed. It is for this reason that it is important to cover these factors as much as possible. In this way a higher degree of efficiency of the expected results and the set goals is achieved.

Of course, expecting a full and comprehensive range of variables would be a completely unrealistic idea. The concept of "media", in itself, is too broad and extensive to claim that a full media coverage at the national level could be obtained, but measures could be developed to meet the objectives and tasks set and a specific deadline can be set. Such measures may include, for example, the purposeful informing of media about the politics adopted for managing religious minorities, the holding of various trainings and other specific trainings on the topic, etc. Due to the breadth of the concept of religion, all these measures should be carefully specified in order to be truly applicable, and the information transmitted should be synthesized for the needs of media as a mediator to the general public. It should be presented in such a way as to satisfy the needs of the strategy acquired, and not to have a scientific or an academic and purely theological character. Of course, "religion" complexity of the as а phenomenon and its connection with the

overall cultural and historical traditions of a community should not be underestimated, but it is important to focus on security issues. The difficulty of finding a balance between a very superficial understanding of religion and its functioning as a factor in the accumulation or loss of political capital stems precisely from the difficulty of defining its boundaries. The present study does not aim to clarify the term "religion", as it belongs to another thematic area and does not relate directly to the field of political science, but some of its specifics and characteristics are key to the development of an adequate strategy and an appropriate plan to combat terrorism and radicalization.

The simplistic notion of the concept in question is one of the biggest obstacles to the development of measures and to the attempts to moderate and purposefully understand its implementation in the security sector in order to increase the level of stability and to guarantee peace and the coexistence of different religious and ethnic minorities. John Wolfe and Gavin Moorhead summarize some definitions.

According to Kate Connelly, after Kate Thomas, religion is: «a set of beliefs that gives you a overall explanation of the universe in terms of some form of supernatural which normally has ... associated with it devotional practices and rules of behavior» (Wolffe, Moorhead, 2014). Kate Cooper after Emily Durkheim: «Religion doesn't necessarily have to be about belief in supernatural beings fundamentally it is the collective feeling that accountability to other human beings reflects something deeper - a reality that is invisible or lies beyond human understanding. This feeling can be reinforced and developed by various cultural means - through art, rituals, poetry or philosophical reasoning» (Wolffe. Moorhead, 2014). Gladys Ganiel says that this is «a system of beliefs including belief in God or the supernatural that are expressed through specific rituals and symbols that are perceived to have overall moral significance» (Wolffe, Moorhead, 2014). Carolyn Rooney: «an awareness of belief in spiritual being beyond merely material existence that entails, say, a sense of sacred» (Wolffe, Moorhead, 2014). Wolfe himself defines religion as «a broad range of beliefs ... with supernatural references,

but going well beyond the framework of orthodox Christianity» (Wolffe, Moorhead, 2014) as well as «other areas of human ideology and experience which seem to be of equal or even greater social importance and emotional power» (Wolffe, Moorhead, 2014).

Of all the definitions formulated in this way, only Kate Cooper points out in her explanation the connection of faith with cultural traditions. In the rest the notion is considered and presented as an abstract concept that is isolated. In order to prove the hypothesis that this paper puts forward, such definitions seem relevant, but not sufficiently exhaustive, as they do not represent a particularly important element of the concept, namely its close dependence and connection with other semantic fields. Religion itself is an aggregate or collection, be it of beliefs, convictions, rituals or norms. This is also evident from the definitions of the concept presented above. As such, in reality, it would be difficult to perceive it in isolation. On the contrary, it is always part of or an element of other processes. It is its contextuality and its ability to influence other areas that is the quality and characteristic that contributes to the possibility of religion being used to accumulate political capital. Therefore, for the purpouses of the current paper, Kate Cooper's definition seems the most acceptable and appropriate to be chosen as a working one. Moreover, it clearly distinguishes the internal (cognitive) aspects from the external ones, as it reveals the relation between the two. According to the author, the external manifestations of religion are those that are key to, as the scholar puts it, "nourishing the senses", ie. of the internal aspects. Following its logic, it could be concluded that external stimuli and factors are fundamental to religion, and not the other way around, as is widely Hence the understood. assertion that external manifestations, not the internal experience of religion, are also the basis for the possibility of accumulating political capital. This means that the impossibility or restriction of it being freely manifested would also lead to a limitation of its potential to be used purposefully or intentionally for the accumulation of political capital. Such a situation could, of course, only happen hypothetically, and it would be absurd and unnecessary to transfer it to real life. On the

other hand, however, it should be borne in mind that it is possible to carry out qualitative monitoring of the external manifestations of religion, which would make it possible to trace certain direct results of certain actions and would help to isolate which of the them are of paramount importance from the point of view of making a strategic decision and which of them should be included in the measures to counter and combat radicalization and terrorism and which should not be included due to the low degree of influence and their comparatively low operational potential and value in terms of peacekeeping.

The present study should address another division of religion in terms of the study of its nature and characteristics, namely the difference between the public and private dimensions. Although to some extent it overlaps with the characteristics studied above, this axis is separate. Here again, certain cases arise regarding the conceptual apparatus and the correct use of terminology, and in particular the fact that the notion of religion is initially associated with the public sphere rather than with the personal and private right to religious beliefs, which is most often denoted by the general term "faith", but since the present study does not dwell in detail on these terminological features. it should be assumed that religion includes both aspects, and the public dimension of religion is of interest for the purpouses of the paper.

It is clear from the above that media serves the public, not the private. It is through the existence of a public dimension or public aspect, which manifests itself as an essential characteristic of religion, in the way it is viewed and understood, that it creates conditions and favors its use for the accumulation of political capital. Therefore, these characteristics must be included in the development of а strategy and measures to counter the radicalization process.

Media is part of the public, but there is no overlap between the two. This means that media can serve as a means to achieve certain goals that are public in nature, such as security issues, some of which aspects are the fight against terrorism and the manifestations of extreme Islamism. As not directly involved and dependent on the relation between religion and politics, media could be used as a strategic tool in the plan to counter radicalization. Its effectiveness is directly dependent on the awareness and recognition of its role as a mediator and transmitter of political capital, and not as a participant in the relation between religion and politics. The objectification of media by both the public institutions, directly involved in security issues and the purposeful work in this direction would contribute to the development of highly professional skills on the part of media, as well as to a clearer recognition of the role it plays. Only through cooperation could there be created lasting and sustainable attitudes among contemporarv iournalists about the importance of peacekeeping and their role in this process. In this way, sustainable practices could be identified that are important in the long term, not just in the short term, and which would contribute to a higher degree of resilience and stability in the security system, and also for the plan to counter radicalization to be gradually developed and upgraded to a greater extent rather than revised or restructured in its main part. Moreover, it is part of the overall vision for the protection of national security and as such it is an important component and representative document to guarantee the respect for human rights and freedoms. Its systematic and purposeful development are important conditions for achieving political stability and preventing xenophobic sentiments among the country's population.

Disproportionality is another major problem. which prevents this from happening. As Hanaah Ritchie claims «Media coverage of terrorism is often disproportionate to its frequency and share of deaths» (2013). The overexposition of the given topic can have a strongly negative effect, concerning the attitude of Western societies towards Islam. If we consider it as a fact, such an antiislamic sttitude would inevitably lead to certain polarization among the people, which can be hardly seen as appositive phenomenon and a step towards peacekeeping and stability. The trend Hanaah Ritchie at al. describes can be seen as one of the main obstacles to achieving a higher level of cooperation between media and the institutes who are in charge for the national security.

As the author further explores:

«Terrorism often dominates media coverage. We are informed about attacks as soon as they happen and many attacks claim the headlines. Whilst our attention is drawn to these events - just as the terrorists intend – such intense coverage can make it difficult to contextualize the true extent of terrorism» (Ritchie et al., 2013). This means that the general public is often overloaded with information that is improportionate to what happens in reality and thus it distorts the situation in a certain way. Again it would be extremely difficult and unrealistic to consider it possible for the media to change the information it presents, but some basic modifications can take place in order for its strategic use to be obtained. For example, a far more analytical way of presenting can be encouraged, at leased in the case when such a specific field as national and global security is conserned. Such a method of presenting the information would not only be far more useful, but it would be also of benefit for the specialists working on first line and who usually are the ones to alarm about untypical behavior for a given individual if notised. To put it in a different way, if the information media provides is properly selected so that it gives better understanding and more objective way of presenting the problems concerning and radicalisation terrorism as ล phenomenon, it could be claimed that their function would be not only informative, but educational as well. To serve this purpouse, it should present mot just the current information about the most recent terrorist attacs, but also to provide a comparison between this events and previous ones in terms of intensity, damages, number of victims and so on. What is more, such an analysis could evaluate the strategic function of an act, again in comparison to other actions taken by terrorist and the radicalized. Once again, the importance of the ability of making comparisons should be stressed. The need of it becomes evident from what Hanaah Ritchie explains about human's perception of information. According to the author: «our perceptions are influenced by the most recent examples....We are biast to recent events in the news because we can recall them quickly» (2013). That's way this article argues that media can provide for reducing the levels of xenophobia only if a greater

accuracy of the information presented is achieved. For the case historical facts be also included in articles should discussing terrorism and the problems of marginalization and radicalization of the individuals involved in the acts of terrorism. Their number opposed to the number of people who belong to Islam as a religious group is also an important fact and a kind of statistic data, which is possible to be used by media and which would provide for new knowledge and in that way would higher the level of literacy among the citizents of Western societies about the issues concerning terrorism and radicalization.

If appropriate steps are taken, media can provide the role of a potent tool and an vital component and an element of the strategy used against the continuoing trend of more and more young people to get radicalized. The broader the topic is to be explored, the less the possibility for ambiguities and misunderstandings to occure and to give space to extreme polarities to take place. Radical Islam is not massive compared to the number of people who belog to the Islamic religious group. To put too much enphasis on terroristic attacs, can make the problem deeper. A certain balance is needed in the way they are presented by media. As Hannah Ritchie put it: "It can be difficult to separate a rise in attention from a rise in frequency". The tendency for media to show the most "attractive" rather than the most objective information can endanger its role of peacekeeper and an efficient strategic tool and even make it serve the opposite function.

It is a general opinion, which is obvious, in itself, that proactive and preventive measures are preferable to punitive measures that are taken in the presence of already suspected to be involved in or to contribute for the preparation of a given terrorist act. It is for this reason that the active and purposeful involvement of media in the fight against radicalization could lead to a number of qualitative changes and benefits in terms of maintaining peace and lowering the levels of xenophobic sentiments among citizens and the general public. Moreover, neglecting this aspect, which has inevitably been shown to be a factor in the accumulation of political capital, significantly

reduces the control over current measures. as it remains unaccounted for. It is not clear to what extent changes in the degree of radicalization among society can escalate. Political capital is not a new phenomenon, but its potential is constantly being proven over time. It needs to be taken into account, as well as the ways in which it is generated. Since media rhetoric is part of these ways, it needs to be carefully researched. As a this studv. follow-up to appropriate measures should be identified to serve the purposes of peacekeeping, the suppression of xenophobic sentiments and the reduction of the level of radicalization among the citizens of Western societies and especially among the younger generations, whose representatives are considered to be one of the most risky layers of society in terms of expressing readiness to carry out illegal political acts and actions.

This trend could be successfully reversed in favor of national security politics if adequate actions are to be taken. Among them is the greater degree of coordination and cooperation on the part of the state institutions. as well as the nongovernmental organizations involved in the problems discussed. In essence, they are not new, but the present study offers a new critical reading of phenomena that have proven to be sustainable and interconnected over the years, but whose connection remains complex and incompletely studied.

Conslusion

From the arguments presented in the evidentiary part, the hypothesis is proved that the media can be a means to reduce the degree of radicalization among citizens of Western societies, through the role of a mediator. Although from a theoretical point of view the hypothesis is substantiated, there are certain circumstances that prevent this from happening effectively in practice. In order to effectively implement such a model, it is necessary for targeted actions to be taken by the Bulgarian institutions, because, as can be seen from the hypothesis and the analysis presented, media can be seen as a tool and not as a legislative institution. It can only be used effectively if it recognizes its role and the commitment and empathy it has with the issues conserninig radicalization. Lack of awareness or the presence of particularly

МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК БАСҚАРУ ЖӘНЕ МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК ҚЫЗМЕТ халықаралық ғылыми-талдау журналы

sceptical attitude could, on the contrary, lead to the expression of incompetent opinions and thus increase the threat of radical action among certain sections of society. The lack of unity in the preparation of a unified plan and strategy, would lead to the presentation of diverse information, which in turn is a prerequisite for the occurance of ambiguities and misinterpretations that would, unfortunately, futher complicate the situation.

Cooperation, the exchange of good practice and experience, the presence of respect for democratic rights and the guarantee of civil liberties are among the basic criteria for the development of a society. They are also a sign of modernity. That is why the strategy for counteracting radicalization is constantly being revised, and the measures are being supplemented and updated. The present study discusses proposing a new measure, within the framework of an existing plan. To what extent it could be implemented in practice and what would be its significance are questions that have yet to be explored and receive their adequate and scientifically sound answers.

The paper was presented at the online seminar on «International Relations and Global Security» of of Diplomacy of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan in cooperation with Sofia University named after "St.Kliment Ohridski" (Bulgaria) on December 11-12, 2020.

REFERENCES

Al-Qaradawi, Y. Islam Does Not Permit Aggression Against Innocent People, IslamOnline. http://www.alhewar.com/islam_does_not_permit_aggression.htm

UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). (2008). Fact Sheet No. 32, Human Rights,

Terrorism and Counter-terrorism, No. 32, https://www.refworld.org/docid/48733ebc2.html

Kar, K. (2001). The lessons of terror. A history of war against civil society. Sofia: Obsidian.

Khan, M. (2014). What is political Islam. E-International Relations, 1-3.

Kostov, B. (2010). European culture of security: The new threats against security and the development of the European politics of security and defense. *Bulgarian political sciences facing chalanges of time*, 173 – 186.

Naydenov, N. (2016). «Political capital» and its potential in contemporary political analysis. *Politics and democracy.* 30 years of Bulgarian political science (1986-2016), 170-192.

Osborne, S. (2017) US «created Isis» and its war on the terrorists is «a lie», says Iran's Supreme Leader. Independent, Etext No. 7787016.

Rapoport, D. C. (2008) *The four waves of modern terrorism. Terrorism Studies: A Reader*, Abingdon: Routledge, 43. Ritchie, H. et al. (2013) *Terrorism.* https://ourworldindata.org/terrorism

Wolffe, John, Moorhead, Gavin. (2014). Religion, Security and Global Uncertainties. Open University.

РАДИКАЛДАНУДЫҢ АЛҒЫШАРТЫ НЕМЕСЕ РАДИКАЛДАНУҒА ҚАРСЫ ӘРЕКЕТ РЕТІНДЕГІ БАҚ РИТОРИКАСЫНДАҒЫ ИСЛАМ

Дора СТОЙНОВА, «Әулие Климент Охридски» атындағы София университетінің докторанты, София қ., Болгария, <u>dora_90@abv.bg</u>

ИСЛАМ В РИТОРИКЕ СМИ КАК ПРЕДПОСЫЛКА РАДИКАЛИЗАЦИИ ИЛИ ПРОТИВОДЕЙСТВИЕ РАДИКАЛИЗАЦИИ

Дора СТОЙНОВА, Докторант Софийского университета имени «Святого Климента Охридски», г. София, Болгария, <u>dora_90@abv.bg</u>