

## **The contents of Turkish propaganda directed to Arabs through websites, an analytical study of the press articles published on the website of the Turkish Arabic-speaking YAS newspaper**

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### **Abstract**

The Arab region was not isolated from the Turkish foreign policy, but rather had a specialty for decision-makers in Turkey, as the issue of Turkish relations and Turkey's policy towards the Arabs takes great importance imposed by the nature of those relations and policies on the one hand, and the long period of time that these relations cut off on the other hand, By virtue of its geographical location, which brought it into direct contact with the Arab region, and by virtue of its capabilities and strength, Turkey was able to impose its direct influence on the region (Nur al-Din, 2001, pg. 19). To support the Turkish foreign policy and achieve its goals in a way that guarantees the higher interests of the Turkish state, so the researcher sought to study the contents of Turkish propaganda directed to the Arabs on Turkish websites, by analyzing the press articles published on the website of the Arabic-speaking (YeniShafak) newspaper:

**Keywords:** Propaganda contents - Turkey - YAS newspaper website.

### **The methodological framework**

#### **First: The importance of the research**

The importance of the research comes from the importance of the subject itself, which makes it a scientific beginning for future studies to begin to understand the Turkish policy directed towards the Arabs, especially through websites, as it did not take much interest from the scientific and academic side, with the lack of studies and scientific research specialized in this The field with the growing Turkish role in the Arab region and its interference in many Arab issues and files, whether at the military, political, economic, cultural or other levels, and the importance of this research can be summarized according to the following axes: - This research reveals the true goals of the contents of Turkish propaganda In addition to its contribution to identifying the Turkish strategies that it follows in dealing with Arab issues and files, the research also seeks to find a scientific and academic treatment to frame the contents of propaganda on websites as a means of communication, with scientific libraries devoid of such a study and the scarcity of information available in this frame.

#### **Second: The research problem**

The research problem is summarized in the following main question: What is the Turkish propaganda contents directed to the Arabs, which were mentioned in the press articles published on the website of the Turkish Arabic-speaking (YeniShafak) newspaper.

#### **Third: the research community**

1. Spatial domain: The website of the Turkish Arabic-speaking newspaper (YeniShafak) was chosen because it represents the newspaper's website that is closest to the ruling Justice and Development Party in Turkey.
2. The temporal domain: The researcher determined the temporal domain of this research in the period from (1-11-2020) to (30-4-2021), and this period was chosen because of its distinctiveness with important events witnessed by the regional and international arena, and Turkey had a prominent role in Those events, especially in the files and issues related to the Arab issue.
3. The objective area: the objective area of the research represented all the press articles published on the website of the newspaper (YeniShafak YSA) - during the research period, and the researcher relied on the comprehensive inventory method (press articles) published for a period of (6) months directed towards the Arabs on the newspaper's website ( YeniŞafak (YSA), with a total of (34) press articles.

#### **Fourth: The type of research, its methodology and tools**

This research is a descriptive research that is concerned with studying the Turkish electronic propaganda directed to the Arabs by focusing on the propaganda contents through which the Turkish electronic press sites seek to reach the Arab user and convince him of the directed media message, and according to the foregoing, the selection of The (content analysis) method as an appropriate method in the applied procedures of the research after a comprehensive inventory of the press articles published on the Turkish websites (the research sample) was conducted during the study period for the purpose of identifying the contents of the Turkish electronic propaganda directed towards the Arabs, and the researcher relied on the use of the content analysis form The analysis form provides the researcher with a specific framework for recording information that meets the requirements of the research, as it was designed in accordance with the purposes of the analysis (Abdul-Hamid, Content Analysis in Media Research, 2009, page 132), as the researcher reached to extract (4) main categories and (11 A sub-category of the website of the Turkish newspaper (YeniSafak) YSA.

## **The second topic: the theoretical framework**

### **First: The concept of advertising: in language and terminology.**

Propaganda in the language is an updated source for the triple verb called (Arabic Language Complex, 2006, pg. 288), and the signifier, the eye, and the mutilated letter are one origin, which is to tend the thing to you with a voice and speech that comes from you (Abu al-Hasan, 2007, pg. 365), and the man made a supplication and supplication: He called him, and the name is the invitation (IbnManzur, 2008, pg. 5289), and the word “da’wah” is mentioned in the Munajid - whoever prays and the purpose is to spread ideas, and when the scholars spread the invitation to someone - a hit, a principle (Ma’youf, 2010, p. 216), and that the word “propaganda” It means: advocating a certain doctrine or opinion in writing or rhetoric and the like (The Arabic Language Academy, 2006, p. 287). As for propaganda in terminology, it came in foreign definitions with the definition of the American scientist Philip Taylor, who defined propaganda in his book *Bombing Minds* as a deliberate attempt to persuade people By all available means to think and behave in a manner desired by the source, and the methods used vary according to the available technology (Taylor, 2004, p. According to it, without additional effort to explain the reasons for those opinions (Ibrahim, 2013, p. 38), Arab specialists and experts have drawn up contemporary definitions of propaganda. HamidaSumaisem, a professor of propaganda and psychological warfare, defined it as an art that seeks to aggregate emotional forces and individual interests in one direction that leads to conviction in an idea or With the principle of what the individual would have achieved if he were left to his subjective logic to develop spontaneously without pressure or direction (Smaisem, 2004, p. 105), and international propaganda is defined as a language and discourse that crosses borders and heads to other societies and then to other groups that do not belong to the national community with the aim of influencing and persuading Through manipulating the emotions of the feelings of public opinion (Spring, 1981, page 65), and we conclude from the foregoing that international propaganda is a communicative activity that attempts, through influence and persuasion, to induce others to adopt a specific behavior and position that corresponds to the desire and behavior of the promoter of the propaganda process, and this adoption includes changing opinions, ideas and viewpoints about An issue, a topic, or a specific situation, and it always goes outside the borders of the country.

### **Second: The Turkish foreign policy towards the Arabs at the beginning of the twentieth century - the establishment of the modern Turkish state 1923.**

The Turkish Republic occupies an important and distinguished geographical position, which gave it the ability to establish close relations with most Arab countries, in addition to the historically long relationship with the Arab countries during the control of the Ottoman Empire over the Arab world for five hundred years, which began politically and militarily (as an occupation) from the sixteenth century until The beginning of the First World War, and there are still those who see this control as a form of colonialism among what others see as part of the Islamic conquests, while Turkey now considers itself as the defender of the Arab world against foreign foreign ambitions at the time (Al-Jahha, 2011, p. 59 ), and by talking about the nature of Turkish-Arab relations at the beginning of the twentieth century, we can clarify the following things (Bey, 2017, pg. 5)

1. The occurrence of a rupture between the Turkish and Arab peoples and the emergence of accusations and cases of hostility between the two peoples.
2. The involvement of each party in regional and international confrontational alliances.
3. Absence of political, economic and cultural exchange between the two parties.
4. The social separation between the Turkish and Arab peoples is final, especially with the rise of the Arab nationalist tide since the forties until the seventies of the twentieth century.

### **And it all happened because**

1. The abolition of the Islamic Caliphate and the Ottoman Sultanate by the Turkish President (Kemal Ataturk)
2. The Turkish people's affiliation with Western European values in general.

At that time, the Turkish people's view of the Arabs in their “renaissance” represented a great act of betrayal, as former Turkish President (Jalal Bayar) said, “They were not ready to re-establish a close relationship with a nation (the Arabs) that stabbed the Turkish nation in the back” (Robbins, 1993, p. 27)

The Turkish foreign policy towards Arab and Islamic countries after that period was characterized by the following features (Daily, 1999, p. 31)

1. Its non-interference in Arab and regional conflicts and its tendency to establish balanced regional relations with Arab countries, as it did with Israel and Iran, with the exception of Syria from this approach due to the dispute between them over the ownership of the Alexandretta Brigade.
2. Supporting positions that support Palestinian rights after the 1967 war, and shifting its position on the Arab-Israeli conflict with the necessity of implementing international legitimacy resolutions, the most important of which is Resolution 242.
3. Going to the Islamic circle to join the Organization of the Islamic Conference in 1976.

The prominent feature of Turkey's policies prior to the arrival of the Justice and Development Party to power towards the Arab world was (ignoring) or (turning the face towards the West) with interest, politics and economy. Regarding this context, in which Turkey approached the Arab scene and clashed with it directly, namely (Al-Zubair, 2020):

1. The Iraq-Iran war 1980-1988, in which Ankara pursued a policy of dual containment for both sides in coordination with the United States of America.

2. The Second Gulf War of 1990-1991, which Turkey under the leadership of (TurgutOzal) invested in to reconfirm its importance to the Western system even after the end of the Cold War, despite the strong internal opposition that led to the resignation of some ministers, as Ankara allowed the use of the international coalition forces on its lands, and in light of that We can clarify the requirements of Turkish national security policies in relation to foreign policy, which are (Mahfouz, 2009, p. 177)
3. Alliance with the West and active participation in its security policy and strategy in the region.
4. Interacting with neighboring geographical countries to limit the divisive political ambitions of the Kurds in order to contain their tendency to independence from Turkey.
5. Building security policies and strategies aimed at creating strong military capabilities capable of protecting the geographical unity of the Turkish state by establishing political and strategic interactions that give it advanced military technology, and provide it with defensive guarantees in front of facing potential demands from neighboring countries.

From the foregoing, we can conclude that the Turkish foreign policy towards the Arabs, since the declaration of the modern Turkish state in 1923 until before the Justice and Development Party took power in 2002, did not receive increased attention by successive Turkish governments because of their preoccupation with internal affairs and the economic problems that Turkey suffered from. During that period, in addition to the occurrence of several military coups, which contributed to the absence of a stable foreign policy that determines the internationally organized Turkish interaction.

### **Third: The shift in the new Turkish foreign policy towards the Arabs with the arrival of the Justice and Development Party to power in 2002**

The Turkish political system in general and the Turkish foreign policy in particular has witnessed a fundamental and important transformation represented by the control of a party with Islamist orientations (Justice and Development Party)\*, over a secular system with orientations far removed from religion after (Kamel Ataturk) instilled secularism in modern Turkey since its declaration. In 1923, the modern Turkish Republic represented by the Justice and Development Party government, after winning power in 2002, adopted new strategic foundations in its foreign policy directed to the Arabs, namely (Rashdan, 2013, p. 28):

1. Implementing multi-dimensional policies, zeroing problems and strategic depth.
2. Adoption of soft power and the mediating role, which enabled Turkey to build a strong network of relations with the Arabs.
3. The rising influence of Turkey, which is cooperating and interactive, in the Middle East

The former Turkish Foreign Minister and one of the most important theorists of the Turkish Justice and Development Party (Ahmed Davutoglu) outlined the founding principles of Turkish foreign policy, three of which are methodological and the other five are operational:-

1. This policy is based on a visionary approach rather than focusing on the crisis-based approach that characterizes the Cold War, and it includes the entire Middle East region.
2. Turkey aims to implement the same coordinated and regulated framework of its policy in all parts of the world.
3. Dissemination of a new discourse and diplomatic style referred to as soft power instead of military force.

As for the five executive principles, they are (Weisbach and Jamal, 2014, p. 54)

1. The balance between security and democracy, which means respect for civil liberties.
2. The absence of problems with neighboring countries through cooperation.
3. Proactive and preventive peace diplomacy based on mediation to prevent potential conflicts.
4. A multi-dimensional foreign policy, as Turkey has relations with a number of partners without interfering in competitions.
5. The rhythmic diplomacy in which Turkey uses its membership in many international organizations to exercise greater influence.

The most important issues that contributed to the orientation of Turkish politicians towards the Arab and Islamic world before and after the nineties and up to contemporary history can be summarized as follows (Dali, 1999, p. 32)

1. The results of the second Gulf War made Turkey an essential element in the region for the course of the Middle East as a result of several factors, including water, oil, security, minorities, the most important of which are the Kurds because of its presence within the border entanglement with neighboring countries Syria and Iraq, which gives the need for joint cooperation among them.
2. The orientation of the Arab world towards peace negotiations with Israel and the recognition of many of them gave Turkey scope to establish relations in the Middle East, especially with Arab and Islamic countries, without causing embarrassment to it after it was accused of siding with Israel.
3. The internal changes that occurred in Turkey itself, represented by the rise of the Islamic trend to the political front, gave an incentive and influence to push and support this trend by achieving rapprochement with the Arab and Islamic worlds.

The year 2011 was the year of the collapse of all the Turkish foreign policy titles that accompanied it in the years preceding the (Arab Spring). Turkey chose to take sides instead of partnership, and it established its Atlantic identity in foreign policy and moved to a more effective circle of involvement in regional conflicts on the one hand, and internal conflicts in each country. On the other hand, the Turkish leadership supported the revolutions of the Arab Spring with great enthusiasm, hoping that it would be one of the most beneficiaries. It publicly supported the overthrow of the former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak to facilitate the Muslim Brotherhood's takeover of power. Turkey did the same in Libya, Syria and Yemen, and logistically and media helped the Brotherhood movement in Tunisia and Egypt to Managing its electoral and political battles, and Turkey has become biased towards one side, hoping for leadership in the Greater Middle East. This calls for new regimes that are consistent with its ideological line, which is part of the global movement of the Muslim Brotherhood. The regional reality (Noureddine, 2018)

### **Fourth: The Turkish electronic press and its propaganda effect in the Arab world**

The electronic press has brought about a great and remarkable development in the world of media, as publishing news and articles and following them around the clock and using the capabilities of modern technology in the manufacture of the media message has generated an intimate relationship between it and the recipient, as he can participate in writing the news and express his opinion on it, thanks to its speed in reaching the reader and its ability to impact, it was able to attract wide and diverse segments of the audience (Kanaan, 2014, p. 57), and it has become an advanced type of communication between humans that takes place through the cyberspace in which the arts, mechanisms and skills of working in the print press are used, in addition to the skills, mechanisms and information technologies that fit the cyberspace as a mediator. Or a sophisticated and influential means of communication for users through the use of text, sound, image and other influences that motivate the recipient to interact, communicate, investigate, process, analyze and publish real-time news to the masses via cyberspace as quickly as possible (Alam Al-Din, 2014, pg. 494), and this is represented by the Turkish interest in electronic journalism In a set of data, most notably:

Buying and winning the media for the benefit of the state: For example, in 2007, the second largest media group in the country (Turquoz Media Group) was sold to the (Calik Media Group), which has close relations with the government, as (BeratAlbayrak) works and is the son-in-law of the Turkish President RecepTayyipErdogan as its Chairman of the Board of Directors and in 2015 and beyond, the process of controlling the media in the state and winning it in favor of the government continued. The government used the file of force to suppress the opposition and critical media. Dogan Media is the largest media group opposed to the government, as its journalists were frequently criticized He was denounced by the Prime Minister and also threatened them with tax audits (Öniş, 2004, p. 128)

Providing financial support to the media loyal to the authority: According to the website of the Turkish opposition newspaper (YeniCagag), reports issued by the Press Advertising Foundation of the Communications Directorate of the Presidency of the Republic stated that the pro-government newspapers received in 2020 more than 141 million and 932 thousand Turkish liras from The Advertising Press Agency, i.e. 78% of the total advertisements, and among the most popular loyalist newspapers that received a large share of advertisements (Sabah, Demiroren, Turkovaz, Busta, and Milliyet), in contrast 9 newspapers from the opposition, including two (Cumhuriyet and Sozju) newspapers, got Only 22% of official announcements and reports also indicated that the penalties imposed on opposition newspapers increased last year by 150%, and 97% of them were financial fines (Yeni Cag newspaper, 2021)

Restricting press freedoms and imposing publication bans: The opposition Republican People's Party study included conclusions from Kadir Has University in 2018 stating that three out of every five Turkish people believe that press freedom does not exist in Turkey. This theory is supported by the (Freedom Index) Journalism for the Reuters Institute for Journalistic Studies at the University of Oxford, as Turkey retreated from 2002 to 2018 to rank 157 out of 181 and since the coup attempt in 2016 the government has used gag orders (to protect national security). During this period 468 publication bans, and what is interesting is the publication ban issued in the first two months of 2019, which in the meantime reached 34 bans (German DW channel website, 2019)

Increasing numbers of Internet users: The most prominent data of Turkish interest in the electronic press is the noticeable increase in the number of Internet users In the world, which prompted it to work frequently to market its propaganda discourse via the Internet and its various websites and applications on web pages, and it showed global statistics prepared by (Hootsuite), which is concerned with managing social media and is based in Canada in cooperation with (We Are) company Social) in January 2022, a set of data (Hootsuite, 2022)

1. The number of Internet users in the world has jumped to 4.95 billion people at the beginning of 2022, after it had reached (3.7) billion people in 2017.
2. The Internet penetration rate has now reached 62.5 percent of the world's total population, and the number of Internet users has grown by 192 million (+4.0 percent) over the past year.
3. There are 4.62 billion social media users around the world in 2022, this number equals 58.4 percent of the total world population as global social media users have grown by more than 10 percent in the past 12 months.

In accordance with the foregoing and the importance of the Internet and the electronic journalism it produces in its various forms and types, the Turkish government has worked to employ and direct it to serve its foreign policy directed to the Arab world as part of its international and global trends. Its strategic plans in its dealings with Arab countries and according to its pre-prepared principles and goals in which its national interests are taken into account mainly, as Turkey has dozens of political websites that broadcast news, articles and other press arts in Arabic around the clock, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is in the greatest majority With an Islamic orientation, most of them are similar in political orientation to the point of congruence with the vision of the ruling (Justice and Development) party in Turkey, while Turkish secular sites do not exist in the Arabic language to eventually have a complete arsenal of tools that have been directed since 2004 to the minds and emotions of Arabs in order to serve its goals of Increasing the influence and influence of propaganda in the Arab region and in implementation of its policy For foreign affairs in a way that achieves its national interests, sovereignty and national security (Hamoura, 2015), and it falls within the Turkish government's interest in electronic journalism, represented by websites as one of its effective tools to implement its activities and propaganda influence in the Arab world. This site did not exist before the Justice and Development Party came to power.

### **The third topic: the applied study**

#### **First: An introduction to the online press website of the Turkish Arabic-speaking YAS newspaper**

The Turkish newspaper (YeniShafak YAS) was founded on January 23, 1995. It is a conservative Islamic newspaper. It is issued on a daily basis. The name YeniShafak refers to the name of the new dawn in Arabic. The newspaper launched its electronic version in Arabic on 9/13/2013. The YAS newspaper is the first Turkish printed press organization to create an electronic version in Arabic.

The online press website of the Turkish Arabic-speaking YAS newspaper offers a range of news and press services, in addition to providing general information about Turkey and its foreign relations with Arab countries. The site has been programmed according to an easy-to-use mechanism, with three languages that can be dealt with within the site (Turkish language, Arabic language and English language), with the site providing two libraries, one of which is an image and the other is a video that includes all the archival materials that were previously published on the site, as well as The presence of the search feature inside the site beside the two features of communicating with the site administration and the official site addresses in the social networking programs (Facebook, Twitter, Google Plus)

**Second: An analysis of the contents of the press articles published on the Turkish website (YeniŞafak YAS) directed to the Arabs, for the period from (1-11-2020 until 30-4-2021)**

The researcher analyzed the content of the press articles published on the Turkish website (YeniŞafak) addressed to the Arabs, as a comprehensive inventory of the press articles published on the site was approved, for the period from (1-11-2020 to 30-4-2021), which reached the actual number that underwent For analysis (34) articles, and according to the precise steps of content analysis, the researcher reached to extract (4) main categories and (11) sub-categories, according to the repetitions obtained by it, as follows:-

1. The first main category (striving to enhance Turkey’s global standing) ranked first with a total of (182) recurrences and a percentage of (42.32%)
2. The second main category (showing the new Turkish geopolitical map in the Middle East) came in second place with a total of (112) recurrences and a percentage of (26.05%)
3. The third main category (emphasis on the Turkish policy towards the Gulf region) came in third place with a total of (77) recurrences and a percentage of (17.90%)
4. The fourth main category (highlighting the Turkish policy towards Arab issues and crises) ranked fourth with a total of (59) recurrences and a percentage of (13.72%)

Table No. (1) Shows the main categories extracted from the press articles published on the website of the newspaper (YeniŞafak YAS) addressed to the Arabs, for the period from 11-1-2020 to 4-30-2021

rank	percentage	repetitions	MainCategories	No
first	42,32	182	Strivingto enhance Turkey's global standing	1
thesecond	26,05	112	Highlightingthe new Turkish policy towards the Middle East and the Arab region	2
thethird	17,90	77	Focuson Turkish policy towards the active powers in the Persian Gulf	3
thefourth	13,72	59	Highlightingthe Turkish policy towards Arab issues and crises	4
	%100	430	Total	

**First: Sub-categories of the first main category**

Striving to enhance Turkey’s global position / this main category ranked first with total of (182) recurrences, and a percentage of (43.32%), and this category emerged through its various sub-categories, as shown in Table (21)

Table No. (2), showing the sub-categories associated with the first main category (seeking to enhance Turkey's global position).

percentage	Repetition	Category	No
57,14	104	Emphasizingthat Turkey has an essential position on the global map	1
26,92	49	Highlightingthe Turkish competition with the great powers in the international arena	2
15,93	29	Consideringthe Karabakh victory as a global Turkish military victory	3
%100	182	Total	

This category emerged, as it is consistent with the aspirations of the Turkish foreign policy to enhance its role and global standing, at a time when the Turkish leaders said that by the year 2023, the new state of Turkey will be born, and the reason is due to the end of 100 years since the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne on June 24, 1923, Which ended the existence of the Ottoman Empire, and the imposition of the victorious Allied countries in the First World War, burdensome conditions on the modern Turkish state led by Kemal Ataturk, so Turkey looks forward to taking a new global role after the expiration of the terms and decisions approved by the Treaty of Lausanne against it, and branched from this main category the following subcategories:

The first sub-category (emphasis on Turkey's possession of a fundamental position on the global map), ranked first in this category, within the contents of the website's press articles, with a frequency of (104) and a percentage of (57.14%), and emerged as a result of the multiplicity of themes and files that were Turkey has a practical intervention in it, whether at the military, political or economic level, especially in the areas bordering the seas from the geographical location of the Middle East. In a press article for the website of (YeniŞafak YAS) newspaper, the contents published in it emphasized the essential role played by Turkish policy, In the most important part of the world (the Middle East) rich in oil and energy, (Turkey is the main global player in the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, it is unpredictable which front it will face towards developments in these regions, especially when it comes to the Middle East. We note that it was not satisfied with the many developments there, and that it intervened when necessary()) On the other hand, the contents of the press articles of the site focused on the strategic economic position that Turkey enjoys at the global level, as this site has become a challenge to many All competitors from the regional and international economic powers, especially after Ankara reaped the fruits of its interventions in the affairs of some countries, especially Arab ones, and invested them in alliances and economic agreements that increased its essential and important position on the global map. It was mentioned in this regard in one of the site's articles (in the early days of the year 2020, an agreement was signed in Athens, with the participation of the leaders of Greece, Cyprus and Israel, and this agreement was known as the "EastMed" Mediterranean pipeline project, for the transportation of gas, and with Turkey marginalized and bypassed, Turkey began to tighten its influence on the path of the EastMed pipeline project , in line with the Maritime Border Delimitation Agreement that it signed with Libya in November 2019 ( ), and in the contents of the articles published by the site, an article was presented under an attractive and striking title, which is (Ottoman is the future of humanity), its writer indicates that the future of the new world depends on the return of the Ottoman Empire, and here, The writer implicitly links Turkish politics under the rule of RecepTayyipErdogan with the political past that was pursued and followed by the Eight State for nearly (600) years. Lath, Asia, Europe and Africa, it is the world and the geographical center of human history, on the soil of the Ottoman Empire there are 41 countries today, it is not possible to create a new world without understanding the Ottoman Empire, the last word: the great historian Arnold Toynbee says: "The Ottoman, is the future of the world The second sub-category (highlighting the Turkish competition with the great powers in the global arena), which came in second place, at a rate of (49) recurrences, and with a percentage of (26.92%), which highlighted Turkey's quest for a new positioning within the framework of the dominant international powers With the global destiny, such as the United States, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, China and France, the contents of the press articles of the site tried to focus on the independence of the Turkish foreign policy in light of the competition between the global poles, given that Turkey represents a power that is no less favorable than those poles, but rather competes with them in many aspects and levels. It came in one of the site's articles (No one can be certain that Turkey is now positioned at any pole at the expense of another pole. Neither the United States nor Russia can claim this, but because Turkey stands at the mid-line, that is, it acts in an independent manner as an emerging global powerAnd the website of (YeniŞafak YAS) newspaper showed great interest in what it sees as American competition and challenge to the promising Turkish policy towards the world, and Washington's work to obstruct Ankara's steps, which aspires to move into future horizons. It was mentioned in one of the website's press articles (The United States is the source of all the threat and competition that Turkey faces today, as it is the source of the threat (PKK), and it is the master of the terrorism corridor extending from Iran's borders to the Mediterranean, and it is she who puts pressure on Turkey In the eastern Mediterranean, military forces are mobilizing in the Aegean Sea, and the military equipment is being prepared in Bulgaria and Romania. This challenge and competition does not stem from an ideological view, but rather as a result of the steps taken by Turkey towards the ascendancy and America's frank counter and competing position to these steps) the competitive position that the political and political appearance shows Turkey with the great powers was not limited to the United States of America only, but the Russian Federation also formed, according to the press contents of the site, a strong competitor to Turkey's policy and its global standing, especially after the recent war between Azerbaijan and Armenia, in which Turkey stood with the Azeri side, which was able to change the scales and upset The table announces the liberation of the city of Karabakh after more than 22 years of its occupation by Armenia. Announcing victory in Karabakh (despite the clear Turkish role in the Karabakh issue, there are many signs that showed Russia's intention to neutralize Ankara's rising role globally, In the new situation later, the final victory was declared.

The third sub-category (considering the victory of Karabakh as a global Turkish victory), and it got (29) recurrences, with a percentage of (15.93%). To Azerbaijan in its war with Armenia and victory over it and the liberation of the city of Karabakh, despite Russia, France and Iran standing militarily and economically with Armenia. Turkey has invested this victory to enhance its military position globally as it did before it politically and economically, since this battle is the first of its kind that the region has witnessed since the end of The Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union on (December 26, 1991), in addition to the fact that it secretly and openly included great international powers such as France and Russia, and in this regard, the contents of the press articles published on the YAS website focused on considering the victory in Karabakh as a fully supported Azerbaijani victory. From Turkey, while showing the loss suffered by Armenia and the countries that supported it in the war (declaration of defeat announced by the Armenian Prime Minister (NicolPashinyan), he admitted the fall of Karabakh through pathetic statements, these statements which he made The statements made by the Prime Minister of Armenia are considered a declaration and recognition of the agreement, which means a clear victory for Azerbaijan and Turkey. Even the statements issued by Paris, commenting on the latest declaration, were clearly aimed at Turkey, as it called on Ankara to stop what it called "provocations" in Karabakh. In this context, he commented The former French ambassador in Washington, Gerard Araud, about the recent announcement of the defeat of Armenia in Karabakh, as he considered it a Turkish victory, an Iranian retreat, an Armenian defeat, and an astonishing and retreating position from Russia.

**Second: Sub-categories of the second main category**

Highlighting the new Turkish geopolitical map in the Middle East/ This main category came in second place, with a total of (112) recurrences, and a percentage of (26.04%), and this category emerged through its various sub-categories, as shown in Table (22)

Table No. (3), showing the sub-categories associated with the second main category (highlighting the new Turkish policy towards the Middle East and the Arab region)

percentage	Repetition	Category	No
66,07	74	Promoting Turkey's leadership in the new Middle East	1
33,92	38	Turkey's adoption of a new economic policy towards the Arab region	2
%100	112	Total	

These categories came as a result of Turkey's endeavor to exploit the variables that occurred on the regional and international scene and recalculate them in dealing with new issues and positions according to those variables, and this was what was focused on within the contents of the press articles of the YAS website, especially what escalated Turkish opinions and positions with the presence of efforts The Turkish regime has been keen and studied to present a new Turkish strategy towards the Middle East, specifically the Arab countries in it. From this main category, the following sub-categories were divided:

-1The first sub-category (Promoting Turkey's leadership in the new Middle East region), obtained (74) recurrences, with a percentage of (66.07%), and emphasized (Turkish policy's endeavor to exploit the decline in the US presence in the Middle East, and this is considered The matter is one of the most important variables imposed by the recent US elections on the region, the victory of Democratic President Joe Biden as President of the United States of America and his use of the policy of retreating inward and his withdrawal from most regional and international files such as the withdrawal from Afghanistan, Syria and Libya and the retreat from the support of the Arab coalition in Yemen and other files, I took Turkey has the opportunity to take the helm and promote it) while maintaining privacy in dealing with the Arab region as part of the new Middle East. And Russia towards the region, in exchange for the new positive change that Turkey is bearing. Public opinion over the entire world of our ideas, that our entire region is vulnerable to facing a new process of occupation, and this is evident from the greed of many countries such as France and Russia, which were unable to hide their ambitions and restrain them, and indicates the depth of the geopolitical fissures that emerged due to the Turkish presence, this means The phase of changes that will have an impact on our region has already begun. In contrast to those fears and ambitions (French and Russian), the contents of the website's press articles focused on promoting Turkey as a new leader in the Middle East. It was mentioned in one of the website's press articles (that a new world led by Turkey is being established, and that the old world represented by the United States is following with great concern the new world represented by Turkey, under the leadership of its Prime Minister, RecepTayyipErdogan, noting that regional and global powers are deeply shocked by Turkey's role in the new Middle East, and its cooperation with The Kurds", and the "Muslim Brotherhood

-2The second sub-category (Turkey's adoption of a new economic policy towards the Arab region), came in second place, with a rate of (38) recurrences, and with a percentage of (33.92%), and it came in response to what economic changes imposed on the international arena, especially with the economic crisis that The Corona pandemic caused it, which led to a drop in oil prices in global markets, which prompted Turkey, according to this important economic variable and the changes it reflected on the Turkish economy, to work according to a new economic policy towards the Arab region. This new policy imposed the conclusion of important economic agreements with the Arab countries, it was stated in the contents of one of the site's press articles (that the signing of a maritime licensing agreement between Turkey and Libya, also led to significant and significant changes in the region, and the potential maritime border agreement for Turkey with Egypt, will provide a larger maritime area than the current time, and caused the situation that It appeared, in particular, after the agreement demarcating the maritime borders between Turkey and Libya, in a major change in the energy and economy balances in the Eastern Mediterranean, so we are at the beginning of a new era in the Eastern Mediterranean.

**Third: Sub-categories of the third main category**

Focusing on the Turkish policy towards the active forces in the Arabian Gulf / This main category ranked third, with a total of (77) recurrences, and a percentage of (17.90%), and this category emerged through its various sub-categories, as shown in the table ( 23)

Table No. (4), showing the sub-categories related to the third main category (focusing on Turkish policy towards the active powers in the Arabian Gulf)

percentage	Repetition	Category	No
62,33	48	Showthe negative image of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the UAE	1
37,66	29	HighlightingQatar's role as a major player in the Arab Gulf region	2
%100	77	Total	

These categories emerged as a result of the increasing events and changes that occurred in the Turkish relations with some active powers in the Gulf region, especially the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar. From this main category, the following sub-categories were divided:

The first sub-category (showing the negative image of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the UAE), and it ranked first in this category, within the contents of the press articles of the site, at a rate of (48) recurrences, and with a percentage of (62.33%), and it emerged as a result of what (returned to it) The events after (the Arab Spring revolutions) in 2011, which witnessed the collapse of some Arab regimes and the rise of Islamic currents, especially the Muslim Brotherhood, whose rise supported Turkey in a significant and tangible way, which angered the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, which formed the axis of opposition to the intellectual ideology of the Brotherhood Muslims, whose approach and policy coincide with the approach and policy of the Justice and Development Party and its leader, Turkish President (RecepTayyipErdogan), which prompted Saudi Arabia and the UAE to support counter-revolutions, as happened in Egypt and Libya. Khashoggi caused a complete rupture in relations between Turkey, Saudi Arabia and the UAE), so the contents of the website's press articles focused on showing the negative image of Saudi Arabia and the UAE in line with the media war that leads Behold, Turkey against both countries, as it was stated on the site (that Saudi Arabia and the UAE have taken the dangerous and illegal path, which is under the guidance of the United States and Israel, Saudi Arabia has been adopting unbelievable practices against Muslim scholars for some time, arresting whomever it wants without evidence or proof to exercise unbelievable pressures against them. Limit it()), and the site cites the statements of former US President Donald Trump to emphasize the international negative image of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and to show the weakness of the political administration in it, with the site focusing on the history full of issues and negative attitudes of the United Arab Emirates, as it came in one of the site's press articles (Trump says addressing the royal family in Saudi Arabia, "When you don't give me what I want, I can undo your protection, then you can't hold out for one week. Uyghur Muslims, against Muslims in Kashmir and Myanmar, all the crimes and violations that take place there, are supported by money, weapons and hired killers by the UAE), and it was not limited to n Tell the negative views and attitudes of the previous US administration, regarding the negative image of Saudi Arabia and the UAE. Rather, the contents of the website's press articles focused on showing the negative views of the new US administration after the recent US presidential elections, which ended with the victory of Democratic candidate Joe Biden over his Republican rival, former President Donald Trump ( One of the first decisions Biden made upon taking office was to remove the UAE from the F-35 program, and he also took a clear position on Yemen and decided to temporarily stop arms sales to Saudi Arabia

The second sub-category (highlighting the role of Qatar as a major player in the Arab Gulf region), which ranked first in this category, within the contents of the website's press articles, at a rate of (29) recurrence, and with a percentage of (37.66%), and it came as a result of Turkey's efforts On strengthening its strategic relations with the State of Qatar, and highlighting Qatar as an influential and powerful force in the Arab Gulf region, to be a strong and solid competitor against other Gulf powers such as Saudi Arabia and the Emirates, which have tense relations with Ankara. Therefore, the contents of the website's press articles focused on the political and economic strengths of the State of Qatar in the Gulf region. The Arab (despite the small size of the State of Qatar, but since 2000 the State of Qatar has managed to excel in its political and economic level at the level of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Emirates. Feelings of envy and hostility are generated in Saudi Arabia, as it is the owner of the tyrannical power in the Gulf. Al-Araby in particular, because of Qatar's influence on the overall security issues in those areas, and Turkey's attempt to exploit that influence to serve its common interests and security files in many Arab countries. It will strengthen Qatar's presence further, and it will become the indispensable country in terms of regional security.

**Third: Sub-categories of the fourth main category**

Highlighting the Turkish policy towards Arab issues and crises / This main category ranked fourth, with a total of 59 recurrences, and a percentage of (13.72%), and this category emerged through its various sub-categories, as shown in Table (24)

**Table No. (5) Shows the sub-categories related to the fourth main category (highlighting the Turkish policy towards Arab issues and crises).**

percentage	Repetition	Category	No
38,98	23	Focusingon the necessity of the departure of the Bashar al-Assad regime to solve theSyrian crisis	1
28,81	17	HighlightingTurkish interest in the issue of Arab refugees	2
20,33	12	Supportingthe legitimacy of Turkish intervention in the Libyan crisis	3
11,86	7	Focusingon the US administration's lack of impartiality in dealing with thePalestinian issue	4
%100	59	Total	

This category came as a result of Turkey's pursuit to impose its presence and its position and protect its economic interests in the Arab region, and also seeks to use Arab issues and files, as pressure cards for political maneuvering, with all local, regional and international actors and participation in Arab crises and issues, which intensified after the events of the Arab Spring revolutions. In 2011 and the situation and changes that followed at the political, security and economic levels, especially with the emergence of extremist terrorist groups such as ISIS, which imposed its control over large areas in some Arab countries, which prompted many people to migrate to other countries, and Turkey was the first of those countries that received more Of the five million Arab



immigrants, especially from Syria and Iraq, and later used them as a political file to influence regional and international variables and equations, the following sub-categories were divided from this main category:

The first sub-category (emphasis on the necessity of the departure of Bashar al-Assad's regime to solve the Syrian crisis), obtained (23) recurrences, with a percentage of (38.98%), as the website mentioned the contents (many children of Daraa wrote the following slogan on the wall: It's your turn, Doctor!" I mean: "Doctor, it's your turn too." They meant President Bashar al-Assad, and in those days, when the Tunisian and Egyptian presidents left their posts, the Syrian people hoped that Assad would also leave and leave his post, but he nothing changed and the regime's barbaric practices continued, and Assad's elements continued shooting and arresting people.

The second sub-category (highlighting the Turkish interest in the issue of Arab refugees), ranked second in this category, with a rate of (17) recurring, and with a percentage of (28.81%), as stated in the following press article (those who complain about providing care Health care by the Turkish state for Syrian refugees, ignoring that this same country has originally provided its citizens with the best free health care in the world, since 2002. In addition, providing services without differentiating between a Turkish or an Arab refugee is a unique model for the justice and development governments in Turkey She has the right to be proud of it.

The third sub-category (supporting the legitimacy of the Turkish intervention in the Libyan crisis), obtained (12) recurrences, with a percentage of (20.33%). After a great effort, it also established a new look towards the future, that the presence of Turkey in Libya is not an intervention whose results have not been calculated.

The fourth sub-category (focusing on the lack of impartiality of the US administration in dealing with the Palestinian issue), obtained (7) recurrences, with a percentage of (11.86%), as stated in the following press content (All of what Trump the Republican implemented from Decisions in favor of Israel against the Palestinian cause, including the transfer of the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, were prepared by Democrat Obama, and therefore Biden in itself is not considered a beginning but an end result of America's lack of neutrality in dealing with the Palestinian cause) (), in addition to the arrival of Press content on the site indicates that the policy of President Joe Biden is not different from his predecessor Donald Trump, especially with regard to his policy towards the Palestinian issue, as it came in those contents (even if Biden followed a different path than the path followed by Trump in the Middle East, but at the same time he cannot To expect from him policies toward Israel that work against what Trump offered it, not because he does not have the courage to do so, but because he does not live in a different world from Trump's in terms of feelings, attitude and policy toward Israel.

## **Conclusions and margins**

### **Conclusions**

1. The contents of the press articles published on (YeniŞafak YAS) website showed Turkey's endeavor to enhance its global position by taking advantage of its strategic position on the global map and creating Turkish competition with the great powers in the international arena and displaying its military power as Azerbaijan's victory in Karabakh was a Turkish military victory globally.
2. The contents of the press articles published on the website (YeniŞafak YAS) show the Turkish policy towards the Middle East and the Arab region by promoting Turkey's leadership in the new Middle East and adopting a new economic policy towards the Arab region.
3. The contents of the press articles published on the YAS website focused on the Turkish policy towards the active forces in the Arab Gulf while showing the negative image of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the UAE, in return for highlighting the role of Qatar as a major player in the Arab Gulf region.
4. The contents of the press articles published on the (YeniShafak YAS) website clarified the Turkish politics towards Arab issues and crises by focusing on the necessity of the departure of the Bashar al-Assad regime to solve the Syrian crisis, highlighting the Turkish interest in the issue of Arab refugees and supporting the legitimacy of Turkish intervention in the Libyan crisis, as well as focusing on not The impartiality of the US administration in dealing with the Palestinian issue.

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