Freedom, the Media, and War: an Investigation on Interactions

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Abstract. *This paper is set to analyze interdependencies of freedom, media, and war. In order to show freedom's impacts on the latter, first historical and current concepts are discussed. To cope with recent developments in both war and media, a categorization of old and new wars is then depicted in order to sketch the major differences. Terrorism as a new appearance of war is examined in more detail, as it provides a comprehensive example of how all subcomponents of the investigation – freedom, media and war – interact. The media with their special role in regard to freedom, war, and state, are more specified in order to follow the logical scope of the paper. It is shown how the three stated elements reciprocally depend on each other. Lastly, the possible solutions for inhibiting negative interactions are presented. Due to its largest lever, the focus is hereby placed on the media.*

Keywords: freedom, media, media in warfare, old wars, new wars, state conception.

Introduction

In 2013, Americans were asked whether they would be willing to give up some of their personal freedom in order to reduce the threat of terrorism. For the first time since the 9/11 attacks, the majority of Americans said "no" (Cooke, 2013). This example reflects a transformation of the awareness of freedom as a fundamental value within our society and a still ongoing discourse on the meaning of

freedom. This paper aims to analyze the interaction among freedom, media, and war and its implications on the state conception. The question of how these components influence each other should be answered. In order to provide a solid fundament, the leading concepts of freedom are presented; starting from the ancient Greek, followed by the enlightenment, and closing with the current concepts. An examination of the evolution of wars, with a special focus on terrorism, follows. Terrorism serves as a comprehensive example, it illustrates how all elements – freedom, society, media, and war – interact. To cover all components of the interaction, the role of the media is illustrated in the following chapter. Based on previous research, all discussed elements are displayed in a simple graph which is set to visualize all interdependencies and provide an overview. The final part of the paper shows the intervening solutions of the media and journalism, as the media appear to be the most promising element to adapt.

I. The Idea of Freedom

The idea of freedom as a fundamental part of society is a permanently discussed topic. However, various definitions exist in the current literature on freedom, without one commonly used definition of the term. With regard to this fact, the following abstract focuses on the main concepts of freedom, which evolved over time. This collection of concepts of freedom offers a broad overview on the different implications of freedom.

Platon and Aristotle

The Greek philosophers Platon and Aristotle are often portrayed as the first thinkers in the field of freedom, citizenship, and state conception (Cf. Arendt, 1960; Scheufele, 1999).

Platon considers freedom as the basic step of the state conception, whereby a society must be full of freedom and freedom of speech. He explicates freedom as "everybody can do what he wants" (Plat. pol.:

557b)[1]. Through the contextual framework, it becomes visible that Platon regard only democracies to be real state conceptions, which allows this extent of freedom (ibid.).

Aristotle follows a similar concept in his famous essay "Politeia" where he focused on the nature of a human and its role in a state. First of all, he defines the state as a society of free humans (Aristot. pol. 3, 1279a2)[2]. Freedom in his sense can be understood as doing what a man likes (Aristot. pol. 1, 1310a25). In this connection, he differentiates by status nature that some are free and others are slaves (Aristot. pol. 1, 1255a1)[3].

Thomas Hobbes

Thomas Hobbes examines in his work "The Leviathan" the idea of freedom as a social contract among citizens and a superior good in order to secure society from the further danger. Due to this approach, Hobbes designates opponents as "external impediments of motion" (Hobbes, 2013: XXI).

Regarding this idea of social contract, the sovereign is obliged to guarantee security while the citizens are committing their obedience towards every decision. The obedience and acceptance towards every decision includes also injustice, for example homicide with the intention of an increasing commonwealth, as legitimate actions. Subse-

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[1] "Οὐκοῦν πρῶτον μὲν δὴ ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἡ πόλις μεστὴ καὶ παρρησίας γίγνεται, καὶ ἐξουσία ἐν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν ὅ τι τις βούλεται;" (Plat. pol. 557b).
Own trans.: "Surely, the first is that they are free, that the city is full of freedom and freedom of speech, and that anyone can do what he wants?". Interestingly, he left the sentence open as a question and does not finish the sentence with a full stop. This provides space for the further interpretation.

[2] "[...], ἡ δὲ πόλις κοινωνία τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐστίν." (Aristot. pol. 3, 1279a21; own trans.: "A state is in fact a community of free people.").

[3] "Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν εἰσὶ φύσει τινὲς οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι, φανερόν, οἷς καὶ συμφέρει τὸ δουλεύειν καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν." (Aristot. pol. 1, 1255a;
Own trans.: "To some it applies that they are either free or slaves by nature, and for those it is advantageous and Suitable to serve as slaves").

quently, Hobbes defines freedom in a negative way as an inalienable value but defines it as the absence of an opposition. In the sense of Hobbes, a free man is a man who is not hindered from what he has a will to do. Additionally to liberty and freedom, Hobbes includes self-defense as a form of protection from enemies, as the basic right of every human and citizen. However, Hobbes describes slavery as support for preservation. Therefore, slavery is completely acceptable and common-sense (Hobbes, 2013: XLV). Interestingly, in the sense of Hobbes' idea, liberty is bound to the law of social contract; hence, commonwealth can only be established under the existence of a civil law which, on the other hand, restricts the freedom of the citizens (Hobbes, 2013: XXI).

John Locke

Following the previously discussed concept of the social contract of Hobbes, John Locke modified this approach in terms of law making, in order to save the rights of liberty. From Locke's point of view, liberty just consists of "being free from any superior power on Earth" (Locke, 2012: II, 7f.). Thus, slavery is no exception (Locke, 2012: IV, 22f). Liberty is maintained in the law of nature. It contains that no one is allowed to destroy himself or a creature of possession, if it does not follow a noble reason. Additionally, no citizen is licit to harm a member of society or their possessions. The government has to work in the common interest of the people, and everyone is obliged to preserve himself. Preservation is characterized as a necessity of life, health, liberty, and property (Locke, 2012: II, 6). These rights can be forfeited, if a human being breaks the law of nature (Locke, 2012: II, 23). Consequently, the nature of state provides the law of nature and every liberty is limited by the same (Locke, 2012: II, 4).

Nietzsche

In "Beyond God and Evil", Nietzsche criticized early philosophy on morality and its blind faith. In this connection, he focused especially on the "free will" which always entails the affect of superiority and obe-

dience. Thus, a person always "commands something [...] that obeys, or that he believes to obey" (Nietzsche, 2002: 19). In this regard, he discovers the ambiguity of a free will, as it is accompanied with someone who is other-directed. Subsequently, he experiences force and pressure that start directly after a free will. Nietzsche applies this concept to a state, i.e. he concludes society to be constructed by many obedient souls (ibid.). He goes even further by claiming that no free will exists. According to Nietzsche's understanding, a free will in the super metaphysical sense involves a *causa sui*[4]. Thus, no one is a *causa sui*, the free will in itself does not exist. He denotes that the joy of freedom is based on ignorance to delight in life itself (Nietzsche, 2002: 21). He names as a further ambivalence that everything of "freedom […] on earth, whether in thinking itself or ruling […], has developed by virtue of the "tyranny of such arbitrary laws" (Nietzsche, 2002: 77). Therefore, he concludes that only slaves of morals are able to feel freedom (Nietzsche, 2002: 156).

Human Rights Declaration

Since 1948, liberty and freedom are officially put down in writing in the Declaration of Human Rights (HRD). This testimony provides a broader approach to the idea of liberty and freedom as the basis for all countries. Since the beginning, the extraordinary position of freedom as the basic of every human right is manifested in the preamble. Furthermore, the preamble points to the freedom of speech, beliefs, and freedom from fear. The first article constitutes that every human is born free, while the second article highlights the applicability of this rule to every human being. The right of life, liberty, and security follows these principles. Additionally, slavery in all forms is prohibited (UN, 2013: Art. 4). In further articles, the declaration enclosures rights for the freedom of religion, beliefs, opinion and expression through the media (UN, 2013: Art. 3; 4; 18; 19). The educational system shall strengthen

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[4]   Trans.: "cause of itself".

the freedom and set a vital fundament for its implementation (UN, 2013: Art. 26). The latter article even states that none of the given rights through the HRD can be used to interfere with the persons' or groups' freedom at any time (UN, 2013: Art. 30). Finally, the Human Rights Declaration cannot be compounded by law.

Hannah Arendt

In 1960, Hannah Arendt analyzed the relationship between freedom and politics. Already in the beginning of her investigation she states: "The question of politics is always present when we speak of the problem of freedom" (Arendt, 160: 28). In her concept, freedom denies the same sense of freedom and a free will (ibid.). An inner freedom is a non-political concept, and this condition can be only experienced if a man has lived free among others (Arendt, 1960: 29). Freedom is not reality if action and speech are banished into the narrowness of home. Subsequently, in this case, a despotically ruled community prevents the rise of a public realm (Arendt, 1960: 30). Despite the history of totalitarianism, which established doubts in the coincidence of freedom and politics, Arendt believes in the compatibility of freedom and politics (ibid.). Therefore, it is a fallacy to consider that freedom begins where politics ends. Arendt admits that politics and freedom as a "mutual relation seem strange" because politics concerns safeguarding of its own interests (Arendt, 1960: 35). Referring to ancestral philosophers, she denotes the identification of freedom with sovereignty as "the most pernicious and dangerous consequence of the philosophical equation of freedom and free will" (Arendt, 1960: 40). She goes even further and declares it as unrealistic if one can be only free as an individual or as a group, if one is a sovereign (Arendt, 1960: 41).

In the end, she states that freedom is a "mode of being", and in the public space this mode can unfold its full virtuosity or can be destroyed. Therefore, she arrives to the conclusion that more may depend of human freedom than ever before, and that it is the mankind's exercise to establish freedom as reality (Arendt, 1960: 46).

Judith Butler

Judith Butler extended the implication of freedom up to a veil for torture or, in other words, that freedom can be misused to limit the freedom of others. In her publication "Sexual politics, torture, and secular time" she examines whether freedom and progress as political subscripts often refer to the concept of modernity and secularism. In this case, artistic expression and sexual freedom are perceived as signs of modern developments (Butler, 2008: 3ff). But we are not free to reject these norms of freedom in modern society. Therefore, we are forced and coerced to adopt the cultural norms of a country. She illustrates her causality by mentioning application tests for immigrants in the Netherlands where immigrants are asked to look at a picture of two men kissing and answer whether they perceive it as provocative or as a sign of liberty.

Butler further states that freedom can be also misused as an instrument of coercion which, for example, leads to cultural assaults on Islam and subsequently helps explain the American violence and to enact it as a civilizing mission (ibid.). Butler declares this as a "crude deployment and exploitation of the norms of freedom", which might be called "the jouissance of torture" (Butler, 2008: 17). In the end of her essay, Butler proclaims that, if we aim to freedom, it is important to remember how easily it can be exploited by the state self-legitimation under the veil of saving the humanity. Therefore, freedom should be viewed as a condition of solidarity among minorities (Butler, 2008: 21).

The illustration of varying time eras provides an overview on the different implications of freedom. The presented concepts of freedom differ, but their connection with states, state conception, and politicians as state representatives can be examined ((Aristot.; Plat.; Hobbes (2013); Locke (2012); Arendt (1960); Butler (2008)). While Nietzsche's concept of freedom does not fit into this categorization, it still explains free will as not existent and thus always related to obedience of somebody. Therefore, the role of a superior is clearly included in his work. The Human Rights Declaration represents the main

idea of Locke and Hobbes – a social contract. In this case, freedom and security lead to a trade-off situation.

This allows putting freedom into a statutory framework whereby, on the one hand, freedom is guaranteed but, on the other hand, limited (Human Rights Declaration).

A comprehensive umbrella is placed through politics as actors in the state conception. On the one hand, they provide the fundament of freedom and, on the other hand, freedom begins where politics end. This can be concluded as a clear reciprocal relationship.

As is shown in the previous paragraphs, freedom is highly determined by politics and society, their interactions included. Among the most influential political factors of freedom are wars. They are used to defend, achieve, but also to limit freedom. Therefore, the following abstract in the beginning introduces the current theories of the developments of wars. Based on these results, the second part will examine terrorism more specifically as one example of war. Since terrorism is often discussed with regard to the misuse of the media, it provides a comprehensive example which includes all sub-components: freedom, the media, and war.

II. Evolution of war

During the last hundred years, various wars were caused by the desire of freedom and liberty[5]. With the slogan "Liberty, equality, and fraternity" the French Revolution presents one of the most prominent instances in history. Eric Midwinter points out that the self-autonomy derives from the self-evident truth of historical events such as the French Revolution (Midwinter, 1986: 71). The advent of the Arab Spring in 2011 presents a more recent revolutionary movement which sought to enable democratic rights and especially the freedom of expression, opinion, and media (Stepanova, 2011: 1).

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[5]   Liberty and freedom can be seen as interchangeable terms in this context.

Some scholars explored the transformation from old wars to new wars (Kaldor, 2013; Münkler, 2002, 2004; Mansoob, 2003; Baker, 2012). The following paragraphs focus on these changes and explain them based on terrorism as a new form of war. Mary Kaldor (2013) exposes this transformation most evidently by comparing old and new wars through some of their main characteristics: actors, goals, methods, and financial resources.

Old wars

Regular armed forces of states fought in old wars for geo-political interests or ideology such as democracy or socialism (Kaldor, 2013). Noble causes like social change justified and motivated collective grievances and ended within the Cold War (Kalyvas, 2001: 102). In old wars, one site was broadly popular supported by political actors (ibid.). A war took place through an encountering on the battlefield, and additionally the warfare strategy entailed occupying and winning a new territory through military forces. Old wars were financed by the government and therefore through taxation (Kaldor, 2013). They are characterized by a controlled and disciplined level of violence, especially when they have been committed by rebels (Kalyvas, 2001: 102). Herfried Münkler describes old wars by the legal act: an official war-and-peace declaration in the beginning and end (2002: 30ff.).

New wars, however, are fought by both state and non-state actors, such as warlords, rebels, private security companies, and soldiers. These groups share a homogeneous identity such as ethnicity, religion, or tribe. Therefore, nationality loses its value regarding the groups' dynamics. Similarly, the goal has changed in many cases from an interest in territory to one in political change. Hereby it needs to be mentioned that these wars also can construct new identities and mobilize new members through the war itself. Furthermore, the battlefield is nowadays unlimited, because the violence is concentrated on civilians. These new wars are mostly financed by the support from the diaspora or through kidnappings and drugs (Kaldor, 2013).

In the age of globalization, the recruitment of new members, the search for investors, and spreading the idea of political change have become easier than before. All in all, these new wars can be characterized by a high fragmentation of warring parties and decentralization of the battlefield. Furthermore, there exists a lack of legitimacy for the fighting party, and the participation of involved citizens is low relative to the population. The corporation between these parties is the common sense, and the effectiveness depends heavily on external support, such as finances (Kaldor, 2007: 95). Münkler emphasizes the blurring lines between state and civil wars, intergovernmental and national wars. The typical characters of wars are defused, as, for instance, regular armies are displaced by violent groups. Furthermore, the distinction between the warring parties becomes less apparent (Münkler, 2004: 180)[6]. The media acquire become an increasingly important and integrated role by reporting to the public (Münkler, 2002: 190ff.).

As mentioned before, the achievements of freedom can also cause some contradictive activities which can harm the security of society. This becomes especially apparent in the case of terrorism which is often portrayed as a classic instance of a new war. The following abstract will emphasize terrorism in order to get an understanding of the contradictions of freedom. Thus, terrorism includes all elements of freedom, media, and war.

III. Terrorism

Since the attack on 9/11, the public is aware of a "new way of war", which is called terrorism (Münkler, 2002: 115 ff; Kaldor, 2012: 1952). Terrorism can be labelled as a new war, although it does not take place in the context of an "all-out" international war where every country is involved. However, it includes a war dimension, because it is a violent fight for changing policies (Coady, 2004: 39).

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[6] It should be mentioned here that various scholars view the term "new war" more skeptically and doubt in its existence, e.g., Kahl, Martin; Teusch, Ulrich (2004): Sind die neuen Kriege wirklich neu? In: Leviathan, 32 (3): 400.

In the official definition by the Title 22 of the US Code, Section 2656f/d, terrorism is defined as a "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents". The further distinction can be applied by taking into account the geographical dimension; consequently, international terrorism is described as "terrorism involving the territory or the citizens of more than one country" (ibid.). In the field of political science, scholars enhance this definition by additionally focusing on the instruments and motivations.

In general, terrorism wars are fought in the name of exclusive identities based on religion or ethnicity (Kaldor, 2003: 8). In comparison, Münkler describes terrorism as a specific form of violence, which primarily seeks indirect consequences such as psychological effects. The spread of terror and fear is the main goal (Münkler, 2002: 100; Kaldor, 2003: 8). Exposing these characteristics, Münkler considers terrorism as a spectacular communication strategy to place certain messages to the public (Münkler, 2002: 100). Kaldor (2013) characterizes the media as a communication tool which supports terrorists in spreading fear and panic more easily. These messages are mostly fueled by attacking symbolic targets like the World Trade Center, the former representation of global capitalism (Kaldor, 2003: 8). As a consequence of such acts, terrorists seek to spread wide insecurity, create a polarized society, and express a cruel message about the modern age (ibid.). Receivers of these messages are, on the one hand, the citizens and the government to show their vulnerability and, on the other hand, the terrorists' supporters or individuals whose compliance they pursue to gain (Kydd & Walter, 2006: 58). Both authors confirm that terrorist attacks and their messages, in the age of mass media and telecommunication, are more effective and at the same time less expensive (Münkler, 2002: 100; Kaldor, 2013).

The characteristics of war have changed over the past hundred years. This is caused by the new media channels and increased grievances from identities. The lines between combatants and classical national

soldiers are blurred, and also the motives of terrorists have shifted to-
wards the desire to change political agendas. Financial resources also
have transformed from a public source towards a privately financed
one. Terrorism is one "classical type of modern wars" and shows also
how the technological development can be misused (Münkler, 2002;
Kaldor, 2013).

As Schmid summarizes, "the invention of dynamite (1867) and
the perfection of the rotating press (1881) which gave rise to the mass
media were both utilized by nineteenth century terrorists for revolu-
tionary and anarchist propaganda" (Schmid, 2004: 205). Therefore,
the relationship between terrorism and the media needs to be further
investigated.

IV. The Media

As previously mentioned, the media are often described as a vital
instrument for terrorist attacks. While these findings are evident by a
wide range of scholars, the following abstract will emphasize, first, the
media's role in warfare and, second, more specifically the influence on
terrorist attacks in order to illustrate the media's impact.

According to McCombs, the people's perception of the world is
highly influenced by the mass media. Through the filtering process
of issues, he even credits the media an agenda-setting role (Caroll &
McCombs, 2003). Therefore, McCombs together with Shaw (1972)
arrive to the conclusion that there is a connection between the media
coverage of news and the public opinion. According to their investiga-
tions, first the media influence the public opinion, and the public opi-
nion has an advanced impact on politics. In this regard, the 'CNN-effect'
examines a strong causality of the media and political decisions. Thus,
through real-time reporting, political leaders also take this alternative
information into account for the decision-making process (Gutstadt,
1993; Gilboa, 2005) or, in other words, "news can make policy" (Ro-
binson, 1999: 303). The further problem is the provided information,
which also can be used by opponents. Subsequently, they can become
a 'gun' which can be used against them-selves (Gilboa, 2005). Bennett

(1990) represents another scientific tendency. He arrives to the conclusion that the dominant institutional voices are recorded in the mass media. Therefore, "governments are able to define their won public and where "democracy" becomes whatever the governments end up doing" (Bennett, 1990: 125). Robinson tested the media relationship theories on frequency and significance. He arrived to the conclusion that the media's influence on elite debate over policy is likely to be frequent (Robinson, 2001: 541). In an advanced study, Robinson et al. infer a controversial role of the media in wars. On the one hand, politicians and militaries perceive the media as problematic and as a threat to the successful prosecution of war. On the other hand, for academics, the media coverage on war remains discomfited by the government. But at least an impressionistic "snapshot" dwells (ibid.). Meurers (2008) has investigated the connection among different stakeholders which are involved in information warfare. He concludes that not only politicians or the military utilize information warfare. Furthermore, the media and economy take advantage of this information and utilize it according to their interests.

It can be stated that the media play a crucial role with regard to wars and is also often utilized as a tool in war against opponents. Therefore, the following paragraph focuses on terrorism, as it is a comprehensive example where freedom is misused and interacts with media and war. Within this context, the implications become clearer, and the relationship between the media and freedom receives a new facet.

Laqueur goes even further by stating that the success of terroristic attacks depends entirely on the amount of publicity (1987: 135). This implies: the more publicity an attack attracts, the more it can be considered a successful one.

Slone designates a parallel: the modifications of a modern war are accompanied by a rapid development in the media technology, which leads to a high accessibility of the media and press. This distribution through the media and press channels provides for a real-time penetration of war into every living room (Slone et al., 2008: 245). In her stu-

dies, she has found that the media enriches human anxiety as regards terroristic attacks (Slone et al., 2008: 256).

Hoffmann et al. conclude in their investigation that the media provide terrorists with "oxygen" (Hoffmann et al., 2013: 907). These findings can be explained by three main investigations: firstly, the media allow terrorists an easy and cheap access to the world (Hoffmann et al., 2013: 907; Münkler, 2002: 100; Kaldor, 2013). Secondly, they have found a positive relationship between the power of the state and a terroristic attack. This can be explained by the fact that powerful states receive higher press attention than smaller states do (Hoffmann et al., 2013: 907). For example, it explains why the likelihood of a terroristic attack is higher in the USA than in the Dominican Republic (Hoffmann et al., 2013: 907). Thirdly, states with a restricted press freedom are avoided by terroristic activities, in contrast to states with the high media autonomy (Hoffmann et al., 2013: 907). Advanced investigations have shown that perpetrators tend to target urbanized states, which allows them a higher anonymity. This can be explained by the risk to be recognized as the perpetrator (Hoffmann et al., 2013: 906). Hoffman et al. come to the conclusion that the "groups use the press freedom to screen the targets rather than to select them" (Hoffmann et al., 2013: 907).

The research of Slone supports these studies, concluding that the media coverage of terrorism or national security threats influences the humans' state of anxiety. Subsequently, Slone's study points out that the mass media have an impact on the psychological 'well-being' of viewers (Slone, 2000: 515–519).

Investigations of the regime type and predisposition have shown, for instance, that democracies are less competent to tolerate the effects of terrorism. This outcome can be explained by a higher need of support for a governmental decision by the citizens. Subsequently, the media work rather independently and have a higher impact on citizens in contrast to more authoritarian countries (Kydd &Walter, 2006: 62).

Naco et al. point out that terrorists take advantage of the media coverage with the aim to strike fear. Media reports are used in a more dra-

matic and magnified way to raise their profits. Politicians, on the other hand, utilize this kind of situation to promote their political goals. Thus, in unusual circumstances, citizens tend to support national policies. Lastly, Naco et al. see a strong relationship between mass-mediated terror forewarnings and the public's evaluation of terrorism as a country's major problem (Naco et al., 2007: 123ff).

These conclusions resemble those of Kushner Gadarian's (2010) who shows that the public tends to a more hawkish policy if the media have been covering threats. To add, the hawkish policy receives a higher support when the public feels threatened (Kushner Gadarian, 2010: 481). Altheide explores two aspects of the media coverage of terrorism, which support Nacos et al. findings as well. He shows that terrorism can be misused as propaganda by the government in order to facilitate the implementation of certain laws when the citizens fear a threat. Moreover, Altheide shows that the media coverage is often entertainment-oriented in order to maximize their profits (Altheide, 2007: 287, 291). Additionally, he supports the research of Kushner Gadarian (2010) and Naco et al. (2007) by discovering that news information controlled by the government about deaths is the basic propaganda task (Altheide, 2007: 290).

The further impact of this news coverage is image damage. The Middle Eastern countries, which were constantly facing war and terror media coverage over the past years, are a good example for image damage. Avraham explores a relation between the media coverage and image development of these countries (Avraham, 2013: 150).

All these investigations have shown a significant impact of the media coverage on terrorism, which also has implied a dangerous influence on the free press. Following these approaches, the right of free expression, opinion, and the media does not seem desirable: instead, the media themselves create a modern gun in new wars. To show both sides of the coin, we also need to show the positive effects the media can have.

As the Arab Spring has shown, the new media channels, such as *twitter*, can also play a crucial role in changing political systems towards

a more democratic world. The Middle Eastern societies took advantage of these channels to demonstrate their will in a non-violent way. Thus, the media can also help to mobilize indigenous support and thereby also put international pressure on regimes. By spreading news around the world instantly, citizens from countries with the censored media can demonstrate and report immediately (Stepanova, 2011: 6). Regarding the role of the social media, Baker (2012) describes that the social media can support social movements by displaying their solidarity, for instance, in the case of Iran where a green profile picture on social media channels served to support people during their elections (Baker, 2012: 36).

In contrast, the media also may assist the opposition to recruit allies among dissatisfied members of the ruling elite. Especially the Internet as an interactive news coverage channel can play a crucial role (Karatnycky & Ackerman, 2005: 14).

The National Committee of American Foreign Policy has found that the Western democratic movements, such as the free media, caused developments towards endangered patriarchal structures of Arab countries (National Committee on American Foreign Policy, 2004).

Meyer points out the advantage of instant news: they can warn and inform people and update them about all relevant movements, especially in cases of war or terrorism when instant information can save lives. Furthermore, he sees an obligation of reporters to work independently and without any self-censorship. Information about the nature of the attack, its potential health impacts and the identity of the predators must be published (Meyer, 2007: 582f).

The paragraphs on war with its explicit examples of terrorism demonstrate the danger of the free press. Thus, societies or groups can exploit freedom in order to achieve their interests. Furthermore, this shows that democracy is not necessarily strengthend through a broad anchored concept of freedom but is rather made more vulnerable. However, again, the experience of the role of the media in social movements, e.g., the Arabic Spring, have proven the ambivalence among war and the media.
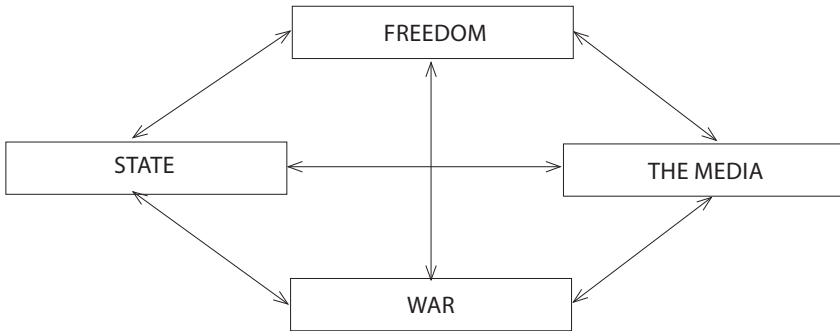
Figure 1: Illustration of freedom, the media, society, and war
Source: Own illustration. Based on research.

According to the analysis of freedom, war, and the media, a lot of interactions, dependencies, and impacts can be examined, which often lead to a dilemma. The following abstract will visualize these interdependencies which expose the ambivalent relations (Figure 1: Illustration of freedom, the media, society, and war). Visualizing the reciprocal relations of the four factors helps to structure the influences and also to point out their impacts on one another.

Depending on the state conception, freedom and its limitations are a set (e.g., Aristot. pol. 1 1255a 1; Plat. pol. 557b; Human Rights Declaration). Through a social contract among the citizens, rights and duties can be manifested (Hobbes, 2013; Locke, 2012). Therefore, the conception of democracies can guarantee the freedom of speech and expression (Aristot. pol. 1 1255a 1; Plat. pol. 557b) or of a dictatorship which limits freedom to a certain extent. Within these settings of freedom, the media receive their rules of game. According to Bennett (1990), the state representatives can influence the media. By declaring war or freedom, the state is capable to enhance or limit the freedom of the society.

Freedom as a veil for self-interested motivations allows legitimizing war. Furthermore, it enables to limit the freedom of others by applying their own concept of freedom and its scope, e.g., sexual orientation

(Butler, 2008). According to Aristotle, freedom is a status by nature and is not a given condition for everybody (Aristot. pol. 3, 1279a2). Currently, it is guaranteed through legal foundations, e.g., Human Rights Declaration.

As is shown, the media serve as a filter and agenda setter and are thus able to form the perception of people (Caroll & McCombs, 2003). Robinson has extended this up to the claim that "news can make policy" (Robinson, 1999: 303).

As the example of terrorism has shown, society members are aware of this influence and capable to misuse the media as a tool of war. Subsequently, the freedom of expression and speech is exploited in order to take advantage of it (Münkler, 2002; Kaldor, 2013; Laqueur, 1987). As the 'CNN-effect' states, the media also influence the decision-making process of politicians (Gutstadt, 1993; Gilboa, 2005). Beyond that, the information can be utilized by opponents (Gilboa, 2005).

War is a tool to achieve goals, whether these of singular interests, e.g., terrorism, or common ones, e.g., social movements. It is declared by groups within society or by governments. Therefore, freedom is highly determined by war, because the latter clearly limits the scope of freedom of the affected society. The media can shape the perceptions of how society perceives war and the actions of politicians within warfare (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

As graphically shown, freedom, the media, war, and society are interdependent. It can be deduced that freedom within the framework of state conception does not necessarily provide only positive for outcome. Freedom provides additionally a vital ground for the misuse by others. Therefore, not only freedom and war are a contradiction, but also freedom and the media provide ambivalences with each other.

When examining the interdependent relationship of the four stated elements, one can see that of all four elements the role of the media is the one which can be changed most easily. As already shown, the perception of freedom has developed over centuries. The same applies to

states and the concept of war. Thus, focusing on the role of the media when examining the possible solutions seems to make most sense.

V. Solutions in the media handling

Öztürk (2009) concludes that the experience of the misuse of the media can be counted as the reasons why governments and political societies have often been skeptical about the liberal and free press. The freedom and misuse of the media lead to a dilemma. Therefore, the following abstract will present three possible solutions to handle the media appropriately in order to diminish the negative impacts of the free media.

1) Censored news coverage. This idea follows Naco's approach: "Without massive news coverage the terrorist act would resemble the proverbial tree falling in the forest …" (Nacos, 2000: 175). Or in other words: if the public is not informed about a terroristic attack, fear and panic will be less spread. Consequently, the main goal of the terroristic strategy will not be achieved. This form of censorship is also taken into account in the paper of Wilkinson (1997: 61f). But in the exposé Wilkinson says that this solution would allow small groups of terrorists to destroy the key foundations of a democratic society. Further, Wilkinson describes this approach as an insult to the intelligence of the general public (ibid.).

2) Ignore in order to limit news spread in crisis situations. This tactic is described by Avraham (2013: 1358). It provides for the opportunity to "minimize the crisis, as the scientific field of marketing has shown". By portraying the damage smaller to its reality, it will be less appealing to the public, and therefore less media attention arises (Avraham & Ketter, 2008: 195). This approach is similar to Wilkinson's "policy of laissez faire"; he notes that no specific steps should be taken in regard to the media coverage. He concludes that this is the most dangerous policy a state could implement hence it would trigger further attacks by showing no resistance (Wilkinson, 1997: 60). Furthermore, he views the

danger of an alliance between the terror organizations and the media, which could lead towards an unstable democracy (Wilkinson, 1997: 60f). Meyer opposes any form of censorship given the right and obligation to the media to disclose everything about incidents, even at the risk of panic (2007: 583).

3) Self-censorship or medial responsiveness. Another possible answer to solve this dilemma, as Weinmann and Winn (1999) propose, is a higher sense of awareness to inform the public. Similar suggestions are made by the COT Institute for Safety, Security and Crisis Management, which points out a combination of self-reflection and a guarantee for the freedom of press (COT, 2000: 72). Wilkinson describes this approach as the most favoured one by the mass media, labelled as "voluntary self-restraint" which includes an avoidance of manipulation and exploitation by the terrorists. The guidelines adopted by the media organizations can help to prevent the more apparent consequences (Wilkinson, 1997: 63).

This abstract offered different solutions in order to handle the "newly created gun". The strived freedom needs to be handled with a higher awareness of the possible side effects. Three different approaches can be taken into account to solve this rather recent dilemma: a fully censored news coverage, a disregard of the crisis, or the most favoured approach of the self-censorship of journalists, following some guidelines of moral and ethnical rules, to decrease the scandalous factor. This would lead to less threating impacts on society, such as anxiety.

The idea of blocking the impacts of the media shows the complexity and ambivalence among freedom and the media. The more the media will be censored, the more the democracy looses the basic pillar of the state conception. Subsequently, the ignorance and censorship seem not to be the appropriate solutions.

The solution that would provide the maximum of freedom and less danger of misuse is to encourage the media and journalists to rethink their publications in regard to their impact. The journalists have got the responsibility to find a balance among the need for a healthy democracy in the sense of maximum freedom and the awareness of dangers.

Conclusion

This paper provides a comprehensive overview on interdependencies among freedom, the media, and war. The meaning and implication of freedom differ partially or absolutely. This means that the term of freedom is not universal but is often referred to politics and society. Through the analysis of war and its development from old to new wars, it is shown that the media have become a vital tool also for opponents. Terrorism as a form of a new war combines all interactions among freedom, the media, and war. The investigation has shown that the role of the media is more crucial than assumed in the beginning. By the examination of the media's role in terrorism and warfare, it has been shown how the media are utilized by different actors: the media serve both as an instrument of freedom of speech and as a weapon in war. By sketching the interaction, it has become clear that all elements of the investigation are highly interdependent. This implies that freedom, the media, and war should be considered as a sub-component of each other, and that this is a challenge to stop negative impacts. Considering the long history and evolution of freedom and war, it appears to be the most logical solution to hinder the media's impact in this net of interdependences. The analysis of possible solutions results in the proposal to guide journalists towards an extended reasonability awareness in order to provide the society a maximum of freedom and diminish the media's negative use as a utilized tool. The contribution of this paper is the connection of the four elements, all linked to freedom and war, and how by making changes to one, the specific element's – the media's – freedom can be enhanced, whereas terror may be avoided.

For the future research, some aspects may be noted. In order to fit the scope of this paper, the analyzed concepts of freedom only represent a collection of thoughts among different eras. The future academic work could involve a complete literature review of the development of freedom and its impact on society. Such research should also include cultural differences and their impact on what the society sees as freedom. Butler (2008) has proven that the concept of freedom is clearly

reluctant of the underlying cultural dimension. In this paper, mainly the western view of freedom is presented, and only terrorism as a form of war is extensively discussed. It would be interesting whether the introduced graph of interdependencies is applicable to other concepts of war as well. Surely, not all impacts and influences are stated; therefore, definitions and interdependencies cannot clearly be determined. Subsequently, a broader contextual analysis, as, for example, of politics and war, could help to discover the further impacts.

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