# MIRROR IMAGES OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS IN THE NEWS: NEWS COVERAGE AND PROBLEM-SOLVING ATTITUDES TOWARDS CONFLICTS

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COVERAGE AND PROBLEM-SOLVING ATTITUDES TOWARDS CONFLICTS

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# ABSTRACT

This dissertation researches for a problem-solving attitude in the Turkish print media's coverage of 15-20 November 2003 Istanbul bombings. For this study, a sample from the Turkish print media is maintained due to the ideological positions of each Turkish newspaper. Ideologies of the selected newspapers vary from leftist to rightist ideologies. The aim in the selection of the newspapers according to their ideologies derive from the question that whether newspapers' coverage of the same event can vary due to their different ideologies.

For the research of the Turkish print media's problem-solving attitude, a definition is formed on the basis of the relation between terrorism and the media. The problem-solving definition is composed of two main categories, which are 'problem recognition' and 'management of affect/emotions constructively'. Under the problem recognition category, the way of the problem framing and its assessment of root causes are scrutinized. Second category is researched for whether or not the Turkish print media try to manage and transform the negative effects of the terrorist events.

In this study, content analysis method is used. Each selected newspaper is examined for their coverage of Istanbul 2003 bombings. After this analysis, the data found is categorized according to the problem-solving definition mentioned above. In the results, it is determined that despite the fact that Turkish print media have suitable narratives for the problem-solving definition, they generally lack a problem-solving attitude on the basis of their coverage of Istanbul bombings.

# ÖZET

Bu tez Türk yazılı basınının 15-20 Kasım 2003 İstanbul bombalamalarında problemi çözüme yönelik bir tavır sergileyip sergilemediğini araştırmaktadır. Bu çalışma için Türk yazılı basınından, her gazetenin temsil ettiği ideolojiye göre bir örneklem oluşturulmuştur. Seçilen gazetelerin ideolojik durumları sol görüşten sağ görüşe doğru değişmektedir. Gazetelerin ideolojilerine göre seçilmesinin sebebi, farklı ideolojilere sahip gazetelerin aynı olayı farklı yansıtabilirler mi sorusundan kaynaklanmaktadır.

Türk yazılı basınının problemi çözüme yönelik tavrının araştırılmasında, terör ve medya arasındaki ilişki esas alınarak bir tanım oluşturulmuştur. Problem çözümü tanımı iki ana kategoriden oluşmaktadır. Bu kategoriler 'problemin tanımlanması' ve 'duyguların yapıcı bir şekilde kontrol altına alınması'dır. Problemin tanımlanması kategorisi altında, problemin nasıl ifade edildiği ve problemin asıl nedenlerinin değerlendirilip değerlendirilmediği araştırılmaktadır. İkinci kategori, Türk yazılı basınının terör olaylarının olumsuz etkilerini kontrol altına alıp almadığını ve biçmini değiştirip değiştirmediğini araştırmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada içerik incelemesi yöntemi kullanılmaktadır. Seçilen her gazetenin İstanbul bombalamalarını nasıl yorumladığı araştırılmaktadır. Bu analizden sonra, bulunan veriler problem çözümü tanımına göre sınıflandırılmaktadır. Sonuçlarda, Türk yazılı basınının problem çözümü tanımına uygun anlatımları olduğu belirlenmesine rağmen genel anlamda, Türk yazılı basınının İstanbul bombalamarının yorumlanmasında problemi çözüme yönelik tavırdan yoksun olduğu belirlenmiştir.

*To my family and to the people who died and injured during terrorist attacks*

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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*Every end can be attained by more than one means (Simmel, 1964, p.27)*

*Georg Simmel*

## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The subject of this study is concerned with the relationship between terrorism and the media. What kind of attitudes the print media carry out during the representation of conflicts will be examined. Considering that the media have publicity power, I will inquire whether the media have a constructive or a destructive role in the representation of conflicts. As an ultimate example of destructive conflicts, terrorist bombings in Istanbul, on 15 and 20 November 2003 are selected for this study. In this research, while examining whether the Turkish media have managed the terrorist events constructively or destructively, a problem-solving perspective will be used for the analysis. Therefore, I will analyze whether the Turkish print media have shown a problem-solving attitude during these events or not.

### 1.1. Defining Conflict, Violence and Terrorism

Conflict is a dynamic fluctuating phenomenon that can be managed either constructively or destructively. Violence is the ultimate form of destructive management of conflicts, and also leads to the reciprocal escalation of violence between antagonistic parties. In other words, violence begets violence and creates a vicious cycle, underlining its counter-productive nature. The question arises as to what motivates parties in a conflict to use violence. Arendt, in *On Violence* emphasizes that, "violence is by nature instrumental; like all means, it always stands in need of guidance and justification through the end it pursues" (1970, p.51). Conflicting parties employ violence as a tool to attain or preserve their interests or as a reaction to the system's inability to answer their basic demands and needs.

Violence is multifaceted; terrorism being one of its forms. The origin of the word *'terror'* means fear, violence, and intimidation. (Redhouse Dictionary, p.1012) During the French Revolution, terrorism referred to the French government's suppression of public rebellions. After the French Revolution, other forms of terrorism were used by some groups against the government as a result of the emergence of nationalism, the industrial revolution and capitalism. In nineteenth century, terrorism

against governments manifested itself in propaganda by the deed. Terrorism had been used as a social control mechanism by the dominant authority to suppress revolts, socially atomizing the weak, which then turned terrorism into a mobilization weapon that would often be used by weaker parties.

The definitions of terrorism vary. Quainton defines terrorism as "the threat or use of violence for political purposes in order to influence the attitudes and behavior of a group wider than its immediate victims; its ramifications transcend national boundaries" (1982, p.39). Rackley (1982), on the other hand defines terrorism from the governments' perspectives, by emphasizing that terrorism is any act that challenges the monopoly of a government's use of force. Atkins introduces the following general definitions;

- An organized pattern of violent behavior designed to influence policy or intimidate the population for the purpose of influencing government policy.
- Symbolic action designed to influence political behavior by extra-normal means, entailing the use or threat of violence.
- The use of force, violence, or threats thereof to attain political goals through fear, intimidation, or coercion.
- The resort to violence for political ends by non-governmental actors in breach of accepted codes of behavior regarding the expression of dissatisfaction with, dissent from, or opposition to political goals endorsed by the legitimate government authorities of the state. (1992, p.3)

Even though, many scholars provide various definitions, two core components, "violence" and "goal," define terrorism as goal oriented political violence. Terrorism is one of the ways of destructive management of conflict through the systemic use of violence, which victimizes the masses in order to send their messages, and express their ideologies and identities. According to Rupesinghe (1994) humans use violence to reach self-realization, meaning the satisfaction of basic needs. They justify the use of violence through their ends, which are often self-determination and satisfaction of their needs and demands.

One of the most important characteristics of terrorism, threat perception, derives from the gap between expected entitlements of terrorists and their supporters, and the system's inability to satisfy their demands and needs (Rubenstein, 2003). Threat perceptions against identity and security create fear and this fear can turn into the aim of

destroying or eliminating the source of the fear. Altug (1989) emphasizes that desperation transforms the weak, empowering them to employ violence, and thus they are able to gain respect from the status quo power. Terrorists' use of violence is the basis for their publicity, and an affirmation of their existence and power. In other words, they attract the attention of the public to their position through the use of indiscriminate violence. For some terrorists, no one is innocent because they believe that their targets belong as a mechanism to an unjust and oppressive society (Freedman, 1982).

## 1.2. Terrorism and Ideology

Terrorism is dependent on an ideology, theory or philosophy (Altuğ, 1989). Terrorists need a basis to determine their aims, which in turn mobilize their supporters. In addition to an ideology, terrorists need to justify their use of violence in order to create a collective ethos among their members and passive supporters, thus guaranteeing the continuation and unity of their organization. Under the justification of ideology, they imply that "violence is the only remaining way to express a certain range of beliefs about politics and society" (Alfred, 1982, p.12). Terrorists believe that violence will facilitate the publicity of their messages, and even though the public may not necessarily support them, at least they have achieved their aim of shattering public confidence in their government, due to its inability to prevent such kinds of violent actions.

The essence of an ideology to justify use of violence at the same time creates a culture for the terrorist groups. Culture presents a meaning for the existence of the people and hence, it influences their behavior (Rupesinghe, 1994, p.23). Terrorists use violence as a tool to reach their ends and thus it assumes an important and integral characteristic of the groups' (or in group) culture and identity. Additionally, a terrorist group redefines and perpetuates this culture through the rationalization of the use of violence, by arguing that they are defined and accepted by the others, solely through the use of violent means. "Coercion is always justified as an unpleasant but necessary means to achieve some desirable end" (Alexander and Rapoport, 1982, p.2). Such learned behavior soon becomes historically rooted, as their shared values are often imparting onto the next generation within the group. Thus, there is an argument that terrorists identify themselves through a culture and motivate and mobilize their members and sympathize by creating or perceiving threats to their cultural values. Freedman states this cultural aspect of terrorists as "the dramatic terrorist act is supposed to show, by its seeming insensivity, how insensitive and immoral society is.

Thus the terrorist means to point the repressive, unjust immorality of society, which however, poses as the only possible morality" (1982, p.33). Creating a culture within such an in-group maintains resolve, cohesiveness and continuity, strengthening the foundations of the organization. Once terrorists identify their existence within an ideology, it justifies their actions, and thus culture provides the catalyst in a cyclical process. Terrorist groups create their own culture to preserve their identity, which is a necessary condition for their survival in the system, in which they perceive to threaten their ideological values.

Another factor that feeds into the cyclical nature of terrorism is the psychological process based on the past injustices. For terrorist organizations and supporters, their culture is the product of a history, filled with past injustices. Such traumas are used to "frame" the undesirable, present conditions, and serve as the justification for the very existence of the terrorist group, and consequently strengthen their unity. Terrorism thus emerges as a deep-rooted conflict on the basis of its past heritage that maintains a culture within this in-group and on the basis of this inheritance inculcates and sustains its identity and ideology. They perceive the system as a threat to their very existence and survival is guaranteed through the use of violence to destroy the system itself. In other words, they perceive violence as the only path that can liberate them from the existing unjust system.

### 1.3. Terrorism and the Media

Terrorists carry out various tactics to demonstrate their existence and publicize their desires. Creating fear in public is the first step in terrorist tactics, and their targets and victims emerge as tools for this end. They dehumanize their victims in order to justify their violence, and the victimized emerge as objects who will ultimately serve the terrorists' propaganda by deed. Freedman underlines this issue and states that "terrorists must begin to believe that an idea or an abstraction is more significant than human life. When they accomplish this they have their justification for violence" (1982, p.37). In order to attract the attention of public to their position and ideologies, the media become an important actor and a tool for this purpose of forcing the public to watch, read or listen to the news of their violent actions. The media do not only provide information about events, but also shape the narratives and construct a mediated reality, conveying messages that influence public perception and interpretation. Media construct enemy images, scapegoats and fear, and terrorists are aware of this potential power. For example, the Italian Red Brigade conducted its attacks on Wednesdays and

Saturdays because selling rates of the newspapers were at the highest level on Thursdays and Sundays (Korkmaz, 1999, pp.160-161). Propaganda is one of the common features both in the media and terrorism. Propaganda means "information that is spread for the purpose of promoting some cause" (www.cogsci.princeton.edu/cgi-bin/webwn2.1).

Terrorists try to present their messages through the use of violence under an agenda, which can be self-determination, identity protection or satisfaction of their needs and demands. In other words, violence underlines their ideological and philosophical propaganda. The media, as a communication channel that informs people, has the power to shape public perceptions, and thus as an institution, has the ability to spread this propaganda. The media's role as an actor in the socialization process, through the construction of reality can be converted into a tool by terrorists: "Terrorism, like an ill-mannered enfant terrible, is the media's stepchild, a stepchild, which the media, unfortunately, can neither completely ignore nor deny" (Miller, 1982, p.13). The media's ability to construct reality coincides with terrorists' aims in the construction a new reality.

As far as propaganda is concerned, there is an ethical dilemma as to whether media serve the propagandist aim of terrorists by broadcasting their violent actions to the public or not. "For the media, the methodology of an incident is the factor which determines whether or not the incident is appropriately called terrorism. It is the type of violence which makes an event newsworthy and creates pressure for access, for the scoop and for the continual update of a fastbreaking story" (Miller, 1982, p.2). In other words, terrorism becomes newsworthy because of its violent content. Yonah (1979) explains this situation through the similarity between terrorism and a theater spectacle. He states that "…terrorism is a theater, at least in its embryonic stages, and, consequently, terrorists are making a conscious and deliberate effort to manipulate the media for their intended ends" (Alexander, 1979, p. 170). As a result, willingly or unwillingly, media can serve the propagandist aims of terrorists through creating a means of communication between the terrorists and public. In addition, the media can ensure the terrorists succeed in intimidation and the creation of fear, and underlying the symbolic nature of their operations.

The news can be defined as the summary of ideas, events or problems (Korkmaz, 1999, pp.160-161). Information is given to the public through the representation of selected ideas, images, events or problems. Selection of news depends

on the attention and demand of public. When, the attention of the public is considered, terrorism becomes an important ingredient in the media. First, the unpredictable nature of the timing and location of an attack can make it attractive for the media. Second, the use of violence leads to dramatic incidents and "from the media's point of view drama guarantees increased attention from potential viewers" (Martin, 2003, p.279). The media prefer the bewildering, dramatic, and shocking events, which attracts the attention of the public, yet at the same time conveys terrorists' messages. The intended population target succumbs to the terrorists' desire to create bewilderment, fear and chaos through their violent actions. Thus, the media's publicity of these actions results in wide spread fear and chaos within the "unjust social order," that the terrorists want to undermine.

Media narratives have a key role in the representation of terrorist actions especially when the unpredictable and dramatized structure of terrorism is considered. "…narratives constitute crucial means of generating, sustaining, mediating, and representing conflicts at all levels of social organization" (Briggs, 1996, p.3). If narratives are constructed primarily on the unpredictable and violent aspects of terrorism, then it can contribute to the propagandist aim of terrorists through spreading fear, leading to misperceptions among the public. Nevertheless, another question arises as to whether the media should neglect terrorist incidents, and related to this question another problem occurs due to the right of the public to access information. Terrorist incidents are social realities; originating from the conflicts in the social structure, hence in democratic societies, the public has the right to know what is occurring in their social surroundings. A dilemma emerges because of a common denominator; propaganda, which is found both in terrorism and the media. The dilemma revolves around the potential power and capability of the media to serve the propagandist aims of terrorists through its communicative mechanism. Furthermore, this communicative structure of the media can facilitate the spread of fear in societies by portraying the violence of terrorists, which is ultimately desired by them and their supporters.

**1.4. Overview of the Research and Methodology**

The main question of this research is whether the media report only the destructive aspects of conflicts or not, in other words, whether they fail to represent a constructive attitude towards a destructive conflict. The importance of this study is that it is one of the first studies that searches for a problem-solving attitude in the Turkish media. The rationale is that if the media have a constructive attitude in crises such as in terrorism, then they can work as a constructive mechanism for the public opinion by not only giving accurate information but also preventing possible anxiety and chaos by providing a problem-solving attitude. In this way, the media can even have a potential role in conflict prevention. The question of whether the print media represent a problem-solving attitude in the coverage of terrorist incidents or not in other words, whether the print media present an attitude to transform the destructive aspects of conflicts into constructive ones will be addressed in this study.

For this purpose, the existence of a problem-solving attitude in the Turkish print media after 15-20 November 2003-Istanbul bombings will be explored and a content analysis of the news during this period of time will be undertaken. First of all, in order to assess whether a problem-solving attitude in the Turkish print media exists, the definition of a problem-solving attitude will be elaborated. The idea of a problem-solving attitude in the representation of terrorist events derives from the print media's ability to transform or manage the destructive effects of terrorist events through their use of language. Thus, the definition of a problem-solving attitude is based on a clear understanding about the conflict, its root causes, altering negative self-images and managing the negative effects of terrorist incidents constructively by refraining from heavy emotional narratives.

The section thereafter is the literature review of terrorism and the media, the media in the post conflict environment studies, and the problem-solving approach in conflict resolution. Based on the content analysis of the Turkish print media, in the following findings section, problem-solving attitudes will be discussed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative data include the data collected from the selected newspapers, which are *Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Hürriyet, Zaman* and *Vakit*, in order to determine the number of news that covered the Istanbul-2003 bombings. In addition, in this section, frequency of the newspapers coverages will be compared. In the second part of the quantitative analysis, I will present the data coded according to the problem-solving definition in order to illustrate the frequency of the categories

related to problem-solving in the narratives covering the Istanbul bombings. In the next part, I will analyze the content of the data coded qualitatively focusing on how the selected newspapers covered Istanbul bombings according to the problem-solving definition provided.

In order to carry out this research, a sample of Turkish newspapers is formed. The sample is structured according to the ideologies of the Turkish print media. This ideological sample is used in order to illustrate the attitudes of the selected newspapers. The sample is formed based on an ideological spectrum, consisting of the ideologies in the Turkish print media because it is assumed that different ideologies may demonstrate variation in portraying a problem-solving attitude, even though they focus on the same event, Istanbul November 2003 bombings.

**Figure 1**

**Ideological Spectrum of the Turkish Newspapers**
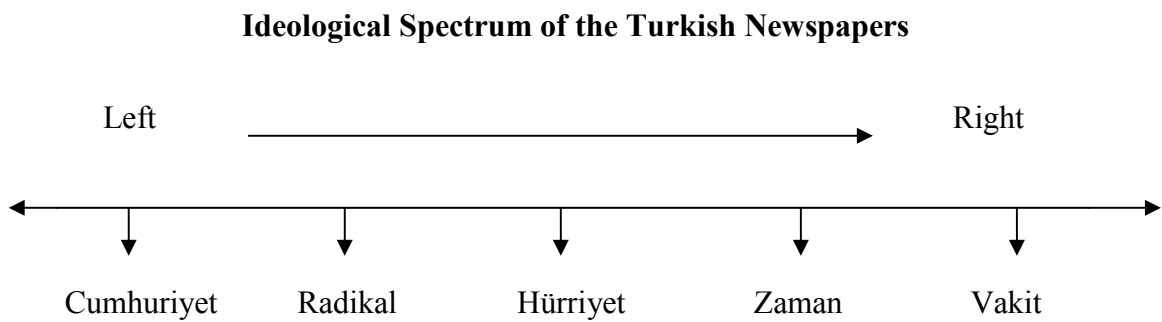


In the ideological sample shown in Figure 1, *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) represents the ideology on the left, while *Vakit* (Time) represents the right. In between this spectrum, *Radikal* (Radical) and *Zaman* (Time) are the more moderate equivalents, respectively. Finally, *Hürriyet* (Liberation) will be used as the centrist daily, with a lack of a clear deterministic ideology, and its highest selling rates according to *Sabah* (Morning) and *Milliyet* (Nationality) in the representation of Istanbul-November 2003 bombings, which can be put in the same category with *Hürriyet* due to their ideological position. Graphic-1 below shows the circulation data of *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, and *Milliyet* in 2003 due to Istanbul 15-20 November bombings.

**Graphic 1[1]**

**Circulation Data of *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, and *Milliyet* in 2003**

| Newspapers | Selling 1 (10.11.2003-16.11.2003) | Selling 2 (08.12.2003-14.12.2003) |
|---|---|---|
| *Hürriyet* | 473.811 | 473.766 |
| *Sabah* | 377.951 | 380.517 |
| *Milliyet* | 256.736 | 252.744 |

[1](http://www.medyatava.net/tiraj.asp)

The ideologies of the newspapers vary from the leftist to rightist ideologies. *Cumhuriyet* represents the leftist point of view. It is a left wing Kemalist daily, which targets social democratic intellectuals (http://www.fbis.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_241_215_240_0_43/http;/app...). Contrary to *Cumhuriyet*, *Vakit* represents the far rightist point of view. It is an Islamist fundamentalist daily (http://www.fbis.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_241_215_240_0_43/http;/app...). *Radikal* represents a softer leftist point of view according to *Cumhuriyet*. It is a center-left daily that targets young intellectuals (http://www.fbis.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_241_215_240_0_43/http;/app...). *Zaman* is selected according to its softer rightist point of view, when it is compared with *Vakit*. It is a moderate pro-Islamist daily, especially addresses Muslims (http://www.fbis.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_241_215_240_0_43/http;/app...). In the middle of the ideological spectrum of the newspapers, there is *Hürriyet*, which is one of the mainstream newspapers. It represents centre right (http://www.fbis.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/PTARGS_0_241_215_240_0_43/http;/app...). In the sample of this research, *Hürriyet* carries a more impartial position in accordance with the other four newspapers. This selection aims to research for the position of a newspaper that can be labeled as ideologically impartial in the representation of the terrorist events. *Hürriyet* is also tied to the *Doğan* Publication Group, as is *Radikal*. Nonetheless, due to its position, *Radikal* represents a closer

outstanding towards the leftists point of view, and that's why *Hürriyet* is placed in the middle of the ideological spectrum of the newspapers.

One of the most significant issues that can emphasize the ideological positions of these selected newspapers is terrorism. After the 15-20 November 2003-Istanbul bombings, one of the discussion subjects was about the relationship between Islam and terrorism. While *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, and *Hürriyet* were framing the terrorist events in Istanbul as 'Islamic terror', *Akit* and *Zaman* opposed to this concept. They supported the idea that terror cannot be associated with Islam. Even though, it seems the papers could be divided into two camps due to this discussion subject, each newspaper differed in its representation according to their positions, as they are mentioned above.

**1.4.a. Gathering and Coding of the Data**

Data for this research have been gathered from the selected newspapers and analyzed for their content. In the first step of the analysis, number of the narratives (all the narratives about 15-20 November Istanbul bombings) about the terrorist events were determined, counted and represented for each selected newspaper. In the second part of the analysis, first I coded the documents numerically according to the categories of the problem-solving definition. This count gives us the number of codes mentioned under the problem solving definition, such as problem recognition. Thus, it does not tell the reader anything about the quality and the nature of the problem-solving attitude, but rather indicate any news that relate to the categories. The qualitative analysis part that follows assesses the quality and the nature of a problem-solving attitude looking at everything coded under the categories.

In this research, narratives are divided into four categories;

1- News

2- Comment

3- Opinion Editorial, and

4- Interview

News include narratives about the terrorist events that contain information about the number of the casualties and wounded people, the targets, terrorists, domestic and

international repercussions of the terrorist events, and reactions of the domestic and foreign politicians, and foreign countries. The comment part consists of interpretations and observations of the columnists. In the opinion editorial section, the reports of the people who are specialists in terrorism, sociology, psychology, economy, tourism and so on will be examined. The last part, interviews, consists of dialogues between a reporter and a person who is questioned on the subject of terrorism.

The research period is determined according to the date; bombings took place and were reported in the media. On November-2003 four bombings exploded in Istanbul. The first two bombs exploded on 15.11.2003 and the second two bombs exploded on 20.11.2003. The first two bombings were covered in the Turkish print media after a day; on 16.11.2003. Therefore, the starting date for this segment is 16th November 2003. The density of the narratives indicating the interest in the Turkish print media on the terrorist events determines the ending date of this research. Additionally, 2004; a year after the terrorist bombings, will also be researched. The reason for this is, determining the duration of the interest of the Turkish print media on the terrorist events.

As I have mentioned earlier, this study's research question will assess whether there is a problem-solving attitude in the Turkish print media during 15-20 November 2003-Istanbul bombings or not. A problem-solving attitude is a position that can be defined by the recognition of a problem, assessment of the problem's root causes in order to prevent any misperception about it, and the management of affect/emotions constructively. Under the management of affect/emotions constructively category, narratives that transform and manage the destructive aspects of terrorist events will be examined. Due to the relationship between the media and terrorism, a problem-solving attitude of the media can either transform or manage terrorism; however it cannot find a resolution to end terrorism. A problem-solving attitude is a position that can be maintained by the recognition of a problem, assessment of the problem's root causes in order to prevent any misperception about it, and the management of affect/emotions constructively. Under the management of affect/emotions constructively category, narratives that transform and manage the destructive aspects of terrorist events will be researched. Due to the relationship between the media and terrorism, a problem-solving attitude of the media can either transform or manage terrorism; however it cannot find a resolution to end terrorism. Media cannot have a problem-solving attitude under the aim

of conflict resolution since they are not a third party; they are one of the parties' (targeted society) institutionalized structure. Therefore, they cannot mediate between the societies and terrorist groups to eliminate the sources of terrorism. Nevertheless, they can manage or transform it since in conflict management; there is containment, which means reducing or controlling the destructive repercussions of terrorism on the public by their framings. In conflict transformation, there is alteration of the destructive aspects of terror into constructive ones through changing self-images, relationships, social structure and so on.

Given this question, in this research problem-solving is defined and the content of the newspapers are coded according to the categories listed below:

1. Problem Recognition

   a. Problem Framing

     a.1. Terrorist Events

     a.2. Terrorists and Terrorist Groups

     a.3. Victims

     a.4. Targeted Places

   b. Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes

     b.1. Targets

     b.2. Reasons

2. Management of affect/emotions constructively

Problem recognition represents how the Turkish print media perceive and cover 15-20 November Istanbul bombings. In order to address this category, the coverage of the Turkish print media will be analyzed and how the Turkish print media assess the root causes of the bombings will be scrutinized. In the second category, the Turkish print media will be examined by how they orient the emotions of the people. The purpose is to explore what kind of narratives they use for the coverage of the bombings: either they prefer to use emotional narratives or they try to reduce the negative effects of terrorist incidents through containment or transformation of the destructive images of the bombings.

**CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The literature review of this study has two dimensions. The first dimension of this literature review deals with the relations between the media and terrorism. The structure of the media is analyzed due to the organization of terrorism in order to understand if the media have structural loopholes that can be used by terrorists for their propaganda. According to some scholars, the media have a constructive role in framing terrorist events. This constructive role of the media in the framings of terrorist events is due to its information-giving capability. They support that the media can inform public about what is going on, which can increase group unity and solidarity due to the definition of an enemy. On the contrary, some scholars claim that the media have a destructive role in framing terrorist events. They explain this situation due to the structure of the media, which is based on attracting the attention of the public. Therefore, bewildering, dramatic, and shocking events are preferred to be publicized. At this point, they support the idea that the media can serve the propagandist aims of terrorists because they also try to convey their messages through violence, which results in chaos. The literature review of the media and terrorism analyzes the constructive and destructive roles of the media in the representation of the terrorist events. However, it does not state what kinds of roles the media can maintain in order not to contribute to the destructiveness of terrorism or how the media can maintain its constructive aspects in its framings of the terrorist events.

The second dimension of the literature review deals with the problem-solving approach in conflict resolution and transformation literature to search for the applicability of this mechanism to the media framings. The review of the problem-solving approach in conflict resolution and transformation literature will guide this study for the determination of how the media can have a problem-solving attitude -what kinds of mechanisms are needed- in its framings of the terrorist incidents, using the Turkish print media in Istanbul 15-20 November 2003 terrorist incidents, as a case study.

**2.1. Literature on Media and Terrorism**

The media as an institution has an important role in shaping the risk, danger and threat perceptions of people. Furedi (2001) who is a sociologist emphasizes that when fear dominates the minds of people, then problems can be exaggerated and solutions for them can be neglected. He adds that fear causes panic as each compliment the other resulting in a vicious cycle (Furedi, 2001).

There are various discussions for explaining the role of the media in terrorist events. Miller (1982) explains the role of the media in terrorist events on the basis of ethical, moral and legal choices. He states that media commitments to these three choices are often contradictory: "choices between a free people's right to know and the right of terrorist victims to survive; between the media's right to disseminate information and a society's right to exist" (Miller, 1982, p.vi). Korkmaz (1999) explains this dilemma due to the penetration of information in the formation of news. Penetration means giving the information directly to the public through the perceptions and understandings of the media personnel. He supports the idea that if the media give the information directly to the public without managing it, then understanding of the information by the public becomes difficult. According to him this penetration may lead to different understandings because they are the results of various perceptions in the form of news. He defines news as the summary of a problem, idea or an event that interests the public. Korkmaz (1999) points out that unexpected nature of terrorist events raise public awareness, and therefore the value of these events become more newsworthy. Martin, whose field is public administration, explains the media attention of terrorist events through a news triage (selection process), which depends on the biases of reporters and editors in the selection of news that also contains "a great deal of emotional human interest content" (2003, p.279). He points out that selection depends on attracting the attention of the viewers, and thus the media does not hesitate placing a high priority on terrorist events (Martin, 2003). In other words, news that includes violence, shock, and bewilderment will attract the most public attention and hence, the media will prefer these types of news items and stories to gain greater viewers.

Shinar who studies socio-cultural dimensions of communication and the media in war and peace, explains in his article; "Cultural Conflict in the Middle East: The Media as Peacemakers" the media's preference for violence on the basis of the

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satisfaction of news-value demands, which are "the present, the unusual, the dramatic, simplicity, action, personalization, and results" (2002, p.287). Baukus (1999) who is interested in political communication demonstrates the relation between terrorism, media and public due to the media dependency theory, emphasizing the media's influence on public opinion. According to this theory, when individuals cannot fulfill their needs through their direct experiences, they become dependent on the media to accomplish their need for information. In other words, it is not the public but the media, which determines the news value of terrorism (Baukus, 1999, p.91).

Baukus (1999) classifies the relationship between the media, public and terrorism in three categories: "the agenda-setting theory," "dependency theory" and "the uses and gratifications perspective." According to the agenda-setting and dependency theories, the media determines the importance, legitimacy, and salience of events, or in other words the "hot issues" and the audiences shape their perspectives and opinions according to these types of selections. In other words, the agenda of the media determines the public's agenda. The third theory is the uses and gratifications perspective, which demonstrates that people's expectations shape media's preferences in conveying messages. Therefore, content of the media is determined by the user of the audience or public according to their psychological and social needs (Baukus, 1999, p.94).

Furedi (2001) emphasizes that when people cannot witness events from their direct experiences, they obtain information by the help of the media channels. Thus, the style of conveying information determines public perceptions on an issue, as Baukus argues. Furedi (2001) points out that even though media have the ability to increase or decrease people's risk perceptions, media cannot create the risk feeling itself. Rather, he supports the idea that the media merely emphasize risky or negative issues due to an expectation of the public for the occurrence of negative events. This type of media coverage covers the negative or risky event, but it is not the direct source of the conflict. He adds that if public is pleased with its social position (status-quo), then it would not become alarmed because of the media manipulation (Furedi, 2001).

Korkmaz (1999) emphasizes that the aim of terrorists is to create fear, bewilderment and depression, and their real targets are not the victims of their violence but the extended population that watch, listen or read about the violent actions,

supporting the idea that the media creates a living space for terrorists. However, he also indicates that the duty of the media is to inform people and hence the media cannot neglect terrorist events. On the basis of these factors, he identifies the positive and negative aspects of the role of the media in terrorist events. He emphasizes that the media can inform the public and they can maintain a consciousness, which strengthen their unity and solidarity on the basis of anti-terrorist programs, which depicts the terrorists as the outside enemy. Ensuring trust between the public and government can maintain the functioning of the social control mechanisms in the aftermath of an attack (Korkmaz, 1999).

Nevertheless, Korkmaz (1999) also indicates that the media can serve the propagandist aims of terrorists because it provides an area for demonstrating terrorists' propaganda, and their rationale behind their violent actions, resulting in sympathy with their platform. Alexander (1979) who studies terrorism and international affairs adds that in addition to the diffusion of terrorists' messages, their violent techniques are transmitted, and can trigger or inspire further attacks. Miller (1982) explains the underlying perception of terrorists' necessity for publicity in their actions due to the media's dissemination of terrorist acts, which can make it an unaware collaborator of terrorism. Alexander states that

> Terrorists have sought not only to spread fear among the primary target, but also to publicize their discontent as well as their ideologies with a view to making their violent deeds appear heroic (1979, p.161).

On the contrary, Martin (2003) examines the negative aspect of neglecting the demonstration of terrorists' aims in the media. He highlights that lack of explanation of the underlying causes of the terrorist actions through inconsistent labeling, and disproportionate media interest can serve the aims of terrorists, as well, through the creation of confusion, suspicion and misunderstanding (Martin, 2003). However, he also supports the idea that the media can become a weapon for terrorists because of its ability to deliver vast amount of information worldwide. Hence, he defines the media as an 'informational battleground', which can provide new opportunities for terrorists (Martin, 2003). Additionally, Miller (1982) points out that violence determines the newsworthy value of an event and hence, terrorism receives significant coverage because it creates continuous fast-breaking stories. As a result, a symbiotic relationship

emerges "between reporters' seeking news and terrorists' seeking an audience" (Miller, 1982, pp.13-14)

Korkmaz (1999) also emphasizes that terrorists believe that making the first page of a newspaper is indicative of their significance and power. Generally, terrorists interpret their inclusion in a state's agenda as a political victory. Once such a group reaches the 'peak' of a state's agenda, it can lead to a rivalry between other terrorist organizations. Korkmaz (1999) indicates that high representation of the terrorist events in the media can result with the possibility of a public unrest due to perpetual threat perception.

Apart from the high representation of the terrorist events in the media, the usage of terrorists' discourse in the media is another crucial point that Korkmaz (1999) touches upon, as it results in their belief that they are an accepted and legitimate party to the conflict and this fact can motivate them to continue their actions. Miller (1982) points out the danger in the usage of terrorist discourse in the media due to the redefinition of terrorism by the construction of terrorists' own language, resulting in representation of what he perceives as the terrorists' illegitimate and irrational statements.

Martin (2003) expresses the use of language in the representation of terrorist events in the media from another viewpoint. Aside from the inclusion of terrorists' discourse, he emphasizes the role of euphemism, or the softening of the use of language such as using "collateral damage" instead of "civilian deaths" or "robust" for "aggressively violent" (Martin, 2003). Martin (2003) implies that terrorists prefer euphemism in the media representation to gain public support and sympathy. He points out that terrorists' use of euphemism is also related with labeling. He expresses that through euphemism, terrorists justify their violent actions, even towards noncombatants, by softening the expression of their violent actions, and through labeling they dehumanize their enemies and justify their use of violence (Martin, 2003).

Picard (1993) who is a professor of the media economics in his book *Media Portrayals of Terrorism: Functions and Meaning of News Coverage* emphasizes the misuse and disuse of terrorism in the media. Like Korkmaz (1999) and Miller (1982), he emphasizes that the actions of terrorists, carry underlying meanings: terrorists try to

convey messages through their violent actions (Picard, 1993). Picard (1993) maintains the connection between the media and terrorism from a different point of view. He points out that terrorism with its violent nature is a form of communication, because terrorists through their actions publicize their messages, and the role of the media at this point is the rapid and wide dissemination of terrorists' messages (Picard, 1993). On the basis of this conception, Picard (1993) elaborates three approaches to determine the media's role in terrorism, which are the behavioral, cognitive, and the media environment approaches.

The behavioral approach searches for the effects of communication on people's behaviors and attitudes. The cognitive approach analyzes the thoughts of people, leaders of groups and/or institutions. The media environment approach explores the effect of the media's existence and, their types of conveying information on societies (Picard, 1993). These approaches relate the media and terrorism through the media's representation way of terrorist events. In the behavioral approach, representation of terrorist events will determine the effects of the media's representation on people's behaviors and attitudes, while the cognitive approach focuses on the perceptions and responses of people towards terrorism and their representation by the media. Media environment approach emphasizes the types of the media's conveying information. At this point, due to the relation between the media and terrorism, the media's constructive and destructive attitudes are examined.

Picard (1993) underlines another negative aspect of the media in the representation of the terrorist events, apart from giving high attention to them in the media that is highlighted by Korkmaz (1999). Picard (1993) points out the importance of the definition of terrorism -the way how it is used- in the media during the occurrence of terrorist events. He defines terrorism according to legal, political, psychological, and moral approaches. He emphasizes that the legal definition of terrorism focuses on the criminal aspects of the terrorist acts, while political ones deal with the government interests on the basis of enemy and ally perception. On the other hand, psychological definition of terrorism considers the cognitive aspects of the acts such as their effects on the population. At this point, Picard (1993) highlights the media's ability to construct reality through conveying messages. He emphasizes that construction of reality is not only determined by the media's expression of messages

but also selective perception, exposure, and retention of the media audiences. Thus the viewer has a role in the construction of reality and its different perceptions (Picard, 1993). Lastly, Picard (1993) makes the definition of moral approach due to normative judgments emphasizing religious values and norms. He argues that the varying definitions of terrorism emerges as a tool for the construction of public images and this misuse can either spread hysteria or result with the legitimization of the terrorist events (Picard, 1993).

Nevertheless, Picard (1993) emphasizes that despite the negative roles of the media in terrorist events, it can have a beneficial role in the portrayals of terrorism due to its construction of a mutual understanding between public and the government. As Korkmaz (1999) indicates, he supports the idea that the media can maintain awareness, which can ease coping with terrorism (Picard, 1993). He underlines terrorists, as part of their propaganda, try to create uncertainty through the use of violence among the population, which can result in fear, anxiety, and chaos (Picard, 1993). At this point, Picard (1993) emphasizes the necessity for the maintenance of consciousness among the population, which can be provided through the media. He connects another positive aspect of the media in the representation of terrorist actions due to its institutionalized character. He explains that the media is part (institution) of the social order (status-quo) and that is why it adopts and represents the norms and values of the existing social order rather than the desired one (Picard, 1993). Due to this fact, Picard (1993) supports the idea that the media will not adopt the unacceptable parameters of terrorists, which challenge the social order. Therefore, he concludes that the media will not prefer the representation of the values of terrorists, which also prevent the terrorists' aim of finding a living space in the media through their propaganda by deed (Picard, 1993).

Picard (1993) contributes a different perspective to the role of the media in terrorist events, emphasizing the role of communication. He emphasizes that the media can be either passive or active in communication. Passivity of the media means the representation of the other's views without contributing any meaning to them. On the other hand, activity represents the contribution of the media's own values, beliefs, and perceptions to a situation (Picard, 1993). On the basis of this identification, Picard (1993) supports media representation of the terrorist events because he believes that the

media as an institution of an existing social order will react to, not support, the unacceptable norms and values of terrorists. Hence, he claims that media's activity can challenge terrorists' propaganda.

Picard (1993) identifies three communication-of-violence theories -stimulating effects, observational learning, and reinforcement- which, he believes that, represents a crucial causal relation between the media and terrorism. Stimulating effects considers the capability of the media, especially the visual one, in stimulating others who are liable to violence through the representation of violence. With observational learning, it is supposed that violent behavior can be learnt by observing it, and through reinforcement it is claimed that tendency towards violence can be reinforced by the observation of violence in the media (Picard, 1993). In addition to communication-of-violence theories, Picard (1993) categorizes the media environment approaches. The first is agenda setting, which implies that the media can have an influence on determining the hot issues. However, this approach claims that the media do not have influence on public attitudes. The second media environment theory is status conferral or that the media coverage of persons or groups gives status and importance to them (Picard, 1993). Korkmaz (1999) underlines this assumption, as well, and he supports the idea that the media's continuous coverage of terrorist organizations can lead to the perception that terrorist groups succeed in their actions by being publicized. The third one is the cultivation theory, which stresses that coverage of violence in the media can increase, and spread public fears (Picard, 1993).

Picard (1993) identifies two techniques of persuasion in communicative acts, which are intensification and downplaying. He adopted these techniques from Hugh Rank who researches methods of political communication and persuasion. Rank claims with intensification or downplaying, it is possible to affect the attitudes and behaviors of persons, groups or institutions (Picard, 1993). Intensification is defined as an effort to indicate positive aspects of a cause or negative aspects of the opponents in order to gain support. This effort composes of repetition, association and composition. In repetition, the aim is the restatement of major arguments, while in association, major arguments are causally linked with the positive, and lastly in composition, these two parts are supported by background music or visuals in order to provoke the emotions of audiences (Picard, 1993). Downplaying is the second technique, which neglects the

positive aspects of competitors or opponents through omission, diversion and confusion. Omission is "not telling the whole story," (Picard, 1993, pp. 50-51) while diversion is distracting the attention of audiences through humor or condemnation and lastly, confusion is created by using detailed and contradictory information or jargon (Picard, 1993). Miller (1982) also touches upon the confusion issue through emphasizing the danger of using terrorists' discourse in the media because he claims that publicizing the discourse of terrorists can result with the construction of their own realities and succession in their propaganda.

The media's negative role in terrorism is explained on the basis of propaganda. Scholars claim that in communication there is a propagandistic nature, which intersects with terrorists' aim of propaganda by deed. Martin (2003) expresses the notion that terrorists try to influence the media through manipulation. He identifies three aspects of the media that serve terrorists' purposes. The first is the broadcasting of information, which can be also used for the dissemination of the terrorists' causes. The second one is also related to the dissemination of information, which can assist terrorists in conveying their messages to their supporters and opponents. He identifies the third aspect of the media as being a 'front' that can serve the propagandist aims of terrorists. Martin (2003) emphasizes that terrorists can influence both government policies and perceptions, and interpretations of viewers through the use of media as a frontline while conveying their messages (Martin, 2003). Although Martin (2003) supports that media can serve the propagandist aims of terrorists, he claims that propaganda can be disseminated in spite of the objective reflection of terrorist events in the media. He explains the reason of this situation depending on the power of information, which can transform the media into a weapon for the use of terrorists' actions. Information has a power because it can be manipulated and as a result the media can convey terrorists' messages. Martin (2003) extends this idea through examining media as a supplement to terrorist tactics.

Nevertheless, Picard (1993) maintains a reverse relation between the media and terrorism due to manipulation. He emphasizes that the basic aspect of propaganda depends on unconscious manipulation. At this point, Picard (1993) claims the media cannot serve the propagandist aims of terrorists partially since terrorists make their propaganda through their violent actions and in this way they carry their messages. As a matter of fact, Picard (1993) supports that some terrorist groups do not even prefer

publicity due to "relying more heavily on the propaganda of the deed for awareness" (Picard, 1993, p.49). This can be explained by the institutionalization of the media, which some terrorists perceive as an enemy constituent, the status quo, and thus they neglect the media as publicity tool. He gives the example of Maoist Shining Path organization in Peru, which neglected the media as a publicity channel (Picard, 1993). In contrast, Martin (2003) highlights that terrorists conduct their actions with regard to involvement from the media. He emphasizes that terrorists release interviews, photographic essays or video displays through the media to reach public. He gives the example of the Lebanese Shi'ite Hezbollah (Party of God), which videotaped its attacks on Israeli soldiers in South Lebanon and sent them to the media, in addition to their own web site (Martin, 2003).

Martin (2003) also identifies terrorists' adaptations in their methods and styles of their actions for attracting media coverage, which are the degree of violence, the use of symbolism, and the performance of very spectacular or special deeds. Furthermore, he emphasizes sensationalism and media scoops (competition on reporting breaking news firstly) in the media, which give an entertainment quality to terrorist events, creating an impression of urgency and at the same time, increasing the terrorists' influence on the perceptions and interpretations of audiences (Martin, 2003). Media can convey the messages of terrorists unintentionally because of its representation ways. However, according to Martin (2003) the media's unintentional position in terrorist manipulation can turn into an intentional one through giving an entertainment quality to terrorist events. Even though Picard (1993) indicates that some terrorists accept the media as a part of their enemy, he does not reject the idea that the media can serve the aims of terrorists intentionally or unintentionally. He emphasizes that terrorists want publicity in order to establish awareness of the existence of terrorist organizations, a goal of the terrorists. In addition, Picard (1993) highlights that more publicity can affect the social order through irritating public and lead to false expectations, misunderstandings or overgeneralizations. Furthermore, he points out sensationalism that is raised by Franco Salamone, as Martin (2003) refers. Picard (1993) emphasizes that sensationalism in the media can cause confusion because of the lack of context, historical understanding and grasp of the political and social issues involved. He indicates that sensationalism in the media can lead to over estimation of the frequency of terrorist actions and this fact can result with the spreading of fear (Picard, 1993).

Nonetheless, he notes that maintaining awareness for the existence of terrorist organizations does not guarantee sympathetic attention and support of their causes by the public, because the public which is directly or indirectly targeted by the violence is aware of terrorists' aim to influence their attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, Picard (1993) underlines that public reacts negatively to violence. Furthermore, he informs that "most of the indicators reveal that the more the public knows about terrorist groups, the less likely they are to support terrorist groups" (Picard, 1993, p.115). Besides dealing with the effect of information on terrorism, Picard (1993) raises another relationship between freedom of expression and terrorism. He points out that even there is little evidence; free expression can have a control on violence. He represents that violence of the IRA, the Basque ETA, the Red Army Fraction, and Al Fatah decreased when a forum had been provided for them (Picard, 1993).

Picard (1993) touches upon another issue: media's role in spreading terrorism. He implies coverage-causes-terrorism view and represents that this view establishes a symbiotic relation between the media coverage and spread of terrorism. Korkmaz (1999) also touches upon this issue and indicates that the media coverage can provoke terrorist events due to the competition of terrorists on their common or opposing missions. Martin (2003) touches upon this issue from another perspective and implies that the ability of mass communication to convey messages can be a tool of the terrorists' public messages. In contrast, Latter (1988) supports the idea that the media can carry counter-propaganda against terrorists through informing public about terrorists' objectives. He claims that broad publicity may prevent the outbreak or escalation of violence because frustration of terrorists, which based on the inability to convey their feelings and ideas, can be de-escalated (Latter, 1988).

Martin (2003) establishes this link due to the ability of mass communication to convey information to a large audience. He examines this issue concentrating on efficiency and timeliness features of mass communication that are highly valuable for terrorists. Efficiency is necessary for terrorists because in this way their message will be delivered properly, received and understood easily. On the other hand, he explains the necessity of timeliness due to receiving messages immediately, which will provide an opportunity for terrorists since Martin (2003) claims that an identification of a sympathetic symbol between a terrorist event and an audience occurs. Due to the

representation of terrorists' messages in the media, apart from the way of the representation, its timing is very crucial. As it is mentioned above, the high attention and interest of the media can either irritate public, and increase their threat perceptions or satisfy its supporters or sympathizers. In the case of timeliness, instant message giving of terrorists can result with a connection channel between its supporters and sympathizers and furthermore, it can lead to a sympathetic connection between terrorists and the audience. On the contrary, Picard (1993) reflects the opinions of journalists, which support the notion that society should be informed of the subjects, ideas or events that are occurring around them, even if these are terrorist events, because awareness is interpreted as one of the best options for dealing with terrorism. Picard (1993) develops this idea through emphasizing contagion studies and indicates that research on explaining the reason for the spread of terrorism do not maintain a causal relation between the media coverage and terrorist events. He defines the Midlarsky's , Crenshaw's and Yoshida's contagion studies as the most significant, which try to address the reason for the spread of terrorism, and Picard (1993) states that the media were not mentioned as a cause for the dispersion of terrorist techniques. He implies that lack of information can initiate rumors, which can result in crisis (Picard, 1993).

On the other hand, Martin (2003) argues that there is a consensus on the contagion theory that the media have an effect on the distribution of terrorist actions through establishing a causal relation between the 'media coverage' and 'time lags' between terrorist events. Even though he adds that this assumption is not proven as a behavioral fact, he indicates that it has some weight. He justifies the possible effect of the media coverage on terrorism through emphasizing the similar objectives in terrorist actions (Martin, 2003). Moreover, Martin (2003) argues that with the new era in terrorism, contagion theory will gain more validity because of transnational cell-based movements. He explains the reason for increasing validity of contagion theory through implying the developments in communication theory -such as e-mail, internet, cellular phones and etc.-, which extend the learning curve of terrorists (Martin, 2003).

Picard (1993) raises another considerable point about media's role in terrorism, which deals with the perspectives and interpretations of journalists. He emphasizes that journalists also experience their environment on the basis of their own observations and

understandings. Therefore, they can be biased according to their ideological and cultural perspectives, which affect the meanings of the events that are received by their audiences (Picard, 1993). Martin (2003) defines the inclusion of the reporters' subjective interpretations as the media spin. He highlights that in the case of biased information-giving, incomplete understanding about terrorist events can occur, which can result with the misperceptions and misinterpretations (Martin, 2003).

Wolfsfeld (1997) who studies the media and communication points out that media frames are established by both the surrounding culture and journalistic perception. He adds that selection of information and their framings based on journalists' choices, which are determined according to the construction of meanings through social processes (Wolfsfeld, 1997). He identifies three criteria for elaborating the construction of meanings and their framings in the media, which are "the nature of the information and the events that are being processed, the need to create a good news story, and the need to create a story that resonates politically within a particular culture" (Wolfsfeld, 1997, p.41).

Martin (2003) adds another dimension to the issue of media's role in terrorism. He expresses the effect of market competition. He claims that large corporations own the news media and therefore, they have control on the style, and content of news due to their market shares and profits. Martin (2003) touches upon the institutionalized feature of the media and implies that perspectives and interpretations of the media personnel are shaped due to the social order because they are the part of this order through institutionalization. Therefore, he supports that representations of the terrorist actions in the media will favor of the government and status-quo (Martin, 2003).

**2.2. Literature on Problem-solving**

The first dimension of this literature review deals with the relations between the media and terrorism. The structure of the media is analyzed due to the organization of terrorism in order to understand if the media has structural loopholes that can be used by terrorists for their propaganda. According to some scholars, the media have a constructive role in framing terrorist events. This constructive role of the media in the framings of terrorist events is due to its information-giving capability. They support that the media can inform public about what is going on, which can increase group

unity and solidarity due to the definition of an enemy. On the contrary, some scholars claim that the media have a destructive role in framing terrorist events. They explain this situation due to the structure of the media, which based on attracting the attention of the public. Therefore, bewildering, dramatic, and shocking events are preferred to be publicized. At this point, they support the idea that the media can serve the propagandist aims of terrorists because they also try to convey their messages through violence, which results in chaos. The literature review of the media and terrorism analyzes the constructive and destructive roles of the media in the representation of the terrorist events. However, it does not state what kinds of roles the media can maintain in order not to contribute to the destructiveness of terrorism or how the media can maintain its constructive aspects in its framings of the terrorist events.

On the basis of this gap, the second dimension of this study's literature review is about the problem-solving approach in conflict resolution and transformation studies. This part will be strengthened by the inclusion of the literature review of the post-conflict environment studies. The problem-solving approach in the conflict resolution and transformation studies will determine if the media can have a problem-solving attitude in its framings of the terrorist events. It will also emphasize what kinds of aspects are needed to have a problem-solving attitude in the media. The post-conflict environment studies will be also included in this part because they develop the media's possible constructive roles in destructively managed conflicts through reconciliation, peacemaking, and conflict management studies. These studies should be elaborated, as well, because terrorism, which is one of the types of destructively managed conflict, has an ongoing effect on societies' domestic and foreign structures and relations. Media as one of the institutions of a society are affected by terrorist events and also they affect the society through its framings of the terrorist events. Hence, the search for a problem-solving attitude of the media includes the post-conflict environment, as well.

The problem-solving attitude of the media results from its institutional structure. This institutional structure of the media derives from societies' cultural aspects and at this point, the post-conflict environment studies will provide an understanding for how societies resolve, transform or manage their conflicts. As it is indicated before, dynamic aspect of a conflict provides its continuity and hence in order to have a proper understanding of the reasons, effects and results of a conflict, whole of

this process can be analyzed. At this point, the inclusion of the media's role in the post-conflict environment can also provide a wider perspective to search for a problem-solving attitude of the media, and how it can construct it.

The media is an autonomous and influential actor and a tool in society due to its information-giving and communicative structures. The media as an actor constructs meanings, shapes public perceptions, and while serving as a communication channel providing tool in this process. In other words, the media emerge as communication channels, either serving as conductors between the public and the government, or between the public and the terrorist groups, and thus as an indirect conductor between the government and terrorist organizations. Anyone who is affected by terrorism or who has a stake in terrorism can be a subject of the media representation. For example, when a terrorist incident occurs, sources of media information include the victim's biographies and families members, terrorists' targets, methods, and aims, and government officials' reactions, attitudes and actions, and police organizations' methods, plans and explanations. The print media first frame and then represent information. In order not to convey the destructive messages of terrorists, the print media can frame terrorist incidents in a constructive manner, and a problem-solving attitude is an option for such constructive framing. In other words, the media can facilitate the construction of new realities, due to its significant information-giving ability.

There are various studies about the role of the media in terrorist incidents. These studies generally focus on why and how the media serve the propagandist aims of terrorists. What differentiates this piece is the search for a problem-solving attitude in the print media. Media -both as an actor and a conductor- are in the middle of the socialization process; media results from a society's culture and it shapes the culture of a society. Communication as a part of the socialization process also implements the cultural aspects of a society; how it perceives and interprets conflicts, and what kind of solutions it considers. This reciprocal function of the media explains the significance of a problem-solving attitude in the media.

Developing technology under globalization provides information on a worldwide basis. Media is an intermediary in the representation of various events, ideas or problems to a global audience. For example; Turkish visual, aural and print media do

not only represent local news but also represent foreign news. Every moment of the September 11 attacks could be viewed on a global level. Such cases make the media vulnerable to the propagandist aims of terrorists, who want to publicize their actions, which will carry their messages to a wide ranging audience. They want to attract the attention to demonstrate their capabilities and willingness to use violence. At this point, the media both as an actor and a tool plays a crucial role because it is one of the most important institutions that have the capability to construct and represent realities. In the print media, this can be possible through the constructive framing of terrorist incidents. The first step in framing terrorist events constructively may be through avoiding over generalizations and repetitive scenes of the destruction resulting from the terrorist actions.

**2.2.a. Defining Communication**

Communication is a means for interaction: "Interaction as a method of problem-solving is that interaction produces both outcome and implementation together, as in resolving the problem of resource allocation and implementing it through the interactions of buying and selling" (Cohen and Lindblom, 1979, p.26). The print media is a significant actor and tool for the establishment, and transformation of communication between various actors. This relation between the media and communication has a significant role for having a problem-solving attitude because "poor communication causes barriers to solutions, while good communication skills are strong catalysts for problem-solving. Poor communication indicates the existence of a problem and may, in fact, be the cause of the trouble" (Pokras, 1990, p.21). The media provides an interactive arena for the different parts of a society and between the various societies. If it has a constructive attitude, then it can shape and orient the interactions between the different parts of a society and between the various societies in a positive fashion.

Katz and Lawyer define communication as anything that has influence on another's experience that is, what is taking place within the other person at both the conscious and unconscious levels. It involves an exchange of meaning between persons in which information is given and received, so that the thoughts, opinions, information or feelings of each person are appropriately exchanged (Katz and Lawyer, 1992). In the print media, communication is carried out through framing, and the representation of

the frames depends on the use of language and visuals. Information is given through narratives; it is received and then interpreted. Therefore, information is the basic ingredient of the print media, and their ways of framings determine the attitudes of the print media either in a destructive or constructive manner.

**Figure 2**

**Media Construction of Information**

Given
Information
by the Print
Media

Meaning is constructed through the use of language and a specific interpretive frame

Received
Information
by the
Readers
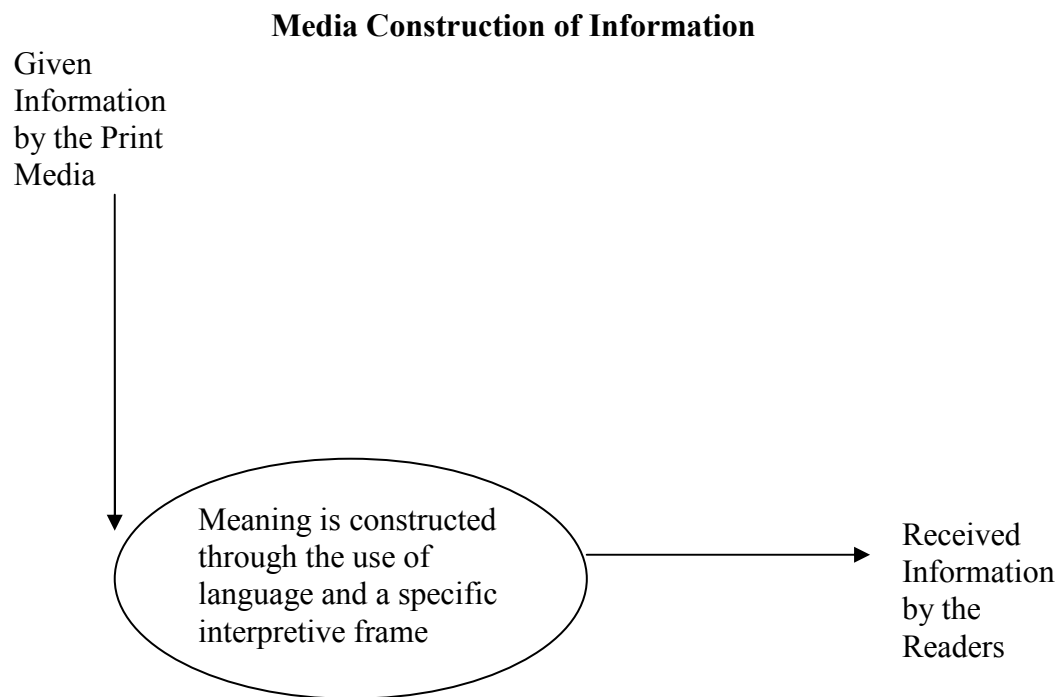
Conflict is inherent in human nature. Katz and Lawyer state that "conflict is an all-pervasive element in our society. Although conflicts may end up in destruction and even death, conflicts may also result in increased effectiveness, enhanced relationships, and further goal attainment. Indeed, in human terms conflict is one of the 'engines of evolution' that allows us to learn, progress, and grow" (Katz and Lawyer, 1992, p.93). At this point, if there is a problem-solving attitude within the print media, then it can constructively maintain the interactions between the various parts of a society, and while doing that it can influence the public consciousness to respond constructively to terrorist incidents by strengthening the group unity.

If a problem-solving attitude is lacking, then the default representation of the destructive aspects of conflicts in the print media can lead to a culture of fear. This is inevitable especially in the context of terrorist incidents because the nature of violent

actions alone may terrorize society at large. As indicated before, problem-solving attitudes in the media have the potential to reach resolution or transformation of conflict through decreasing the perception of risk for public (Hunter, 1989).

Without reduction in risk perception, a culture of fear can pervade throughout society. A "culture of fear" means to have the intentions of avoiding or aiming to resolve the causes of conflicts rather than searching for the potential solutions for transforming destructive aspects of conflicts into constructive ones. Väryrynen (1991) indicates that problem-solving approach provides tactics and a strategy, which can be applied to different kinds of conflicts to transform destructive conflicts into constructive ones. By ascribing to this idea, the print media can also have a problem-solving attitude in the representation of terrorist events without becoming a tool in the hands of terrorists.

Admittedly, a problem-solving attitude is not easily realized. Katz and Lawyer (1992) define problem-solving as the identification of a difference between a current and desired state with the objective of trying to reach the desired state. Desired state represents the needs, desires of the conflicting parties. The question arises as to how print media can structure the conflicting situation and imply needs and desires of the conflicting parties, and how it can construct a problem-solving attitude. For instance, terrorism is a sensitive subject that conflicting parties -government versus terrorist organization- do not recognize each other. Mutual non-recognition by the conflicting parties of each others' identities severely limits any possibility for a workable solution. Therefore, some newspapers as part of the status-quo, will frame terrorism on the basis of the perceptions and interpretations of the status quo power- the government.

Some scholars and media experts support the idea that the media should act according to the status-quo as governments have legitimate power, and terrorist groups pose an illegitimate threat to the incumbents. Primoratz (2002) explains that states are established due to some extent of legitimacy and therefore, actions that challenge states, such as terrorism, can result in the unjustifiable disorder and destruction of social regulations and bonds. The terrorist groups' use of violence in order to proclaim their existence or ideology cannot be justified and the media as one of the institutions of a government should cover terrorist incidents based on this belief. According to the group that maintains the notion that media should favor their governments, the media's conveyances of a terrorist group's messages can lead to justifications of their violent

actions and also result in public support. Korkmaz (1999) believes that covering terrorist events in the news can result in public sympathy towards their ideologies and in this way, detract the attention of public by granting terrorists popular support.

The neutrality or impartiality of the print media can be questioned, as print media is not value free. First, the media can not be neutral as an institution of a society, in which it carries its characteristics, and learned behavior inherited from its culture. Additionally, the media personnel have biases and pre-determined attitudes. The question arises as to whether they can frame terrorist events by not letting their perceptions, understandings, interpretations and biases interfere. While they make and write news, they cannot be neutral, but nonetheless they can strive be impartial or even-handed. However, with regards to terrorist events, which are perceived as a threat to the existence of a society, the media as one of the products of this society may not be impartial or even-handed since they cannot isolate themselves entirely from their society.

**2.2.b. Defining Problem-solving Attitude**

The first essential element in the definition of a problem-solving attitude is the recognition of the problem and then, the description of a conflict from the perspectives of the conflicting parties. Recognition of the conflict is the first step in solving it. Pokras states that; "sometimes a problem gradually builds up without being noticed. Problem recognition examines the 'tip of the iceberg' or 80/20 rule; no matter how large the tip of an iceberg seems, 80% of it lies below the surface of the water" (1990, p.31). Terrorists view a history exacerbated by perceived injustices towards their identity and this perception serves as a justification for their use of violence. Their violence is the manifestation of their deep-rooted past deprivations under the aim of constructing a better future. Terrorist events are rapid violent actions that attempt to attract the attention of the public and to instill widespread terror and chaos. In addition, their actions could always be followed by future attacks. In this manner, terrorists convey their capability and willingness to use indiscriminate violence against every part of society. For example, Istanbul-2003 bombings were composed of two different bombings; one was conducted on 15.11.2003 and the other was on 20.11.2003. Their targets also differed; one was a synagogue and the others were the British consulate and

the HSBC bank. The bombings not only destroyed the intended targets but innocent bystanders as well.

In a problem-solving attitude, conflict should be defined with all its dimensions. As Pokras mentions that "the biggest problem-solving mistake is dealing with the symptoms of a problem rather than its root causes" (1990, p.7). A conflict has many dimensions because it is between two or more parties, and each disputant has differing perceptions and interpretations that in turn fuel the conflict. In a problem-solving attitude, it is essential to represent the perceptions of every conflicting party because the definition of the problem can only be made by considering the needs and aims of all parties. When the definition of a problem is made properly and extensively (considering all the dimensions of the conflict, including the perceptions and interpretations of the conflicting sides), then it has a possibility of a solution. Thus, problem-solving attitude in the print media should cover the perceptions and interpretations of all disputants. Nevertheless, in the case of terrorism, reflection of the perceptions and interpretations of the terrorists in the print media is criticized because of its potential to create sympathy for terrorists and their supporters, serving the propagandist aims of terrorists. As a result, the problem-solving attitude of the print media, representing the ideology of the terrorist organizations creates a predicament. Therefore, definition of a problem-solving attitude in the print media is limited considering the dilemma in the coverage of the terrorist incidents.

The second element of defining a problem-solving attitude should be the identification of the options for the solutions of a conflict. In the case of terrorism, because of the non-recognition of the terrorist groups as a party to the conflict, identification of the options for the solutions of such a conflict will be restricted. Nonetheless, a problem-solving attitude at this point can be researched due to the framings of the potential solutions. For instance; instead of concentrating on and repeating the destruction of the terrorist incidents such as how many deaths are caused or predictions of when, where and how another terrorist act can happen, the print media can imply the potential causes of terrorist incidents, build constructive options for their solutions and evaluate these alternative solutions.

In the print media, the use of language is the feature that represents its problem-solving attitude. At this point, the question arises as to how the print media can reflect

the constructive aspects of conflicts through its framings. In order to answer this question, first of all the qualities of a constructive conflict should be mentioned. Katz and Lawyer pointed out the constructive aspects of a conflict as follows:

> Conflict can bring opportunity, drama, development, and growth to individuals, groups and organizations. Conflict can increase group cohesion and trust and lead to more effective organizational performance. Conflict in group settings, when properly managed, can lead to increased motivation and productivity as well as to better personal adjustment of group members. Conflict can have integrating effects on ties between parties. It can stimulate the search for new facts and solutions increase the conflicting parties' energy to perform the tasks required by the organization and defuse more serious conflict (1992, p.95).

A problem-solving attitude in the print media; the use of language can target the reduction of conflict, which means providing a clear understanding about all dimensions of a conflict. First, the ambiguities in the conflict should be avoided. Framings can consider the reduction of emotional tension. In terrorist events, terrorists, already terrorize people through the use of violence, which can lead to emotional disruptions in societies. These emotional disruptions may include fear, bewilderment, curiosity, anxiety and anger. Therefore, after terrorist incidents, the print media can give messages to decrease the pressure of the violence that was faced by people through its constructive framings. For example, they can refrain from using incomplete information about terrorist events because the misuse of information can lead to other problems such as conflicts between the different parts of a society or between the units of a government. Hence, chaos that is created by terrorists can be strengthened by the print media due to its misuse of information. As a result, social unrest can perpetuate the destructive management of conflicts between the parts of a society and an unwanted "domino effect" could result.

Another consequence of violence is public overreaction spinning out of control. The print media have a vital role because its coverage of terrorist incidents can strengthen the over-reaction. This case is valid both for the public and terrorists due to the use of language in the print media, as it can motivate some terrorist organizations in their actions or it can spread public fear. For example, people may feel themselves obliged to change their daily lives; they can quit going to crowded places, which can be

perceived as the targets of the potential terrorist actions. This can be also perceived and interpreted as a success for terrorist groups who aim to achieve social changes through violent means. Hence, the print media can aim to reduce the destructive representations of conflicts through shaping and orienting the perceptions and understandings of people by refraining from the misuse of information, over-generalizations, configuring scenarios about the reasons of the events, tactics of terrorists, or possible future attacks, and having a clear-cut use of language. All of these factors can prevent emotional tension in a society, which could lead to over-generalizations about the events.

In summary, a problem-solving attitude composes of problem recognition, assessment of a problem's root causes and management of affect/emotions in a constructive fashion. A problem-solving attitude can aim for conflict reduction, which will include avoidance of ambiguities about a conflict to decrease the perception of risk (emotional tension), as this can be an obstacle for a problem-solving attitude, since in an emotionally tense conflict, it is difficult to search for alternatives to transform the destructive aspects of conflicts into constructive ones.

## 2.2.c. Post-conflict Environment Studies and Problem-solving Approaches

Villalobos (2002) studies the role of the media in reconciliation process in her article: "The Media and Reconciliation in Central America". She implies that reconciliation models and peace treaties neglect the media as an actor in post-conflict situations. She identifies two reasons for the ignorance of the media's role in post-conflict environment, which are the adoption of the reconciliation concept in Central America, and the concepts of objectivity and diplomacy (Villalobos, 2002). Villalobos (2002) emphasizes that in the post-conflict environment, maintenance of new institutions, identities, and relationships are essential in order to construct an awareness of new circumstances between former enemies. Villalobos (2002) claims that media is one of the institutions that should be renewed due to the new culture because of the danger of conflict continuation during post-conflict circumstances. She stresses that the media has the ability to prevent the resumption of a conflict in post-conflict situations. She identifies de-escalation oriented coverage (DOC) as one of the ways to promote peace (Villalobos, 2002).

Villalobos (2002) points out that de-escalation oriented coverage can contribute to the establishment of reconciliation through emphasizing common interests and

values, and underlying positive emotions and respect, which can maintain empathy between former enemies and strengthen civil society through indicating plurality of interests, identities and institutions, which will facilitate to overcome stereotypes and prejudices. She expresses that media are converted into mediators, which path a way for cooperative initiatives between former enemies. She provides this idea due to an intersection between reconstruction and the media, which is *concertacion* ("to concert or to agree, to build a consensus that satisfies the different interest groups") (Villalobos, 2002).

Moreover, Villalobos (2002) examines three reconciliation models about the media's role in the post-conflict environment: The Arias Foundation Reconciliation Model, the Post-conflict Reconstruction Model, and the Actors and Approaches Model. The necessity of the media's role in the Arias Foundation Reconciliation Model is underlined by the Media Neglect Syndrome. This model indicates the necessity for the reconciliation of institutions such as the media, police or parts of a government, and highlights that the media as an institution should also carry this aspect through specific trainings on assigning proper meanings to the subjects of violence/confrontation and peace/reconciliation actions (Villalobos, 2002). The second model is the Post-Conflict Reconstruction, which is dependent on the Peace Neglect Syndrome. According to this model, the media coverage puts emphasis on violence and destructive escalation of conflict situations more than post-conflict situations. Villalobos (2002) supports the idea that the media coverage increases as violence escalates as Korkmaz (1999), Picard (1993), Miller (1982) and Martin (2003) claim.

The third one is the Actors and Approaches Model, which implies the middle and grass roots leaders' (business, media, community leaders and etc.) ability to transform destructive management of conflicts into constructive ones through the adaptation of Peace Building Frame Model (Villalobos, 2002). Even though, Villalobos (2002) highlights the positive contributions of the media when it carries a mediator role in post-conflict situations, Martin (2003) emphasizes that in terrorist events the media should not try to solve problems because they can unintentionally contribute to the propagandas of terrorists.

Shinar (2002) focuses on the media's role in peacemaking, and especially transformation of the intractable types of conflicts that are historically and culturally

deep-rooted. He claims that reconciliation is not the only way for conflict resolution and adds that it may not be also desired especially in the intractable types of conflicts. As a result of this fact, some conflict resolution attempts result with crisis of expectations in many areas of society and the media is indicated as one of the institutions, which have a crucial role in reconciliation, conflict management, and peacemaking processes (Shinar, 2002). Shinar (2002) differentiates between conflict resolution, management, and transformation. He implies that in conflict resolution, there is the perception that there is a possibility and necessity to solve a conflict through the identification of its real sources. On the other hand, in conflict management, attempts are towards people who are involved in a conflict in order to direct or control them. The aim in conflict management depends on reducing or controlling the instability of a conflict. Shinar (2002) expresses that in conflict transformation the sole aim is not to eliminate (conflict resolution) or contain (conflict management) conflicts. He stresses that in conflict transformation, aim is to transform destructive aspects of conflicts into constructive ones through altering self-images, relationships, and social structures (Shinar, 2002).

Shinar (2002) emphasizes that in conflict transformation, the media have a vital role because they can transform negative images and perceptions into positive ones and lastly it can establish a mutual understanding between adversaries. In addition, he claims that the media can correct the mistaken perception and interpretations (Shinar, 2002). He justifies this concept due to media's role in social structure. He indicates that the media is an institutionalized part of cultures, as Picard (1993) and Martin (2003) supports, and they have the capability to shape and direct public opinion (Shinar, 2002).

Dascal (2004) who is a philosophy professor accentuates that media can act as an alternative channel for negotiation in conflicts if adversaries do not negotiate. He points out that the media can maintain an area for opponents to check their reactions, to know each other's demands mutually, and to inform public for upcoming events, which can prevent the immediate outbreak of violent confrontation and initiate conflict resolution (Dascal, 2004). In his article, Dascal (2004) compares metonymic and metaphorical relations which derive from 'communicative acts'. His argument is based on the role of the intersection between metonymy and metaphor in conflict

management. He tries to address how the media can complete the functions of these two communicative acts in conflict management (Dascal, 2004).

Dascal (2004) defines metaphor as type of an argument, which carries warlike aspects such as propaganda. He frames metaphorical concepts as systemic, structured, and productive, which organize the viewer's thoughts or speeches through using their experiences and conceptualizations of events (Dascal, 2004). He claims that argument can be used as a tool for waging war or initiating a conflict, and hence a metaphor exists between war/conflict and argument (Dascal, 2004). At this point, Latter (1988) who researches for defense policy and strategy raises an important issue for a possible metaphor between war and terrorism. He claims that the establishment of a similarity between war and terrorism determines the way to deal with terrorism, which cannot include negotiation and compromise (Latter, 1988). Dascal (2004) differentiates metaphor and metonymy due to similarity and relativity. He makes out that in metaphor there are similarities between conceptions but these similarities do not necessitate a direct connection between them. On the other hand, in metonymy there are closer connections between the conceptions, which mean that there is need for a direct link. In summary, metaphor includes similarity and distance while metonymy composes of proximity and difference (Dascal, 2004).

On the basis of these conceptions, Dascal (2004) elaborates some discussions on the role of the media in conflicts. He emphasizes that ideal media task is shaped as to inform the public but not to form their opinions. However, he implies that the inclusion of journalists' biases, ideas, perceptions and interpretations are inevitable while editing and selecting information (Dascal, 2004), as Korkmaz (1999), Picard (1993), and Martin (2003) touch upon. He opposes Miller's (1982) and Korkmaz's ideas, which demonstrate that increased publicity of information, can serve the propagandist aims of terrorists through creating fear and chaos. He supports Martin's (2003) claims that lack of information can lead to misunderstandings, which can cause speculations and result with confusion and chaos (Dascal, 2004).

Research of Barnhurst (1991) (Kevin G. Barnhurst studies the media and communication) categorizes the media's role in terrorism under two camps, which are culpable and vulnerable media. He identifies the culpable media under awareness, contagion, and interference hypotheses. This group supports that the media can lead to

or it can escalate terrorism through extensive coverage of terrorist events, which can serve the propagandist aims of terrorists. This extensive media coverage can be also promoted by repetition and imitation. It is supported that as a result of an extensive coverage of terrorist events, awareness is maintained, which can trigger similar violent actions (Barnhurst, 1991), as Korkmaz indicates. Interference with police operations or government policies is demonstrated as one of the result of culpable media. Lastly, in contagion hypothesis, the reason for the media's culpability is explained according to the bandwagon effect or epidemic diseases like malaria. It is argued that the media coverage leads to dispersal of terrorism (Barnhurst, 1991).

Other scholars maintain that the media are vulnerable, and unintentionally become a tool in terrorists' propaganda. Supporters of this camp interpret the media as victims of terrorism (Barnhurst, 1991). Both camps suggest solutions for decreasing or eliminating the contribution of the media in terrorism. Scholars or the media experts who support the culpable media model call for regulation in the media in order to prevent a causal link between the media and terrorism. Nonetheless, this results with two dilemmas because of the cycle of coverage and control. In the cycle of coverage, it is supported that the media coverage of terrorism leads to more terrorism, which produces more media coverage. The second dilemma –cycle of control- represents that control can also lead to more terror because it is claimed that censorship of media coverage damages the credibility of the government and/or the media (Barnhurst, 1991). The vulnerable media model emphasizes that intervention is not a solution and offers that the media can self-limit its coverage on terrorism. However, this fact also creates its own dilemma, which demonstrates the possibility for inefficiency in self-limiting of the media that can push terrorists to search for other vulnerable options "in the infrastructure of liberal societies such as electrical and water systems" (Barnhurst, 1991, p.126). Therefore, the media as an institution is not the sole weapon of terrorists for their propaganda by deed.

According to the post-conflict environment studies, the media can carry constructive roles in the destructively managed conflicts such as terrorism. Scholars support the idea that the media can contribute to the reconciliation processes through its de-escalation oriented coverage because it has the ability to maintain, and orient the group consciousness through its information-giving structure. For example, it is

proposed that if the media's preference of representing violence is replaced by the post-conflict situations, then the media can have the ability to interfere in destructively managed conflicts through its mediating, negotiating or reconciling roles. However, there is another group of scholars in the post-conflict environment studies, who support the non-interference of the media in destructively managed conflicts. They claim that the media should not try to solve problems because it can contribute unintentionally to terrorists' propaganda.

Another point that is emphasized by the post-conflict environment studies is based on the media's information-giving density. One group of scholars supports the idea that if there is more publicity of terrorist events, then the propagandist aims of terrorists can be served. Contrary to this idea, some scholars claim that if the media do not publicize terrorist events, then due to the lack of information, misunderstandings can occur, which can result with speculations and then confusion and chaos. Therefore, they support the idea that the media should have an extensive coverage of terrorist events in order to maintain the public awareness about these incidents.

The general sense in the literature review of the post-conflict environment studies is based on the definition of the media as an institutionalized part of a society. From this aspect of the media, some scholars support the idea that the media can have a mediating or negotiating role in the management of the destructive conflicts between the adversaries. They emphasize the possibility for this case due to the media's capability to maintain and orient the public's perceptions. My position, due to the assumptions about the media's roles in the post-conflict environment studies, differs through searching for a problem-solving attitude in the media representation of conflicts. I will explore the media's attitudes towards terrorism and will especially look for whether or not a problem-solving attitude in the media coverage of terrorism exists. The difference of this study depends on the search for the actions, which are their framings, of the media in their coverage of terrorist events rather than emphasizing on the position of the print media in their representation of terrorist incidents. Amount of the news coverage about terrorism is not the sole aim. The search for the representation ways of the print media due to a problem-solving definition is the basis. I have defined problem-solving attitude in the print media as the attitude, which targets the

management, transformation and prevention of a conflict through assessment of the problem's root causes and management of affect/emotions constructively.

This study contributes to this literature with a problem-solving definition, which can be adopted by the print media in their representation of terrorist events. Every conflict has different aspects and their treatment ways vary due to their specific dynamics. As other destructively managed conflicts, terrorism has its particular dynamics, which creates the necessity for different kinds of treatments. The print media can provide an option for handling terrorism through its actions which are carried out through their framings. For this special case, the search for a problem-solving attitude in the media coverage of terrorist events provides the possibility for the media to carry out a control mechanism role in terrorism. With a problem-solving attitude, the print media can manage, transform or prevent the negative effects of terrorist events. This search derives not only from the structural aspects of the media but also its actions, which are its framings that determine its attitudes. In addition, variations in the media's attitudes due to different ideologies are taken into consideration. In this way, how different ideologies affect the attitudes of the media in the same event, which is terrorism, will be addressed. Therefore, at this part, the literature review of the problem-solving approach in conflict resolution and transformation studies will be made in order to address if the media can have a problem-solving attitude in its framings about terrorist events.

Language is the basis for communication, and is important as it determines the type of communication as positive or negative. Information is the ingredient in the print media that is given as news. In the process of information-giving, the print media communicates with the public through its framings of news. This process indicates how the media uses language while it is giving information. Katz (who researches for non-violent conflict resolution and communication methods) and Lawyer (who studies communication and conflict management) emphasize that language is a tool that is used by people in order to share and represent their experiences to each other (Katz and Lawyer, 1992). They state that the use of language "is a way of communicating your model, or representation, of the world as you view it, to another" (Katz and Lawyer, 1992, p.11). The print media represents the information through its framings and the use of language in the print media derives from the experiences, perspectives, understandings and biases of the reporters. Therefore, also in the media there is the

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representation of the information in the form of news on the basis of the reporters' perspectives. However, this does not mean that it is not possible to get pure information from the print media through excluding the perspectives of the reporters. The important point here is about the media's position. The media have the capability to shape and orient the perspectives of public through their information-giving ability and during they convey information, at the same time they communicate with the public through their way of modeling and representation in their framings. At this point, in the print media, which communicate with public through their framings, a problem-solving attitude can be researched.

Problem-solving attitude in the print media can facilitate communication in societies because the media as one of the institution of societies has the ability to reach various parts of society. Before the emphasis on a possible problem-solving attitude of the print media, the needs for a problem-solving process should be addressed. Katz and Lawyer identify seven steps for a problem-solving process. These seven steps can be under two groups. The first group is about addressing the problem to have acceptable solutions. This group includes the definition of a problem, identifying options for solutions, evaluating them and deciding on an acceptable solution by the adversaries (Katz and Lawyer, 1992). The second group is about the applicability of the accepted solutions to reach conflict resolution. These are developing an action plan to apply the solutions, evaluating the results of solutions, and talking about the experience of the problem-solving process (Katz and Lawyer, 1992).

In the case of terrorism, applying these steps to the media framings cannot be possible due to the non-recognition of terrorists as a party to the conflict. However, there is the possibility that the media can unintentionally convey the messages of terrorists, which will result with the publicizing of terrorists' propaganda because the media especially focuses on the violent events that create a loophole in the structure of the media. This loophole occurs due to the terrorists' strategy, which aims attracting the attention of the others through the use of violence, which will lead to bewilderment and chaos. At this point, the media's preference for the violent events complies with terrorists' strategies. Therefore, there is need for another option, which will prevent the use of the media as a tool by terrorists. The media can have a problem-solving attitude

but there is need for adaptation of the problem-solving approach according to the media's structure and the relation between the media and terrorism.

One of the important aspects in the determination of a problem-solving attitude in the media depends on the values. Values indicate what kinds of meanings are attached to the outside events by societies. Munro, Manthei and Small state that "all individuals behave in accordance with a set of values, whether these have been thought out and made explicit or not" (1990, p.4). In other words, every society constructs its reality according to its social values. Therefore, the media as an institutionalized part of a society also represents the values of its society. Nevertheless, even in the same society there can be varying elements that have opposing beliefs. At this point, the media can have a problem-solving attitude through addressing the differences within societies. Sometimes, there can be the necessity to identify and introduce the differences because individuals can perceive divergences as threatening. Hence, the media, which have the capability to shape and orient the perceptions of public, can represent the differences in the societies. In this way, through the representation of the differences within societies, the media can have a problem-solving attitude. In addition, as a result of its problem-solving attitude, it can also work as a conflict preventive mechanism.

Väryrynen (1991) who researches escalation control, negotiation, mediation, facilitation, consensus building, and conflict transformation emphasizes that societies are composed of orders, which are set up to hold the individuals together and protect their rights. He supports the idea that social orders are prone to violence; however this tendency leads to other alternatives apart from the use of violence such as problem-solving (Väryrynen, 1991). In the media, alternative options to the destructively managed conflicts can be created through the positive use of communication. It can have constructive communication skills by including a problem-solving attitude. Pokras (1990) who studies decision-making and problem-solving states that "poor communication leads to barriers to solutions, while good communication skills are strong catalysts for problem-solving" (Pokras, 1990, p.21). Framings determine the communication styles of the print media, and reflect its problem-solving attitude. In the case of terrorism, the print media's problem-solving attitude can target the prevention of chaos and fear. This can be achieved by relaying information about the events and trying to prevent the misunderstandings that can result with confusion and the spread of

the fear. Especially, in the case of terrorism, problem should be defined properly because terrorism structurally aims to create panic and fear. Hence, if the media lack a proper definition of developments in society, then due to the misunderstandings, they can also contribute to the spread of fear.

Lastly, the media can have a problem-solving attitude through interacting with the society. It can work as an arena that collects the different interactions from the various elements of societies, and represent them in its framings. For example, terrorism increases the group consciousness in the societies due to the outside enemy. Sometimes, this group consciousness can result in hatred within the societies. For example, some parts of the societies can accuse another part for the occurrence of violence. These kinds of possibilities are prone to end with chaos, an aim of the terrorists. Hence, at this point, the media can decrease the tension in the society through its problem-solving attitude. By virtue of its communicative ability, it can help various parts of societies to interact with each other.

When the previous studies are assessed, it is observed that some scholars and the media experts in the media and terrorism and post-conflict environment studies support the idea that the media coverage of the terrorist events can serve the propagandist aims of terrorists due to two dimensional reasons. The first dimension deals with the escalation of violence. It is argued that media intentionally or unintentionally transmit terrorists' messages either to their supporters or opponents. As a result, this fact can trigger terrorist events because either it encourages supporters of a terrorist or provokes its opponents. The second dimension deals with public opinion. Some scholars claim that the media coverage of terrorist events can lead to hysteria, panic, urgency, fear and chaos because terrorists' actions constitute propaganda by deed and the media is the tool for the dispersion of these violent actions through its coverage. Another aspect of this case is explained due to public sympathy. It is elaborated that the media can become a bridge between public and terrorists and when public have access to understand the underlying reasons of terrorists then they can feel sympathy towards them.

Contrary to these concepts, some scholars and the media experts emphasize the media coverage informs the public and raises awareness about terrorism, which can prevent any misunderstandings. Therefore, they support the idea that confusion can be avoided and a possible chaos can be prevented. In this way, terrorists cannot reach their

aims, which are the creation of chaos, public unrest, and status-quo change through decreasing the trust of public towards its government and questioning the government's ability for governance. According to their argument, due to the creation of the enemy perception against terrorists, within society, group unity will be enhanced, and public hostility will be maintained towards terrorists which will decrease the possibility of government opposition, and facilitate the application of government anti-terrorist policies.

In the literature of the media and terrorism, the media's position in terrorism is explained by diffusion and contagion theories. Diffusion theory expresses that free expression in the media can control violence since the basic motive behind the violence of terrorists depend on their inability to express and impose their ideas and feelings. Furthermore, this theory proposes that if the media is not the cause of terrorism, then the media coverage could decrease the possibility of future violent actions. It is supported that by this way, public understanding towards the consequences of violence can be enhanced and public fear can be decreased. On the other hand, contagion theory stresses that free expression in the media can lead to the spreading of terrorism through providing a living space for terrorists' manipulations.

Another categorization in the literature of the media and terrorism is due to culpable and vulnerable media. They are parallel to the before mentioned approaches. The culpable media explain the role of the media in terrorism through awareness, interference, and contagion. It elaborates that the media can lead to more terrorism because they can provoke a terrorist organization's adversaries or motivate its partisans. In addition, they can restrict government authorities' interference against terrorist groups. Conversely, vulnerable media emphasizes that the media become a vehicle of terrorists unintentionally. It emphasizes that the media are not the source of terrorism but they can facilitate the success of it. Nevertheless, it suggests that the media can establish self-control in their mechanisms, which can even produce counter-propagandas because self-control will prevent the manipulation of the media.

The literature of the media and terrorism mostly focus on the amount of the news about terrorism that can either affect the spread or containment of terrorist events. This literature makes explanations about the roles of the media in terrorism due to their structural aspects. In the post-conflict environment studies, media's roles in conflicts are

extended by the inclusion of their positions in conflict resolution, management, and transformation. By this way, media's role in destructively managed conflicts is treated in a continuum; media's position in the emergence of a conflict, during a conflict and in the post-conflict environment. Nonetheless, problem-solving attitude of the media in the representation of terrorist events is another dimension, which needs to be researched. In the case of terrorism, the media cannot be a mediator due to the non-recognition of terrorists as a party to the conflict. However, the possibility of the media's use as a tool by some terrorist organizations in order to convey their messages cannot be neglected. Hence, there can be other options for the media to have a constructive role (media's constructive role derive from the possibility of their positive attitudes in their coverage of terrorism, which is defined with a problem-solving attitude.) in how it frames terrorist events.

Media is a necessary institution in combating with terrorism because it has the power to shape and orient public perceptions. At this point, having a problem-solving attitude in the frames used by the media can be an alternative in the prevention of the destructively managed conflicts. This assumption maintains the difference of my study from the others that is the print media can carry out a problem-solving attitude in their representation of terrorist incidents. Problem-solving attitude is examined in the framings of the print media by two main categories, which are problem recognition and management of affect/emotions constructively. In the problem-recognition part, aim is to emphasize how the print media frame terrorist events, what kinds of values they attach to these incidents. Additionally, in this category as a second step in problem recognition, print media's assessment of the problem's root causes will be explored. In the management of affect/emotions category, the research depends on if the print media try to reduce the negative effects of terrorist events either trough containing the destructiveness of terrorism or altering self-images and negative relations into positive ones in order to limit or prevent the spread of fear and bewilderment in their societies.

**CHAPTER 3. FINDINGS**

The analysis of the data has been undertaken in two steps;

1- Quantitative analysis, and

2- Qualitative analysis

The quantitative part is about the interest of the media in terrorist events. In this part, I will present the data on how frequently the Turkish print media covered the terrorist events. With this analysis, determining the interest of the Turkish print media in the bombings is not the sole aim. Another aim of this general count is to identify the population of the news covering the Istanbul bombings in order to lay the groundwork for the content analysis of these texts in search of a problem-solving attitude.

In the next part, I will discuss the analysis of the data according to the problem-solving codes I provided earlier. First, in this part problem-solving codes are quantified and presented in order to measure the problem-solving attitudes of the selected newspapers. However, this numerical representation will not emphasize whether or not the selected newspapers carry out a problem-solving attitude because how they represent the bombings is not covered by this analysis. This task will be undertaken in the qualitative analysis of the data. Finally, the interest of the Turkish print media in 15-20 November Istanbul bombings will be compared with the problem-solving attitude they reveal in their representation of the terrorist incidents.

**3.1. Interest of the Media**

In this part, attention of the media on 15-20 November Istanbul bombings will be assessed. Research period starts from 16.11.2003, which is the first date that the print media started to represent the terrorist events. End of the research period is when there is no news made about the terrorist events. End date of the research period varies in every newspaper because each newspaper's attention for terrorist events differs. In addition, the research period includes a year after the terrorist events. The aim is to explore how the print media frame the terrorist events in their first commemoration. The tables below indicate the interest of each newspaper in the terrorist bombings sequentially.

**Table 1. Interest of the Media in Terrorist Events**

**Table 1.a.**

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CUMHURİYET | | | | | |
| Date | News | Comment | Interview | Opinion editorial | Sum |
| 16.11.2003 | 16 | 4 | - | 1 | 21 |
| 17.11.2003 | 15 | 5 | - | 1 | 21 |
| 18.11.2003 | 14 | 10 | - | 1 | 25 |
| 19.11.2003 | 10 | 5 | - | 1 | 16 |
| 20.11.2003 | 13 | 5 | - | - | 18 |
| 21.11.2003 | 28 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 37 |
| 22.11.2003 | 31 | 16 | - | 4 | 51 |
| 23.11.2003 | 21 | 11 | 1 | - | 33 |
| 24.11.2003 | 10 | 12 | - | 2 | 24 |
| 25.11.2003 | 16 | 8 | - | - | 24 |
| 26.11.2003 | 20 | 13 | - | - | 33 |
| 27.11.2003 | 12 | 12 | 3 | 1 | 28 |
| 28.11.2003 | 10 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 22 |
| 29.11.2003 | 14 | 11 | - | 2 | 27 |
| 30.11.2003 | 7 | 5 | - | - | 12 |
| 01.12.2003 | 8 | 10 | - | - | 18 |
| 02.12.2003 | 16 | 10 | - | - | 26 |
| 03.12.2003 | 9 | 12 | - | - | 21 |
| 04.12.2003 | 16 | 11 | - | - | 27 |
| 05.12.2003 | 11 | 1 | 2 | - | 14 |
| 06.12.2003 | 7 | 6 | - | 1 | 14 |
| 07.12.2003 | 5 | 3 | - | - | 8 |
| 08.12.2003 | 4 | 2 | - | - | 6 |
| 09.12.2003 | 1 | 4 | - | - | 5 |
| 10.12.2003 | 4 | 1 | - | - | 5 |
| 11.12.2003 | 1 | 2 | - | - | 3 |
| 12.12.2003 | 4 | 1 | - | - | 5 |
| 13.12.2003 | 1 | 2 | - | - | 3 |
| 16.11.2004 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |

| 17.11.2004 | - | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| 21.11.2004 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| **Sum** | 326 | 199 | 8 | 17 | 550 |

The total of news in *Cumhuriyet* is 550. Its interest in the events continues approximately for a month. After 13.12.2003, *Cumhuriyet* published no news about terrorist events. It published 326 news, 199 comments, 8 interviews, and 17 opinion editorials. On 16.11.2003, in the first bombings, the numbers of news are 21. With the second bombings on November, 20th, the number of news increase to 37 on 21.11.2003. *Cumhuriyet* paid the most attention for the terrorist events on 22.11.2003 with the total number of 51 narratives. In 2004, *Cumhuriyet* published 3 narratives in total.

**Table 1.b.**

| Date | News | Comment | Interview | Opinion editorial | Sum |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | RADİKAL | | |
| 16.11.2003 | 19 | 3 | - | 2 | 24 |
| 17.11.2003 | 13 | 4 | - | - | 17 |
| 18.11.2003 | 13 | 8 | - | - | 21 |
| 19.11.2003 | 6 | 7 | - | - | 13 |
| 20.11.2003 | 2 | 3 | - | - | 5 |
| 21.11.2003 | 48 | 9 | - | 2 | 59 |
| 22.11.2003 | 37 | 14 | - | 1 | 52 |
| 23.11.2003 | 11 | 8 | - | - | 19 |
| 24.11.2003 | 10 | 9 | - | - | 19 |
| 25.11.2003 | 6 | 11 | - | - | 17 |
| 26.11.2003 | 6 | 6 | - | - | 12 |
| 27.11.2003 | 6 | 6 | 1 | - | 13 |
| 28.11.2003 | 7 | 11 | - | - | 18 |
| 29.11.2003 | 10 | 7 | - | - | 17 |
| 30.11.2003 | 9 | 6 | - | - | 15 |
| 01.12.2003 | 6 | 5 | - | - | 11 |
| 02.12.2003 | 15 | 8 | - | - | 23 |
| 03.12.2003 | 10 | 10 | - | - | 20 |
| 04.12.2003 | 8 | 7 | - | - | 15 |
| 05.12.2003 | 5 | 4 | - | - | 9 |
| 06.12.2003 | 3 | 4 | - | 1 | 8 |
| 07.12.2003 | 2 | 3 | - | - | 5 |
| 08.12.2003 | 1 | 2 | - | - | 3 |
| 09.12.2003 | 1 | 2 | - | - | 3 |
| 10.12.2003 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 16.11.2004 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 21.11.2004 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| **Sum** | 257 | 157 | 1 | 6 | 421 |

*Radikal* published 421 news about 15-20 November Istanbul bombings. It included 257 news, 157 comments, 1 interview, and 6 opinion editorials. Its interest on

the terrorist events ended on 10.12.2003. With the first bombings, *Radikal* published 24 narratives. While its interest on the terrorist events was decreasing (it published 5 narratives on 20.11.2003), with the second bombings its interest increased and it published news more than two times of the first bombings. On 21.11.2003, due to the second bombings on November, 20$^{th}$, the number of news increased to 59. November, 21$^{st}$ is also the date, in which *Radikal* paid the most attention to the terrorist incidents. In 2004, *Radikal* published 2 narratives about Istanbul November 2003 bombings.

**Table 1.c.**

| Date | News | Comment | Interview | Opinion editorial | Sum |
|------|------|---------|-----------|-------------------|-----|
| | | | | **HÜRRİYET** | |
| 16.11.2003 | 25 | 5 | - | - | 30 |
| 17.11.2003 | 27 | 3 | - | - | 30 |
| 18.11.2003 | 17 | 10 | 2 | - | 29 |
| 19.11.2003 | 17 | 10 | - | 2 | 29 |
| 20.11.2003 | 6 | 3 | - | - | 9 |
| 21.11.2003 | 48 | 14 | - | 2 | 64 |
| 22.11.2003 | 59 | 15 | 1 | 2 | 77 |
| 23.11.2003 | 30 | 12 | - | - | 42 |
| 24.11.2003 | 15 | 7 | - | - | 22 |
| 25.11.2003 | 17 | 5 | - | - | 22 |
| 26.11.2003 | 26 | 4 | - | - | 30 |
| 27.11.2003 | 20 | 5 | - | - | 25 |
| 28.11.2003 | 13 | 7 | - | - | 20 |
| 29.11.2003 | 16 | 3 | - | - | 19 |
| 30.11.2003 | 13 | 8 | - | - | 21 |
| 01.12.2003 | 16 | 3 | - | - | 19 |
| 02.12.2003 | 21 | 2 | - | - | 23 |
| 03.12.2003 | 14 | 3 | 1 | - | 18 |
| 04.12.2003 | 6 | 4 | - | 1 | 11 |
| 05.12.2003 | 4 | 3 | 1 | - | 8 |
| 06.12.2003 | 4 | 4 | - | - | 8 |
| 07.12.2003 | 3 | 3 | - | - | 6 |
| 08.12.2003 | 4 | - | - | - | 4 |
| 09.12.2003 | 3 | 3 | - | - | 6 |
| 10.12.2003 | 3 | 1 | - | - | 4 |
| 11.12.2003 | 4 | 1 | - | - | 5 |
| 16.11.2004 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 21.11.2004 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| **Sum** | 433 | 138 | 5 | 7 | 583 |

*Hürriyet* published 583 narratives, which composed of 433 news, 138 comments, 5 interviews, and 7 opinion editorials. Its interest on the terrorist incidents had continued until 11.12.2003. Due to the first bombings, *Hürriyet* represented 30 narratives. In the fifth date of the first bombings, when the second bombings were made, the interest of *Hürriyet* decreased to 9. With the second bombings, Hürriyet published news more than two times of the first bombings on 21.11.2003. It represented 64 narratives. The highest interest for the terrorist events was emphasized on 22.11.2003 with 77 narratives. In the commemoration of the terrorist events, *Hürriyet* published 2 narratives.

**Table 1.d.**

| Date | News | Comment | Interview | Opinion editorial | Sum |
|------|------|---------|-----------|-------------------|-----|
| 16.11.2003 | 16 | 7 | - | 1 | 24 |
| 17.11.2003 | 18 | 5 | - | - | 23 |
| 18.11.2003 | 17 | 5 | - | - | 22 |
| 19.11.2003 | 9 | 2 | - | - | 11 |
| 20.11.2003 | 8 | 3 | - | - | 11 |
| 21.11.2003 | 42 | 16 | - | 1 | 59 |
| 22.11.2003 | 37 | 4 | - | 2 | 43 |
| 23.11.2003 | 14 | 6 | 1 | - | 21 |
| 24.11.2003 | 14 | 10 | - | - | 24 |
| 25.11.2003 | 18 | 4 | - | - | 22 |
| 26.11.2003 | 18 | 4 | 1 | - | 23 |
| 27.11.2003 | 17 | 5 | - | - | 22 |
| 28.11.2003 | 12 | 7 | - | - | 19 |
| 29.11.2003 | 12 | 7 | - | - | 19 |
| 30.11.2003 | 13 | 4 | - | - | 17 |
| 01.12.2003 | 4 | 8 | - | - | 12 |
| 02.12.2003 | 17 | 4 | - | - | 21 |
| 03.12.2003 | 9 | 3 | - | - | 12 |
| 04.12.2003 | 11 | 4 | - | - | 15 |
| 05.12.2003 | 10 | 1 | - | 1 | 12 |
| 06.12.2003 | 4 | 4 | - | - | 8 |
| 07.12.2003 | 3 | 4 | - | - | 7 |
| 08.12.2003 | 1 | 5 | - | - | 6 |
| 09.12.2003 | 3 | 2 | - | - | 5 |
| 10.12.2003 | 3 | 1 | - | - | 4 |
| 11.12.2003 | 3 | 1 | - | - | 4 |
| 12.12.2003 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 13.12.2003 | 3 | 2 | - | - | 5 |
| 14.12.2003 | 4 | - | - | - | 4 |
| 15.12.2003 | 4 | 1 | - | - | 5 |
| 16.12.2003 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |

| 17.12.2003 | 2 | - | - | - | 2 |
| 18.12.2003 | 3 | - | - | - | 3 |
| 19.12.2003 | 2 | - | - | - | 2 |
| 20.12.2003 | 2 | 2 | - | - | 4 |
| 21.12.2003 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 22.12.2003 | 2 | 1 | - | - | 3 |
| 23.12.2003 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 24.12.2003 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 25.12.2003 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 26.12.2003 | 3 | - | - | - | 3 |
| 27.12.2003 | 3 | 1 | - | - | 4 |
| 28.12.2003 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 29.12.2003 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 16.11.2004 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 21.11.2004 | 2 | - | - | - | 2 |
| **Sum** | 369 | 134 | 2 | 5 | 510 |

*Zaman* published 510 narratives about Istanbul November 2003 bombings. Its interest on the terrorist events had continued more than a month. *Zaman* ceased to publish news about Istanbul bombings after 29.12.2003. The duration of *Zaman* is the longest when it is compared with the other newspapers. During this period, it had published 369 news, 134 comments, 2 interviews, and 5 opinion editorials. Due to the first bombings, it represented 24 narratives. With the second bombings, it published 59 narratives, which is more than two times of the first bombings. November, 21$^{st}$ is also the date when *Zaman* paid the most attention on Istanbul bombings. In 2004, it represented 3 narratives.

**Table 1.e.**

| Date | News | Comment | Interview | Opinion editorial | Sum |
|------|------|---------|-----------|-------------------|-----|
| | | | **VAKİT** | | |
| 16.11.2003 | 14 | 3 | - | 1 | 18 |
| 17.11.2003 | 12 | 6 | - | - | 18 |
| 18.11.2003 | 17 | 6 | - | - | 23 |
| 19.11.2003 | 9 | 8 | - | - | 17 |
| 20.11.2003 | 8 | 8 | 1 | - | 17 |
| 21.11.2003 | 12 | 8 | - | 1 | 21 |
| 22.11.2003 | 26 | 7 | 1 | - | 34 |
| 23.11.2003 | 19 | 7 | - | - | 26 |
| 24.11.2003 | 10 | 4 | - | - | 14 |
| 25.11.2003 | 10 | 3 | - | - | 13 |
| 26.11.2003 | 11 | 2 | - | - | 13 |
| 27.11.2003 | 12 | 3 | - | 1 | 16 |
| 28.11.2003 | 11 | 7 | - | 1 | 19 |
| 29.11.2003 | 9 | 3 | - | - | 12 |
| 30.11.2003 | 8 | 9 | - | - | 17 |
| 01.12.2003 | 9 | 8 | - | - | 17 |
| 02.12.2003 | 9 | 8 | - | - | 17 |
| 03.12.2003 | 4 | 5 | - | - | 9 |
| 04.12.2003 | 10 | 6 | - | - | 16 |
| 05.12.2003 | 8 | 7 | - | - | 15 |
| 06.12.2003 | 3 | 3 | - | - | 6 |
| 07.12.2003 | - | - | - | - | - |
| 08.12.2003 | 2 | 1 | - | - | 3 |
| 16.11.2004 | 1 | - | - | - | 1 |
| 21.11.2004 | - | - | - | - | - |
| **Sum** | 234 | 122 | 2 | 4 | 362 |

In total, *Vakit* published 362 narratives about Istanbul November 2003 bombings. Its interest on the terrorist events had continued less than a month. According to the other newspapers, *Vakit* paid the least attention on Istanbul November 2003 bombings

both numerically and in duration. After 08.12.2003, *Vakit* represented no news about the terrorist events. Due to the first bombings, it published 18 narratives. With the second bombings, it represented 21 narratives on 21.11.2003. When it is compared with the other newspapers, it is observed that *Vakit* is the only newspaper, which did not increase its narratives due to the second bombings. *Radikal, Hürriyet,* and *Zaman* published narratives about the second bombings more than two times of the first bombings. Even though, *Cumhuriyet* did not multiply its representation of narratives due to the second bombings, its interest increased from 21 to 37, which is higher than *Vakit*, as well. *Vakit* increased 3 narratives with the second bombings. It paid the highest attention on the terrorist events on 22.11.2003 with 34 narratives. After a year of the terrorist incidents, in commemoration, *Vakit* represented one narrative.

Graphic 2 below summarizes the intensity of the Turkish print media's interests in Istanbul November 2003 bombings. *Hürriyet* published the most narratives with 583. *Cumhuriyet* is at the second place with 550 narratives. *Vakit* represented the least narratives with 362.
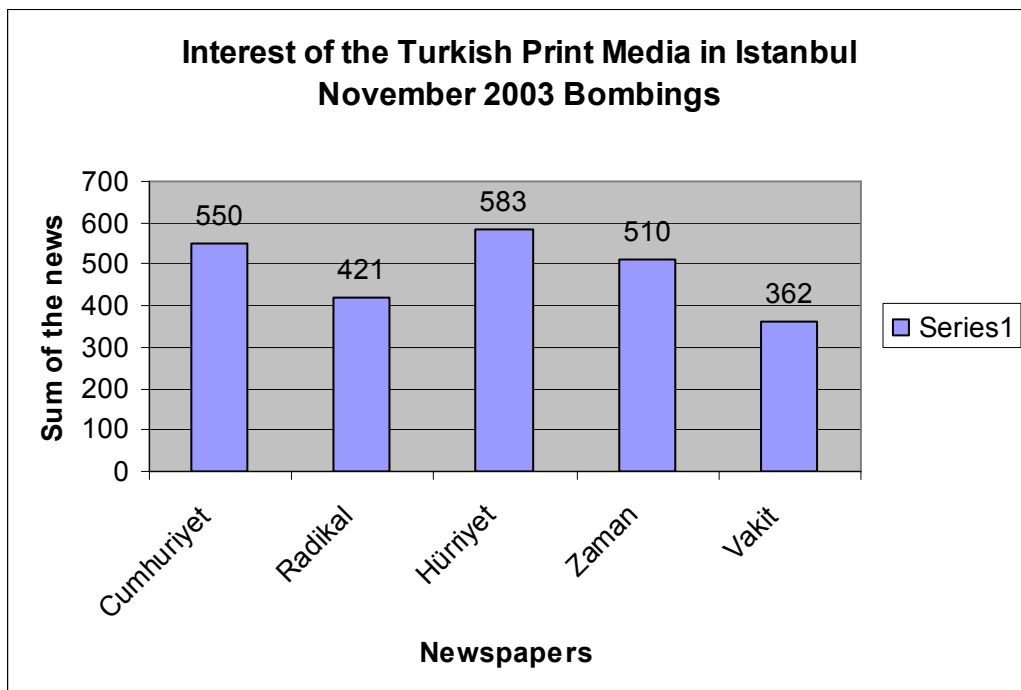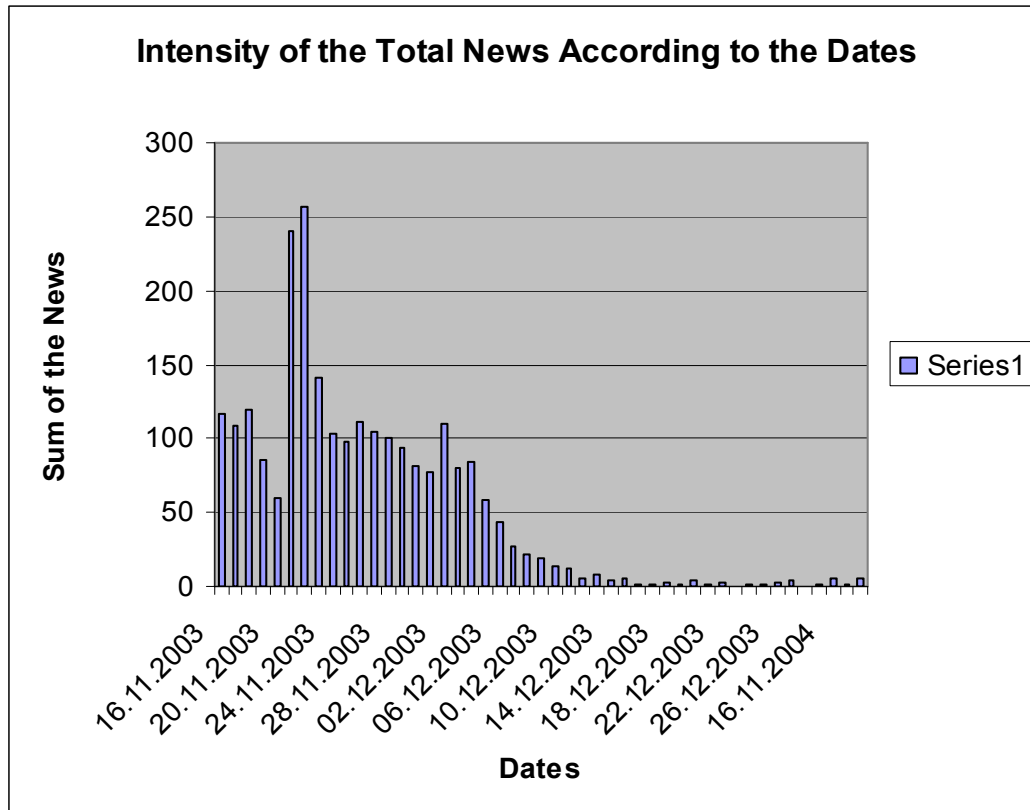
**Graphic 2**

**Table 2. The Distribution of the Narratives According to the Newspapers**

| Newspapers | News | Comment | Opinion editorial and Interview | Sum |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cumhuriyet | 326-20.12% | 199-26.56% | 25-43.85% | 550-22.67% |
| Radikal | 257-15.86% | 157-20.96% | 7-12.28% | 421-17.35% |
| Hürriyet | 433-26.72% | 138-18.42% | 12-21.05% | 583-24.03% |
| Zaman | 370-22.83% | 133-17.75% | 7-12.28% | 510-21.02% |
| Vakit | 234-14.44% | 122-16.28% | 6-10.52% | 362-14.92% |
| **Sum** | 1620 | 749 | 57 | 2426 |

Table 2 indicates the distributions of the narratives according to the newspapers in percentage. There are three categories, which are news, comment, and opinion editorial and interview. Opinion, editorial, and interview categories are represented together because they had not been used as much as the other categories in the coverage of Istanbul bombings. Therefore, they are counted together. The aim is to measure the interest of the selected newspapers with the frequency of their representation of the terrorist incidents. In this way, 'problem-solving attitude' data will be determined, as well. In this table, total of the narratives is 2426. The most part of the total of narratives belong to the news category with 1620 news. In addition, news category in each newspaper has the highest intensity when it is compared with the comment, opinion editorial, and interview categories. *Hürriyet* represents the highest percentage in the news category. In the comment part, *Cumhuriyet* represents the highest intensity with 199 comments. The highest percentage in the interview and opinion editorial parts also belongs to *Cumhuriyet*. The sum of *Radikal's*, *Zaman's*, and *Vakit's*

interview and opinion editorial sections is less than *Cumhuriyet's* interview and opinion editorial sections.

**Graphic 3**



Graphic 3 emphasizes the interest circulation of the selected newspapers in 15-20 November Istanbul bombings according to the dates. This chart starts from the day that the Turkish print media first covered the bombings in Istanbul and continued until the day no narratives about Istanbul bombings were represented. Determining the interest circulation of the selected newspapers provides whether the Turkish print media give accurate information in their coverage of the terrorist events. In a problem-solving attitude, apart from the structure of the narratives, their representation duration plays a crucial role. The period of media coverage indicates how frequently information is represented. Intensity in the coverage of terrorist events can also affect the perceptions of the people. For example, long duration in the coverage of terrorist incidents with the use of same information can result in repetition, which can increase the vulnerability of a society psychologically, or make people insensitive to the events, or short duration with inaccurate information can confuse the readers.

With the first bombings, *Hürriyet* represented the highest number of narratives with 30. *Radikal* and *Zaman* published 24 narratives. Numbers of the narratives in

*Cumhuriyet* and *Vakit* are 21 and 18 respectively. In the fifth date of the first bombings, there is a decrease in the overall narratives. On November, 20th, the noticeable decline in the narratives increases approximately to 250 on 21.11.2003 with the second bombings, which were made on 20.11.2003. Except *Vakit*, in *Radikal*, *Hürriyet*, and *Zaman* the number of narratives in the second bombings raised more than two times than the narratives in the first bombings. There is also an increase in the number of *Cumhuriyet's* narratives from 21 to 37. It is observable that after the second bombings, interest of the Turkish print media in Istanbul bombings increased when it is compared with the first bombings. Turkish print media indicated its bewilderment not only with their narratives but also with their noticeable increase in their coverage. Their interest in the coverage of the first bombings continued approximately five days. However, due to the second bombings, their representation duration increased according to the first bombings. For example, the coverage of *Zaman* continued more than a month. In general sense, second bombings rose the interest duration of the selected newspapers. Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that second bombings were made when there was a noticeable decrease in the interest of the print media.

## 3.2. Perception and Representation of the Turkish Print Media's 15-20 November Istanbul Bombings from a Problem-solving Perspective

In this part, according to the problem-solving definition of this research, data will be categorized for each selected newspaper. The problem-solving definition is composed of two main parts. The first part is problem recognition and the second part is the management of affect/emotions constructively. Problem recognition includes two main sections, which are problem framing and assessment of the problem's root causes. Problem-framing section is divided into four categories, which are terrorist events, terrorists and terrorist groups, victims, and targeted place. Assessment of the problem's root causes section is composed of two categories, which are targets and reasons.

Problem recognition indicates how a problem is identified. In this research, problem recognition deals with how the Turkish print media define Istanbul November 2003 bombings. Under this category, I will analyze value framings of the print media. The analysis of the value framings will be made through identifying how the selected newspapers represent Istanbul bombings such as how they define the responsible ones or what kind of narratives they use for the identification of the victims. Therefore, in problem recognition part, under the problem framing category; terrorist events, terrorists and terrorist groups, victims, and targeted places will be analyzed. For

example, in the terrorist events subcategory, how the print media frame the terrorist events will be addressed. In the terrorists and terrorist group subcategory, as who the print media demonstrate the responsible will be emphasized.

The second part under the problem framing category is the assessment of the problem's root causes. Under the subcategories of targets and reasons, this part will indicate how the print media explain the reasons, motivations, and aims of terrorists. For example, this part will emphasize who the targets were according to the perceptions of the Turkish print media.

The second category of the problem-solving definition is the management of affect/emotions constructively. In this part, the research aims to demonstrate how the Turkish print media manage and transform the terrorist events. For instance, if the print media reduce or try to control the destructive effects of terrorism on public mood through its framings will be researched. In addition, if the print media transform destructive aspects of terrorism into constructive ones through altering self-images, relationships and negative emotional outbursts will be scrutinized.

This research explores whether a problem-solving attitude exists in the Turkish print media. For this purpose, the problem-solving attitude has been defined and coded as follows:
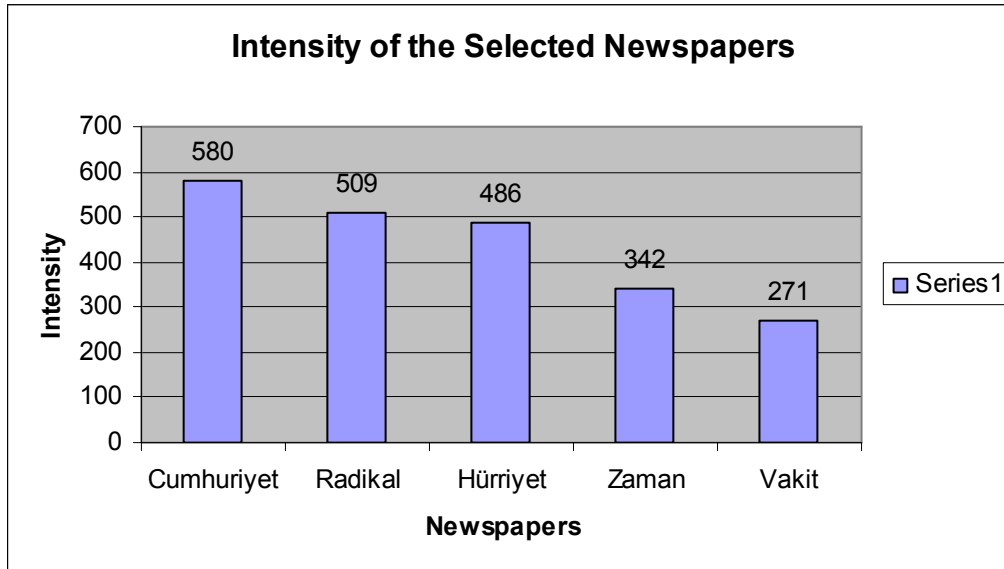
1. Problem Recognition
    a. Problem Framing
        a.1. Terrorist Events
        a.2. Terrorists and Terrorist Groups
        a.3. Victims
        a.4. Targeted Places
    b. Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes
        b.1. Targets
        b.2. Reasons
2. Management of affect/emotions constructively

The analysis of the problem-solving attitude of the Turkish print media is made in two steps. First, newspapers are analyzed for their content quantitatively according to the categories related to the problem-solving definition. Second, the content of the newspapers are scrutinized qualitatively in order to analyze the nature and quality of each problem-solving category coded. In Table 3 and Graphic 4, the frequency for each

selected newspaper is listed based on the categories of problem-solving which I have defined in Chapter 2, under 2.3. subheading, in page 20.

**3.2.a. Analysis of the Narratives According to the Intensity of the Categories Relevant to Problem-Solving**

**Graphic 4**

**Intensity of the Selected Newspapers**

| Newspaper | Intensity |
|-----------|-----------|
| Cumhuriyet | 580 |
| Radikal | 509 |
| Hürriyet | 486 |
| Zaman | 342 |
| Vakit | 271 |

Series1

Graphic 4 illustrates the overall frequencies of the categories related to problem-solving definition in the selected newspapers. This numerical representation indicates the number of narratives that fit into the problem-solving definition. That is why this graphic does not demonstrate the intensity of the newspapers' problem-solving attitudes. This graphic emphasizes that there are suitable narratives for the problem-solving definition but whether they are constructive or not will be determined due to their representation ways. According to the numbers, *Cumhuriyet* has the highest and *Vakit* has the lowest overall intensity in categories related to the problem-solving definition. In other words, with its 580 narratives that is appropriate with the problem-solving definition, *Cumhuriyet* is at the first place while, Vakit is at the last place with its 271 narratives. When the frequencies of the categories related to problem-solving are compared with the frequencies of the newspaper reports on the bombings, it is seen that the newspapers' ranking changes. While *Hürriyet* is at the first place with its highest interest in the coverage of terrorist events, *Cumhuriyet* becomes the first with its high intensity in the narratives, which suit the problem-solving definition. However, *Vakit* which is at the last place in the distribution of the narratives is again at the last with its 271 problem-solving narratives. *Radikal* is at the second place with its 509 problem-solving related narratives in spite of its low intensity in the distribution of the general narratives about

the bombings (it is at the fourth place in the distribution of the general narratives about Istanbul November 2003 bombings). When *Radikal* and *Zaman* are compared, the situation in *Radikal* becomes reversed. Zaman is at the third place in the distribution of the narratives. However, it comes at the fourth place with 342 problem-solving narratives.

Table 3 indicates the intensities of each problem-solving definition's category. The aim is to indicate how the selected newspapers carry out a problem-solving attitude. For instance, while representing terrorist events whether they focus on the definition of the terrorist events, identification of the terrorists, or assessment of the problem's root causes.

**Table 3. Categories and their Intensities**

| Category | Intensity | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cumhuriyet | Radikal | Hürriyet | Zaman | Vakit |
| 1. Problem Recognition[1] | 525 | 422 | 371 | 226 | 216 |
| a. Problem Framing[2] | 375 | 278 | 286 | 144 | 132 |
| a.1. Terrorist Events | 150 | 84 | 83 | 31 | 32 |
| a.2. Terrorists and Terrorist Groups | 144 | 92 | 109 | 51 | 48 |
| a.3. Victims | 54 | 81 | 74 | 47 | 37 |
| a.4. Targeted Place | 27 | 21 | 20 | 15 | 15 |
| b. Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes[3] | 150 | 144 | 85 | 99 | 84 |
| b.1. Targets | 35 | 52 | 48 | 48 | 30 |
| b.2. Reasons | 115 | 92 | 37 | 51 | 54 |
| 2. Management of affect/emotions constructively | 55 | 87 | 115 | 99 | 55 |
| **Sum[4]** | **580** | **509** | **486** | **342** | **271** |

When the categories are analyzed one by one, we see that *Cumhuriyet* is again at the first place under the problem framing category. *Hürriyet* takes the place of *Radikal* and comes at the second place with its 286 problem framing narratives. *Hürriyet* and *Radikal* have close intensities. The same type of familiarity exists for *Zaman* and *Vakit*, as well. This proximity can be also observed under the terrorist events subcategory. While *Radikal* and *Hürriyet* have 84 and 83 narratives about terrorist events respectively, *Zaman* and *Vakit* have 31 and 32 narratives correspondingly.

Under the terrorists and terrorist groups subcategory *Cumhuriyet* is again at the first place. Only, *Hürriyet* and *Radikal* change places because *Hürriyet* represented 109 narratives, while *Radikal* represented 92 narratives about the terrorists and terrorist groups. *Zaman* and *Vakit* have very close intensities, which are 51 and 48, respectively. Under the victims subcategory *Radikal* represented the highest number of narratives about the victims with 81. After *Radikal*, *Hürriyet* and *Cumhuriyet* come with 74 and 54 narratives about the victims. *Zaman* framed 47 narratives, while *Vakit* represented 37 narratives about the victims. All the selected newspapers have close intensities under the targeted place subcategory.

The second part under the problem recognition category is the assessment of the problem's root causes. In this part, except *Hürriyet* and *Zaman*, the other newspapers keep their positions as in the overall intensity. *Zaman* becomes the third with its 99 narratives, while *Hürriyet* becomes the fourth with 85 narratives about the assessment of the problem's root causes. In addition, the intensity of *Vakit* is very close to *Hürriyet's* with 84 narratives. Under this category, there are two other sections, which are targets and reasons. *Radikal* framed the highest number of narratives about the targets with 52, while *Hürriyet* and *Zaman* represented the same amount with 48 narratives. On the other hand, *Cumhuriyet* and *Vakit* framed 35 and 30 narratives about the targets, respectively. *Cumhuriyet* is at the first place in the distributions of the narratives about reasons with 115. *Radikal* follows *Cumhuriyet* with 92 narratives. *Vakit* becomes the third with 54 narratives about the reasons and *Zaman*

pursues it with 51 narratives. Under this section *Hürriyet* is the last one with 37 narratives about the reasons. Furthermore, under this section, there is the highest gap between the first and the last newspapers. (*Cumhuriyet* is the first with 115 narratives and *Hürriyet* is the last with 37 narratives).

The second main category is the management of affect/emotions constructively. *Hürriyet* represented 115 narratives about this category and it is at the first place. *Zaman* and *Radikal* framed 99 and 87 narratives, respectively, while *Cumhuriyet* and *Vakit* represented the same amount with 55 narratives. 'Assessment of the problem's root causes' and 'the management of affect/emotions constructively' categories are the ones in which print media can have the possibility to represent constructive attitudes more. When the selected newspapers are compared on the basis of these two categories, it is realized that there is a huge difference in their representation numerically. For example, while *Cumhuriyet* represents 150 narratives in the assessment of the problem's root causes, it covers 55 narratives under management of affect/emotions constructively category. Such kind of a situation is valid for *Radikal* (Assessment of the problem's root causes: 144, management of affect/emotions constructively: 87) and *Vakit* (Assessment of the problem's root causes: 84, management of affect/emotions constructively: 55). *Zaman* is the only newspaper, which covers the same amount under assessment of the problem's root causes and management of affect/emotions constructively categories. (In the both categories, it represents 99 narratives.)

### 3.2.b. Analysis of the Problem-Solving Narratives of the Selected Newspapers

In the previous section the aim of listing the frequencies of problem-solving categories was to show a general distribution of the categories in the Turkish print media. The numerical representation demonstrates that there are narratives that suit the problem-solving definition of this research. At the same time, this part covers which newspapers concentrate on which categories of the problem-solving definition. However, this numerical representation does not address whether the Turkish print media have a constructive problem-solving attitude or not. For instance, in the problem-solving definition of this research, under the problem recognition category, there is the problem framing part. Under this section, every newspaper frames terrorist events, terrorists and terrorist groups, victims and targeted places differently. The frequencies I have listed in the previous section do not say much about the quality of the reporting regarding these categories. It does not necessarily mean that the coded document offers a constructive attitude. For example, while *Cumhuriyet* defines Istanbul bombings as "Islamist terrorism", *Vakit* identifies these terrorist events as the "work of the Western world". Since one of the crucial subjects in this research is how Turkish print media frame

conflicts. So, in the next section, the nature and the quality of the constructive attitudes of the Turkish print media will be examined.

**3.2.b.1** *Cumhuriyet*

**Terrorist Events**

*Cumhuriyet* as the representative of the leftist ideology strongly defines terrorist events as "Islamist terrorism". During the representation of the terrorist events, the definition of "Islamist terrorism" is used 31 times. When this frequency is compared with the other newspapers' frequencies as *Radikal* ("Islamist terrorism" is used 10 times) and *Hürriyet* ("Islamist terrorism" is used 14 times), which support the same definition, it is observable that *Cumhuriyet* is the one that strongly describes Istanbul bombings as "Islamist terrorism". Apart from the definition of the "Islamist terror," *Cumhuriyet* uses "fundamentalist/religious terror", "the Sheri'a terror", "radical Islamist rooted terror" and "global bin Laden terror" definitions. *Cumhuriyet* also frames terrorist events as "Turkey's September 11". In addition, "brutality", "horror", "wildness", "blindness" and "atrocity" are the concepts through which *Cumhuriyet* tries to define the dimension of the terrorist events.

**Terrorists and Terrorist Groups**

The responsible terrorist organization is defined as "Al Qaeda" and its related organizations such as "Ebu Hafiz El Masri Brigades", and "Beyiat-El Imam". In addition, *Cumhuriyet* emphasizes "Hezbollah" and "IBDA/C" as the subcontractors of "Al Qaeda". These terrorist groups are defined as "radical Islamist", "Muslim" and "fundamentalist terrorists". "Afghanistan", "Iran" and "Palestine" are implied as the connected countries to the bombings. "CIA" and "MOSSAD" are also denoted as related to terrorist organizations. Apart from the definition of the terrorist groups, there are narratives about the bombers. Especially the biographies of the bombers are introduced such as where they are from, which religion they believe, how old they are, how and where they planned the attacks. This information is in detail. For instance, *Cumhuriyet* implies that the suicide bombers motivated themselves with "Martyr Album", which includes the biographies of September 11 suicide bombers. Regularly, the numbers of the arrested ones are given. "Pakistan", "Syria", and "Iran" are represented as the "home" of the bombers. A relation between the terrorist groups and Justice and Development Party is established. For example, *Cumhuriyet* supports the idea that "the election of Justice and Development Party makes Turkey suitable to be a front line for terrorism with unsuccessful governance of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and his party's mistakes in its foreign and domestic politics".

**Victims**

Narratives about the victims define them as the "bewildered", "anxious", "in panic", and "sorrowful". Numerical information about the casualties and wounded are given, regularly. Especially, the witnesses' expressions are highlighted. For instance, a witness told about two crumbled corpses which were holding each other. Also, this witness's assumption about the identities of the victims is stressed. According to him, these corpses belonged to a mother and her daughter. The death ways of the victims are emphasized in detail. For instance, one of the headings of a narrative is "the death coming with stone storm." Another vital point in the narratives about the victims is stress on their innocence. It is highlighted that the victims were the people who were going to his/her work, walking on the street, and so on.

**Targeted Places**

The last section under the problem framing category is the targeted places. In this part, *Cumhuriyet* expresses the targeted place as "Istanbul", "its streets", "its synagogues", "its buildings" and so on. It defines the targeted places with various adjectives such as "battle field", "ghost city", and "silent streets". In addition, it expresses that historical buildings are damaged and will be demolished. On the other hand, there are some narratives, which represent that life in the targeted places was turning into normal. However, when the numbers of these last narratives are compared with the former ones, it is observed that negative descriptions about the targeted places are higher than the positive ones.

**Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes**

Under the assessment of the problem's root causes, *Cumhuriyet* identifies the targets as "Turkey-Israeli relations", "Turkey; its peace, stability, policies, tranquility, secularity, and democracy". On the other hand, "Jews", "Masons", "Israel", "Britain, British people, British consul Roger Short", "and the U.S.", "civilized nations", "freedom" and "peace environment" are emphasized as the other targets. As reasons, "American policies" such as its "intervention in Iraq", "gap between the first and third world", "Israel's policies", "racist and religious discrimination", "domination on Muslims", "imperialism", and "the European Union policies" are expressed. Reasons that make Turkey a target for terrorism are implied as its "loose government policies against terrorism", "unstable foreign policies", "alliance with the West", "national position in Cyprus", "domestic problems", "the protection of the religious terrorists by the governors", and "religious education". In addition, *Cumhuriyet* expresses that Turkey is a "model country with its Muslim populated, Islamist government's secular governance" and this case is perceived as a threat by the terrorists. Another vital reasoning for the attacks against Turkey is emphasized as "Turkey's rich reserves and environmental

resources". *Cumhuriyet* identifies the aims of the bombings as to "estrange Jews from Europe", "to justify American and Israeli offensive policies", "to destroy British peace", "to push Turkey into the American struggle with terrorism", "to divide Turkey and make it unstable" and "to prevent its inclusion into the European Union's social, economic, and political system".

**Management of Affect/Emotions Constructively**

Under the management of affect/emotions constructively category, the messages of the local and foreign politicians, religious leaders, citizens, civil societies and some associations such as Touristic Hotels and Investors are expressed. In general, these messages denote that the terrorist events cannot damage the "tranquility, peace, stability, and democracy in Turkey", "the government has the enough power to overcome every kind of conflicts with its nation" and "Turkey will not change its policies because of the bombings".

In the messages of the foreign politicians, the importance of the "international collaboration", "Turkey's significance for Europe's security", "Turkey's role in the reconciliation between Islam and democracy", "need for Turkey's membership in the E.U." are expressed. In addition, in this part, there are positive comments of the journalists and constructive narratives that transform the negative atmosphere into positive one. For example, in the news, it is emphasized that "there is no cancellation in the hotels due to terrorist events", "Turkey is still the number one for Israeli terrorists" or in another one, it is indicated that "government will provide social aid for the victims".

*Cumhuriyet* does not only try to transform the negative atmosphere into positive one through conveying the optimistic messages of foreign or domestic politicians but also it formulates constructive messages by itself. *Cumhuriyet* stresses that "bombings led to closer relations between Turkey and the West, U.S., and Israel". Furthermore, with the emphasis on Turkey's experiences on terrorism, *Cumhuriyet* supports the idea that it will be easier for Turkey to overcome these pessimistic days. Additionally, it tries to attract the attention of the people to Turkey's positive aspects in the world such as its "indiscriminative structure in race, religion, and language", which "makes Turkey a target for terrorists". In this way, *Cumhuriyet* attempts to emphasize the necessity for the preservation of "Turkey's cultural mosaic", and "being united against terrorism". All these narratives are attempts for boosting morale of the people and restoring the feeling of normality, managing conflict and decreasing the destructiveness of it through giving positive messages. As a result, pessimism in the society can be transformed and chaos can be prevented. For instance, in one of the narratives it is highlighted that "government has enough power to overcome every kind of problems".

Hence, society's loss of confidence towards its government can be prevented. In another one, it is indicated that "there is not a crisis mood in Istanbul", which transform the destructive aspects of terrorist events into constructive ones through altering the existing situation. Apart from these, emphasis on "Turkey's positive orientation towards the E.U.", "developing Turkish-Syrian relations due to the combat against terrorism" also establish constructive attitudes through changing the self-images and relations.

**3.2.b.2** *Radikal*

**Terrorist Events**

     *Radikal* defines terrorist events as "Islamist terrorism" (this definition is used 10 times) as *Cumhuriyet* does. It highlights the religious aspects of the terrorist events. *Radikal* represents the terrorist events especially as a war such as "war of religions", "war of Qaeda" or "the greatest war of 21st century". As in *Cumhuriyet*, terrorist events are defined as "Turkey's September 11". In addition, *Radikal* frames them as "Istanbul's and Islam's September 11". *Radikal* assesses terrorist events as "fatal", "nihilist", "crime", "wild", "catastrophe", "cursed", "wicked", "loathsome", "cutthroat", and "treacherous" and so on. It demonstrates them as "painful and bloody truths".

**Terrorists and Terrorist Groups**

     Under terrorists and terrorist groups section, terrorist groups are implied as "Al Qaeda", "Martyr Ebu Hafiz El Masri Brigades", "Bey'at El Imam", and "Hezbollah", "IBDA/C", and "Tevhid organization". *Radikal* evaluates them as "radical religious", "fanatic", and "bloodthirsty militants". It points out that terrorist groups have "connections with Palestine, Afghanistan, and Syria". It identifies terrorist groups as "foreign sourced", "local supported" and emphasizes that "subcontractors are Turks". Narratives about the terrorists demonstrate the names of the bombers, their ages and nationalities. *Radikal* defines the bombers as "ethnic Kurds who share Al Qaeda's ideology" and who are from "Kurdish villages of poor Bingöl city". In addition, it gives information about how many terrorists are arrested.

**Victims**

     Narratives about the victims include information about casualties, and wounded individuals. *Radikal* gives information about the identities and biographies of the victims and experiences of the witnesses. The innocence of the victims is expressed such as "What was the guilt of the one who was walking in the street?" If the victims are young, their ages are emphasized such as "Hasan Özsoy and his 13 years old son Hamza Özsoy were injured." The experiences of the victims are defined as "catastrophe" and *Radikal* expresses this case with narratives such as "from the sky, pieces fell", "Ahmet and pregnant Berta dispersed to

different places with the effect of explosions", "Sabri Eruş recognized his son's corpse from his cigarette". *Radikal* also represents the experiences of the witnesses. For instance, Şişli Etfal Hospital's director of ambulances said that "they strained from collecting the corpses".

**Targeted Places**

Radikal identifies the targeted places as "battle fields". It expresses the effect of explosions such as they led to one meter cavity. *Radikal* gives numerical information about the damaged buildings. Apart from these, it represents the targeted places through the narratives such as "Life stopped in Şişli", "17 years after, the same day, same hour", "Street was full of burned and smashed corpses" and so on.

**Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes**

Under the assessment of the problem's root causes part; *Radikal* identifies targets as "Israel", "Britain", "NATO alliances", "American-British relations", "Jews", "Islam", "the free world", and "democracy" and so on. It also represents "Turkey, its tranquility, stability, tolerance, and democracy" as a target. *Radikal* emphasizes reasons for the terrorist attacks as "hatred against Israel", "Israeli and American offensive policies", "some states' support for terrorism", and "Turkish Jews" aim to establish a control power on Turkey", "the use of religion as a political tool", "injustice" and "economic underdevelopment".

**Management of Affect/Emotions Constructively**

In the management of affect/emotions constructively category, *Radikal* points out the messages of the foreign and local politicians, which represent positive attitudes such as "Turkey will never give up from modern democracy, economic development and the E.U. target." Economy and tourism are two fields, which are assessed constructively. For instance, "They cannot decay economy", "we have a greater chance to be economically stronger", or "In spite of some states' warnings about not coming to Turkey, this will not affect Turkish tourism negatively." *Radikal* tries to contain the destructive effects of terrorism through framings such as "When I visited the bombed places, I realized that people had already got over bewilderment. Terror does not lead to decadence in the society." Moreover, it tries to transform the destructive aspects of terrorism into constructive ones through narratives such as "Terrorists failed because they reinforced our solidarity." In some news, *Radikal* stresses the economic and psychological assistance for the public. In this way, people are informed about the options to recover the negative effects of terrorism.

**3.2.b.3 *Hürriyet***

**Terrorist Events**

*Hürriyet* frames terrorist events as "Islamist terrorism" (this description is used 14 times) as *Cumhuriyet* and *Radikal* do. It represents terrorist events as a "war". Another common framing with *Cumhuriyet* and *Radikal* is "Turkey's September 11". Apart from these, *Hürriyet* represents terrorist events as "death spreading", "brutal", "atrocity", "horror", "loathsome", and "blind attacks". It frames terrorist events as a "global threat" and evaluates them as a "tragedy". An interesting framing is the description of Istanbul bombings' nationalities as "Turkish and Arabic".

**Terrorists and Terrorist Groups**

As the responsible terrorist groups, *Hürriyet* identifies "IBDA/C", "Al Qaeda", "Ensar El Islam", "Ebu Hafiz El Masri Brigades Mücahitleri", "Hezbollah", "PKK (Kurdish Workers' Party)" and "Imamlar Birliği". It defines them as "Islamist labeled nihilists", "bloodthirsty perpetrators", and "radical Islamists". Information about the bombers includes their detailed biographies. For example, the last read book of one of the bombers, Kamasutra (art of making love), is emphasized. Bombers are named as "infidels", "locals", "Turks" and "Muslims". In one of the news, *Hürriyet* defines suicide bombers as the "Middle Eastern" due to their skin colors.

**Victims**

Framings of the victims include information about the casualties, and wounded individuals. In addition, biographies of the victims are stressed such as "He was going to marry three months later." In one of the narratives, identification of the casualties is expressed as "The identities of 20 casualties are started to be determined. So many organs such as arms, legs, and eye are brought." One of the victim's uprisings is represented as "I cried because of not being dead." *Hürriyet* frames all the victims as Turkish citizens. In one of the news, *Hürriyet* indicates a funeral, which was represented by three different religions and through common prays. The experiences of the witnesses are stressed through framings such as "Hand, arm, head pieces spread to the ground.", "It was such an earthquake." Furthermore, *Hürriyet* tries to express the innocence of the victims through the framings such as "The guilty of these people was passing from there.", "She was going to change her children's festive" or "All of the victims ended their hopeful days with the darkness of a bomb, which can also happen to our friends and relatives."

**Targeted Places**

Under the targeted places subcategory, information about the damaged buildings is given. The quality of the bombarded places is highlighted as "the places we pass on everyday". One of the targeted places is defined as "bombarded from the sky". *Hürriyet* also represents the cleaning works in the attacked places. For example, "HSBC Bank's street was cleaned by 20 thousand water and Arabic soap."

**Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes**

*Hürriyet* assesses the targets as "peace", "stability", "humanity", "civilized world", "Israel", "the U.S.", "Muslim countries", and "Britain", "Turkey; its secularity, democracy, and tranquility". *Hürriyet* identifies the reasons for the attacks as "U.S.'s anti-terror, and foreign policies". In addition, "Turkey's success against terrorism", "its close relations with Israel", "Middle Eastern politics", and "cooperation with the U.S.", "government's Islamic policies", "poverty", "Quaran courses", and "head-scarf conflict" in Turkey are represented as the other reasons.

**Management of Affect/Emotions Constructively**

In the management of affect/emotions constructively category, *Hürriyet* tries to reduce the destructive effects of terrorist events to constructive ones through framings such as "we will not let them to destroy our tranquility", "we are recovering our injuries", "Turkey should not be afraid of such threats. It should concentrate its energy on conflict prevention mechanisms." In addition, *Hürriyet* tires to transform negative effects of the bombings into positive ones through the representation of "Bombs with 500 kilo weight increased our attachment to each other", "Verheugen: Attacks make Turkey closer to the European Union.", "Belgian tourists do not return from Turkey." In most of the narratives, *Hürriyet* expresses "the positive developments in Turkey's relations with the European Union", "the U.S., and Israel", "its economy and tourism which are not affected negatively by the terrorist events". Even though, *Hürriyet* defines terrorist events as "Islamist terrorism", in this part, it represents Islam as a "tolerant, peaceful, and reconciling religion that orders fraternity, solidarity and peace". Moreover, *Hürriyet* stresses "religious festivity as an opportunity to recover the injuries and to maintain hope and happiness".

**3.2.b.4 *Zaman***

**Terrorist Events**

*Zaman* frames terrorist events as a "war", "horror", "massacre", "an atrocity", "a brutality", "despicableness", "baseness" and "deceit". As the former newspapers, it represents terrorist events as "Turkey's September 11". *Zaman* expresses that suicide attacks carry

religious aspects. However, as *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, and *Hürriyet*, it does not represent terrorist events as "Islamist terrorism".

**Terrorists and Terrorist Groups**

*Zaman* identifies the terrorist groups as "Al Qaeda", "Ebu Hafiz El Masri Brigades", and "Hezbollah". When it is compared with the former ones, *Zaman* puts more emphasis on the bombers instead of predictions about the possible terrorist organizations. It gives detailed information about who hit where. In addition, the ideas of the bombers' families are represented. For instance, the father of a bomber said that "I wish my son would not die in that way. I could not believe that how he could do these bombings. We are respectful to our nation, government, flag, and Quaran. Please let me to meet the head of rabbi to apologize and to wish condolence." Sources of the attacks are identified as "local and foreign". In another narrative, *Zaman* emphasizes that attacks are not from an organization but they are from a state. It emphasizes that attacks are "Afghanistan connected".

**Victims**

Under the subcategory of victims, information about the casualties and wounded persons is given. Most of the victims' framings tell about whom the victims are, how they died or what happened to them due to explosions. For example, "Little Hamza's arm detached, while he was going to buy festive", "Ahmet Özdoğan and his five months pregnant Jewish wife Berta were buried", "While he was shaving, the building collapsed on him.", "Most of the wounded individuals do not remember their names."

**Targeted Places**

*Zaman* represents the targeted places as "the busiest neighborhoods of Istanbul", and it frames the effect of explosions turned these places into a "battle field". In one of the news, it expresses that as Neve Şalom Synagogue, Şahsuvar Mosque was also damaged. In this way, *Zaman* emphasizes that attacks targeted and damaged everywhere. In addition, *Zaman* also gives information about the targeted places after the bombings. For example, "The attacked Beth Israel Synagogue will be opened to service tomorrow", or "After the attacks, the first ritual was made in Beth Israel Synagogue."

**Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes**

In the assessment of the problem's root causes, *Zaman* represents targets as the "tranquility", "humanity", "stability", "free nations", "Jews", "Muslims", "the U.S.", "Israel", "Britain", "Turkey and its values, social peace, democracy, economy and tourism". Under the reasons section, *Zaman* frames the general reasons as "the exploitation of the benefits of globalization", "American, European and Israeli policies", "unemployment",

"discrimination", "conflicts in the Middle East", and "gap between the first and third world". It also implies reasons about Turkey such as "Turkey's positive relations with the U.S. and Israel", "to prevent Turkey's economic development", or "Turkey's weak governance".

**Management of Affect/Emotions Constructively**

*Zaman* tries to manage emotions constructively through covering positive attitudes in economy, politics, sports, religion, and society. For example, it frames that "Rabbi prayed with Muslims in the funerals", "there is not a terror atmosphere", "Turkish economy will not be affected negatively from the attacks", or "our culture is based on sharing the life, therefore no one can damage our tranquility." In addition *Zaman* represents messages not to be panic and to protect the unity. *Zaman* aims to decrease the destructiveness of bombings through the framings such as "Goodness born from wickedness: …important positive results of terrorism; economy related government institutions and government had the chance to demonstrate their performances, …our fragile economy had gained resistance in the last year, we witnessed that we have been protecting our solidarity and unity." It alters the existing self-images and relationships positively. For instance, "A friendship bridge with Syria is established." *Zaman* stresses no negative change will occur in the social life due to the bombings.

### 3.2.b.5 *Vakit*

**Terrorist Events**

*Vakit* represents the terrorist events as "state terrorism", and "Al Qaeda covered crusade game". With "state terrorism", it means the U.S., Britain, and Israel. *Vakit* is strongly against the definition of terrorist events as "Islamist terrorism". Due to the narratives of *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, and *Hürriyet* about "Islamist terrorism", *Vakit* explains the impossibility of Islam to be named with terrorism. It emphasizes terrorist events as "bloody", "abhorred", "violent", "anarchist", and "out of humanity".

**Terrorists and Terrorist Groups**

*Vakit* claims that there is not a terrorist group such as Al Qaeda. It stresses that "CIA, MOSSAD, and MI5" might prepare these attacks. *Vakit* frames terrorists as "Al Mossad", "war gang in Washington", "pirate Bush government", and "Zionists". It gives little information about the bombers. While giving information about the victims, it stresses the contradictory information coming from the police and represented in the other newspapers. For instance, "at 13.36 the fourth bomber is declared as Mevlut Ugur, while at 17.42, İlyas Kuncak was declared as the fourth bomber".

**Victims**

In the victim section, *Vakit* covers the casualties and wounded individuals. The effects of the bombs on the victims, their experiences and funerals are expressed such as "people cut into parts by the effect of the bombs", "sorrowful ceremony for the martyr police", "the wedding dress that Hülya Dönmez could not wear, was wrapped to her bier", and "bombs both burn and make blind."

**Targeted Places**

*Vakit* frames the effect of the bombings on the targeted places as "panic in the synagogues", "explosion in Kuledibi turned the street into a battle field", and "20 buildings are totally out of use." In addition, information about the targeted places after the bombings is also represented. For instance, "Broken glasses of the HSBC Bank were cleaned" and "the road in front of the HSBC building was opened to traffic."

**Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes**

While assessing the problem's root causes, under the targets subcategory, *Vakit* identifies targets as "the temples", "Islam and Muslims", "Israel and Jews", "Israeli government's brutality and cruelty", "Israeli agents", "anti-American", "anti-Zionists", and "anti-Israelis". *Vakit* also represents "Turkey, its peace and stability, tranquility, government, citizens" as the targets of the terrorist events. *Vakit* frames various reasons for the occurrence of the terrorist events. Reasons about Turkey are stressed as "to push Turkey to the American-Israeli axis", "to prepare a base for a coup", "to weaken the government and achieve secession", and "to violate Turkey's solidarity because it disturbs such countries as the U.S., Britain, France, and Germany". *Vakit* emphasizes the other reasons as "American and Israeli offensive policies", "Israel's aim to stop immigration from Israel", "imperialism", "to justify the wars in Iraq and Palestine", "to increase the Jewish population", "inequality", and "injustice", "to affect and orient the elections in Cyprus, Northern Iraq, and Turkey", "to discriminate Muslims" and "to make Turkey a frontline country against the Islamist world".

**Management of Affect/Emotions Constructively**

Under the management of affect/emotions constructively category, as in the other newspapers, *Vakit* covers the messages of the local and foreign politicians. Positive positions in economy, politics, and social life are demonstrated such as "we have a sensible prime minister who deal with both our Turkish and Jewish citizens together", "markets overcame the shock quickly", "life is normal in Istanbul", and so on. Another area that *Vakit* expresses is religion. It tries to contain the negative effects of terrorist events and related discussions about Islam's relation with terrorism through the framings such as "Magnificent answer:

Muslims from all over Turkey and the world came together in the mosques and gave unity and solidarity messages.", "Islam cannot be the source of terror, it is the source of peace and security." In this way, it aims to represent the uniting aspect of Islam and tries to prevent the conflicts about religions. For example, in one of the framings, *Vakit* emphasizes that "A Jew stood together with Muslims at the same line in the funeral service." It frames that "we cannot reach anywhere through addressing these events as "terror from Bingöl, terror of Turks, Islamist terror. Islam does not allow to kill a person, however if a Muslim does it, then you cannot make Islam the responsible." Even though, *Vakit* has the least narratives with 55 under the management of affect/emotions constructively category, it carries more constructive attitudes through highlighting the positive aspects of Islam due to *Cumhuriyet's*, *Radikal's*, and *Hürriyet's* definition of "Islamist terrorism" because 99.8% (Total population: 62,484,478. Number of Muslims: 62,359,509) (http://www.islamicweb.com/begin/population.htm) of the people in Turkey is Muslim. People attach sensitive values to their religion, and naming Islam with terrorism can make Turkish people more vulnerable since one of their characteristic is made the source of terrorism, which targets these people.

# CHAPTER 4. COMPARISON OF THE SELECTED NEWSPAPERS IN 15-20 NOVEMBER ISTANBUL BOMBINGS

As the representatives of the Turkish print media, the selected newspapers represent 15-20 November Istanbul bombings from various perspectives. According to the ideological spectrum, in the representation of the bombings, selected newspapers are divided into two main parts as the liberal and religious media. The main differences in the representation of the bombings are based on the definitions of terrorist events and who the terrorists are. The liberal media insist on defining terrorist events as 'Islamist terrorism', while the religious media reject this definition, and support the idea that Islam and terrorism cannot be named together. Due to this variation in the perceptions and representations of the print media, discussion about 'Islamist terrorism' occurs. Such kind of a discussion is not a positive attitude when the society was bewildered by the terrorists. Even though, definition of the terrorist events is needed in order to maintain the recognition of a problem, and then to have a problem-solving attitude, framing terrorist events through the identities of a society also prevent to have constructive attitudes. The media have the ability to construct or shape a reality. Therefore, their framings about the terrorist events will affect the perceptions of the society. The representation of the terrorist events as Islamist can lead to confusion in the society and result in chaos. For example, conflicts can occur between the different religious sections of a society.

In general, both the liberal and religious media define terrorist events with brutality, horror, atrocity, out of humanity, as a crime, and a war. During crises, the media should preserve its calmness in order to prevent chaos in the society since with its narratives; they can orient the attitudes of the public. Definitions of the terrorist events as 'out of humanity' and 'crime' emphasize the severity of the terrorist events. However, framing terrorist incidents as a 'war' is an exaggeration. Bombings by their existence, effects, and results had already created tension in the society. When the level of terrorist incidents is carried to an upper level as a 'war', then to protect the serenity of the public will be more difficult due to an increase in emotional tensions.

The liberal media declare terrorists as religious fundamentalists who are Muslims, Turks and from Bingöl. Although, the religious media give the same information about the terrorists as the liberal media do, they refrain from focusing on their nationalities or religions. In addition, the religious media support that the bombers are only subcontractors, and behind the attacks, there are Israel, Britain and the U.S. Even though, the liberal media indicate the responsible ones as Israel and the U.S. as the religious media do, the liberal media refrain

from accusing these countries directly, as the responsible ones of Istanbul bombings. Until having exact information from the government authorities or police about the identity of the terrorists and terrorist groups, the print media represent various names about and related to terrorist organizations. For example, the liberal media introduce Al Qaeda, Ebu Hafiz Al Masri Brigades, Imamlar Birligi *(Imams Union)*, Tohum Grubu *(Seed Group)*, Hezbollah, PKK *(Kurdish Worker's Party)*, and IBDA/C *(Great East Islamic Raiders Front)* as the responsible terrorist groups. On the other hand, the religious media represent the terrorist groups as American, British and Israeli intelligence services, which are CIA, MI5, and MOSSAD. There is an interesting common use of a concept by the liberal and religious media. While the liberal media name the terrorist groups as 'Al Murderer', the religious media represent them as 'Al MOSSAD'. Even though, both the liberal and religious media try to frame terrorists and terrorist groups, they fail in having a problem-solving attitude.

The liberal media fail because they create confusion about defining the responsible ones. For example, in one of the news, 22 individuals are introduced as 'terrorists' who are brought from Syria by the gendarme. The liberal media without questioning, declare these individuals, who are students, as terrorists and publicize their photos. After their innocence is stated, these individuals and their families become angry against the media due to their portrayal of them as terrorists. Such kinds of mistakes do not only violate the rights of accused individuals, but also can lead to alienation in some parts of the society. In this way, the media can damage the unity in the society. Media's ability to contain and control the destructive effects of conflicts can be used as a conflict prevention mechanism. The religious media fail since they contribute to the destructive effects of terrorism through maintaining enemy images. Victims had already confused and become furious and through maintaining new enemy images in an uncertain medium, they contribute to the society's confusion, which can result in disorder.

Another negative attitude of the Turkish print media in the representation of the bombers is about giving very detailed and unnecessary information about the bombers. For example, in the liberal media, one of the bombers' last read book Kamasutra is represented or the terrorists' inspirations are publicized. In the religious media, an interview is made with one of the bombers' wife. May be the print media prefers to frame, for instance, the inspirations of the terrorists in order to increase the consciousness of the society and to eliminate uncertainty in the medium. However, such kinds of representations can also motivate the supporters, or trigger the violent actions of the contrary groups. Therefore, in

order to carry a problem-solving attitude, the print media should give brief and certain information about the terrorists and terrorists groups.

When the framings about the victims and targeted places are assessed, the Turkish print media focus on emotional narratives, which can increase the desperateness of the society. They especially focus on the 'detached arms', 'dispersed and smashed corpses' or they strongly express the victims' qualities such as 'pregnant Jewish Berta' or '13 years old Hamza'. Even an individual who did not experience such kind of an event can easily understand the severity of the incidents. Eyüp Can who is a columnist in *Zaman* states that while he was in the targeted place, he thought the necessity to frame the events' horror in order to make the others feel the same. This case can be beneficial to understand the seriousness of the events, but at the same time such kinds of representations trigger society's anger, and tension, which can result in conflicts or rebellions. In addition, terrorists can observe their success and become more motivated. The important thing during these cases is to assist the society to preserve its solidarity through calmness. Thus, while the print media personnel are sharing their experiences, and perceptions, they should try to reduce or control the destructive effect of terrorism.

In order to have a problem-solving attitude, the print media should refrain from causing discriminations between the various parts of a society. For example, *Vakit* represents that some tradesmen around the synagogues are uneasy because of these temples. This narrative can ease the purposes of the terrorists because it carries a provocative meaning. Such kinds of narratives sharpen the distinctions and result in the perception of 'us' versus 'them'. On the other hand, in one of the news, *Zaman*, stresses that victims in the two temples, which one is a mosque and the other is a synagogue, share the same destiny. This expression indicates the indiscriminate aspect of terrorist events and this understanding can strengthen the society's cohesion. When the selected newspapers are evaluated, it is observed that both the liberal and religious print media express differences about some aspects of the society. The religious media identify casualties as "15 Turks and the others are Jewish", while the liberal media respond them through asking that "are not the Jewish victims Turks?" However, the liberal media also trigger the distinction in the society through executing most of the religious people as terrorists.

The selected newspapers attribute the events' causes to various targets and reasons while assessing the problem's root causes. Common denominators in the selected newspapers are injustice, poverty, and American and Israeli offensive policies. As targets, Turkey, Islam,

Britain, Israel and the U.S. are identified. In this part, in spite of the distinctions between the liberal and religious media, mostly their assessments overlap.

Management of affect/emotions constructively category is the one in which all the selected newspapers carry a problem-solving attitude. Under this category, positive messages of the local and foreign politicians, religious leaders, and civil societies, evaluations of the economy experts, and assessment of the tourism agencies are expressed. In addition, positive framings of the journalists are represented. In general, most of the framings give the message that life in Turkey will not change due to bombings and the negative effects of terrorism will be prevented through preserving the confidence and unity between the society and government.

When the overall position of the Turkish print media is analyzed in the selected newspapers, it is observed that the same event is represented differently by the selected newspapers due to their distinct ideologies. Even though five of the newspapers have different positions in the ideological spectrum, in the representation of the terrorist events, there are two groups as the liberal and religious media. However, in spite of their differences, in some points they share the same or similar ideas. For example, both groups represent American and Israeli offensive policies as the source of the terrorist events. According to the research, it is found that selected newspapers have suitable data, which fit to the problem-solving definition. Nevertheless, in general they lack a problem-solving attitude in the coverage of Istanbul bombings because their framings consist of heavy emotional narratives, contradictory information, repetition and very detailed information about terrorists and victims. For instance, in spite of their recognition of the problem, their way of recognition leads to new discussions that may escalate the confusion and lead to chaos in society such as "Islamist terror" description.

**CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION**

Risk perceptions in societies can be oriented by institutions such as governments, non-governmental organizations, commercial corporations or the media. Risk perception is one of the vital determinants for the interactions between people in their social life. Difference plays a crucial role in risk perceptions. One person can perceive the other's different style of dressing or belief as a threat to him/herself. For instance, the veil is a significant problem in Turkey and France. Wearing veil in schools and public places are not allowed. In Turkey, some parts of the society perceives veil as a threat to Turkish system, which is based on the principles of Kemalism. Another example for risk perceptions of the people can be given from terrorism. Especially, after 9/11 one of the explanations of terrorism is tried to be made due to Islam, which creates the belief that Islam motivates terrorism.

Media as one of the institutions of the society informs people about their social life and the outside world. Media can orient people's perceptions due to its framing of information. It can mobilize people, lead to fear or assist in spreading fear intentionally or unintentionally. For instance, in Turkey, after a traffic accident, 'Susurluk incident', the Turkish media initiated one minute moment of darkness to protest the relations between mafia, politics and gangs. During the protest, in the evening news, which have the highest percentage of watching, most of the television programs showed various cities that participated in this protest. As a result, this action mobilized many people in Turkey in 1997. From this example, it can be observed that the media have the power to increase the consciousness of people, strengthen the group unity, and mobilize them for certain kinds of actions. This study is also based on the assumption that media can orient the perspectives of people.

Media provide a medium not only for conveying various messages but also in this medium they formulate their own framings in the coverage of different events and cases. Due to this position, media can provide new understandings for the people. Especially, in the time of crises, media can work as a conflict preventive mechanism. For example, they can prevent a possible chaos in a society through covering constructive and informative messages. Nonetheless, perceptions and biases of the media personnel in the coverage of news cannot be neglected. At this point, as one of the members of their society, it may be difficult for the media personnel to control their feelings in the crises time such as in the case of terrorism. Martin (2003) defines the inclusion of the reporters' subjective interpretations as the media spin. According to Martin (2003), biased information-giving can lead to misunderstandings. In the coverage of Istanbul bombings, it is observable that journalists reflect their feelings in their narratives. For example, they define terrorist events as a 'war', while they describe the

targeted places as a 'battle field' and the day of the bombings as a 'hell day'. As the members of their society, they are also targeted by the terrorists and while they are representing these cases, they can not avoid their interpretations. Nevertheless, their interpretation is read and shared by a great amount of people and for the society; reporters' narratives (based on their interpretations) have the information value. Korkmaz (1999) emphasizes that reporters should manage the information while conveying it in order to prevent any misunderstandings that can result in any other conflicts.

In the coverage of Istanbul bombings, it is observable that the selected newspapers prefer the use of heavy emotional narratives. For example, under the victims' subcategory, a reporter describes two burned corpses which were holding each other. He made a prediction and claimed that these two corpses may belong to a mother and her daughter. Martin (2003) defines this case as news triage, which is about the selection process of the information, and he claims that reporters and editors prefer emotional human interest content in the selection of news in order to attract the attention of the people. The selected newspapers from the Turkish print media use this method in the coverage of the bombings. They focus on violent and bewildering aspects of the terrorist events. For example, while describing the targeted places, it is highlighted that 'they look like as if they remained from a war'. Information about the damaged buildings on the basis of how many buildings are destroyed or which parts cannot be used any more is enough. Media should target giving satisfactory information about the terrorist events in order to provide the possibility for the public to learn the situations in their environment. For instance, which streets are closed due to the bombings and when they will be opened are satisfactory information that can ease the people's work and assist them to continue to their daily lives in spite of the bombings' results.

People can feed their information deficiencies through the media channels. Baukus (1999) highlights that in the relation between the media, public and terrorism; media determine the news value of terrorism. He supports the idea that hot issues are maintained by the media and audiences shape their perspectives and opinions according to these types of selections (Baukus, 1999). Selection of the information does not only depend on the biases of the reporters and editors but also there is the effect of market competition in the media. As it is mentioned before, according to the media understanding, violent, bloody, and shocking events attract the most attention of the public. Therefore, each media channel tries to get instant information and conveys it immediately to its readers, listeners or audiences before its rival. As a result, such kinds of narratives increase the negative effects of the terrorist incidents. Martin (2003) underlines this issue with the idea that large corporations own the

media and hence, they have the control on the style, and content of news due to their market shares and profits. However, media should aim to give the correct information in the right time through taking into consideration the results of their coverage. Furthermore, the coverage of violent, bloody, and bewildering events can spread public fears and assist the aims of terrorists. Picard (1993) explains this case with the cultivation theory. According to this theory, coverage of violence in the media can increase public fears.

In 15-20 November Istanbul bombings, did the terrorists aim to publicize their actions? Did they intend to use the media as a channel to convey their messages? According to the indictment of Turkish attorney general, terrorists are connected to Al Qaeda and their actions aimed to destroy American and Israeli interests with the other countries' interests, which are assisting the U.S. and Israel (Indictment of the Attorney General, Turkish Republic, 2003). Their ideology based on Selefilik, which derives from radical Islam, and it aims to establish a Sheri'a order through uniting all the Muslims in the world (Indictment of the Attorney General, 2003). In the indictment, the decision organs of Al Qaeda are stressed and there is a 'Media Committee', which deals with the broadcasting issues. When this aspect of this terrorist organization is underlined with its main aim, which is to destroy the American effects on the Muslim countries through holy war (Indictment of the Attorney General, Turkish Republic, 2003), it can be reached that they intend to publicize their actions in order to emphasize their power and willingness to reach their aims. When the statements of the suspects are examined, it is seen that they are common in the idea that Muslims are suppressed and America, Israel, and Britain declared war against Muslims, therefore, they believe in that every Muslim should determine a target for themselves in the holy war against these countries (Indictment of the Attorney General, Turkish Republic, 2003). Yusuf Polat, one of the suspects, stated in the indictment that after the bombings, Feridun Uğurlu said that "actions were successful and they set the agenda" (Indictment of the Attorney General, Turkish Republic, 2003, p.64). On the basis of their ideology, structure of their organization, and the statements of the suspects, it can be observable that in 15-20 November Istanbul bombings, terrorists aimed publicity and to convey their propaganda through the media channels. After the second bombings (on 20.12.2003), interest of the Turkish print media increases noticeably and they give very detailed information about terrorists such as the last read book of one of the terrorists. In this way, on the basis of high attention of the media on these events' every detail can contribute to the success of the terrorists. Picard (1993) explains this case with status conferral, which means that media coverage of persons or

groups gives status and importance to them; media's high attention can lead to the perception that terrorist groups succeed in their actions.

In the coverage of Istanbul bombings, Turkish print media do not only focus on the destructive aspects of the terrorist events but also while they are assessing the problem's root causes both of them make labeling and find scapegoats. For example, the liberal media accuse the religious people due to the bombings. In one of the news 22 students from Syria who are Turkish are declared as terrorists. However, after a while it is understood that they do not have any connection with the terrorists. Additionally, while they are introducing the terrorists they highlight that 'terrorists are ethnic Turks who are from Bingöl'. Nonetheless, when the indictment about Istanbul bombings is examined, it is seen that all of the suspects are not only from Bingöl, they are from the different cities of Turkey such as from Van, Kastamonu, Malatya, Konya, Eskişehir, and so on (Indictment of the Attorney General, Turkish Republic, 2003).

Another point in the coverage of Istanbul bombings in the Turkish print media is about the use of terrorists' discourse. For example, *Hürriyet* represents the inspirations of the terrorists, which are used in order to motivate each other. Miller (1982) supports that the usage of terrorist discourse can result in the construction of terrorist's own language. This usage of terrorists' discourse can also serve the purpose of the terrorists. Additionally, in the coverage of terrorist events, descriptions of them have an important role in the prevention of the usage of terrorists' discourse. For example, 'Islamist terror' definition can serve the propagandist aims of the terrorists because such a definition can lead to an alienation of some groups from their society and this can radicalize them. Religion is a sensitive issue and people can react negatively to such kinds of definitions. Picard (1993) underlines this issue with moral, political and legal approaches. He states that moral approach includes normative judgments, which are about religious values and norms. Political and legal approaches are about the officially authorized definitions of the cases (Picard, 1993). When these approaches are taken into consideration, it can be supported that Turkish print media neglect the difference between these approaches because through the definition of 'Islamist terrorism', Islam is politicized and the legal definition of terrorist events are tried to be made by the use of a religion. In this way, criminal aspects of terrorism are named with Islam.

Apart from the structure of the narratives, their frequencies have the potential to affect the perceptions of the public. Picard (1993) states that over-estimation of the terrorist actions' frequency can lead to the spread of fear. With the second bombings in Istanbul, selected newspapers indicate their bewilderment with a noticeable increase in their coverage of the

bombings. In the fifth date of the first bombings, decrease in the interests of the newspapers increase visibly with the second bombings. For example, *Zaman* covers 24 narratives with the first bombings, while it makes 59 narratives with the second bombings (See Table 1.d). Another noticeable increase can be observed in *Hürriyet* with a raise from 30 to 77 narratives (See Table 1.c). Villalobos (2002) explains this case with the connection between media coverage and violence. She supports the idea that media coverage increases according to the escalation in violence (Villalobos, 2002). With the second bombings, terrorists may aim to increase the permanence of psychological destructiveness in the society. At this point, media can control the level of destructiveness through having a problem-solving attitude, which underline the necessity for having constructive narratives in the coverage of the terrorist events. This idea derives from the media's ability to construct new images, control and transform the negative aspects of the destructively managed conflicts.

According to the research on the problem-solving attitude, in the selected newspapers in the coverage of Istanbul bombings, it is found that these newspapers have narratives that relate to the problem-solving definition categories. However, this does not mean that these newspapers portrayed a problem-solving attitude. The qualitative content analysis of these narratives showed that the newspapers do not necessarily encourage a constructive attitude towards the bombings. Every newspaper frames a problem from a different perspective. In the problem-solving attitude, the essential feature is the constructive representation of a problem. When *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Hürriyet*, *Zaman*, and *Vakit* are evaluated in this regard, overall it can be argued that they lack a problem-solving attitude even though in some parts, especially under the 'management of affect/emotions constructively' category, they have positive attitudes. In fact, let alone a problem-solving attitude, it is observed that during the representation of the terrorist events, so many new conflicts are triggered by these newspapers. For instance, discussion on 'Islamist terrorism' or conflict between the media and police are observed. Nonetheless, as Villalobos (2002) emphasizes in her Arias Foundation Reconciliation Model, media and police should reconcile especially in the time of crises. They can reconcile through agreeing on the limits of their jobs. For example, media can refrain from using incomplete information, while police can share the satisfactory information with the media in order to prevent any speculations.

Apart from these cases, it is observed that selected newspapers frame heavy emotional narratives through exaggerations instead of trying to calm the anxiety and fear caused by terror. Picard (1993) explains this situation with downplaying theory. He maintains that using detailed and contradictory information or terrorist discourse can result in confusion. Turkish

print media had the opportunity to assess their narratives and check the correctness of the information before they printed newspapers since they were published a day after the bombings. However, this was not often used. Contrary, this time to search for the correctness of information was used to frame more uncertain information.

Media reflect the images of the world to people in the form of news. Media cannot isolate itself from the society that they exist. Therefore, the media have a very significant role in societies through their information-giving capability, which can reach to every part of a society. Today with the developing technology, it is possible to get news instantly. This rapid ability to get information is sustained by the media. At this point, the media should use their resources efficiently in order to give correct information in the form of news. Especially, in crises, and conflicts, the importance of the media's role increase because they are one of the sources that people get information about what is going on in their environment. In other words, the media have the capability to increase the awareness of people. Hence, the media should carry constructive attitudes in the representation of conflicts and crises.

During the crises and conflicts, a gap between the government and public occurs on the basis of giving and receiving information. Media have the power to prevent this chaotic situation through feeding the information necessity of the public. At the same time, while giving information, the media frame it in the form of news, which provide the ability for the media to give messages to the public. Thus, when these messages carry constructive attitudes, then the media can prevent the chaotic gap between the government and public. In this way, the media can manage and transform a conflict through its information-giving capability, which will affect directly and indirectly the behaviors and attitudes of public.

Hence, the media can work not only as a conflict management and transformation mechanism, but also as a conflict preventive mechanism through hindering the negative effects of destructively managed conflicts. As it is mentioned above, the media is in the edge due to its information-giving capability with its publicity. In the case of terrorism, they can either serve the aims of terrorists through giving information without analyzing it or they can convey constructive messages through providing correct and reliable information, which will have a preventive effect in the spread of chaos. In conflicts and crises, the media should convey information through adopting a problem-solving attitude, which will provide conflict management, transformation, and prevention ability to them.

In this study, in spite of the research for a problem-solving attitude in the Turkish print media according to their coverage of Istanbul bombings, the analysis of the coded data is lack of due to their constructive and destructive coverage discrimination in the problem-solving

definition categories. The coded data is analyzed as a whole and they are not scrutinized whether or not in the each problem-solving category there are destructive and constructive narratives. For future research, this study can be extended through determining and counting the coded data on the basis of constructive and destructive narratives covered. Additionally, a comparison between the numerical representation of the constructive and destructive narratives can be made in order to determine the position of the selected newspapers in the terrorist events.

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www.cogsci.princeton.edu/cgi-bin/webwn2.1
This website is Cognitive Science Laboratory. It belongs to Princeton University and maintains word net lexical database.


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This website is a foreign broadcast information service. It gives information about the foreign broadcast, which translates the text of daily broadcasts, government statements, and select news stories from non-English sources around the world.


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This website covers foreign and domestic news.


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This website belongs to International Policy Institute for Counter-terrorism. It includes articles, news, databases, research reports, and presentations about international terrorism and counter-terrorism.


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This website covers news on Southeast Europe.


http://www.teror.gen.tr/english/turkey/separatist/pkk.html
This website gives information about terrorism and terrorist groups.

http://www.teror.gen.tr/english/organisations/hizbullah.html
This website gives information about terrorism and terrorist groups.


http://www.zaman.com.tr/2001/12/04/haberler/haberlerdevam.htm#12
This website belongs to Zaman newspaper, which is one of Turkish daily newspapers. It gives domestic and foreign news.

**Table 4. Categorization of the Data According to the Problem-Solving Definition[1]**

**Table 4.a. CUMHURİYET** (525 + 55 = 580)

1. Problem Recognition (375 + 150 = 525)

a. Problem Framing (150 + 54 + 144 + 27 = 375)

| a.1. Terrorist Events (150) |
| --- |
| 1. Unexampled bombed attacks. (Eşi görülmemiş bombalı saldırılar) |
| 2. Simultaneous violent explosions. (Eşzamanlı şiddetli patlamalar) |
| 3. Suicide attacks. (İntihar saldırıları) (5) |
| 4. Bloody terrorist actions. (Kanlı terör eylemleri) (8) |
| 5. Turkey's September 11. (Türkiye'nin 11 Eylül'ü) (6) |
| 6. Humanity crime. (İnsanlık suçu) (7) |
| 7. Horror. (Dehşet) (7) |
| 8. Disgusting crime. (Çirkin suç) |
| 9. Global Bin Laden terror (Küresel Bin Ladin terörü) |
| 10. Wild terror. (Vahşi terörü) |
| 11. Double synagogue terror. (Çifte sinagog terörü) |
| 12. Bloody events. (Kanlı olaylar) (5) |
| 13. Wild attacks. (Vahşi saldırılar) |
| 14. Plague of century: Terror. (Asrın vebası terör) |
| 15. Brutality of terror. (Terörün vahşeti) |
| 16. Out of humanity. (İnsanlık dışı) (4) |
| 17. Treacherous attack. (Haince saldırı) |
| 18. The most pretentious attack. (En iddialı saldırı) |
| 19. Holy war against Turks. (Türklere karşı cihat) |
| 20. Blind terror. (Kör terör) |
| 21. A terrifying scene. (Dehşet verici manzara) |
| 22. Atrocity. (Vahşet) (10) |
| 23. Terrifying suicides. (Dehşet verici intiharlar) |
| 24. Fundamentalist /religious terror. (Köktendinci/dini terör) (13) |
| 25. Islamist Iron Hammer Operation. (İslami Demir Çekiç Operasyonu) |
| 26. Global threat. (Küresel tehdit) |

27. Attacks passed, its horror remained. (Saldırılar geçti, dehşeti kaldı)

28. Political Islam. (Siyasal İslam) (4)

29. Shock, horror and fear. (Şok, dehşet ve korku)

30. Reactionary terror. (İrticai terör)

31. Dastard initiatives. (Alçak girişimler)

32. Global Islamist terrorism. (Küresel İslamcı terör) (2)

33. Global Islamist terrorism that is represented by local Islamist terrorism. (Yerel İslamcı terör tarafından temsil edilen küresel İslamcı terör) (2)

34. Islam rooted terrorist events. (İslam kökenli terör olayları) (2)

35. Multi-national terror. (Çok uluslu terör)

36. Civilization war. (Uygarlık savaşı) (2)

37. Islamist terror. (İslamcı terörü) (31)

38. The Sheri'a terror. (Şeriat terörü)

39. Terror monster. (Terör canavarı) (2)

40. Radical Islamist rooted terror. (Radikal İslami kökenli terör) (4)

41. Global war. (Küresel savaş)

42. Islamist marked fanaticism. (İslam kılıklı fanatizm)

43. Crime. (Suç) (2)

44. Bombed massacres. (Bombalı katliamlar)

45. Immoral and brutal events. (Ahlaksız ve vahşi olaylar)

46. The Sheri'a bombs. (Şeriat bombaları)

47. Religious motivated attacks. (Dini motifli saldırılar) (3)

48. Terrifying crimes. (Dehşete düşüren cinayetler)

49. International Islamist terror. (Uluslararası İslamcı terörü)

50. Barbarian bombed attacks. (Barbarca olan bombalı saldırılar)

| a.2. Terrorist and Terrorist Groups (144) |
|---|
| 1. Al Qaeda (47) |

> 1. Al Qaeda suspicion. (El Kaide şüphesi) (3)
>
> 2. Al Qaeda attacked. (El Kaide saldırdı.) (13)
>
> 3. Al Qaeda and Turkish Hezbollah[2] and its cells. (El Kaide ve Türk Hizbullah'ı ve onun hücreleri)
>
> 4. Al Qaeda connected Ensar El Islam. (El Kaide bağlantılı Ensar El İslam) (4)
>
> 5. Al Qaeda connected Ebu Hafız El Masri Brigades[3]. (El Kaide bağlantılı Ebu Hafız El Masri Tugayları) (4)
>
> 6. Arab terrorists who are members of Al Qaeda. (El Kaide üyesi Arap teröristler)
>
> 7. Al Qaeda connected to Iran and Palestine. (İran ve Filistin bağlantılı El Kaide)
>
> 8. Al Qaeda and/or its subcontractors. (El Kaide ve/veya onun taşeronları)
>
> 9. Al Qaeda–Usame bin Laden. (El Kaide-Usame bin Ladin)
>
> 10. Common action of IBDA/C and Al Qaeda. (El Kaide ve IBDA/C'nin ortak eylemleri)
>
> 11. Al Qaeda and its Turkish subcontractors. (El Kaide ve onun Türk taşeronları) (3)
>
> 12. At the top Al Qaeda and under it Imamlar Birligi[4]. (Tepede El Kaide ve altında İmamlar Birliği) (2)
>
> 13. Subcontractors are Turks. (Taşeronlar Türk) (4)
>
> 14. Al Qaeda and Al Qaeda related international organizations. (El Kaide ve El Kaide bağlantılı uluslararası örgütler) (2)
>
> 15. Al Qaeda and radical fundamentalist organizations. (El Kaide ve radikal köktendinci örgütler)
>
> 16. Islamist rooted Al Qaeda. (İslami kökenli El Kaide) (2)
>
> 17. Al Qaeda's Turkish cell, which is affected by "Vahabi[5]-Selefi[6] ideology." (Vahabi-Selefi ideolojisinden etkilenen El Kaide'nin Türk hücresi) (2)
>
> 18. Al Qaeda related "Seed Group" (*Tohum Grubu*[7]) (El Kaide bağlantılı Tohum Grubu)

> 2. Foreign sourced terror that is supported by locals (İçeriden destekli dış kaynaklı terör).
>
> 3. Radical fundamentalist terrorist groups. (Radikal köktendinci terör grupları) (2)
>
> 4. IBDA-C[8] (Great East Islamic Raiders Front) (Büyük Doğu İslami Akıncıları Cephesi) (4)
>
> 5. Islamist militants (İslamcı militanlar)
>
> 6. Hezbollah. (Hizbullah) (8)

7. Bombers. (44)

1. Ekinci is under custody. (Ekinci göz altında)

2. Istanbul police declared that Azad Ekinci, the member of IBDA-C, attacked Neve Şalom and Mesut Çabuk, the member of Islamist Movement Organization (*Islami Hareket Örgütü*[9]) attacked Beth Israel. (İstanbul polisi açıkladı; IBDA-C üyesi Azad Ekinci Neve Şalom'a ve İslami Hareket örgütü üyesi Mesut Çabuk Beth Israel'e saldırdı.)

3. The perpetrators came from Iran. (Failler İran'dan geldi.)

4. Both of the attackers are Turks and from Bingöl. Mesut Çabuk, 29 years old, attacked against Beth Isreal Synagogue. Gökhan Elaltuntaş, 22 years old, attacked Neve Şalom Synagogue. (Saldırganların ikiside Türk ve Bingöl'den. 29 yaşındaki Mesut Çabuk Beth Israel Sinagoguna yönelik saldırıyı gerçekleştirdi. 22 yaşındaki Gökhan Elaltuntaş da Neve Şalom Sinagoguna saldırdı.)

5. Bombers are connected to IBDA-C and Hezbollah. (Bombacılar IBDA-C ve Hizbullah bağlantılı)

6. Perpetrators are from Selefilik cult. (Failler Selefilik mezhebinden)

7. Bombers are from Bingöl and they are Turks. (Bombacılar Bingöl'den ve Türk.) (2)

8. Three of the suicide bombers are from Bingöl. (İntihar bombacılarından üçü Bingöl'den.) (2)

9. Six arrested individuals are the members of Al Qaeda connected to Imamlar Birliği. (Tutuklanan altı kişi El Kaide bağlantılı İmamlar Birliği üyesi.)

10. Nine fundamentalists who are the members of Beiat-El Imam were arrested. (Beiat-El İmam üyesi olan dokuz köktendinci tutuklandı.)

11. Three more people were arrested. (Üç kişi daha tutuklandı.)

12. Muhammad El Ahdal who is one of the highest authoritative of Al Qaeda was arrested. (El Kaide'nin üst otoritelerinden Muhammed El Ahdal yakalandı.)

13. The number of prisoners reached to 20. (Tutukluların sayısı 20'ye ulaşdı.)

14. It is determined that Feridun Uğurlu planned the bombings in Kartal Kavaklı Mosque where he was teaching Quaran. The place where he lives looks like Islamic ghetto. (Bombalamaları, Feridun Uğurlu'nun Kuran dersi verdiği Kartal Kavaklı Camii'sinde planladığı belirlendi. Yaşadığı yer İslamcı gettoya benziyor.)

15. Four of the bombers connected to Imamlar Birliği. (Bombacılardan dördü İmamlar Birliği bağlantılı)

16. Habib Aktaş took armed education in Afganistan. He was the suicide bomber and attacked to HSBC Bank. (Habib Aktaş silahlı eğitimi Afganistan'da aldı. İntihar bombacısı oydu ve HSBC Bankasına saldırdı.)

17. Mesut Çabuk and Azad Ekinci from Bingöl connected with Al Qaeda via Pakistan. (Bingöl'den Mesut Çabuk ve Azad Ekinci Pakistan yoluyla El Kaide'yle bağlantılı)

18. They were caught in Syria: 22 individuals brought to Turkey and it is determined that they have connections with attacks. (Suriye'de yakalandılar: 22 kişi Türkiye'ye getirildi ve saldırılarla bağlantıları olduğu belirlendi)

19. The fourth bomber is İlyas Kuncak. (Dördüncü bombacı İlyas Kuncak)

20. The chief suspect is Musa El Zarkavi. (Baş şüpheli Musa El Zarkavi)

21. The brain team of the attacks ran away before the first attacks. (Saldırıların beyin takımı ilk saldırıdan önce kaçtı)

22. Terrorists are from the same school. (Teröristler aynı okuldan)

23. Muslim Youth Formation Seed Group (*Müslüman Gençlik Oluşumu Tohum Grubu*)

24. The company of Tuğluoğlu was the meeting point of terrorists. (Tuğluoğlu'nun şirketi teröristlerin buluşma noktasıydı)

25. Muslims. (Müslümanlar) (2)

26. Terrorists are the citizens of Turkish Republic. (Teröristler Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı)

27. Terrorists escaped to Turkey after September 11 and in two years they had organized. (Teröristler Türkiye'ye 11 Eylül'den sonra kaçtılar ve iki yıl içerisinde organize oldular.)

28. Under the guidance of Al Qaeda, Imamlar Birliği had formed eight cells in Turkey. (El Kaide'nin yönetiminde, İmamlar Birliği Türkiye'de sekiz tane hücre kurdu)

29. There are Hezbollah members in the arrested group. (Tutuklananların içinde Hizbullah üyeleri vardı)

30. Tuğluoğlu was arrested. (Tuğluoğlu tutuklandı)

31. The perpetrators' connection with political Islam bases on military camps and

Quaran courses from Chechnya to Afghanistan. (Faillerin siyasal İslam'la olan bağlantısı Çeçenistan'dan Afganistan'a kadar olan askeri kamplar ve Kuran kurslarına dayanıyor.)

32. Bombers are from religious sect and middle income group. (Bombacılar dini mezhepden ve orta gelir grubundan)

33. Justice and Development (*Adalet ve Kalkınma*) Party's connection with the suspects. (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin şüphelilerle ilgili bağlantısı)

34. Family type organization. (Aile tipi örgüt)

35. Terror attacks in Istanbul: 3 more people are arrested. (İstanbul'da terör saldırıları: 3 kişi daha tutuklandı)

36. All of them are the citizens of Turkish Republic. Except one of them, others are around 20 years old and all of them are fundamentalists. (Hepsi Türkiye Cumhuriyet'i vatandaşı. Bir tanesi dışında, diğerleri 20 yaş civarında ve tümü köktendinci)

37. The grave of Elaltuntaş is at the outside of Bingöl. (Elaltuntaş'ın mezarı Bingöl'ün dışında)

38. Fundamentalist militant was arrested. (Köktendici militant tutuklandı.)

39. Suicide attacks: one more person was arrested. (İntihar saldırıları: bir kişi daha tutuklandı.)

40. Suicide bombers motivated themselves with "Martyr Album", which includes the biographies of September 11 suicide bombers. (İntihar bombacıları kendilerini, 11 Eylül intihar bombacılarının biyografilerini içeren "Şehitler Albümü" ile motive ediyorlardı.)

41. Tuğluoğlu's confessions: 40 new names. (Tuğluoğlu'nun itirafları: 40 yeni isim)

8. Radical Islamist terrorist organization. (Radikal İslamcı terör örgütü) (9)

9. Extrinsic organization. (Dış bağlantılı örgüt) (2)

10. Radical Muslim. (Radikal Müslüman)

11. Islam appeared fanaticism. (İslam görünümlü fanatisizm)

12. Afghanistan connected. (Afganistan bağlantılı)

13. Subcontractor is Hezbollah. (Taşeron Hizbullah)

14. Classic supernumeraries of the Middle Eastern type terror. (Ortadoğu tipi terörün klasik figüranları)

15. Cutthroats. (Caniler) (4)

16. Hezbollah and IBDA/C related people. (Hizbullah ve IBDA/C bağlantılı insanlar)

17. Support from the western states' intelligence services. (Batı ülkelerinin gizli servislerinden destek)

18. Foreign supported local connected organization. (Dış destekli yerel bağlantılı örgüt)

19. The Sheri'a terrorist. (Şeriatçı terrorist)

20. Imamlar Birliği (Beyiat-El Imam). (2)

21. Foreign sourced. (Dış kaynaklı)

22. Sick fanatics. (Hasta fanatikler)

23. CIA and MOSSAD. (CIA ve MOSSAD)

24. Foreign organizations use militants of Hezbollah. (Dış örgütler Hizbullah militanlarını kullanıyorlar)

25. Islam combatants. (İslam savaşçıları) (2)

26. Young, religious educated, unemployed, faithful. (Genç, dini eğitimli, işsiz ve inançlı)

27. Radical political Islamist militant. (Radikal siyasal İslamcı militan)

28. Fundamentalist terrorist organizations. (Köktendinci terrorist örgüt)

29. Hezbollah type organizations. (Hizbullah tipi örgütler)

30. Bloody Islamist terror organization. (Kanlı İslamcı terör örgütü)

| a.3. Victims (54) |
|---|

1. The people who died due to the effect of the bomb could not understand what happened, because it is not possible to understand what is going on at this short moment. (Bombanın etkisiyle ölenler, ne olduğunu bile anlamamislardır. Çünkü daha önce benzeri bir olay yaşamadıkları için o kısacık anda, ne oldugunu anlamaları mümkün değildi.)

2. Adnan Sudançıkmaz was injured from his arm and his head was bleeding. (Adnan Sudançıkmaz kolundan yaralanmıştı ve başından kanlar akıyordu.)

3. The bewilderment of Mustafa Yılmaz. (Mustafa Yılmaz'ın şaşkınlığı)

4. Tradesmen in Büyük Hendek (Big Ditch) Street are anxious. (Büyük Hendek Caddesin'deki esnaflar endişeli)

5. Casualties. (12)

> 1. 20 casualties, 303 wounded. (20 kişi yaşamını yitirdi. 303 yaralı) (2)
>
> 2. 77 wounded from 303 have been still under treatment. (303 yaralıdan 77'sinin tedavisi sürüyor.)
>
> 3. 21 of 23 dead people's identifications who passed away in the attacks were determined. (Saldırılarda yaşamını yitiren 23 kişiden 21'inin kimlikleri tespit edildi.)
>
> 4. Casualties increase to 25. (Ölü sayısı 25'e yükseldi)
>
> 5. 25 missing list. (25 kişilik kayıp listesi)
>
> 6. 17 casualties, more than 200 wounded. (17 ölü, 200'den fazla yaralı)
>
> 7. 11 casualties. (11 ölü)
>
> 8. Minimum 27 casualties and 455 wounded. (En az 27 ölü ve 455 yaralı)
>
> 9. Casualties increased to 30. (Ölü sayısı 30'a yükseldi) (2)
>
> 10. Casualties increased to 31. (Ölü sayısı 31'e yükseldi)

6. Explosion caught during the ritual. (Patlama ayinde yakaladı.)

7. Scream in smoke. (Dumanın içindeki çığlık.)

8. Bülent Bostanoğlu is not the first and last martyr. (Bülent Bostanoğlu ne ilk ne de son şehit)

9. Two days after the attack a corpse was found. (Saldırıdan iki gün sonar ceset bulundu)

10. Victims of terror are fare welling. (Terör kurbanı yurttaşlar uğurlanıyor)

11. There are sorrow and anxiety in the hospitals. (Hastanelerde acı ve endişe var)

12. Sorrowful ceremony for the victims of terror. (Terör kurbanlarına hazin tören) (2)

13. Seven people are under intensive care. (Yedi kişi yoğun bakımda.)

14. Without discrimination 25 people died. This case happened again, the people who were working, passing from the street and also children were killed. (Ayırım gözetmeksizin 25 kişi öldü. Bu olay yine oldu, çalışan, sokaktan geçen insanlar ve birde çocuklar öldü.)

15. The pieces of corpses spread out to Tarlabaşı Street. (Cesetlerin parçaları Tarlabaşı Sokağı'nın dışına dağıldı.)

16. The death coming with stone storm. (Taş fırtınasıyla gelen ölüm)

17. Bewildered crowded. (Şaşkın kalabalık)

18. Uğur Çayboğan said that after explosions an arm had fallen down on him. (Uğur Çayboğan patlamalardan sonra üstüne bir kolun düştüğünü söyledi.)

19. Kerem Yılmazer passed away. (Kerem Yılmazer öldü.)

20. It is claimed that two hands in Aytar Street and another piece of that corpse in Nispetiye Street may belong to the same woman. (Aytar Caddesi'ndeki iki elin Nispetiye Caddesi'nde bulunan diğer ceset parçasının aynı kadına ait olabileceği iddia edildi.)

21. Zehra Yeniay is rebelling. In the synagogue attacks her husband and in the second attacks her brother were injured. (Zehra Yeniay isyan ediyor. Sinagog saldırılarında kocası ve ikinci saldırılarda da erkek kardeşi yaralandı.)

22. After the explosions, everywhere turned into a pool of blood. (Patlamalardan sonra heryer kan gölüne döndü.)

23. Bombed places were looking like hell. There was panic. (Bombalanan yerler cehenneme benziyordu. Panik vardı.)

24. I saw two crumbed corpses, which were holding each other. I thought these were a mother and her daughter. (Birbirine sarılmış iki ceset gördüm. Bence bunlar bir anne ve kızına aitti.)

25. Funerals are started to be buried. (Cenazeler torağa verilmeye başlandı.)

26. The employees in HSBC searched for goods. (HSBC çalışanları eşya aradı.)

27. With the explosions, everywhere was covered with grey smoke and there was a stone storm. (Patlamalarla birlikte heryer gri bir dumanla kaplandı ve taş yağmuru vardı.)

28. Farewell for Yılmazer. (Yılmazer'e veda)

29. Erkoca passed away. (Erkoca öldü.)

30. 6 wounded are under intensive care. (6 yaralı yoğun bakımda.)

31. 8 years old Eray's mother was also the victim of terror. (8 yaşındaki Eray'ın annesi de

terör kurbanı oldu.)

32. Hülya Dönmez passed away. (Hülya Dönmez öldü.)

33. The funeral of the British consul will be sent to Britain. (İngiliz konsolosun cenazesi İngiltere'ye gönderilecek.)

34. People passed away in the bombed attacks are visited in their graves. (Bombalı saldırılarda ölen kişiler mezarlarında ziyaret edildi.)

35. Eray lost his mother at 8 years old. (Eray 8 yaşında annesini kaybetti.)

36. Nazmiye Çırık passed away. (Nazmiye Çırık öldü.)

37. From bloody Sunday to today: Kerem Yılmazer. (Kanlı pazardan bugüne: Kerem Yılmazer)

38. The victims of terror rebelled: 3 weeks passed, uncertainty for financial support continues. (Terör kurbanları isyan etti: 3 hafta geçti, mali destekle ilgili belirsizlik sürüyor)

39. (16.11.04) Victims who lost their lives in Beth Israel and Neve Şalom Synagogues are commemorated in the first anniversary of the attacks. (Beth Israel ve Neve Şalom sinagoglarında hayatlarını kaybeden kurbanlar saldırıların ilk yılında anıldılar.)

40. Ceremony for Şahin. (Şahin için tören)

41. Victims are not forgotten.(Kurbanlar unutulmadı)

42. A year without Yılmazer. (Yımazer'siz geçen bir yıl)

| a.4. Targeted Places (27) |
| --- |

1. Terror is in Istanbul. (İstanbul'da terör) (2)

2. Synagogues (5)

> 1. Neve Şalom and Betyaakov Synagogues in Beyoğlu and Şişli were targeted. (Beyoğlu'nda ve Şişli'deki Neve Şalom ve Betyaakov Sinagogları hedef alındı.)
>
> 2. Synagogues were targeted again in their holy days. (Sinagoga yine 'şabbat' saldırısı)
>
> 3. Two synagogues were targeted at the same time. (İki sinagog aynı zamanda hedef alındı)
>
> 4. The street of synagogue, Istanbul's streets. (Sinagogun sokağı, İstanbul'un sokakları)
>
> 5. The front side of Neve Şalom is on the brink of collapsing, but its back side is strong. (Neve Şalom'un ön yüzü yıkılmak üzere fakat arka tarafı sağlam)

3. Historical buildings will be demolished. (Tarihi yapılar da yıkılacak)

4. Life in Şişli has started to become normal. (Şişli'deki hayat normale dönmeye başladı.)

5. British funded HSBC Bank in Levent and British Consulate in Beyoğlu were targeted. Due to the explosions in Beyoğlu, the consulate's building and outer wall collapsed. (Levent'de ki İngiliz sermayeli HSBC Bankası ve Beyoğlun'da ki İngiliz Konsolosluğu hedef alındı. Beyoğlu'ndaki patlamalardan dolayı, konsolosluğun binası ve dış duvarı çöktü.)

6. Beyoğlu turned into a battle field. (Beyoğlu savaş alanına döndü.)

7. A lot of buildings in Galatasaray and Tarlabaşı were damaged. (Galatasaray ve Tarlabaşın'daki bir çok bina hasar gördü.)

8. The front side of British Consulate looks like as if a bomb was dropped and remained from a world war. (İngiliz Konsolosluğu'nun ön tarafı sanki bomba düşmüş gibi ve dünya savaşından kalmış gibi.)

9. Taksim became silent. (Taksim ıssız kaldı)

10. Galatasaray and Istiklal Streets turned into battlefields. (Galatasaray ve İstiklal caddesi savaş alanına döndü.)

11. First horror occurs in Levent. (İlk dehşet Levent'de gerçekleşti)

12. Six floors of HSBC Bank became unusable. (HSBC Bankası'nın altı katı kullanılamaz hale geldi.)

13. HSBC building looks like as if it remained from a war. (HSBC binası sanki savaştan kalmış gibi.)

14. Simultaneous suicide bombings in Kuledibi, Osmanbey, Levent and Beyoğlu within 5 days are the actions that led to the most casualties and material damage. (Kuledibi, Osmanbey, Levent ve Beyoğlun'da 5 gün içerisinde gerçekleşen eş zamanlı intihar bombalamaları en çok ölüme ve maddi hasara yol açan eylemler oldu.)

15. Ghost city Istanbul. (Hayalet şehir İstanbul)

16. 38 buildings are damaged, 25 of them are historical buildings. (38 bina hasar gördü, bu binalardan 25'i tarihi binalar)

17. 70 damaged buildings.  Most of the work places were closed and shopping decreased. (70 hasarlı bina. Birçok işyeri kapatıldı ve alış-veriş azaldı.)

18. It has been worked at the attacked places to return life to its normal run. (Saldırılan yerlerde hayatı eski akışına çevirmek için çalışmalar sürüyor.)

19. Britain will use the same building. (İngiltere aynı binayı kullanacak.)

20. Historical buildings are in danger. (Tarihi binalar tehlikede)

21. Bombings in front of HSBC Bank led to damage in 70 buildings. (HSBC Bankası önündeki patlamalar 70 binada hasara yol açtı.)

22. Levent Bazaar got into motion. (Levent pazarı hareketlendi)

b. Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes (115+35=150)

b.1.Targets (35)

1. Turkey (17)

    1. Turkey-Israeli relations. (Türkiye-İsrail ilişkileri)
    2. The attacks are against Turkey. (Saldırılar Türkiye'ye karşı) (6)
    3. This attack is against Turkey's peace and tranquility. (Bu saldırı Türkiye'nin barışı ve huzuruna karşı yapıldı)
    4. The real target of the attack is Erdoğan government, which represents moderate Islam and gives effort for the European Union membership. (Saldırının asıl hedefi AB üyelği için çaba sarf eden ılımlı İslam-Erdoğan hükümeti.)
    5. The target is Turkey's policies. (Hedef Türkiye'nin politikaları)
    6. The real target of the bombs is Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who is willing to send troops to Iraq. (Bombaların asıl hedefi Irak'a asker göndermeye istekli olan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan)
    7. Attacks target Turkey's stability and its activist position in the Middle East. (Saldırılar Türkiye'nin istikrarını ve Türkiye'nin Ortadoğuda'ki etkin pozisyonunu hedef alıyor.)
    8. Attacks are blows to Turkey's tranquility, security and the world's peace. (Saldırılar Türkiye'nin huzuruna, güvenliğine ve dünya barışına indirilmiş darbedir.)
    9. The target is Turkey's stability. (Hedef Türkiye'nin istikrarı)
    10. The target is Turkish people. (Hedef Türk halkı)
    11. The real target is oligarchy, which has been cooperating with west imperialism.
    12. The real target is secular democratic republic. (Asıl hedef laik demokratik cumhuriyet)

2. Attacks are against Jews (Saldırılar Musevilere karşı).
3. The attack is against the countries, which share the values of democracy, freedom and legality. (Demokrasi, özgürlük ve hukuk devleti değerlerini paylaşan ülkelere yönelik bir saldırı.)
4. Bombs target the peace environment. (Bombalar barış ortamına)
5. Both Jews and Muslim Turks were targeted. (Hem Yahudiler hem de Müslüman Türkler hedef alındı)

6. Attacks were against the synagogues. (Saldırılar sinagoglara karşıydı)

7. Aim is to create continuous chaos. (Amaç sürekli kaos ortamı yaratmak)

8. The targets are Israel, Britain, the U.S. and Turkey. (Hedefler İsrail, İngiletere, Amerika ve Türkiye)

9. The target is Masons. (Hedef Masonlar)

10. Attacks targeted democracy. (Saldırılar demokrasiyi hedef aldı.)

11. The targets were all the alliances of NATO. (NATO'nun tüm müttefikleri hedefti)

12. The target is civilization. (Hedef medeniyet)

13. The target is Britain. (Hedef İngiltere)

14. The target is British interests. (Hedef İngiliz çıkarları)

15. Roger Short was targeted. (Roger Short hedef alındı)

16. The target was British people. (Hedef İngiliz halkıydı)

17. The targets were Israel and Britain. (Hedefler İsrail ve İngiltere'ydi.)

18. The target is the civilized world. (Hedef medeni dünya)

19. Al Qaeda targets civilized nations. (El Kaide medeni ulusları hedef alıyor)

| b-2 ) Reasons (115) |
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1. American intervention in Iraq (Amerika'nın Irak'a müdahalesi) (4)

2. Turkey (65)

1. Aim is to push Turkey into the American struggle with terrorism. (Amaç Türkiye'yi, Amerika'nın terörle yaşadığı kavganın içine çekmek) (2)

2. Due to the tension in Turkey-Israeli relations (Türkiye-İsrail ilişkilerindeki gerginlik)

3. Turkey does not want to have a role in the U.S.'s Middle Eastern politics. (Türkiye A.B.D.'nin Orta Doğu politikasında rol almak istemiyor.)

4. Loose government policies against terrorism. (Hükümetin terör karşısındaki gevşek politikaları)

5. Aim is to spoil Turkey-Israeli relations through hitting the Jewish community in Istanbul. (Amaç İstanbul'daki Musevi cemaatini vurarak Türkiye-İsrail ilişkilerini bozmak.) (2)

6. Turkey's unstable foreign policies. (Türkiye'nin istikrarsız dış politikaları)

7. Aim is to make Turkey unstable. (Amaç Türkiye'yi istikrarsızlaştırmak.)

8. Turkey's national position in Cyprus may irritate some states. (Türkiye'nin Kıbrıs'taki ulusal duruşu bazı devletleri rahatsız etmiş olabilir.)

9. Aim is to make Turkey introverted. (Amaç Türkiye'yi içedönük yapmak)

10. The lack of will in the government. For example, it released the members of Hezbollah. (Hükümetin irade eksikliği. Örneğin, Hizbullah üyelerini serbest bıraktılar.) (3)

11. Domestic problems. (İç problemler)

12. Unsuccessful governance of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. (Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ın başarısız yönetimi) (2)

13. Government policies that put us the same place with the U.S. and Britain for terrorists. (Bizi teröristlerin gözünde A.B.D. ve İngiltere'yle aynı yere koyan hükümet politikaları)

14. The reason of the attacks may be to give intimidation to Turkey not to send troops to Afghanistan. (Saldırıların sebebi Türkiye'ye Afganistan'a asker göndermemesi için göz dağı vermek olabilir.)

15. Terrorist attacks aimed to divide Turkey. (Terörist saldırılar Türkiye'yi bölmeyi

amaçladı.)

16. For years governors had stayed ineffective or protected the religious terrorism's militants. (Yıllarca, siyasiler etkisiz kaldı ve dini terörün militanlarını korudular.) (5)

17. Turkey's weakness against terrorism with comparison to the U.S., Israel and Britain. (Türkiye'nin A.B.D., İsrail ve İngiltere'ye kıyasla teröre karşı zayıflığı.)

18. Radical fundamentalists who are in the government had prepared the basis of the last terrorist events. (Hükümet içerisindeki radikal köktendinciler son terör olaylarının altyapısını hazırladı.)

19. Political arena that has provoked terrorism. (Terörü provoke eden siyasi ortam) (5)

20. Aim is to push Turkey into the Middle Eastern conflict. (Amaç Türkiye'yi Ortadoğu çatışmasının içine itmek)

21. Turkey's 1980s Middle Eastern politics. (Türkiye'nin 1980'lerdeki Ortadoğu politikası)

22. Aim is to pursue policies towards Israel, the U.S. and Britain. (Amaç İsrail, A.B.D. ve İngiltere yanlısı politikalar izlemek)

23. Turkey's weakness in its foreign policies. (Türkiye'nin dış politikasındaki zayıflığı)

24. Turkey was targeted because it is free, democratic and gives value to human life. (Türkiye hedef alındı çünkü Türkiye özgür, demokratik ve insan hayatına değer veriyor.)

25. Turkey's support in Iraqi attacks, its close relations with West and its democratic, secular republican structure make it a target. (Türkiye'nin Irak saldırılarındaki desteği, Batı ile olan yakın ilişkileri ve demokratik, laik cumhuriyet yapısı onu hedef yaptı.)

26. Turkey's orientation towards the European Union. (Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne olan eğilimi)

27. Justice and Development Party's mistakes in its foreign and domestic politics. (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin dış ve iç politikadaki yanlışları) (2)

28. Turkey is an easier target than Britain and the U.S. (Türkiye İngiltere ve Amerika'dan daha kolay bir hedef) (2)

29. Turkey is a target because of its geographical position, rich reserves and

environmental resources. (Coğrafi konumundan, zengin rezervlerinden ve çevresel kaynaklarından dolayı Türkiye hedef oldu.)

30. Economic politics that lead to poverty and social consciousness bases on intolerance. (Ekonomik politikaların yol açtığı yoksulluk ve hoşgörüsüzlüğe dayanan toplumsal bilinç.)

31. Religious education. (Dini eğitim) (3)

32. Result of economic and social system. (Ekonomik ve sosyal sistemin sonucu) (4)

33. Al Qaeda attacked Turkey because it pursues pro-western policies and it is a secular and democratic country with its Muslim community. Secondly, Al Qaeda can find at least two fundamentalist groups within Turkey and Turkey is the most important route for having access to European countries. (El Kaide Türkiye'ye saldırdı çünkü Batı yanlısı politikalar izliyor ve Müslüman toplumuyla birlikte laik ve demokratik bir ülke. İkinci olarak, El Kaide Türkiye içerisinde en az iki köktendinci örgüt bulabiliyor ve Avrupa ülkelerine girişte en önemli yol Türkiye'den geçiyor.)

34. 3 November elections make Turkey suitable to be a front line for terrorism. (3 Kasım seçimleri Türkiye'yi terör için bir cephe haline getirdi.)

35. Turkey's strategic partnership with the U.S. (Türkiye'nin A.B.D. ile olan stratejik ortaklığı)

36. Poverty and religious coercion in the east part of Turkey. (Türkiye'nin doğusundaki yoksulluk ve dini zorlama) (3)

37. The U.S.'s intervention to Turkey's domestic politics. (A.B.D'nin Türkiye'nin iç politikalarına müdahalesi)

38. Aim is to make Turkey unstable and in this way to weaken it in order to establish the Shari'a order. (Amaç Türkiye'yi istikrarsızlaştırmak ve bu yolla zayıflatarak şeriat düzeni kurmak.) (2)

39. Turkey as a country with its Muslim population is secular. Second, Turkey is the member of NATO. Third, it has strategic relations with Israel and this relation has been progressing. Four, Turkey is a candidate country for the European Union. Lastly, Turkey is governed by an Islamist government, which has been trying to show it is not contrary to western democracy. (Türkiye Müslüman nüfusuyla laik bir ülke. İkincisi, Türkiye NATO üyesi. Üçüncüsü, İsrail ile

stratejik ilişkileri var ve bu ilişki ilerliyor. Dördüncüsü, Türkiye Avrupa Birliği'ne aday ülke. Son olarak da, batı demokrasisine karşı olmadığını göstermeye çalışan İslamcı bir hükümet tarafından yönetilmekte.)

40. Aim is to prevent Turkey's inclusion to the European Union's social, economic and political system. (Amaç Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'nin toplumsal, ekonomik ve politik sistemine girişini engellemek.)

41. Al Qaeda tries to give the message that "I have the capacity to use Turkish values. Turkey is also in my battle field." (El Kaide'nin vermeye çalıştığı mesaj: "Türkiye'nin değerlerini kullanma kapasitesine sahibim. Ayrıca Türkiye benim savaş alanımın içinde.")

42. Turkey is a model country through its democratic, secular and Muslim populated structure. (Türkiye, demokratik, laik ve Müslüman nüfus yapısıyla model bir ülke.)

3. The war in Iraq (Irak'daki savaş).

4. The unbalance between the rich West and poor Islamist world and western policies that has been neglecting Israeli government's terror.(Zengin Batı ile yoksul İslam dünyası arasındaki dengesizlik ve İsrail devleti terörünün batı politikaları tarafından görmezden gelinmesi)

5. Terror in the Middle East. (Ortadoğu'daki terör) (2)

6. To estrange Jews from Europe. (Avrupa'yı Yahudilerden temizlemek) (2)

7. American Middle Eastern politics. (Amerika'nın Ortadoğu politikası)

8. Wars and poorness. (Savaşlar ve fakirlik)

9. American support for Taliban in Afghanistan and American cooperation with Usame bin Laden. (Amerika'nın Afganistan'da Taliban'ı desteklemesi ve Usame bin Ladin ile olan işbirliği)

10. To justify U.S. and Israeli offensive politics. (ABD ve İsrail saldırganlığını meşru göstermek.)

11. Aim in the attacks is to show power. (Saldırılardaki amaç güç göstermek)

12. The U.S. hegemony and against this hegemony, radical Islam started to be globalized. (A.B.D.'nin hakimiyeti ve bu hakimiyete karşı, radikal İslam'ın küreselleşmeye başlaması.)

13. Terrorists try to demoralize free nations. (Teröristler özgür ülkeleri demoralize etmeye çalışıyor.)

14. Poverty begets terrorism. (Teröre yoksulluk besliyor.)

15. The effect of Iraqi War and Israel's Palestinian politics. (Irak savaşının etkisi ve İsrail'in Filistin politikası)

16. The policies of Bush and Sharon. (Bush ve Sharon'un politikaları)

17. To destroy British peace because Britain has been combating against Islam for years. (İngiltere'nin barışına zarar vermek çünkü İngiltere İslam'a karşı yıllardır savaşıyor.)

18. Roger Short was targeted because he was the architect of British politics in Iraq, Syria and Turkey. (Roger Short hedef alındı çünkü o, İngiltere'nin Irak, Suriye, ve Türkiye'de ki politikalarının mimarıydı)

19. The message was to the British people to demonstrate that the alliance with the U.S. will not bring security and welfare. (Mesaj İngiliz halkına A.B.D. ile ittifakın güvenlik ve refah getirmeyeceğini göstermek içindi.)

20. Al Qaeda aimed to break the ties between European countries and Islamist world. (El Kaide Avrupa ülkeleri ve İslam dünyası arasındaki bağları koparmayı amaçladı.)

21. American and British intervention to Iraq. (Irak'a Amerikan ve İngiliz müdahalesi.)

22. Israeli and American policies that neglect human rights. (İnsan haklarını yok sayan İsrail ve Amerikan politikaları) (2)

23. American and British combat against the Islamic world. (İslam dünyasına karşı Amerikan ve İngiliz savaşı)

24. Poverty and injustice. (Yoksulluk ve adaletsizlik)

25. American policies during the Cold War. (Soğuk Savaş sırasındaki Amerikan politikaları) (2)

26. Gaps in the social classes, educational problems, unemployment and lack of birth control. (Toplumsal sınıflar arasındaki uçurum, eğitim problemleri, işsizlik ve doğum kontrolünün eksikliği) (2)

27. Bush's cowboy diplomacy which has been neglecting the international justice concept. (Uluslararası adalet kavramını yok sayan Bush'un kovboy diplomasisi) (2)

28. The U.S. and Europe has used terrorism as a tool. (A.B.D. ve Avrupa'nın terörizmi bir araç olarak kullanıyor olması)

29. The blind policies of American imperialism in the Middle East and Iraq. (Amerikan emperyalizminin Ortadoğu ve Irak'daki kör politikaları)

30. The gap between the first and third world and the domination desire of the first world countries on the third world countries. (Birinci ve üçüncü dünyalar arasındaki uçurum ve birinci dünya ülkelerinin üçüncü dünya ülkeleri üzerinde hükmetme arzusu)

31. Poverty in the world. (Dünyadaki yoksulluk) (2)

32. Racism and religious discrimination. (Irkcılık ve dini ayrımcılık)

33. Al Qaeda aims to establish the Sheri'a order. (El Kaide şeriat düzenini kurmayı amaçlıyor)

34. The European Union policies made Turkey a target of terrorism. (Avrupa Birliği'nin politikaları Türkiye'yi terörizm için bir hedef haline getirdi) (2)

35. Millions of Muslims in Europe and the U.S. have been contempt and suppressed. This fact increases the hatred of Muslims against American, British and Israeli politics. (Avrupa'da ve A.B.D.'de ki milyonlarca Müslüman hor görülüyor ve bastırılıyorlar. Bu durum Müslümanların Amerika, İngiltere ve İsrail politikalarına karşı nefretlerini arttırıyor.)

36. Imperialist power's interventionist and occupationist policies and brutal capitalism.
(Emperyalist güçlerin müdahaleci ve işgalci ve politikaları ve vahşi kapitalizm)

37. Most of the Muslims have been living in underdeveloped societies. That is why they become subcontractors of terrorist organizations through using Islam as a reference. (Birçok Müslüman gelişmemiş toplumlar içinde yaşamakta. Bu yüzden İslam'ı referans olarak kullanarak terör örgütlerinin taşeronları haline geliyorlar.)

38. Lack of social state in Islamic countries. (İslamcı ülkelerde ki toplumsal devletin eksikliği)

39. American imperial project after September 11 against terrorism under the name of 'global war against terrorism'. (Amerika'nın 11 Eylül'den sonra 'terörizme karşı küresel savaş' adı altında sürdürdüğü emperyalist projesi)

40. Exploitative structure of the West. (Batının sömürücü yapısı)

2. Management of Affect/Emotion Constructively (55)

1. President Sezer: "The people who try to violate our country's tranquility will never be allowed." (Cumhurbaşkanı Sezer: "Ülkedeki huzur ortamını bozmaya çalışanlara hiçbir zaman izin verilmeyecektir.")

2. We had experienced more extended terrorist attacks for years but as the people of a country, which overcame these events, we learned the methods to overcome this pessimistic period. It is not wrong to say that we have the experience to find the perpetrators of these attacks and to deactivate them. (Yıllarca daha kapsamlı terör saldırılarının acısını yaşamış, ama üstesinden gelmiş bir ülkenin insanları olarak karamsarlık dönemini de aşmanın yöntemlerini öğrendik. Bu saldırının düzenleyicilerini de bulacak ve etkisizleştirecek deneyime sahip olduğumuzu söylemek yanlış olmaz.)

3. Gül and Şalom attract the attention to the necessity for an international collaboration against terrorism. (Gül ve Şalom, terörizme karşı uluslararası alanda işbirliği yapılması gerektiğine dikkat çekti.)

4. Support from the Şişli and Beyoğlu municipalities to the citizens: 'Social Aid' for the victims. (Şişli ve Beyoğlu belediyelerinden yurttaşlara destek: Zarar görenlere 'sosyal yardım'.)

5. German Prime Minister Gerhard Schröder: "Turkey will contribute to Europe's security through being an example in the reconciliation of the values of Islam and democracy." (Almanya Başbakanı Gerhard Schröder: "Türkiye, İslamiyeti demokratik değerlerle bağdaştırarak dünyaya örnek teşkil ettiği takdirde Avrupa'nın güvenliğine çok büyük katkı sağlayacaktır.)

6. Günter Verheugen: "We need Turkey. Europe needs a democratic Islamist country." (Günter Verheugen: "Türkiye'ye ihtiyacımız var. Demokratik bir İslam ülkesine Avrupa'nın ihtiyacı var.)

7. Tour operators: "There is no cancellation." (Tur operatörleri: İptal yok)

8. Turkey is still the number one for Israeli tourists. (İsrailli turistler için Türkiye hala bir numara)

9. Encourage that we will get from our determination and legitimacy will both provide the ability for us to preserve the control of our rights and interests and will ease to get rid of terrorism. (Kararlılık ve haklılığımızdan alacağımız cesaret, bir yandan hak ve çıkarlarımıza sahip çıkabilmemizi sağlayacak, öte yandan da terörü savuşturmamızı kolaylaştırıcaktır.)

10. Aksu: "Perpetrators are determined before 24 hours pass. This result contributes

positively to Turkey's prestige in the international platform." (Aksu: "Failler 24 saat geçmeden tespit edilmiştir. Alınan sonuç uluslararası platformda Türkiye'nin yüzünü ağartmıştır.")

11. Foreign Minister Abdullah Gül: "Turkey will keep on going in its own way." (Dışişleri Bakanı Abdullah Gül: "Türkiye bildiği yolda gitmeye devam edecektir.")

12. President Ahmet Necdet Sezer: "The state has the power to overcome every kind of problem with its nation." (Cumhurbaşkanı Ahmet Necdet Sezer: "Devlet ulusuyla birlikte her türlü problemin üstesinden gelebilecek güce sahiptir.")

13. The General Secretariat of Turkish General Staff: "The Republic of Turkey has been combating against terrorism successfully for years. Turkish army will continue to preserve the integrity of Turkish Republic with its state and nation." (Genelkurmay Başkanlığı: "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti teröre karşı yıllarca başarılı bir şekilde savaşmaktadır. Türk ordusu Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin devleti ve ulusu ile birlikte bütünlüğünü korumaya devam edecektir.")

14. "Peace against violence and terror": Tomorrow, people will march behind this slogan. ("Şiddet ve teröre karşı barış": Yarın, insanlar bu pankart arkasında yürüyecek.)

15. The organizations of civil society: "We have to be a body." (Sivil toplum örgütleri: "Tek vücut olmalıyız.")

16. Orakoğlu: "After the synagogue attacks, the relation between Israel and Turkey becomes closer. The unity in Turkey is strengthened." (Orakoğlu: "Sinagog saldırılarından sonra, İsrail ve Türkiye arasındaki ilişkiler daha yakınlaştı. Türkiye'de ki birlik güçlendi.")

17. Seminar in HSBC Bank prevented an increase in the loss of lives. (HSBC Banka'sındaki seminer, kayıpların artmasını engelledi.)

18. Full support from NATO to Turkey. (NATO'dan Türkiye'ye tam destek)

19. We have been living in this land without discriminating race, language and religion for years. Even though, it had been tried to violate this cultural mosaic, we had preserved our unity. You are miserable because you could not succeed. In the bereavement days, we have strengthened our unity more. (Biz yüzyıllardan beri bu topraklarda ırk, dil ve din farkı gözetmeksizin yaşıyoruz. Bu kültür mozağini kırmayı deneyenler olmasına rağmen, biz bütünlüğümüzü koruduk. Zavallısınız çünkü başaramadınız. Biz matem günlerinde daha da sıkı bağlanırız birbirimize.)

20. Head of Izmir Jewish Community: "Turkey has the power to overcome these events."

(İzmir Yahudi Cemiyeti Başkanı: "Türkiye bu olayların üstesinden gelecek güce sahip.")

21. The sorrowful events that we experienced this week will not have much effect on us. Today there is not a terror environment in Turkey. (Bu hafta yaşadığımız acı verici olayların üzerimizde çok fazla etkisi olmayacaktır. Bugün Türkiye'de terör havası yok.)

22. Touristic Hotels and Investors Associations: "Today, Turkish nation will overcome terrorism as it did yesterday." (Türkiye Otelciler Birliği: "Bugün, Türk ulusu terörün üstesinden dün olduğu gibi yine gelecek.")

23. Jack Straw: "The attacks against Britain and Turkey strengthen the relation of these countries. We want Turkey's membership to the European Union immediately." (Jack Straw: "İngiltere ve Türkiye'ye karşı yapılan saldırılar bu iki ülke arasındaki ilişkileri güçlendirdi. Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne üyeliğini hemen istiyoruz.")

24. The solution to terrorism is unity around secular, democratic and independent republic. (Teröre çözüm laik, demokratik ve bağımsız cumhuriyet etrafında birlik olmaktır.)

25. German Internal Affairs Minister Otto Schily: "The attacks demonstrated that, close collaboration with Turkey and starting the negotiations for the Europe Union membership are essential. (Alman İçişleri Bakanı Otto Schily: "Saldırılar gösterdi ki Türkiye ile yakın işbirliğine ve Avrupa Birliği'ne üyelik için görüşmelere başlamak gerekli.")

26. Paul Wolfowitz: "These attacks resulted with closer relationships between Turkish Muslims and Jews. On the terrorism issue, United States, Turkey, Britain and the modern world also become closer." (Paul Wolfowitz: "Bu saldırılar Türk Müslümanlar ve Yahudiler arasındaki ilişkileri daha da yakınlaştırdı. Aynı zamanda terör konusunda Amerika, Türkiye, İngiltere ve modern dünya da daha yakınlaştı.")

27. Both hotels and transportation companies pleased with religious festivity reservation. (Oteller ve ulaşım şirketleri bayram rezervasyonundan memnun.)

28. Journalist Lucia Annunziata: "Istanbul is a world city as Paris, London and Rome. This tragedy makes Turkey closer to Europe." (Gazeteci Lucia Annunziata: "İstanbul Paris, Londra ve Roma gibi bir dünya şehri. Bu trajedi Türkiye'yi Avrupa'ya daha da yakınlaştırdı.")

29. Peace right now: People marched for peace and gave the massage that "we will not close ourselves to our homes. We will not be a terrorized society." (Barış, hemen şimdi: Halk barış için yürüdü ve "evlerimize kapanmayacağız, korkutulmuş toplum

olmayacağız" mesajı verdi.)

30. Europe accepted its mistake. It started initiatives to put IBDA-C into the terrorist list. (Avrupa hatasını kabul etti. IBDA-C'nin terör listesine alınması için girişim başlattı.)

31. Life is turning to its normal motion. When tradesmen in the attacked places open their stores, liveliness in shopping started. (Yaşam normale dönüyor. Saldırıların olduğu bölgelerde esnaf dükkanını açınca alışveriş hareketliliği başladı.)

32. Erdoğan: "These attacks cannot terrorize us. We will not abandon our free lives." (Erdoğan: "Bu saldırılar bizi korkutamaz. Özgür hayatımızdan ödün vermeyeceğiz.")

33. Yaser Arafat: "We are in cooperation with Turkish people." (Yaser Arafat: "Türk halkıyla işbirliği içerisindeyiz.")

34. U.S. Foreign Minister Deputy Richard Armitage: "Attacks in Istanbul make civilized nations closer including the U.S. and Turkey." (A.B.D. Dışişleri Bakan Yardımcısı Richard Armitage: "İstanbul'da meydana gelen bombalı saldırılar, aralarında Türkiye ve A.B.D.'nin de olduğu uygar ulusları biribirine yaklaştırdı.")

35. Vakıfbank will give credit to the victims of terror. (Vakıfbank terör kurbanlarına kredi verecek.)

36. For Italian Jews, Istanbul is "a civilization bridge" and they are strictly against the 'civilization war' that targeted Istanbul. In Şabat, Catholics, Muslims, seculars demonstrated 'religious and cultural cooperation/tolerance' through praying with Jews together. (İtalyan Yahudileri için İstanbul bir uygarlık köprüsü ve İstanbul'u hedef alan uygarlık savaşına sert bir şeklilde karşı çıkıyorlar. Şabat da Katolikler, Müslümanlar, laikler Yahudilerle birlikte dua ederek 'dini ve kültürel işbirliği/hoşgörü' gösterdiler.)

37. I witnessed once again our society's resistance strength. I participated to Motive Folkdance's dinner and observed that people who were from different ethnic groups were dancing together. Some of them were Kurt, some were Arab, some were Turkmen but all of them were Turks and from Turkey. (Bir kez daha toplumumuzun direnç gücüne tanık oldum. Motif halk danslarının akşam yemeğine katıldım ve şunu gözlemledim ki farklı etnik gruplardan olan insanlar birlikte dans ediyorlardı. Bazısı Kürt, bazısı Arap, bazısı Türkmen ama hepsi Türk ve Türkiye'den.)

38. Fischer: "Terror is our common enemy." (Fischer: "Terör ortak düşmanımız")

39. American Boston Globe: "Turkey's membership to the European Union will contribute to stability in the Middle East and Turkey." (Amerikan Boston Globe: "Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne üyeliği Ortadoğu'da ve Türkiye'deki istikrara katkı sağlayacaktır.")

40. Sezer: "Our state with our people has the strength to annihilate threats against our democratic and secular order. Turkey will progress in its own route through not giving any concessions from its principles." (Sezer: "Halkımızla birlikte devletimiz, demokratik ve laik düzenimize karşı olan tehditleri yok etme gücüne sahiptir. Türkiye prensiplerinden hiç bir taviz vermeden kendi yolunda devam edecektir.")

41. World stock markets start to increase. (Dünya borsası yükselmeye başladı.)

42. Life is normal in Istanbul. There is no panic. (Hayat İstanbul'da normal. Panik yok.)

43. Britain and Germany gave the massage that in spite of Istanbul attacks; they will support Turkey for the European Union membership. (İngiltere ve Almanya İstanbul saldırılarına rağmen Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği'ne üyeliğini destekleyecekleri mesajını verdi.)

44. Foreign and local people living in Istanbul are rejecting the effects of terrorism on their daily lives. We will not leave Istanbul without fighting. (İstanbul'da yaşayan yabancı ve yerel halk günlük hayatlarında terörün etkilerini redediyorlar. İstanbul'u savaşmadan bırakmayacağız.)

45. There is not a crisis mood in Istanbul. (İstanbul'da kriz havası yok)

46. We will not surrender. (Teslim olmayacağız.)

47. The Council of Minister declared that costs of the damaged business places will be compensated. (Bakanlar Konseyi, hasarlı iş yerlerinin zararlarının karşılanacağını bildirdi.)

48. Ukrainian Prime Minister Yanukaviç came to Turkey without considering the attacks. (Ukrayna Başbakanı Yanukaviç saldırıları göz önünde bulundurmadan Türkiye'ye geldi.)

49. Collaboration between police and gendarme and collaboration between Turkish republic and Syria provide an important progress in terror investigation. (Polis ve jandarma arasındaki işbirliği ve Türkiye Cumhuriyet'i ve Suriye arasındaki işbirliği terör araştırmasında önemli bir ilerleme sağladı.)

50. HSBC: "There will not be any postponement in the investments." (HSBC: "Yatırımlarda herhangi bir erteleme olmayacaktır.")

51. In spite of UEFA's decision to take the matches to impartial fields, foreign teams do not cancel their camp reservations in Antalya. (UEFA'nın maçları tarafsız sahalara alma kararına rağmen, yabancı takımlar Antalya'daki kamp rezarvasyonlarını iptal etmediler.)

52. Peace meeting of the religions. (Dinlerin barış buluşması)

53. There is not any collective reservation cancellation. (Toplu rezarvasyon iptali yok.)

54. Terror could not reach its aim. (Terör amacına ulaşamadı.) (16.11.04)

55. Demircan: "We would like to mention that such kind of events cannot destroy us. On the contrary, our social consciousness increased. (Demircan: "Bu tür olayların bize zarar veremeyeceğini belirtmek isteriz. Tam tersine toplumsal bilincimiz arttı.) (16.11.04)

## Table 4.b. RADİKAL (422+87=509)

1. Problem Recognition (278+144=422)

a. Problem Framing (84 + 92 + 81 + 21 = 278)

| a.1. Terrorist Events (84) |
|---|
| 1. Catastrophe. (Felaket) (2) |
| 2. International action/terror. (Uluslararası eylem/terör) (3) |
| 3. War of religions. (Dinlerin savaşı) |
| 4. Austereness. (Hoşgörüsüzlük) |
| 5. Messages with bombs. (Bombalarla verilen mesajlar) |
| 6. Global attacks. (Küresel saldırılar) |
| 7. Atrocity. (Vahşet) (6) |
| 8. Felonious attacks. (Haince saldırılar) |
| 9. Religious terrorism. (Dini terör) (5) |
| 10. Fatal attacks. (Yok edici saldırılar9 (2) |
| 11. Cursed events. (Lanetli olaylar) (2) |
| 12. This is a war. (Bu bir savaş) (4) |
| 13. Islamist terrorism. (İslamcı terörizm) (10) |
| 14. Global crisis. (Küresel kriz) |
| 15. Wild destructiveness of bombs. (Vahşi yıkıcı bombalar) |
| 16. Qaeda type of terror. (Kaide tipi terör) (2) |
| 17. Cutthroat attacks. (Cani saldırılar) |
| 18. Pure wickedness. (Saf günahkarlık) |
| 19. Suicide attacks. (İntihar saldırıları) (3) |
| 20. Out of humanity. (İnsanlık dışı) (3) |
| 21. Loathsome attacks. (İğrenç saldırılar) |
| 22. War of Qaeda against Turkey. (Türkiye'ye karşı Kaide savaşı) |
| 23. Horror. (Dehşet) (6) |
| 24. Turkey's September 11. (Türkiye'nin 11 Eylül'ü) (2) |
| 25. Worse than earthquake. (Depremden daha kötü) |
| 26. Massacres. (Katliamlar) |
| 27. Sacrificial religious festivity. (Kurbanlık bayram) |

28. The greatest war of 21<sup>th</sup> century. (21. yüzyılın en büyük savaşı)

29. International Islamist terror. (Uluslararası İslamcı terör)

30. Foreign sourced terror. (Dış kaynaklı terör)

31. Organized terror attacks. (Organize terör saldırıları)

32. Treacherous attacks. (Hain saldırılar) (2)

33. Blind attacks. (Kör saldırılar)

34. Dastard initiatives. (Alçak girişimler)

35. Doomsday. (Kıyamet günü)

36. Religious motivated terrorism. (Dini motifli terörizm) (3)

37. Cruel attacks. (Zalim saldırılar)

38. Istanbul's September 11. (İstanbul'un 11 Eylül'ü)

39. Islam's September 11. (İslam'ın 11 Eylül'ü)

40. Fatal, nihilist terrorism. (Yok edici, nihilist terörizm)

41. Foreign supported terror wave. (Dış destekli terör dalgası)

42. Humanity crime. (İnsanlık suçu)

43.  Terror for the name of Islam. (İslam adına terör)

44. Painful and bloody truth. (Acıdolu ve kanlı gerçek)

| a.2. Terrorist and Terrorist Groups (92) |
| --- |

1. Al Qaeda (27)

> 1. It may be Al Qaeda. (El Kaide olabilir) (4)
>
> 2. It may be Al Qaeda related. (El Kaide bağlantılı olabilir) (2)
>
> 3. Al Qaeda related countries' intelligence services. (El Kaide bağlantılı ülkelerin gizli servisleri)
>
> 4. A cell of Al Qaeda. (El Kaide hücresi)
>
> 5. Al Qaeda connected Martyr Ebu Hafız El Masri Brigades. (El Kaide bağlantılı Şehit Ebu Hafız El Masri Tugayları) (3)
>
> 6. Al Qaeda and its Turkish subcontractors such as Hezbollah, IBDA/C. (El Kaide ve Türk taşeronları, Hizbullah, IBDA/C gibi)
>
> 7. Al Qaeda declared war. (El Kaide savaş ilan etti.) (2)
>
> 8. Al Qaeda related Beyi'at El Imam organization. (El Kaide bağlantılı Beyi'at El İmam örgütü)
>
> 9. Al Qaeda or Qaeda related organizations took the responsibility. (El Kaide veya Kaide bağlantılı örgütler sorumluluğu üstlendi.) (2)
>
> 10. Al Qaeda took the responsibility. (El Kaide sorumluluğu üstlendi) (3)
>
> 11. Al Qaeda and its Turkish subcontractors. (El Kaide ve onun Türk taşeronları)
>
> 12. An Islamist advocate of Al Qaeda. (El Kaide'nin İslamcı bir taraftarı)
>
> 13. Qaeda supported IBDA/C. (Kaide destekli IBDA/C) (2)
>
> 14. Al Qaeda type Islamist terror. (El Kaide tipi İslamcı terör)
>
> 15. Qaeda connected organizations. (Kaide bağlantılı örgütler) (2)

2. International related organization. (Uluslararası bağlantılı örgüt) (2)

3. Foreign organizations assisted by local terrorists. (Yerel teröristler tarafından yardım edilen dış örgütler) (2)

4. Organizations that are cooperating with Palestinian organizations. (Filistin örgütleriyle işbirliği yapan örgütler)

5. Middle Eastern organizations. (Ortadoğu örgütleri) (2)

6. Palestinian organizations. (Filistin örgütleri)

7. Foreign sourced. (Dış kaynaklı) (2)

8. Fanatics. (Fanatikler) (2)

9. Radical Islamist groups. (Radikal İslamcı gruplar) (2)

10. Radical religious groups. (Radikal dinci gruplar) (2)

11. Islamist terrorist/organizations. (İslamcı terrorist/örgütler) (3)

12. Militant Islamist. (Militan İslamcı)

13. Middle Eastern originated terrorists. (Ortadoğu çıkışlı teröristler)

14. Subcontractors may be Turk. (Taşeronlar Türk olabilir)

15. International connected. (Uluslararası bağlantılı) (2)

16. Fundamentalists. (Köktendinciler)

17. Bombers (Bombacılar) (23)

---

1. A feature was identified. (Bir kişi teşhis edildi.)

2. Two perpetrators are determined. Mesut Çabuk made a suicide attack to Şişli Beth Israel Synagogue and Gökhan Elaltuntaş made a suicide attack to Neve Şalom Synagogue. (İki fail belirlendi. Mesut Çabuk Şişli Beth İsrael Sinagoguna, Gökhan Elaltuntaş'da Neve Şalom Sinagoguna intihar saldırısı yaptı.)

3. 9 supporters were arrested. (9 destekci tutuklandı.)

4. 18 individuals were arrested. (18 kişi tutuklandı.)

5. 20 individuals are arrested. (20 kişi tutuklandı)

6. Responsible ones are Muslims. (Sorumlu kişiler Müslümanlar) (2)

7. Yusuf Polat put in prison. (Yusuf Polat hapse atıldı.)

8. Bombers are from Kurdish villages. (Bombacılar Kürt köylerinden)

9. Bombers are from Turkey's poor Bingöl city and they are ethnic Kurds. (Bombacılar Türkiye'nin fakir Bingöl şehrinden ve etnik Kürtler.)

10. The trait of the bombers is found from Syria. (Bombacıların izi Suriye'de bulundu.)

11. 22 individuals who are related to Azad Ekinci were caught in Syria. (Azad Ekinic'yle bağlantılı olan 22 kişi Suriye'de yakalandı.)

12. 47 years old İlyas Kuncak made suicide attack to HSBC Bank. (47 yaşındaki İlyas Kuncak HSBC Banka'sına intihar saldırısı düzenledi.)

13. Bombers are Turks. (Bombacılar Türk) (2)

14. International and Qaeda connected Turkish bombers. (Uluslararası ve Kaide bağlantılı Türk bombacılar)

15. The key name is Hilmi Tuğluoğlu. (Kilit isim Hilmi Tuğluoğlu)

16. Azad Ekinci ran away. (Azad Ekinci kaçtı.)

17. Fanatics who share Qaeda's ideology. (Kaide'nin ideolojisini paylaşan fanatikler)

18. Hilmi Tuğluoğlu was arrested. (Hilmi Tuğluoğlu tutuklandı.)

19. 26<sup>th</sup> arrestment in the bombings. (Bombalamalarda 26. tutuklama)

20. Qaeda attackers. (Kaide saldırganları)

18. Afghanistan related. (Afganistan bağlantılı)

19. Blood thirsty. (Kana susamışlar) (2)

20. Murderers. (Katiller)

21. Sick people. (Hasta insanlar)

22. Lack of conscience and feelings. (Bilinç ve duygu yoksunluğu)

23. Turks were used as subcontractor. (Türkler taşeron gibi kullanıldılar)

24. Militant Islamist IBDA/C. (Militan İslamcı IBDA/C)

25. The attack of Tevhid organization (Tevhid örgütünün saldırısı)

26. Hezbollah. (Hizbullah) (4)

27. Radical Islamist militants. (Radikal İslamcı militanlar)

28. Advocates of Baas sect, fundamentalists and supposed politic Islamists. (Baas mezhebinin taraftarları, köktendinciler ve sözde siyasal İslamcılar)

29. The name behind the attacks is Molla Macid. (Saldırıların arkasında Molla Macid var.)

30. MOSSAD.

31. The key name is Zerkavi. (Kilit isim Zerkavi)

| |
|---|
| a.3. Victims (81) |
|     1.  Casualties  (14) |

1. Casualties (14)

1. 20 casualties, 300 wounded. (20 ölü, 300 yaralı)

2. One police, 20 casualties. (Bir polis, 20 ölü)

3. 24 casualties in the attacks to synagogues in Istanbul. (İstanbul'daki sinagoglara yapılan saldırılarda 24 ölü)

4. 25th victim. (25. kurban)

5. 27 casualties in Levent and British Consulate explosions. (Levent'deki ve İngiliz Konsolosluğu'ndaki patlamalarda 27 ölü)

6. 27 casualties, 455 wounded. (27 ölü, 455 yaralı)

7. Due to the explosions in the British Consulate, 17 individuals died and hundreds of people were injured. (İngiliz Konsolosluğun'daki patlamalardan dolayı, 17 kişi öldü ve yüzlerce insane yaralandı.)

8. 27 casualties and more than 450 wounded. (27 ölü ve 450'den fazla yaralı)

9. Casualties increased to 29 with the death of Hülya Dönmez. (Hülya Dönmez'in ölümüyle ölü sayısı 29'a yükseldi.)

10. Casualties increased to 30 with the death of Nazmiye Çırık. (Nazmiye Çırık'ın ölümüyle ölü sayısı 30'a yükseldi.)

11. 28 casualties, 450 wounded. (28 ölü, 450 yaralı)

12. 51 people died and 712 people wounded in the attacks. (Saldırılarda 51 kişi öldü ve 712 kişi yaralandı.)

13. At least 26 casualties and 450 wounded. (En az 26 ölü, 450 yaralı)

2. People looked for their relatives. (İnsanlar akrabalarını aradılar)

3. The majority of the wounded are tradesmen who were working around the synagogue. (Yaralıların çoğu sinagogun etrafında çalışan esnaf) (2)

4. Bed and ambulance could not answer the demands. (Yatak ve ambülans yetmedi.)

5. Two wounded could not be rescued. (İki yaralı kurtarılamadı.)

6. Citizens rushed to Şişli Etfal Hospital to seek their young, old, electrician, security guard relatives. (Vatandaşlar Şişli Etfal Hastanesine genç, yaşlı, elektrikci, güvenlik görevlisi olan yakınlarını aramaya koştular.)

7. Hasan Özsoy and his 13 years old son Hamza Özsoy were injured in the explosions. They were shopping for religious festivity. (Hasan Özsoy ve 13 yaşındaki oğlu Hamza Özsoy patlamalarda yaralandı. Bayram için alışveriş yapıyorlardı.)

8. Rescued ones told about the catastrophe. (Kurtulanlar faciayı anlattı)

9. Şişli Etfal Hospital's director of ambulances: "I have never seen such kind of an event in my 17 years of working experience. We strained while we were collecting the corpses.'' (Şişli Etfal Hastanesi'nin ambulans şefi: "17 yıllık iş deneyimim boyunca böyle bir olay görmedim. Cesetleri toplarken zorlandık.")

10. From the sky, pieces fell down. (Havadan parçalar yağdı)

11. I completed my military duty in the east and I had never seen such kind of an explosion. (Ben askeri görevimi doğuda tamamladım ve hayatımda böyle bir patlama görmedim.)

12. Friends, neighbors passed away together. (Arkadaşlar, komşular birlikte ölüme gittiler)

13. Sabri Eruş recognized his son's corpse from his cigarette. (Sabri Eruş oğlunun cesedini sigarasından tanıdı.)

14. Murat Şahin who was the father of three children died in Taksim First Aid Hospital. His customer's identification could not be determined. (Üç çocuk babbası olan Murat Şahin Taksim İlk Yardım Hastanesin'de öldü. Müşterisinin kimliği belirlenemedi.)

15. The intersected lives in death: Mehmet who was working in a lighting store, pregnant Berta who was going to synagogue, retired police Emin who was working for his son's education. (Ölümde kesişen hayatlar: Avizeci dükkanında çalışan Mehmet, sinagoga giden hamile Berta, oğlunu okutmaya çalışan emekli polis Emin)

16. Sorrow and anger against terror: Eight funerals were buried. (Teröre karşı acı ve öfke: Sekiz cenaze toprağa verildi.)

17. The ones whose living rights were stolen. (Yaşama hakkı çalınanlar)

18. Murat Şahin left his home by kissing his children. (Murat Şahin çocukları öpüp çıktı.)

19. Fazıl Süslü, who was sick, decided to go to work because of his accumulated work. (Hasta olan Fazıl Süslü biriken işlerinden dolayı işe gitmeye karar vermişti.)

20. 26 years old Balcı had been working for two years in Neve Şalom synagogue as a security guard. He was married and he had a son. (26 yaşındaki Balcı iki yıldır Neve Şalom sinagogunda güvenlik görevlisi olarak çalışıyordu. Evli ve bir oğlu vardı.)

21. Berta and Ahmet Özdoğan would participate the Saturday praying. Ahmet was a Muslim and Berta was Jewish. Berta was pregnant to their first child. With the explosion, they were dispersed to different places. (Berta ve Ahmet Özdoğan Cumartesi duasına katılacaklardı. Ahmet Müslüman ve Berta yahudiydi. Berta ilk çocuklarına hamileydi. Patlamayla birlikte ikiside ayrı yerlere savruldular.)

22. What was the guilt of the one who was walking on the street? (Sokakta yürüyenin suçu

neydi?)

23. The happiness of the rescued ones did not last long because of their demolished homes and stores. (Yıkılan ev ve dükkanlarından dolayı kurtulanların mutluluğu uzun sürmedi.)

24. Liyezer Yeruşalmi: "During the explosions, we were praying. The scene was worse than a battle field. We experience atrocity. (Liyezer Yeruşalmi: "Patlamalar sırasında dua ediyorduk. Savaş yerinden daha kötü bir manzara vardı. Vahşet yaşandı."

25. We do not have insurance. (Sigortamız yok)

26. Their guilt was being there: Bombs did not discriminate people. A father who was working for his daughter's education, 8 years old kid who was trying to learn the principles of her religion with a businessman who was planning a holiday were only 'target' for the bombs. (Suçları orda olmaktı: Bombalar insan ayırt etmedi. Kızını okutmak için çalışan bir baba, dininin doğrularını öğrenmeye çalışan sekiz yaşındaki çocuk ile seyahat hayalleri kuran bir işadamı bomba için sadece hedefti.)

27. Grandmother Arnetta Rubinstein and her granddaughter were going to the Saturday pray. (Büyükanne Arnetta Rubinstein ve torunu Cumartesi duasına gidiyorlardı)

28. The formidable lives: In the early Saturday morning, he was going to his job. He was at the back side door of the synagogue as responsible from the security of the region. He had one year old daughter. (Zorlu hayatlar: Cumartesi günü neredeyse gökyüzünün yeni aydınlandığı saatlerde işine gidiyordu. Sinagoğun arka kapısında, bölgenin güvenliğinden sorumluydu. Bir yaşında kızı vardı.)

29. Last pray. (Son dua)

30. Farewell with tears. (Gözyaşlarıyla veda)

31. A new sorrow for the family who were also injured in the earthquake. (Depremzede aileye yeni acı)

32. Funerals of Jewish citizens were buried. (Yahudi vatandaşların cenazeleri toprağa verildi.)

33. The British consulate general passed way. (İngiliz konsolosu öldü.) (2)

34. Fear makes her fainted. (Korku bayılttı)

35. Panic in hospitals. (Hastanelerde panik)

36. Everyone feared and worried. (Herkes korku ve endişe içinde)

37. He would marry on December 7. (7 Aralık'da evlenecekti)

38. 12 years police died in the explosions, while his children were in school. (12 yıllık polis

çocukları okuldayken patlamalarda öldü.)

39. Cafer-Kiraz Gündüz couple died together. (Cafer-Kiraz çifti birlikte öldü.)

40. The family of İsmail Çiftlik depressed with his death. (İsmail Çiftlik'in ailesi ölümüyle yıkıldı.)

41. Adem Tezel died at his restaurant. (Adem Tezel restoranında öldü.)

42. Nazım Harmankaya was 36 years old and he was guarding in front of the consulate. He wanted to quit this job because of potential threats, but he had to look after his 7 and 11 years old sons. (Nazım Harmankaya 36 yaşındaydı ve konsolosluğun önünde nöbet tutuyordu. Olası tehditlerden dolayı işini bırakmak istiyordu fakat 7 ve 11 yaşında bakmak zorunda olduğu iki oğlu vardı.)

43. 26 years old Nadide Demirbozan died in the attacks, also. She had left her daughter and gone to work. (26 yaşındaki Nadide Demirbozan da saldırılarda öldü. Kızını bırakıp işe gitmişti.)

44. She survived with two steps. (İki adımla kurtuldu)

45. Witnesses of hell. (Cehennemin tanıkları)

46. Murat Kakmaz says that he will never forget November 20. (Murat Kakmaz 20 Kasım'ı unutmayacağını söyledi.)

47. People ran in panic. (Panik halinde koştular)

48. Is there the name of my mother? (Annemin ismi var mı?)

49. Zehra Yeniay says that "That is enough." In Saturday explosions, her husband and two brother-in-laws were injured and yesterday in Levent explosions, her brother was injured. (Zehra Yeniay "artık yeter" diyor. Cumartesi günkü patlamada eşi ve iki kaynı, dün de Levent'deki patlamalarda erkek kardeşi yaralanmış.)

50. Kerem Yılmazer was also the victim of terror. (Kerem Yılmazer de terör kurbanı)

51. There is mourning in theater. (Tiyatro dünyasında yas var)

52. Iranians are in emergency room. (İranlılar acilde)

53. Fahri Sayın dashed from a store's window. (Fahri Sayın bir dükkanın camından fırladı.)

54. He could not stand the things that he saw. He was working in Civil Defense Team of Beşiktaş. He saw hundreds of wounded and death people but he was not affected that much. (Gördüklerine dayanamadı. Beşiktaş Belediyesi'nin Sivil Savunma Ekibin'de çalışıyordu. Yüzlerce yaralı ve ölü insan görmüştü ama bu denli etkilenmemişti.)

55. He returned from death two times in a day. (Bir günde iki kez ölümden döndü)

56. At 10.55, horror in Levent. (Saat 10.55, Levent'te dehşet)

57. The bomb, which was exploded in the entrance of HSBC building, united the people, who were in the same street, with 'death' and 'atrocity'. (HSBC girişinde patlatılan bomba, dün aynı caddede bulunanları 'ölüm' ve 'vahşet'te birleştirdi.)

58. The darkened lives. (Kararan hayatlar)

59. 26 of the victims were identified. (Kurbanların 26'sı teşhis edildi)

60. 11 victims of terror were fare welled with anger and tears. (11 terör kurbanı öfke ve gözyaşlarıyla uğurlandı)

61. Their love disappeared with terror. (Aşkları terörle yok oldu)

62. Fare well with tears. (Gözyaşlarıyla veda)

63. Mourning of artists. (Sanatçıların yası)

64. Sadness in the church. (Kilisede hüzün)

65. Eray's mother passed away. (Eray'ın annesi öldü.)

66. Sorrowful ceremony for the victims. (Kurbanlara hüzünlü tören)

| a.4. Targeted Places (21) |
| --- |

1. Due to the effect of explosions, one meter cavity occurred in front of Neve Şalom Synagogue. (Patlamalardan dolayı Neve Şalom Siangoğu'nun önünde bir metrelik çukur oluştu)

2. Life stopped in Şişli. (Şişli'de hayat durdu)

3. Galata was like a battle field. (Galata savaş alanı gibiydi)

4. 17 years after, same day, same hour. (17 yıl sonra, aynı gün, aynı saat)

5. The street was full of burned and smashed corpses. (Sokak yanmış ve parçalanmış cesetlerle doluydu.)

6. 24 hours after the catastrophe. (Faciadan 24 saat sonrası)

7. There are 20 heavy damaged buildings. (20 ağır hasarlı bina var)

8. 8-10 heavy damaged historical buildings in Kuledibi will be demolished. Damage is determined in 60 buildings and business places in Şişli. (Kuledibi'nde 8-10 ağır hasarlı tarihi bina yıkılacak. Şişli'de 60 bina ve işyerinde hasar tespit edildi.)

9. As a result of attacks, 110 buildings were damaged. (Saldırıların sonucunda 110 bina hasar görmüş.)

10. The HSBC building looks like as if it was bombarded. The sound of explosion was heard even from Istanbul's Anatolian side. (HSBC binası top atışına tutulmuş gibiydi. Patlamanın sesi İstanbul'un Anadolu yakasında bile duyuldu.)

11. Heavy damages in British Consulate and around buildings. Historical buildings were also damaged. (İngiliz Konsolosluğu'nda ve çevre binalarda ağır hasar. Tarihi binalar da hasar gördü.)

12. Pera House became a ruin. (Pera House harabeye döndü)

13. 30 million dollars building. (30 milyon dolarlık bina)

14. Explosions locked metropolitan. (Patlamalar metropolü kilitledi.)

15. Beyoğlu is targeted again after 5 days. (Beyoğlu 5 gün sonra yine hedef oldu.)

16. The esprit of Istiklal Street, which is the center of entertainment and trade in Istanbul, was replaced by the violence of being shaken. (İstanbul'da eğlence ve ticaretin kalbi İstiklal Caddesi'nin ruhu, yerini şiddetli bir sarsılmaya bıraktı.)

17. Due to the intensity of explosions in Beyoğlu, stores and buildings around 200 meters were affected. (Patlamaların şiddetiyle Beyoğlu'nda 200 metre yakınlığında olan dükkanlar ve binalar etkilendi.)

18. After the explosion in front of HSBC Bank, in order to open Büyükdere Street to traffic,

cleaning activities had continued all day long. (HSBC Bankası'nın önündeki patlamadan sonra Büyükdere Caddesi'ni trafiğe açmak için bütün gün temizlik çalışmaları sürdü.)

19. Due to the explosions, second and third floors of HSBC Bank collapsed. (Patlamalarla HSBC Bankasının ikinci ve üçüncü katları yıkıldı.)

20. The shopping center Metro City was also affected from the explosions. (Alışveriş merkezi Metro City de bombalamalardan etkilendi.)

21. Explosions are at the intensity of 5. (Patlamalar 5 şiddetinde)

b- Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes (52+92=144)

| b.1) Targets (52) |
| --- |

1.Israel and the synagogues (İsrail ve sinagoglar)

2.Turkey (22)

> 1. Turkey's tranquility and stability are targeted. (Türkiye'nin huzuru ve istikrarı hedef alındı.)
>
> 2. Attacks against Turkey. (Türkiye'ye karşı saldırılar) (10)
>
> 3. Justice and Development (*Adalet ve Kalkınma*) Party is targeted. (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi hedef alındı.)
>
> 4. Turkey's concept of tolerance between religions and freedom in religions are targeted. (Türkiye'nin dinler arası höşgörü kavramı ve dinlerdeki özgürlük hedef alındı.)
>
> 5. Turkey's stability was targeted. (Türkiye'nin istikrarı hedef alındı.) (2)
>
> 6. Turkey and its values are targeted. (Türkiye ve değerleri hedef alındı.)
>
> 7. The target was Istanbul. (Hedef İstanbul'du.)
>
> 8. Turkish model is the real target, which demonstrates the religious tolerance. (Gerçek hedef dini hoşgörü gösteren Türk modeli) (2)
>
> 9. The target is the lifestyle and democracy in Turkey. (Hedef Türkiye'deki yaşam tarzı ve demokrasi)
>
> 10. Turkey's democracy is the target. (Hedef Türkiye'nin demokrasisi)
>
> 11. The target is Turkish nation. (Hedef Türk ulusu)

3. Jews are targeted. (Yahudiler hedef alındı.)

4. Ethnic, religious and cultural tolerance is targeted. (Etnik, dini ve kültürel hoşgörü hedef alındı.)

5. Islam is targeted. (İslam hedef alındı.)

6. The target was Beth Israel Synagogue, where 300 people were praying. (300 kişinin dua ettiği Beth Israel Sinagogu hedef alındı.)

7. Attacks are against the countries, which share democracy, freedom, and state of law. (Saldırılar demokrasiyi, özgürlüğü, ve hukuk devletini paylaşan ülkeleri hedef aldı.)

8. Bombs against 500 years tranquility. (Bombalar 500 yıllık huzura karşı)

9. The target is Israel. (Hedef İsrail)

10. Istanbul attacks target all NATO alliances. (İstanbul saldırıları tüm NATO

müttefiklerini hedef aldı.) (2)

11. Istanbul attacks target NATO values and democracies. (İstanbul saldırıları NATO değerlerini ve demokrasileri hedefledi.)

12. Target is the free world. (Hedef özgür dünya) (2)

13. Attacks are against Turkey and Britain. (Saldırılar Türkiye ve İngiltere'ye karşı) (3)

14. Attacks are against all of the countries' basic values. (Saldırılar tüm ülkelerin temel değerlerine karşı)

15. Attacks are against Bush's visit to Britain, which aims to strengthen their ties. (Saldırılar İngiltere'yle bağlarını güçlendirmek isteyen Bush'un İngiltere ziyaretine karşı)

16. Attacks are against the civilized world. (Saldırılar uygar dünyaya karşı)

17. The real targets are the European ideal and civilization. (Gerçek hedefler Avrupa ülküsü ve uygarlık)

18. Attacks target the civilized nations. (Saldırılar medeni ulusları hedef alıyor)

19. The target was the bridge between Islam and West. (Hedef İslam ve Batı arasındaki köprü)

20. The target is Islamist World. (Hedef İslamcı dünya) (2)

21. Britain was the target. (Hedef İngiltere'ydi.)

22. The target is liberal Islam. (Hedef liberal İslam)

23. The target is the advocates of modernism and multipolarity. (Hedef modernizm ve çok kutupluluğun savunucuları)

24. Attacks are against Europe. (Saldırılar Avrupa'ya karşı)

25. Attacks are against ethnic, religious and cultural tolerance. (Saldırılar etnik, dini ve kültürel hoşgörüye karşı)

26. The target is Sharon and his government. (Hedef Şaron ve hükümeti)

| b.2) Reasons (92) |
|---|
| 1.Turkey (54) |

| |
|---|
| 1. Turkey-Israeli relations (Türkiye-İsrail ilişkileri) |
| 2. Turkey stands away from Israeli and American policies. Therefore, attacks aim to push Turkey back to work in harmony with the U.S. and Israel. (Türkiye, İsrail ve Amerikan politikalarından uzak duruyordu. Bu yüzden, saldırılar Türkiye'yi A.B.D. ve İsrail ile yeniden uyumlu bir şekilde çalışmaya itmeyi amaçlıyor.) |
| 3. Turkey's support to the U.S. in its intervention to Iraq. (A.B.D.'nin Irak'a müdahalesinde Türkiye'nin desteği) (5) |
| 4. Turkey is prone to the West, it is secular and friend of Israel. (Türkiye Batı yanlısı, laik ve İsrail'in arkadaşı) |
| 5. Turkey is a Muslim democracy. (Türkiye Müslüman bir demokrasi) |
| 6. Turkey's close relations with the U.S. and Israel. (Türkiye'nin A.B.D. ve İsrail ile olan yakın ilişkileri) |
| 7. Turkey as a Muslim country pursues close relations with the U.S. and Israel. (Müslüman bir ülke olarak Türkiye A.B.D. ve İsrail'le yakın ilişkiler sürdürmekte.) |
| 8. Aim is to destabilize Turkey. (Amaç Türkiye'yi istikrarsızlaştırmak.) |
| 9. Aim is to destroy Turkey's desire to be a Muslim, secular and democratic country. (Amaç Türkiye'nin Müslüman, laik ve demokratik bir ülke olma arzusunu zedelemek.) |
| 10. Aim is to demonstrate that Islamist terrorism can exist in Turkey, especially in Istanbul. (Amaç Türkiye'de, özellikle de İstanbul'da İslamcı terörün olabiliceğini göstermek.) |
| 11. Turkey is targeted because there is free democracy. (Türkiye hedef alındı çünkü Türkiye'de özgür demokrasi var.) |
| 12. Government pursues policies prone to the European Union and this fact irritates some states. (Hükümet Avrupa Birliği yanlısı politikalar yürütüyor ve bu durum da bazı ülkeleri rahatsız ediyor.) |
| 13. Turkey is governed by a moderate Muslim government. (Türkiye ılımlı Müslüman bir hükümet tarafından yönetilmekte) (4) |
| 14. Aim is to prevent Turkey's orientation towards the West. (Amaç, Türkiye'nin Batı'ya yönelişini engellemek.) |

15. Turkey's isolationist policy in the war against terrorism. This policy makes Turkey a soft and an easy target. (Türkiye'nin terörle mücadeledeki yalnızlık politikası. Bu politika Türkiye'yi yumuşak ve kolay bir hedef haline getiriyor.)

16. Aim is to demoralize Turkey which is at the top of an alteration period. (Değişim sürecinin en tepesinde olan Türkiye'yi demoralize etmek.)

17. Terrorists try to push the Turkey to be governed by the army. (Teröristler Türkiye'nin ordu tarafından yönetilmesini sağlamaya çalışıyorlar.)

18. Turkey is a democratic and secular state. (Türkiye demokratik ve laik bir devlet)

19. Turkey adopts western values, pursues close relations with Israel and targets the European Union membership as a Muslim country. (Türkiye batı değerlerini benimsiyor, İsrail ile yakın ilişkiler yürütüyor ve Müslüman bir ülke olarak Avrupa Birliği üyeliğini hedefliyor.)

20. Istanbul is the capital of booming Turkish economy and it is an open city which makes it a soft target. (İstanbul hızla büyüyen Türk ekonomisinin başkenti ve açık bir şehir olması onu yumuşak bir hedef haline getiriyor.)

21. Turkey is the alliance of the U.S. and it is the only Muslim country in this alliance. (Türkiye A.B.D.'nin müttefiki ve bu ittifak içerisindeki tek Müslüman ülke)

22. Turkey's modernization efforts. (Türkiye'nin modernleşme çabaları)

23. Terrorists think that Justice and Development Party is the product of 'Mason West.' (Teröristler, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi'nin 'Mason Batı'nın bir ürünü olduğunu düşünüyor.)

24. Government is Islamist and liberal, this fact creates disturbance among the radical religious groups because the government demonstrates the reconciliation possibility between Islam and democracy. (Hükümet İslamcı ve liberal, bu durum radikal dinci gruplar arasında rahatsızlık yaratıyor çünkü hükümet İslam ve demokrasi arasındaki uzlaşma olasılığını gösteriyor.)

25. The government of Erdogan is determinant about their position towards European Union. (Erdoğan hükümeti Avrupa Birliği'ne karşı tutumunda kararlı.) (2)

26. To overturn Erdogan government due to the idea that this Muslim secular government encourages radical groups because of its structure. (Erdoğan

hükümetini, Müslüman laik hükümetin radikal grupları cesaretlendirdiği görüşüne dayanarak devirmek)

27. Turkish society is a democratic and open society. This case makes Turkey available for terrorist attacks. (Türk toplumu demokratik ve açık bir toplum. Bu durum Türkiye'yi terör saldırıları için uygun hale getiriyor.)

28. Turkey is a secular country. (Türkiye laik bir ülke)

29. Erdogan government is not perceived as a sufficient Islamist government. (Erdoğan hükümeti yeterli İslamcı bir hükümet olarak algılanmıyor.)

30. Turkey fights against religious discrimination. It represents the real, modern, and progressive face of Islam. It proves that a Muslim state can be secular and democratic. (Türkiye dini ayrımcılığa karşı savaşıyor. İslam'ın gerçek, modern ve ilerleyen yüzünü temsil ediyor.)

31. Turkey is a successful secular and democratic model. (Türkiye başarılı laik ve demokratik bir model)

32. To show Erdogan that the people who elected them have the enough power to shake his position when it seems necessary. (Gerekli görüldüğünde Erdoğan'ı seçen halkın, onu yerinden oynatabileceği güce sahip olduğunu göstermek)

33. Poverty, discrimination, religious extremism in Bingöl and other similar cities.(Bingöl ve benzer şehirlerdeki yoksulluk, ayrımcılık, dini aşırılık)

34. Attacks aim to demonstrate that Turkey is unable to provide security and stability in its national boundaries and to emphasize that Jews are lack of protection. (Saldırılar Türkiye'nin ulusal sınırları içerisinde güvenlik ve istikrarı sağlayamadığını ve Yahudilerin korunmaktan yoksun olduğunu göstermeyi amaçlıyor.)

35. Istanbul was the target because ethnic groups and religions can live together with peace and friendship in it. (İstanbul hedefti çünkü burda etnik gruplar ve dinler barış ve dostluk içinde bir arada yaşayabiliyorlar.)

36. Turkish model is the real target because in Turkey in spite of the Muslim majority, Jews, Christians and also atheists can live together without having any problems. (Türk modeli gerçek hedef çünkü Türkiye'deki Müslüman çoğunluğa rağmen, Yahudiler, Hristiyanlar ve hatta ateistler hiçbir problem olmadan birarada yaşayabiliyorlar.) (2)

37. Turkey is the target because it is a Muslim populated, secular and democratic

state. It is determinant to be a member of European Union. (Hedef Türkiye çünkü Müslüman nüfuslu, laik ve demokratik bir ülke. Avrupa Birliği üyesi olmaya da kararlı.) (2)

38. Turkey was attacked because Turkey is the U.S.'s agent. (Türkiye'ye saldırıldı çünkü Türkiye A.B.D'nin ajanı)

39. The real aim of these attacks is to violate secular and Muslim populated Turkey's stability and to decay its economy. (Bu saldırılardaki gerçek amaç laik ve Müslüman nüfuslu Türkiye'nin istikrarını bozmak ve ekonomisini zayıflatmak.)

40. Aim is to create chaos in Turkey, because Turkey is the world's only real secular model. (Amaç Türkiye'de kaos yaratmak çünkü Türkiye dünyanın tek gerçek laik modeli.)

41. Aim is to push Turkey outside of the European Union. (Amaç Türkiye'yi Avrupa Birliği'nin dışına itmek.)

42. The target is Turkey because it is a developing country with its political stability. Furthermore, it is governed by a government, which does not interpret Islam as a political project. On the contrary, it has been progressing on the basis of democracy, human rights and integration with the West. (Hedef Türkiye çünkü siyasi istikrarı ile gelişmekte olan bir ülke. Ayrıca, demokrasi, insan hakları ve Batı'yla bütünlük yolunda ilerlemekte.)

43. The aim is to make Turkey unstable. (Amaç Türkiye'yi istikrarsızlaştırmak.)

44. Aim is to punish Erdogan and Justice and Development Party in order to make Turkey estrange from the Crusades, to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan, not to send troops to Iraq and to estrange Turkey from the U.S. (Amaç, Erdoğan ve Adalet ve Kalkınma Parti'sini, Haçlılardan uzaklaştırmak, Afganistan'dan askerlerini çekmek, Irak'a asker göndermemesini sağlamak ve Türkiye'yi A.B.D'den uzaklaştırmak amacıyla cezalandırmak.)

2. Hatred against Israel. (İsrail'e karşı nefret)

3. To weaken Europe's determinant decision making ability. (Avrupa'nın kati karar verme kabiliyetini zayıflatmak.)

4. Aim is to deepen the discrimination between the U.S. and Europe. (Amaç A.B.D ve Avrupa arasındaki ayrımcılığı derinleştirmek.)

5. American and European support to Arab regimes, which has resulted with political

and financial graft. (Amerika ve Avrupa'nın Arap rejimlerine verdiği destek sonucunda oluşan siyasi ve mali yolsuzluk.)

6. Israel's offensive policies which have been supported by the U.S. (A.B.D. tarafından desteklenen İsrail'in saldırgan politikaları.)

7. Fanaticism in Islam. (İslamda ki fanatiklik.)

8. Aim is to violate the image of Muslims. (Amaç, Müslümanların imajını zedelemek.)

9. Israel's offensive policies. (İsrail'in saldırgan politikaları.)

10. The U.S.'s narrow minded and extremist foreign policies. (A.B.D.'nin dar görüşlü ve aşırıya kaçan dış politikaları.)

11. American intervention to Iraq. (Amerika'nın Irak'a müdahalesi) (6)

12. Al-Qaeda tries to apply its own agenda to the world. (El Kaide kendi gündemini dünyaya uygulamaya çalışıyor.)

13. Aim is to separate the European countries from the Islamic world. (Amaç, Avrupa ülkelerini İslam dünyasından ayırmak.)

14. Aim is to terrorize people in order to make them break off their social life. (Amaç, insanları terörize ederek sosyal hayatlarından koparmak.)

15. Some states' supports for some terrorist organizations. (Bazı ülkelerin bazı örgütlere verdiği destek)

16. These attacks aim to weaken the basic values of the European Council. (Bu saldırılar Avrupa Meclisi'nin temel değerlerini zayıflatmayı amaçlıyor.)

17. Aim is to punish Britain for its support to the U.S. in its policies against Afghanistan and Iraq. (Amaç İngiltere'yi, A.B.D.'nin Afganistan ve Irak'a karşı sürdürdüğü politikalarına verdiği destekten dolayı cezalandırmak.)

18. Aim is to establish caliphate in the Middle East and annihilate the West's secular effect. (Amaç Ortadoğu'da halifeliği kurmak ve Batı'nın laik etkisini ortadan kaldırmak.)

19. Hatred against the U.S., Britain and Israel. (A.B.D., İngiltere ve İsrail'e karşı duyulan nefret.)

20. Israeli occupation in Palestine and this case leads to anti-semitism. (İsrail'in Filistin'i işgali ve bu durumun ortaya çıkardığı anti-semitizm.)

21. Western policies on the basis of organized violence. (Organize şiddete dayalı olan Batı politikaları.)

22. Anti-semitism. (Anti-semitizm.)

23. Attacks target to destabilize the western world through terror which is the result of a

long term strategy. They want to increase the suspicions about Islam and prevent congruity between Muslims and Western societies. (Saldırılar Batı dünyasını, uzun dönem stratejisi olan terör ile istikrarsızlaştırmayı hedefliyor. İslam ile ilgili olan şüpheleri arttırmayı ve Müslümanlar ve Batı toplumları arasındaki uyumu engellemeyi istiyor.)

24. Turkish Jews try to establish a control power on Turkey to push it to pursue policies in the advantage of the U.S. and Israel. (Türk Yahudiler'i, Türkiye'yi Amerikan ve İsrail yanlısı politikalar izlemeye iterek, Türkiye'de kontrol kurmaya çalışıyorlar.)

25. The U.S.'s "Green Belt" Project. (A.B.D'nin "Yeşil Kuşak" projesi.)

26. Injustice, economic underdevelopment and hunger that are the results of western type of development models. (Batı tipi gelişme modellerinin sonucu olan adaletsizlik, ekonomik gerilik ve açlık.) (2)

27. The politic structure of Islam. (İslam'ın siyasi yapısı.)

28. The use of religion as a political tool. (Dinin siyasi bir araç olarak kullanılması.)

29. Attacks are against hope because Jews in Turkey are one of the rare examples for tolerance. (Saldırılar umuda karşı çünkü Türkiye'deki Yahudiler hoşgörünün az görülür örneklerinden.)

30. Aim is to destroy western capitalism. (Amaç batı kapitalizmine zarar vermek)

31. Aim is to create conflicts between the Islamist and Western world. (Amaç, İslam ve Batı dünyası arasında çatışma yaratmak.)

32. Britain was targeted because it was easier to hit British Consulate than the American one. (İngiltere hedef seçildi çünkü Amerikan Konsolosluğu'nu vurmaktan İngiliz Konsolosluğu'nu vurmak daha kolay.)

33. Aim is to radicalize Muslims. (Amaç, Müslümanları radikalleştirmek.)

2. Management of Affect/Emotions Constructively (87)

1. We are indivisible. (Biz bölünmeyiz.)

2. Turkey is the best place for Israeli citizens to make their holidays. I do not think that this will change. (Türkiye İsrailli turistler için tatillerini yapabilecekleri en iyi yer. Bunun değişeceğini düşünmüyorum.)

3. We had experienced terrorism for long years. During these years, we preserved our solidarity, why do we lose our unity because of the current terrorist incidents? (Uzun yıllardır terörizmi yaşıyoruz. Bütün bu yıllar boyunca dayanışmamızı koruduk, neden şimdi yaşanan terör olaylarından dolayı birliğimiz bozulsun ki?)

4. Israeli and Turkish foreign ministers: "If we combat against terrorism together, then we can win against these fanatics." (İsrail ve Türk dışişleri bakanları: "Eğer teröre karşı birlikte savaşırsak, o zaman bu fanatiklere karşı kazanabiliriz.)

5. Erdoğan: "None of the countries can prevent terrorism, but our first and most important target will be to minimize it." (Erdoğan: "Hiçbir ülke terörü engelleyemiyor, ama bizim ilk ve en önemli hedefimiz bunu en aza indirgemek.")

6. Turkey has been active in its combat against Al Qaeda since September 11. These attacks demonstrate that Turkey really gives damage to Qaeda. Therefore, it is essential to continue the combat at the same level. (Türkiye 11 Eylül'den beri El Kaide'ye karşı savaşta aktif durumda. Bu yüzden, savaşa aynı seviyede devam etmek gerekiyor.)

7. Synagogues should not be moved. The place that they belong to is Istanbul. To provide secure livings of Jews is our responsibility. (Sinagoglar taşınmamalı. Onların ait oldukları yer İstanbul. Yahudilerin güvenli yaşamını sağlamak bizim sorumluluğumuz.)

8. Do not give premium to terrorists! (Teröristlere prim vermeyin!)

9. There is need to have international collaboration against international terror. Turkey will preserve its unity and continue to cooperation and collaboration against these cursed events. (Uluslararası teröre karşı uluslararası dayanışmaya ihtiyaç var. Türkiye birliğini koruyacak ve bu lanetli olaylara karşı işbirliğine ve dayanışmaya devam edecek.)

10. The best answer to terror is to preserve our solidity. We should continue to our lives normally. Turkey stands against these events as it has been doing and our government will continue to work on these events with its all departments. (Teröre en iyi cevap metanetimizi korumak olacaktır. Hayatımızı normal şekilde sürdürmeliyiz. Türkiye bu olaylara karşı önceden olduğu gibi dimdik ayaktadır ve hükümetimiz tüm organlarıyla çalışmaya devam edecektir.) (2)

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11. We should be cool and refrain ourselves from the effect of panic. Every country, which defends democracy and freedom, should collaborate in this war. (Sakin olmalıyız ve paniğin etkisinden kendimizi sakınmalıyız. Demokrasi ve özgürlüğü savunan her ülke bu savaşta dayanışma içinde olmalı.)

12. As a nation, we should not dread. We have to stand together and preserve Turkish democracy. (Ulus olarak yılmamalıyız. Birlikte ayakta durarak Türk demokrasisini korumalıyız.)

13. As the natives of Istanbul, we have to stay here, do our jobs in the best way and protect our city. (İstanbullular olarak burada kalmalı ve işlerimizi en iyi şekilde yapmalı ve şehrimizi korumalıyız.)

14. The day is the cooperation day: There is need for national cooperation. (Gün dayanışma günü: Ulusal dayanışmaya ihtiyaç var.)

15. The bombs against the synagogues could not separate Jewish and Muslim citizens. The other bombs against British Consulate and the British Bank will strengthen the friendship ties between Turkey and Britain. (Sinanagoglara atılan bombalar Yahudi ve Müslüman vatandaşları ayıramaz. İngiliz elçiliğine ve İngiliz bankasına atılan diğer bomba, Türkiye ve İngiltere arasındaki bağları güçlendirdi.)

16. Experts warn the people who are affected from the attacks. Do not refrain from telling the event that you lived, do not try to repress your feelings, make plans for future and do not maintain exaggerated scenarios by your ownself. (Uzmanlar saldırılardan etkilenenlere uyarıda bulundu. Yaşadığınız olayı anlatmaktan kaçınmayın, duygularınızı bastırmaya çalışmayın, geleceğinize yönelik planlar yapın ve kafanızda abartılı senaryolar yazmayın.)

17. No one can know when and where terrorism can hit. Therefore, everyone should combat against terrorism. (Kimse terörün nereyi ne zaman vuracağını bilemez. Dolayısıyla teröre karşı herkesin mücadele etmesi gerekiyor.) (3)

18. Touristic Hotels and Investors Associations Turkey: "As citizens we should continue our daily lives as if nothing happened." (Türkiye Otelciler Birliği: "Vatandaşlar olarak günlük hayatlarımıza hiçbir şey olmamış gibi devam etmeliyiz.")

19. The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey: "Now common sense is essential. The best answer to terror is Turkey's attachment to be a strong legal state." (Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği: "Şimdi sağduyu gerekli. Teröre en iyi cevap Türkiye'nin güçlü bir hukuk devleti olmasıdır.")

20. Retail Merchant: "Do not postpone shopping." (Perakendeci: "Alışverişinizi ertelemeyin.")

21. Experts advice citizens to continue their daily lives in order to overcome this trauma. (Uzmanlar vatandaşlara bu travmanın üstesinden gelebilmeleri için günlük hayatlarına devam etmelerini önerdi.)

22. Bedrettin Dalan: "We should continue our daily lives and get the control of our city." (Bedrettin Dalan: "Günlük hayatımıza devam etmeli ve şehrimizin kontrolünü ele almalıyız.")

23. Turkey will never give up from modern democracy, economic development and its European Union target. (Türkiye hiç bir zaman modern demokrasiden, ekonomik gelişmeden ve Avrupa Birliği hedefinden vazgeçmeyecektir.)

24. Turkish Psychologist Association will give unpaid psychological support to the people who are affected by terror. (Türk Psikologlar Derneği terör olaylarından etkilenenlere ücretsiz psikolojik destek verecek.)

25. Civil Societies will come together against terrorism. (Sivil toplum teröre karşı bir araya gelecek)

26. Turkey's membership to the European Union will be an opportunity to demonstrate that moderate Islam can live with Europe. (Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği üyeliği, ılımlı İslam'ın Avrupa'da yaşayabileceğini gösterecek bir fırsat olacaktır.)

27. Erdoğan: "Turkey does not change its route and alliances. It will stay as democratic and secular. Turkey is the address that has reconciled democracy and Islamist culture. There is not another address." (Erdoğan: "Türkiye rotasını ve müttefiklerini değiştirmiyor. Demokratik ve laik kalacaktır. Türkiye demokrasi ve İslam kültürünün uzlaştığı bir adrestir.)

28. Erdoğan: "We will never give concessions from democracy and human rights. (Erdoğan: "Demokrasi ve insan haklarından asla ödün vermeyeceğiz.")

29. They cannot decay economy. (Ekonomiyi bozamazlar.)

30. Government Minister Abdüllatif Şener: "The general politics of Turkey will not change. This event makes Turkey and the European Union closer and creates a common outlook. Terrorist attacks will not have noteworthy negative effects on economy." (Hükümet bakanı Abdüllatif Şener: "Türkiye'nin genel politikası değişmeyecek. Bu olay Türkiye ve Avrupa Birliği'ni yakınlaştırdı ve ortak bir bakış yarattı. Terör saldırılarının ekonomi üzerinde dikkate değer negatif etkileri olmayacaktır.")

31. The percentage of people who said that "I do not cease shopping" is 63. (Alışverişten dönmem diyenlerin yüzdesi 63.)

32. Due to the crises, society develops a defense and progressing reflex. Therefore, technical crisis management ability and capacity occurs. (Krizlerden dolayı toplum savunma ve gelişme refleksi geliştirdi. Bundan dolayı kriz yönetimi ve kapasitesi oluştu.)

33. We have a greater chance to be economically stronger than before. (Ekonomik olarak daha da güçlenmek için büyük bir şansımız var.)

34. When I visited the bombed places, I realized that people had already got over bewilderment. Terror does not lead to decadence in the society. (Bombalanan yerleri ziyaret ettiğim zaman, insanların çoktan şaşkınlığı üstlerinden attığını anladım. Terör toplumda çöküşe neden olmamış.)

35. Turkey will continue to be a democratic, secular and legal state. (Türkiye demokratik, laik ve hukuk devleti olmaya devam edecektir.)

36. German Minister Joschka Fischer: "Terror is our common enemy and we should work together against this enemy." (Alman Bakan Joschka Fischer: "Terör ortak düşmanımız ve bu düşmana karşı birlikte çalışmalıyız.)

37. Sympathy towards Turkey in some sectors can increase due to terrorist attacks. (Terörist saldırılarından dolayı bazı sektörlerde Türkiye'ye karşı sempati artabilir.)

38. Sezer: "Secular structure becomes stronger." (Sezer: "Laik yapı daha da pekişti.)

39. Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan: "Terrorist events will never damage stability in Turkey. Turkey is a strong country and it has the potential to apply its power in the maximum level." (Başbakan Recep Tayyip Erdoğan: "Terör olayları Türkiye'deki istikrara hiç bir zaman zarar veremeyecek. Türkiye güçlü bir ülke ve gücünü en üst düzeyde uygulayabilecek potansiyele sahip.")

40. We should not surrender. We have to maintain a common East-West approach to this global crisis. (Teslim olmamalıyız. Bu küresel krize ortak bir Doğu-Batı yaklaşımı oluşturmalıyız.)

41. Erdoğan: "Economy was not affected. In spite of these events we catch confidence and stability." (Erdoğan: "Ekonomi etkilenmedi. Bu olaylara rağmen güveni ve istikrarı yakaladık.")

42. Gül: "We will develop democracy and freedom against terrorism." (Gül: "Teröre karşı demokrasi ve özgürlüğü geliştireceğiz.")

43. Gül: "Turkey will not be darkened. We will work for a more free, reform applied, and transparent public administration." (Gül: "Türkiye kararmayacak. Daha özgürlükçü olması, reformların uygulanması ve kamu yönetiminin şeffaflaşması için çalışacağız.")

44. Terrorists failed because they reinforced our solidarity. (Teröristler başaramadı çünkü dayanışmamızı güçlendirdiler.)

45. Gül: "We will not constrain rights and freedom while we are combating against terrorism." (Gül: "Terörizme karşı savaşırken hakları ve özgürlükleri kısıtlamayacağız.")

46. German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer: "These events exploit a perfect world religion. These attacks demonstrate the necessity of Turkey for Europe's security. (Alman Dışişleri Bakanı Joschka Fischer: "Bu olaylar mükemmel bir dünya dinini istismar etti. Bu saldırılar, Türkiye'nin Avrupa'nın güvenliği için gerekliliğini gösterdi.)

47. Justice and Development (*Adalet ve Kalkınma*) Party: "We should not address Bingöl with terrorism due to some inveigled people's actions." (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi: " Kandırılmış bazı insanların eylemleri yüzünden Bingöl'ü terörle anmamalıyız.")

48. Jews: "We will not leave Istanbul. We were the part of this city and we are still the part of it." (Yahudiler: "İstanbul'u terketmeyeceğiz. Bu şehrin bir parçasıydık ve hala öyleyiz.")

49. Baraner: "We are hopeful from the year of 2004. In spite of some states' warnings about not coming to Turkey, this case will not affect Turkish tourism negatively because some part of the European society had already recognized Turkey. In the last 20 years, in spite of every type of crises and warnings, Turkish tourism increases every year." (Baraner: "2004 yılından umutluyuz. Bazı ülkelerin Türkiye'ye gelmeyin uyarılarına rağmen, bu durum Türk turizmini olumsuz etkilemeyecek çünkü Avrupa toplumlarının bazı kesimleri çoktan Türkiye'yi tanıdı. Son 20 yıl içerisinde, her türlü krize ve uyarıya rağmen, her yıl Türk turizmi arttı.")

50. In spite of unfortunate events in Istanbul, foreign and domestic tourists prefer Antalya for their holidays. This holiday's contribution to our economy is 150-200 trillion. (İstanbul'da yaşanan talihsiz olaylara rağmen, yabancı ve yerel turistler tatilleri için Antalya'yı tercih ediyorlar. Bu tatilin ekonomimize katkısı 150-200 trilyon.)

51. The last reduction leads to hopes in the markets to collect themselves. (Son düşüş borsanın kendisini toplaması için umut oldu.)

52. Financial supports for tradesmen. (Esnaf için mali destek)

53. Aydıner: "Turkey is an example with its secularity and pluralist democracy in its geopolitical environment. Turkey is more secure than the most of the other Western countries." (Aydıner: "Türkiye laikliği ve çoğulcu demokrasisi ile coğrafi çevresinde örnek teşkil etmekte. Türkiye bir çok Batı ülkesinden daha güvenli.")

54. Turkish Airlines: "Passenger numbers do not decrease." (Türk Havayolları: "Yolcu sayısı azalmadı.")

55. Moody's: "Terrorist attacks in Istanbul will not affect negatively Turkey's credit grade." (Moody's: "İstanbul'daki terör saldırıları Türkiye'nin kredi notunu olumsuz etkilemeyecek.)

56. In spite of the warnings, a Greek committee came to Turkey. (Tüm uyarılara rağmen, Yunan komitesi Türkiye'ye geldi.)

57. Financial markets collected themselves in a short period, even tough they were shaken by the terrorist attacks before religious festivity. (Mali piyasalar bayram öncesi terör saldırılarıyla sarsılmalarına rağmen kısa bir sürede kendilerini topladı.) (2)

58. Erdoğan: "Turkey will never abandon from democratic stability." (Erdoğan: "Türkiye demokratik istikrarı asla terk etmeyecek.")

59. New period with Greece: "Neighbor supports Turkey due to terrorist attacks in Istanbul." (Yunanistan ile yeni dönem: "Komşu, İstanbul saldırılarına rağmen Türkiye'yi destekliyor.")

60. We should attempt to arrange a wide participated conference for discussing the prevention of international terrorism and a decision should be taken. (Uluslararası terörizmin engellenmesini tartışmak için geniş katılımlı uluslararası bir konferans düzenlemeliyiz ve bir karara varmalıyız.)

61. Italian Production Business Minister Marzano came to Istanbul for participating Industry Congress.  He answered the warnings about not coming to Turkey through stating that "if terror changes our life styles, then it can succeed." (İtalya Üretim Faaliyetleri Bakanı Marzano İstanbul'a Sanayi Kongre'sine katılmaya geldi. Türkiye'ye gelmeyin uyarılarına şöyle cevap verdi; "eğer terör hayat tarzımızı değiştirirse, o zaman başarılı olur.")

62. The U.S. Foreign Minister Deputy Larson: "Istanbul is gathering strength quickly as New York after September 11." (A.B.D. Dışişleri Bakan Yardımcısı Larson: " İstanbul 11 Eylül sonrası New York gibi çabuk toparlanıyor.")

63. Hakan Şükür: "We experienced once again our solidarity.  Galatasaray will proceed

further." (Hakan Şükür: "Bir kez daha nasıl bir dayanışma içinde olduğumuzu gördük. Galatasaray çok daha ileri gidecek.")

64. Confidence turned to cash. General manager of HSBC Bank Antika said that due to cash outflow, we took some measures, but in contrast we had cash inflow. (Güven nakde dönüştü. HSBC Banka'sı Genel Müdürü Antika, olay günü nakit çıkışı olabilir diye tedbir aldıklarını, ancak tam tersine nakit girişi yaşadıklarını söyledi.)

65. HSBC Bank: "We will not retreat from investment." (HSBC Banka'sı: "Yatırımlardan geri adım yok.")

66. HSBC Bank: "We are optimistic for 2004." (HSBC Banka'sı: "2004 yılı için iyimseriz.")

67. Mumcu: "Tourism is not affected." (Mumcu: "Turizm etkilenmedi.)

68. Arab and Muslim countries should combine their powers to annihilate terrorism. (Arap ve Müslüman ülkeler terörü yok etmek için güçlerini birleştirmeli.) (2)

69. Assurance against terror: "Syrian authorities gave the message for the continuation of collaboration against terrorism. (Teröre karşı güvence: "Suriyeli yetkililer teröre karşı dayanışmanın devamlılığı için mesaj verdi.")

70. Prayer in two religions against terrorism: The leader of Jewish Community Silvio Ovadio: "We will keep on living together." (Teröre karşı iki dinde dua: "Musevi Cemaati lideri Silvio Ovadio: Ortak yaşamımızı sürdüreceğiz.")

71. The chief rabbi: "An extra ordinary cooperation." (Hahambaşı: "Olağan dışı dayanışma")

72. Ariel Sharon: "We trust Turkey." (Ariel Sharon: "Türkiye'ye güveniyoruz.")

73. With the attacks to synagogues, Turkish-Israeli relations will not be damaged. (Sinagoglara yapılan saldırılarla, Türkiye-İsrail ilişkileri bozulmayacak.)

74. Terrorist attacks strengthen Turkish-American relations on the basis of combat against terrorism. (Terörist saldırılar Türk-Amerikan ilişkilerini teröre karşı mücadelede güçlendirdi.)

75. We will not let foreign sourced terrorist to terrorize us. We had experienced terror for years and for long years we had resisted. Now, we will not let them to violate our solidarity. (Dış kaynaklı teröristlerin bizi terörize etmesine izin vermeyeceğiz. Yıllardır terörü yaşıyoruz ve uzun yıllar boyunca dayandık. Şimdi, birliğimizi bozmalarına izin vermeyeceğiz.)

76. Life is going on in Beyoğlu: Stores are opened; the sound of music suppressed the fear

of terror. (Beyoğlu'nda hayat devam ediyor: Dükkanlar açıldı; müziğin sesi terör korkusunu bastırdı.)

77. Levent is also recovered. (Levent'de yaralarını sarıyor)

78. Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association: "As the citizens of Turkish Republic, in spite of the sorrows, we will not give up from democracy, peace and tolerance." (Türk Sanayi ve İşadamları Birliği: "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin vatandaşları olarak, acılara rağmen, demokrasiden, barıştan ve hoşgörüden vazgeçmedik.")

79. HSBC Bank starts working. (HSBC Bankası çalışmaya başladı.)

80. Sharon: "We are with you." (Sharon: "Yanınızdayız.")

81. We will not be a terrorized society. People marched for peace against violence and terror. (Korkutulmuş toplum olmayacağız. İnsanlar şiddete ve teröre karşı, barış için yürüdü.)

82. Habib Gerez: "Does a person leave his home?" (Habib Gerez: "Bir insan evini terk eder mi?")

**Table 4.c. HÜRRİYET** (371+115 = 486)

1. Problem Recognition (286+85=371)

a. Problem Framing (83+109+20+74=286)

<table>
<tr><td>

a.1. Terrorist Events (83)

1. Death spreading attacks. (Ölüm saçan saldırılar)
2. International related event. (Uluslararası bağlantılı olay) (4)
3. Brutal, loathsome and blind event. (Vahşi, iğrenç ve kör olay)
4. It seems as suicide attacks. (İntihar saldırısı gibi gözüküyor)
5. Ten times bigger than the explosion in 1986. (1986 yılındaki patlamalardan 10 kat daha büyük)
6. Bombing horror in Istanbul. (İstanbul'da bomba dehşeti) (2)
7. Such kinds of attacks are infringement of Islamic values. (Bu tür saldırılar İslami değerlerin ihlalidir.)
8. Massacre aimed attacks. (Katliam amaçlı saldırılar) (2)
9. Terrorist are vile, cursed, and ominous. (Teröristler aşağlık, lanetli ve uğursuz) (4)
10. Wild terror. (Vahşi terör)
11. Monsters. (Canavarlar)
12. Islamist terrorism. (İslamcı terör) (14)
13. Islamist organization sourced terrorism. (İslami örgüt kaynaklı terörizm) (3)
14. Radical Islamist terror. (Radikal İslamcı terör) (2)
15. Bloody attacks. (Kanlı saldırılar) (2)
16. Attacks are out of humanity. (Saldırılar insanlık dışı) (6)
17. Attacks are related to an organization in Afghanistan. (Saldırılar Afganistan'daki bir örgüte bağlı)
18. Global holy war. (Küresel cihad)
19. Suicide actions/attacks. (İntihar eylemleri/saldırıları) (2)
20. Crime. (Suç)
21. Foreign sourced local supported events. (Dış kaynaklı yerel destekli olaylar) (2)
22. Global threat. (Küresel tehdit)
23. Religious terrorism. (Dini terörizm) (8)
24. Turkey's September 11. (Türkiye'nin 11 Eylül'ü) (2)

</td></tr>
</table>

25. A war. (Savaş) (4)

26. Again bombings, again horror. (Yine bombalamalar, yine dehşet)

27. Terror doesn't have a religion. (Terörün dini yok)

28. A tragedy. (Trajedi)

29. An atrocity. (Vahşet) (4)

30. Extension oriented terror. (Genişleme eğilimli terör)

31. Aberrant events. (Sapkın olaylar)

32. Alive bombs; death car type of terror. (Canlı bombalar; ölüm arabası tipi terör)

33. The nationalities of Istanbul bombings are Turkish and Arabic. (İstanbul bombalamalarının milleti Türk ve Arap)

34. Humanity guilt. (İnsanlık suçu) (3)

35. Twin attacks. (İkiz saldırılar)

| a.2. Terrorists and Terrorist Groups (109) |
|---|

1. 3 suspects are under interrogation. (3 şüpheli sorguda)

2. Bloodthirsty perpetrator. (Kana susamış failler)

3. The chief ones are Middle Eastern and their assistants are Turks. (Baştakiler Ortadoğulu ve yardımcıları Türk) (2)

4. IBDA/C took the responsibility. (IBDA/C üstlendi.) (2)

5. People who are with the intention of murdering innocents can not be either human-beings or Muslims. (Masumları öldürme eğiliminde olan kişiler insan veya Müslüman olamazlar) (2)

6. Islamist labeled nihilists. (İslami yaftalı nihilistler) (4)

7. Al Qaeda (El Kaide) (38)

> 1. It may be Al Qaeda. (El Kaide olabilir) (2)
>
> 2. Israel also points out Al Qaeda. (İsrail de El Kaide'yi gösteriyor.)
>
> 3. We are suspecting from Al Qaeda. (El Kaide'den şüpheleniyoruz.)
>
> 4. Ebu Hafız el Masri Brigades Mücahitleri took the responsibility, which is tied to Al Qaeda. (El Kaide'ye bağlı Ebu Hafız el Masri Tugayları üstlendi.) (5)
>
> 5. Suspects are from the "Imamlar Birligi" tied to Al Qaeda. (Şüpheliler El Kaide'ye bağlı İmamlar Biriliği'nden.) (2)
>
> 6. Al Qaeda related. (El Kaide bağlantılı) (17)
>
> 7. Ensar el Islam under Al Qaeda. (El Kaide'nin altında Ensar el İslam)
>
> 8. Al Murderer. (El Katil) (4)
>
> 9. Ebu Musab El Zarkavi.
>
> 10. Al Qaeda from the Vehhabi cult. (Vehhabi mezhebinden El Kaide) (2)
>
> 11. The brutality of Al Qaeda. (El Kaide'nin vahşeti)
>
> 12. Al Qaeda sent 24 terrorists to Turkey. (El Kaide 24 teröristi Türkiye'ye gönderdi.)

8. Radical Islamist people/organization. (Radikal İslamcı insanlar/örgüt) (2)

9. Attacks are made by the radicals. (Saldırılar radikaller tarafından yapıldı.)

10. Bombers (27)

1. 23 years old Mesut Çabuk and 22 years old Gökhan Elaltuntaş from Bingöl. (Bingöl'den 23 yaşındaki Mesut Çabuk ve 22 yaşındaki Gökhan Elaltuntaş) (22)

2. Suicide bombers are Mesut Çabuk, Gökhan Elaltuntaş and Feridun Uğurlu. (İntihar bombacıları Mesut Çabuk, Gökhan Elaltuntaş ve Feridun Uğurlu)

3. Azad Ekinci and Mehmet Ekinci are under interrogation. (Azad Ekinci ve Mehmet Ekinci sorguda)

4. Bombers are Çabuk and Elaltuntaş. (Bombacılar Çabuk ve Elaltuntaş)

5. The last read book of Gökhan Elaltuntaş was Kamasutra. (Gökhan Elaltuntaş'ın okuduğu son kitap Kamasutra.)

6. Headquarters of the activists is an internet café. (Eylemcilerin karagahı internet kafe.)

7. Al Qaeda's irregular criminals. (El Kaide'nin düzensiz suçluları)

8. Mehmet Ergül, Süleyman Uğurlu, İsmail Duru, Mehmet Helvacı, Metin Ekinci and Osman Ekinci were arrested. ( Mehmet Ergül, Süleyman Uğurlu, İsmail Duru, Mehmet Helvacı, Metin Ekinci and Osman Ekinci tutuklandı.)

9. Bombers are from Bingöl. (Bombacılar Bingöl'den) (2)

10. Terrorist portrayals from Bingöl. (Bingöl'den terrorist portreleri)

11. The fourth bomber is from Mardin. (Dördüncü bombacı Mardin'den)

12. The fourth bomber is Habib. (Dördüncü bombacı Habib)

13. Feridun had never hurt an ant. (Feridun karıncayı bile incitmezdi)

14. I suppose that they gave drug to my nephew. (Tahminimce yeğenime ilaç verdiler)

15. Ekinci is missing, his wife is freed. (Ekinci kayıp, karısı serbest)

16. The last word of the watchman: "I hope your holy duty will be sacred. " (Gözcünün son sözü: "Gazan mübarek olsun")

17. The fourth bomber is İlyas Kuncak. (Dördüncü bombacı İlyas Kuncak)

18. Tuğluoğlu had been living in Ankara for years. (Tuğluoğlu yıllardır Ankara'da yaşıyordu.)

19. He said that "I am going to Umre (minor pilgrimage to Mecca) but he went for crime. (Umre'ye gidiyorum dedi, suç işlemeye gitti)

20. Yusuf Polat is the only one under arrest, he gave the comments. (Yusuf Polat gözaltında olan tek işi, emirleri o verdi)

21. The leader staff: Habib Aktaş, Azad Ekinci, Gürcan Baç, Abdulkadir Karakuş.

(Lider kadro:  Habib Aktaş, Azad Ekinci, Gürcan Baç, Abdulkadir Karakuş)

22. The staff of the massacre. (Katliamın kadrosu)

23. 29 people are under arrest. (29 kişi gözaltında)

24. 3 people are under arrest in the twin attacks. (İkiz saldırılarda üç kişi gözaltında)

25. Molla Macid was accommodating the bombers in Syria. (Molla Macid bombacıları Suriye'de barındırıyormuş.)

11. Infidels. (İnançsızlar)

12. Our religious people. (Bizim dinciler)

13. International murderer. (Enternasyonel katil)

14. Again two Turks:  Suicide bombers of the last attacks are Turks as in the synagogue attacks. (Yine iki Türk: Sinagog bombalamalarında olduğu gibi son saldırıların da bombacıları Türk) (2)

15. Organizations select intelligently defectives and psychopaths. (Örgütler zeka özürlüleri ve psikopatları seçiyor.)

16. IBDA/C and MGD

17. Hezbollah. (Hizbullah) (8)

18. They are locals. (Yereller) (2)

19. Can be PKK[10] involved in the last terrorist events? (Son terör olaylarının ardında PKK'da olabilir mi?)

20. Usame Bin Laden declares war to Turkey. (Usame bin Ladin Türkiye'ye savaş ilan etti)

21. IBDA/C.

22. Bloody organization. (Kanlı örgüt)

23. IBDA/C and Hezbollah. (IBDA/C ve Hizbullah)

24. Turkish and Muslim terrorists. (Türk ve Müslüman teröristler)

25. The responsible for Istanbul bombing is Zarkavi. (İstanbul bombalamalarından Zarkavi sorumlu)

26. Enemies. (Düşmanlar)

27. Radical religious groups. (Radikal dinci gruplar) (3)

28. Wicked gangs. (Günahkar çeteler)

| a.3. Victims (74) |
|---|

1. Casualties and wounded (21)

| |
|---|
| 1. Casualties increased to 23. (Ölü sayısı 23'e yükseldi.) |
| 2. The identities of 20 casualties are started to be determined. So many organs such as arms, legs, and eye are brought to morgues. (20 ölünün kimlikleri tespit edilmeye başlandı. Bir çok organ; kol, bacak, göz morglara getirildi.) |
| 3. 20 casualties, 303 wounded. (20 ölü, 303 yaralı) |
| 4. Identities of 58 wounded are determined. (58 yaralının kimlikleri belirlendi.) |
| 5. All the casualties were Turkish citizens. (Tüm ölenler Türk vatandaşı) |
| 6. Casualties increased to 25. (Ölü sayısı 25'e yükseldi.) |
| 7. 7 corpses were buried. (7 ceset gömüldü.) |
| 8. 6 of the casualties are Jewish and 18 are Muslims, but all of them are Turks. (Ölenlerden 6'sı yahudi ve 18'i Müslüman fakat hepsi Türk) |
| 9. Result: 30 casualties, 461 wounded. (Bilanço: 30 ölü, 461 yaralı) |
| 10. 24 of the 27 casualties' identifications are determined. (27'i ölüden 24'nün kimlikleri tespit edildi.) |
| 11. 4 Turks died in the consulate. (Elçilikte 2 Türk öldü.) |
| 12. The casualties. (Ölenler) |
| 13. Result: 27 casualties, 461 wounded. (Bilanço: 27 ölü, 461 yaralı) |
| 14. Number of the casualties increased to 28. (Ölü sayısı 28'e yükseldi.) |
| 15. 30 wounded are still in the hospitals. (30 yaralı hala hastanede.) |
| 16. The most painful religious festivity: 29 casualties. (En acı dolu bayram: 29 ölü) |
| 17. Number of casualties increased to 30. (Ölü sayısı 30'a yükseldi.) |
| 18. We lost our 54 citizens in the four bombings. (Dört bombalamada 54 vatandaşımızı kaybettik.) |
| 19. With the last victim, casualties increased to 30. (Son kurbanla birlikte, ölü sayısı 30'a yükseldi.) |
| 20. 51 casualties, 712 wounded. (51 ölü, 712 yaralı) |
| 21. 57 casualties, 712 wounded. (57 ölü, 712 yaralı) |

2. I cried because of not being dead. (Ölmediğim için ağladım)

3. Atrocity against the praying ones. (Dua edene vahşet)

4. Witnesses of the attacks told about horror they lived. (Saldırıların tanıkları yaşadıkları dehşeti anlattı.)

5. People are bewildered and unsettled. (İnsanlar şaşkın ve tedirgin)

6. I can not forget screams throughout my life. (Çığlıkları hayatım boyunca unutmayacağım)

7. Pain in the police. (Emniyette acı)

8. Hurting life stories. (Yürek yakan hayat hikayeleri)

9. Collective ceremony for Jewish people. (Museviler için toplu tören)

10. Farewell for the Muslim brother-in-love. (Müslüman enişteye gözü yaşlı veda)

11. Common prays from three religions for the victims. (Kurbanlara üç dinden ortak dua)

12. The kindergarten garland in the funeral shaked people. (Anaokulu çelengi tokat gibi yüzümüze çarptı.)

13. The name of the baby will be Işık. (Bebeğin adı Işık olacaktı)

14. British consul general died in the attacks. (İngiliz konsolosu da saldırılarda öldü.)

15. He fired his gun but couldn't stop the terrorists and he became a martyr. (Ateş etti ama teröristleri durduramadı ve şehit oldu.)

16. He wouldn't have been dead, if he went to his appointment. (Randevuya gitseydi, ölmeyecekti)

17. Kerem Yılmazer is also the victim of terror. (Kerem Yılmazer'de terör kurbanı)

18. They died in the consulate together. (Konsoloslukta birlikte öldüler)

19. Tears for the father. (Babaya gözyaşı)

20. The bomb separated two brothers. (Bomba iki kardeşi ayırdı)

21. It was such as an earthquake. (Deprem gibiydi)

22. Consulate's secretary is under intensive care. (Konsolosun sekreteri yoğun bakımda)

23. Tears for the mother working in the bank. (Bankada çalışan anneye gözyaşı)

24. Hand, arm, head pieces spread to the ground. (Yerlere el, kol, kafa parçaları saçıldı)

25. Don't pass from there! You are stepping corpses. (Oradan geçmeyin! Cesede basıyorsunuz)

26. The guilty of these people was passing from Levent. (Bu insanların suçu Levent'den geçmek)

27. People ran away by screaming. (İnsanlar çığlık çığlığa kaçıştılar)

28. Tradesman of Levent perished. (Levent esnafı mahvoldu)

29. His friend passed in yellow light, he stopped. (Arkadaşı sarıda geçti, o durdu)

30. The wife of consul watched the explosion from a café. (Konsolosun eşi patlamayı kafeden izledi)

31. He was going to marry three months later. (Üç ay sonra evlenecekti)

32. A piece of glass killed a victim in her desk. (Cam parçası masa başında öldürdü)

33. She was going to change her children's festive clothes. (Çocuklarının bayramlığını değiştirmeye gidiyordu)

34. Became the target of the bomb when he came off the meeting. (Toplantıdan çıkınca bombaya hedef oldu)

35. His fear occurred during his work time. (Korktuğu iş başında geldi)

36. He had engaged for 10 days. (10 günlük nişanlıydı)

37. He was introduced as death but he is living. (Ölü diye manşet oldu ama yaşıyor)

38. All of the victims ended their hopeful days with the darkness of a bomb, which can also happen to our friends and relatives. (Hepsi de ümitle başladıkları bir günü bir bombanın karanlığıyla bitirdiler, arkadaşlarımızın ve akrabalarımızın başına gelebilecek bir şekilde)

39. The world knows Mehtap with this photo. (Dünya Mehtap'ı bu fotoğrafla tanıdı)

40. Martyr of the Turkish theatre. (Türk tiyatrasonun şehidi)

41. They would have been survived if their appointments weren't taken to earlier. (Randevuları öne alınmasaydı kurtulacaklardı)

42. She was in front of the window when the first bombing occurred and in the second one her face became paralyzed. (İlk patlamada cama çıktı, ikincide yüz felci oldu)

43. The secretary of the British consulate was buried. (İngiliz konsolosun sekreteri toprağa verildi.)

44. Heart cannot stand. (Yürek dayanmaz)

45. Roger Short's assistants' funeral was sent to her country. (Roger Short'un yardımcısının cenazesi ülkesine gönderildi.)

46. 2.5 kilograms of my gold were plundered. (2.5 kilo altınım yağmalandı.)

47. Short's funeral is in his country. (Short'un cenazesi ülkesinde)

48. Farewell to general consul. (Başkonsolosa veda)

49. In his arm there was the tattoo of a joker and on his hat there was the letter of M. (Kolunda joker dövmesi ve şapkasında M harfi vardı.)

50. The story of a ring. (Bir yüzüğün hikayesi)

51. 19 years old Mehtap Saylan is waiting for being discharged from the hospital. (19 yaşındaki Mehtap Saylan hastaneden taburcu edilmeyi bekliyor.)

52. Mustafa Kamber is lost after the suicide attacks in Levent. (Levent'deki patlamalardan sonra Mustafa Kamber kayboldu.)

53. The arm with the tattoo is Kamber's. (Dövmeli kol Kamber'in)

54. I understood that there was a bomb in the lorry. (Kamyonda bomba olduğunu anlamıştım.)

a.4. Targeted Places (20)

1. 17 years after at the same day, at the same time. (17 yıl sonra aynı gün, aynı saat)
2. Synagogue (2)

   1. There is a big cavity in front of the synagogue. (Sinagoğun önünde büyük bir çukur var.)
   2. 8 or 10 heavily damaged buildings in the street of Neve Şalom synagogue will be destroyed. (Neve Şalom Sinagoğu'nun sokağındaki 8 veya 10 bina ağır hasarlı ve yıkılacak.)

3. Buildings look like as if they were remaining from war. (Binalar savaştan kalmış gibiler.)
4. 20 heavily damaged buildings in Galata. (Galata'da 20 ağır hasarlı bina)
5. Twin towers are Istanbul. (İstanbul ikiz kuleler)
6. HSBC Bank (7)

   1. The first bomb exploded in front of the British HSBC Bank and the second bombing was made to British Consultate. (İlk bomba İngiliz HSBC Bankası'nın önünde patladı ve ikinci bombalama İngiliz Konsolosluğu'na yapıldı.)
   2. 30 million dollars building was unsettled by a bomb. (30 milyon dolarlık binayı bomba sarstı)
   3. HSBC building looks like as if it was bombarded from the sky. (HSBC binası havadan bombalanmış gibi)
   4. HSBC Bank's street was cleaned by 20 ton water and Arabic soap. (HSBC Bankası'nın sokağı 20 ton su ve Arap sabunu ile temizlendi.)
   5. The documents and findings of HSBC are moved. (HSBC'nin belge ve malzemeleri taşınıyor)
   6. HSBC is moved to Esentepe. (HSBC Esentepe'ye taşındı.)
   7. The ruin of the HSBC Bank is cleaned. (HSBC Bankası'nın yıkıntıları kaldırıldı.)

8. 38 buildings are ravaged. (38 bina hasarlı)
9. Explosion in Levent was heard from Beyoğlu. (Levent'deki patlama Beyoğlu'ndan

duyuldu.)

10. The same color, the same smell. (Aynı renk aynı koku)

11. In the middle of Istanbul and in its most elegant neighborhood. (İstanbul'un göbeğinde ve en şık semtinde)

12. Every day, we pass from the bombarded places. (Hergün bombalanan yerlerden geçiyoruz)

13. I thought a ship hit. (Gemi çarptı sandım.)

14. The position in Beyoğlu. (Beyoğlu'ndaki durum)

b- Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes (85)

b.1. Targets (48)

1. They attacked to peace, stability and serenity. (Barışa, istikrara ve huzura saldırdılar.)
2. Humanity is targeted. (İnsanlık hedef alındı.)
3. Attacks were against peace. (Sadırılar barışa karşıydı.)
4. The target is the civilized world. (Hedef medeni dünya)
5. Terrorists target civilized and democratic societies and Muslim countries, which aim to be civilized and democratized. (Teröristler medeni ve demokratik toplumları ve medenileşmeye ve demokratikleşmeye çalışan Müslüman ülkeleri hedef alıyor.)
6. Terrorists target Israelis, Americans and Muslim countries. (Teröristler İsraillileri, Amerikalıları ve Müslüman ülkeleri hedef alıyor.)
7. Jewish people/Israel. (Museviler/İsrail) (6)

   1. Terrorist actions were against our Jewish citizens and their holy worship places. (Terör eylemleri Musevi vatandaşlarımıza ve onların kutsal ibadethanelerine karşıydı.)
   2. Enmity message to our Jewish citizens. (Musevi vatandaşlarımıza düşmanlık mesajı)
   3. Attacks are against the praying people. (Dua edenelere saldırı)
   4. Direct target was Israel. (Direk hedef İsrail)
   5. The target was the Jewish populace. (Hedef Musevi nüfus) (2)

8. Turkey (24)

   1. The target of terrorists is to make Turkey unstable. (Teröristlerin amacı Türkiye'yi istikrarsızlaştırmak.) (3)
   2. A message to Turkey that "we have the power to create chaos." (Türkiye'ye "karışıklık yaratacak güce sahibiz" mesajı)
   3. Synagogue attacks targeted Turkey directly. (Sinagog saldırıları direk olarak Türkiye'yi hedef aldı.) (2)
   4. Turkey is targeted by radical Islamist terrorists. (Türkiye, radikal İslamcı teröristler tarafından hedef alındı.)
   5. Attacks are against Turkey. (Saldırılar Türkiye'ye karşı) (7)
   6. Attacks are against Turkey's future. (Saldırılar Türkiye'nin geleceğine karşı)
   7. Al Qaeda's new front is Turkey. (El Kaide'nin yeni cephesi Türkiye)

8. Attacks are against Turkish values, which form Turkey. (Saldırılar Türkiye'yi Türkiye yapan Türk değerlerine karşı)

9. The target is secular Turkey. (Hedef laik Türkiye)

10. Al Qaeda tries to make Turkey unstable. (El Kaide Türkiye'yi istikrarsızlaştırmaya çalışıyor.)

11. They aimed to cause the collapse of Turkey. (Türkiye'nin çöküşüne neden olmak istiyorlar.)

12. Attacks aim to destroy Turkey's domestic and foreign policies. (Amaç Türkiye'nin iç ve dış politikalarına zarar vermek) (2)

13. Turkey is the model country to be annihilated. (Türkiye yok edilmesi gereken model ülke)

14. Tranquility and tolerance of Turkey were attacked. (Türkiye'nin huzuruna ve hoşgörüsüne saldırıldı.)

9. Britain (5)

1. Attacks are made for violating the peace in Britain due to his war against Islam. (Saldırılar İngiltere'nin İslam'a karşı olan savaşına dayalı olarak İngiltere'deki barışı zedelemek için yapıldı.)

2. Message was for Britain. (Mesaj İngiltere'yeydi.)

3. Direct target was Britain. (Direk hedef İngiltere'ydi.)

4. The target was British populace. (Hedef İngiliz halkıydı.)

5. The target was British Consulate and HSBC Bank. (Hedef İngiliz Konsolosluğu ve HSBC Banka'sıydı.)

10. The whole world is targeted. (Tüm dünya hedef alındı.)

11. Democracy, peace and tolerance in the whole world are targeted. (Tüm dünyadaki demokrasi, barış ve hoşgörü hedef alındı.) (3)

12. Actions threaten Istanbul and Europe. (Eylemler İstanbul ve Avrupa'yı tehdit ediyor.)

13. Europe is targeted. (Avrupa hedef alındı.)

14. The west's military, political and financial symbols are targeted. (Batı'nın askeri, siyasi ve mali sembolleri hedef alındı.)

| b.2. Reasons (37) |
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1. Turkey (27)

| 1. Turkey has been hitting the most blows to Islamist terrorist groups since 9/11. (11 Eylül'den beri İslamcı terör gruplarına Türkiye en büyük darbeleri indiriyor.) <br> 2. Turkey's foreign policy towards Israel. (Türkiye'nin İsrail'e yönelik izlediği dış politikası) (3) <br> 3. Turkey's cooperation with the U.S. in the Iraqi intervention. (Türkiye'nin A.B.D.'yle Irak müdahalesindeki işbirliği) (2) <br> 4. Government's Middle Eastern politics. (Hükümetin Ortadoğu politikaları) <br> 5. Turkey is an easier target than the U.S. and Britain. (Türkiye A.B.D. ve İngiltere'den daha kolay bir hedef) <br> 6. Turkey's position towards the West as a Muslim country. (Türkiye'nin Müslüman bir ülke olarak Batı'ya yaklaşımı) (4) <br> 7. In Turkey democracy, secularity and Islam are maintained together. (Türkiye'de demokrasi, laiklik ve İslam birlikte muhafaza ediliyor.) (9) <br> 8. Turkey's strategic importance. (Türkiye'nin stratejik önemi) <br> 9. In Turkey different cultures, religions and races live together. (Türkiye'de farklı kültürler, dinler ve ırklar birarada yaşıyor.) <br> 10. Government's open Islamist policies and its closeness to Europe. (Hükümetin açık İslamcı politikaları ve Avrupa'ya yakınlığı) <br> 11. Turkey's policies against turban. (Türkiye'nin türban politikası) <br> 12. Poverty in some of the regions of Turkey such as in Bingöl. (Türkiye'nin Bingöl gibi bazı bölgelerindeki yoksulluk) <br> 13. Quaran courses. (Kuran kursları) |
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2. United States (8)

| 1. The U.S.'s anti-terrorist policies. (A.B.D'nin anti-terör politikaları) (3) <br> 2. The U.S.'s intervention to Iraq. (A.B.D'nin Irak'a müdahalesi) (4) <br> 3. The U.S.'s foreign policies. (A.B.D'nin dış politikaları) |
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3. Radical Islamist terrorists try to push the Jewish populace away from the Europe. (Radikal İslamcı teröristler Musevi nüfusunu Avrupa'dan kaçırmaya çalışıyorlar.)

4. Middle Eastern conflicts and the intervention to Afghanistan. (Ortadoğu çatışmaları ve Afganistan'a yapılan müdahale)

2. Management of Affect /Emotions Constructively (115)

1. We will not let them to destroy our tranquility. (Huzuru bozdurmayız)

2. We will solve this conflict and maintain our tranquility. (Terör belasını el birliğiyle çözeceğiz ve huzuru mutlaka sağlayacağız.)

3. Erdogan: "None of the countries can stop terrorism but our first and the most important target is to minimize terrorist actions." (Erdoğan: "Terörü dünyada hiçbir ülke yok edemedi. Fakat asgariye indirmek ilk ve en önemli hedefimizdir.")

4. Turkey should not be terrorized from such threats. It should concentrate its energy and opportunities on conflict prevention mechanisms. (Türkiye bu tür tehditler karşısında yılgınlık göstermemeli, enerjisini ve olanaklarını önlemler üzerinde yoğunlaştırmalıdır.) (2)

5. The chief Rabbi Ishak Haleva told that if they had not been protected extraordinarily, then the casualties would have been higher. (Hahambaşı İshak Haleva, eğer olağanüstü bir şekilde korunmasalardı, ölü sayısının daha yükesek olabiliceğini vurguladı.)

6. We will win if we fight together. (Birlikte mücadele edersek kazanırız)

7. Even though terror created disturbance in the markets, the reaction of the markets stayed limited. (Terörün piyasalarda yarattığı tedirginliğe rağmen, piyasalardan teröre sınırlı tepki)

8. We are recovering our injuries. (Yaralar sarılıyor)

9. Examples of the religious tolerance. (Dini hoşgörünün örnekleri)

10. Protest with the light against terrorism. (Teröre karşı ışıklı protesto)

11. Tolerance statue in Kuledibi: Tolerance for peace. (Kuledibi'ne hoşgörü heykeli: Barış için hoşgörü)

12. There is a common identity that can remove the differences between people: Being a human. (Tüm insanlar arasındaki farkı kaldıracak bir ortak kimlik var: İnsan olmak)

13. In the funerals all the biers should be carried by the Turkish flags, the government and the representators of each religion in Turkey should participate to the funerals. (Cenazelerde tüm tabutlar Türk bayrağına sarılmalı, devlet ve her dinin temsilcileri cenaze törenlerine katılmalı.)

14. Let's pray for the fraternity between people and the replacement of terror with love and happiness: Peace at home, peace at world. (İnsanlar arasındaki kardeşliğin ve terörün yerini sevginin ve mutluluğun alması için dua edelim: Yurtta sulh, cihanda sulh.)

15. Global combat against global terror. (Ulusötesi terör için ulusötesi mücadele) (2)

16. Bombs with 500 kilo weight do not do anything except increasing our attachment to

each other. (500 kiloluk bombalar birbirimize bağlılığımızı arttırmaktan başka hiçbir işe yaramıyor.)

17. The bombs lead to the attachment of Jewish and Muslim populace to each other and they lead to an increase in the cooperation between Israel and Turkey. (Bombalar Musevi ve Müslüman toplumlarını kenetlediler ve İsrail ve Türkiye arasındaki işbirliğini arttırdı.)

18. The Jewish citizens who are living in Turkey said that: "Turkey is our homeland; either a threat or a violent action cannot make us to leave our home. Neither Israel nor any European countries are safer than Turkey. There is not any place safer than Turkey for Jewish Turks as for Muslim and Christian Turks. (Türkiye'de yaşayan Musevi vatandaşlar diyorki: "Türkiye bizim vatanımız; hiçbir tehdit veya hiçbir şiddet eylemi bizi buradan söküp atamaz. Ne İsrail ne de diğer Avrupa ülkeleri Türkiye'den daha güvenli değil. Müslümanlar ve Hristiyan Türkler için nasıl Türkiye'den daha güvenli bir yer yoksa Musevi Türkler için de yok.")

19. Mayor of Beyoğlu prepare a meeting with tradesmen for environmental regulations of the bombed places. (Beyoğlu Belediye Başkanı bombalanan yerlerin çevre düzenlemesi için esnafla toplantı yaptı)

20. Local and international cooperation against terrorism. (Teröre karşı bölgesel ve uluslararası işbirliği) (3)

21. No one can terrorize us because Turkish Republic is a very strong state. (Bizi yıldıramazlar çünkü Türkiye Cumhuriyeti güçlü bir devlettir.) (2)

22. The branches of HSBC are opened. (HSBC şubeleri açıldı)

23. We will overcome these events through being resistant to terrorism and not loosing our trust. (Biz bunun da üstesinden teröre karşı dayanaklı olarak ve güvenimizi yitirmeyerek geleceğiz.) (3)

24. We are still standing against terrorists. (Dimdik ayaktayız) (2)

25. There is need for the establishment of a common coordination center against international terrorism. (Uluslararası terörizme karşı ortak koordinasyon merkezi kurulması)

26. Every bomb increased our determinant position in this struggle and we will not give up. (Her bomba bu mücadelede kararlılığımızı arttırdı ve vazgeçmeyeceğiz.)

27. Our most important service for the world will be our victory against terrorism. (Dünyaya en büyük hizmetimiz teröre karşı kazanacağımız zafer olacaktır.)

28. There is a very extended support and reaction from the U.S. and Europe against the terrorist events in Turkey. (Türkiye'de yaşanan terör olaylarına karşı A.B.D ve Avrupa'dan müthiş bir destek ve tepki var.)

29. Straw: "The attack makes our relationships stronger and make us to want Turkey's membership to the E.U as soon as possible." (Straw: "Saldırı, ilişkilerimizi daha da güçlendiriyor ve Türkiye'nin AB'ye tam üye olmasını mümkün olduğu kadar çabuk istememizi getiriyor.")

30. Schily; "The most proper signal to terror will be giving a negotiation date for Turkey's E.U. membership." (Schily; "Teröre karşı en doğru sinyal Türkiye'ye AB üyeliği için müzakere tarihi verilmesi olacaktır.")

31. Verheugen: "Attacks make Turkey closer to the E.U." (Verheugen: "Saldırılar Türkiye'yi AB'ye yakınlaştırdı.")

32. HSBC: "We are trusting Turkey." (HSBC: "Türkiye'ye güveniyoruz.")

33. BBC: "Bombs can not affect Turkish economy; bombs can have little effects in the short term but in the long term they can not affect Turkish economy negatively. (BBC: "Bombalar Türk ekonomisine dokunmaz; kısa dönemli küçük etkiler olur, ancak uzun dönemde bu iş Türk ekonomisine olumsuz etki yapmaz.")

34. The value of Turkish commercial bills increased. (Türk tahvilleri yükseldi)

35. 900 million dollar credits are given to two banks: The bombs can not shake the confidence of international markets towards Turkey. (İki bankaya 900 milyon dolarlık kredi: Bombalar uluslararası piyasaların Türkiye'ye güvenini sarsamadı.)

36. English companies: "We will not go away from Turkey." (İngiliz şirketleri: "Türkiye'den gitmeyiz.")

37. Forget terror and come to shopping. (Terörü unutun, alışverişe gelin)

38. Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association: "Don't give up." (TÜSİAD: "Yılmak yok.")

39. We are not afraid of terrorism, we will come to Turkey. (Terörden korkmayız, Türkiye'ye geliriz)

40. Belgian tourist do not return from Turkey. (Belçikalı turist Türkiye'den dönmüyor)

41. Turkish tourism continues to its own route. (Türk turizmi yoluna devam ediyor)

42. Protests with flag. (Bayraklı protesto)

43. Bush called Erdoğan: "Be strong my friend. I, my nation and my state are with you." (Bush Erdoğan'ı aradı: "Güçlü kal dostum. Şahsım, milletim ve devletimle

yanındayım.")

44. Every preventive mechanism set up. Police will not be granted permission in religious festivity. (Her türlü önlem alındı. Bayramda polis izin yapmayacak.)

45. A country can not be destroyed economically due to only substantial damages. Terror can lead to moral damages that can result with huge substantial losses but terror can not succeed in this fact yet. (Bir ülke sırf bu eylemlerin verdiği maddi hasar yüzünden iktisaden çökmez. Terörün yol açabileceği manevi hasar, büyük maddi kayıplarla sonuçlanabilir ama terör henüz bu ikinci aşamaya geçemedi.)

46. Turkey's membership for the E.U. is closer. (Türkiye'nin AB üyeliği daha yakın) (2)

47. Terror can not succeed in Turkey until today and will not succeed. (Terör bugüne dek Türkiye'yi dize getiremedi, bundan sonra hiç getiremez.)

48. With collective intelligence, we can prevent terrorism. (Ortak akılla teröre engel olabiliriz.)

49. We have to protect our country, tranquility and humanity together. We have to maintain a solidarity march for demonstrating our determination. (Ülkemizi, huzurumuzu ve insanlığımızı hep birlikte savunmalıyız. Bu konuda kararlılığımızı ortaya koymak için dayanışma yürüyüşü düzenlemeliyiz.)

50. Terrorism hit Europe in Istanbul. This situation emphasized Turkey's closer position to the E.U. (Terör İstanbul'da Avrupa'yı vurdu. Bu olay Türkiye'nin AB'ye yakın durumunu gösteriyor.)

51. I do not have any intention to leave my street to anyone. I will be in my street today and I wait for you, too. (Benim sokağımı kimseye bırakmaya niyetim yok. Ben bugün sokağımda olacağım ve sizleri de beklerim.)

52. We will not give ourselves up to terrorism. Approximately 2500 people participated to the "March against Violence and Terror". (Teröre teslim olmayacağız. 'Şiddete ve Teröre Karşı Barış Yürüyüşü'ne yaklaşık 2500 kişi katıldı.)

53. Local and foreign tourists fill up the touristic places. (Yerli ve yabancı turistler tatil merkezlerini doldurdu.)

54. Bombs bring the E.U. support. (Patlamanın getirdiği AB desteği)

55. Straw declared that the attacks strengthened further the relations between Britain and Turkey. (Straw saldırıların İngiltere ve Türkiye arasındaki ilişkileri daha da güçlendirdiğini belirtti.)

56. Schröder: "The attacks don't affect Turkey's membership to the E.U." (Schröder:

"Saldırılar Türkiye'nin AB'ye üyeliğini etkilemez.")

57. Terrorist attacks will not affect Turkish economy negatively. (Terör saldırıları ekonomiyi olumsuz etkilemez) (2)

58. Metrocity returns to business in 72 hours. (Metrocity 72 saatte alışverişe döndü)

59. Social responsibility: Credit for the sufferers to recover their injuries. (Sosyal sorumluluk: Bomba mağduruna 'yaranı sar' kredisi)

60. Erdoğan: "We do not give concession from democracy and human rights." (Erdoğan: "Demokrasi ve insan haklarından taviz yok") (2)

61. Frattini: "Turkey's membership to the E.U. is an opportunity for the E.U., in this way we will demonstrate that a Muslim populace can negotiate with the Europeans." (Frattini: "Türkiye'nin AB'ye üyeliği AB için bir kazanım olacaktır, bu sayede Müslüman bir halkın Avrupalılarla aynı masaya oturabileceğini göstereceğiz.")

62. Islam bases on peace, tolerance and reconciliation, and therefore our religion orders fraternity, solidarity and peace. (İslam'ın temeli barışa, hoşgörüye ve uzlaşmaya dayanmaktadır ve bundan dolayı dinimiz kardeşliği, birliği ve barışı emreder.)

63. Erdoğan: "Unity and solidarity in Turkey can not be violated, because our culture is maintained by brotherhood, love and beauty. Therefore such kind of mentality can not set up its roots in our culture." (Erdoğan: "Türkiye'deki birliği ve beraberliği bozamayacaklar çünkü bizim kültürümüz kardeşlik, sevgi ve güzellikle yoğrulmuştur. Bundan dolayı, böyle bir mantık köklerini bizim kültürümüze yerleştiremez.")

64. Erdoğan: "We have been living together for centuries in spite of our differences. We establish a bond with each other. No one can damage this bond, and no one will have the chance to damage this affection. (Erdoğan: "Farklılıklarımıza rağmen yüzyıllardır birlikte yaşıyoruz. Kimse bu bağı bozamaz ve bu muhabbeti bozmak için şansları olmayacaktır.")

65. Language is different, religion is different but the great pain is the same. (Dil ayrı, din ayrı ama büyük acı aynı)

66. The most correct answer to terrorism is to accept Turkey to the E.U. (Teröre en güzel yanıt Türkiye'yi AB'ye almak)

67. Religious festivity is an opportunity to recover our injuries and to create hope and happiness in our lives. (Bayram, yaralarımızı sarmamız için bir fırsat ve yaşamımızda umut ve mutluluk yaratıyor.)

68. We have a civilized society. The chaotic situation in 15 November bombings is replaced

by order in 20 November bombings. Everyone knows what to do and this fact derives from the civilized nature of our society, which is not maintained by the E.U. criteria. (Biz uygar bir toplumuz. 15 Kasım bombalamalarındaki kaotik ortam 20 Kasım bombalamalarında yerini düzene bırakmış. Herkes ne yapacağını biliyor ve bu durum AB'nin kriterlerinden değil, toplumumuzun uygar doğasından kaynaklanıyor.)

69. HSBC: "A lot of banker called and told us that they are ready for every kind of assistance. This case implies the solidarity of Turkish people in the hard days." (HSBC: "Birçok bankacı arkadaş aradı, bize her türlü desteği vermeye hazır olduklarını söylediler. Bu durum Türk insanının zor günlerde gösterdiği dayanışma ruhunu gösteriyor.")

70. The Minister of the Government Ali Babacan told that; "Economic developments will continue, no one need to be suspicious about this." (Devlet Bakanı Ali Babacan; "Ekonomide bayram havası devam edecek, kimsenin bundan şüphesi olmasın" dedi.) (3)

71. The solution to terrorism is our solidarity, unity and cooperation. (Teröre çözüm beraberliğimiz, birliğimiz ve dayanışmamızdır.)

72. DHL: "The bomb can increase the sympathy towards Turkey and therefore in some sectors, orders can be made from Turkey" (DHL: "Bomba Türkiye'ye sempatiyi arttırabilir ve bundan dolayı bazı sektörlerde siparişlerin Türkiye'ye kaydırılması söz konusu olabilir.")

73. They can not violate our unity. (Birliğimizi bozamazlar) (2)

74. Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Abdullah Gül examined that there will not be any hesitation in the economic development and democratization process. (Dışişleri Bakanı ve Başbakan Yardımcısı Abdullah Gül ekonomik zenginleşme ve demokratikleşme sürecinden geri dönüş olmayacağını belirtti.)

75. Abdullah Gül points out the cooperative intentions in the world in general sense. (Abdullah Gül dünya genelinde bir dayanışma söz konusu olduğunu belirtti.)

76. Tradesmen in Galatasaray hang a placard stating that "Our answer to terror, we are resisting against terrorism." (Galatasaray esnafı "Teröre cevabımız, dimdik ayaktayız" yazılı bir pankart astı.)

77. German foreign minister Joschka Fischer implies that terrorism is the common enemy of Turkey and Germany. Hence, there is need to fight against this enemy together. (Almanya Dışişleri Bakanı Joschka Fischer, terörizmin Almanya ve Türkiye için ortak

düşman olduğunu belirtti. Bu yüzden, bu düşmana karşı birlikte savaşılması gerektiğini söyledi.)

78. There was not any sign of a crisis. Life was going on in Istanbul. (Kriz işareti yok. Yaşam İstanbul'da devam ediyor.)

79. Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma*) government has a good position to demonstrate that a small group of Muslim terrorists can not damage the religion of Islam. (AKP hükümeti küçük bir grup Müslüman teröristin, İslam dinini rehin alamayacağını topluma anlatacak iyi bir konuma sahip.)

80. Terror can not prevent our free lives. (Terör özgür yaşamımızı engelleyemez)

81. With the leadership of Turkey, Islam can construct a peaceful civilization. (Türkiye'nin liderliğinde İslam barışçıl bir uygarlık inşa edebilir.)

82. Even though Juventus did not want to play in Istanbul due to fear of terrorism, great many of Italians prefer Turkey for their holidays. (Juventus'un terör korkusuyla İstanbul'da oynamak istememesine rağmen, birçok İtalyanın tatilleri için Türkiye'yi tercih ediyor.)

83. In the determination of the guilty ones, objective criteria should be maintained in order to prevent any unlawful decisions to the ones who aren't responsible about guilt. In this way, conflicts between religion and cultures can be prevented. (Suçluların belirlenmesinde yargısız infaza gidilmemesi için objektif kriterlere uyulması gereklidir. Bu bağlamda dinler ve kültürler arasındaki çatışmalar engellenebilir.)

84. The head of Federal Embassy of Human Rights Commission Claudia Roth prepared a proposal for supporting Turkey's membership to the E.U. (Federal Meclis İnsan Hakları Komisyonu Başkanı Claudia Roth Türkiye'nin AB üyeliğini desteklemeleri için bir önerge hazırladı.)

85. Bingöl should use the opportunity for being in the agenda in spite of terrorism. Let's make the spring of 2004, Bingöl's tourism spring. (Bingöl ilimiz, adının terörle birlikte de olsa bu denli gündeme gelmiş olmasını çok iyi kullanmalı. 2004 baharı Bingöl'ün turizm baharı olsun.)

86. Claudia Roth's proposal about "Solidarity and Supporting Turkey" was accepted in the congress by unanimously. (''Türkiye ile dayanışma, Türkiye için destek'' başlıklı Claudia Roth'un önergesi, delegelerin oybirliğiyle kabul edildi.)

87. Turkey will not give up from democratic stability. (Türkiye demokratik istikrardan vazgeçmeyecek.) (2)

88. International Ranking Foundation Moody's declared that 15-20 November bombings do not affect Turkey's grade. (Uluslararası derecelendirme kuruluşu Moody's, 15-20 Kasım bombalamarının Türkiye'nin notunu etkilemeyeceğini açıkladı.)

89. Markets get rid of the effects of the bombs. (Piyasa bombayı silip attı)

90. Prime Minister Erdoğan: "UEFA led to the coalescence of our people." (Başbakan Erdoğan: "UEFA, halkımızın kaynaşmasına sebep oldu.")

91. The U.S.: Istanbul is recovering immediately as New York. (A.B.D: İstanbul, New York gibi hızla toparlanıyor)

92. Islamist terrorism pushes American and Turkish decision makers to think in the same way. (İslamcı terör Amerikan ve Türk düşünce üreticilerini aynı yönde düşünmeye itti.)

93. HSBC: "We will not step back in our investments in Turkey." (HSBC: "Yatırımlarımızda geri adım atmayacağız.")

94. The U.S.: Terror can not stop investments in Turkey. Turkey has a very successful history in economy. (A.B.D.:Terör Türkiye'ye yatırımı durdurmaz. Türkiye'nin ekonomide olağanüstü başarı hikayesi var.)

95. UEFA's decision unites the ones who are living away from home in Europe. (UEFA'nın kararı Avrupa'daki gurbetçilerimizi birleştirdi.)

96. In spite of the bombing in Istanbul, record of tourism. (İstanbul'da bombaya rağmen turizm rekoru) (3)

97. A terror organization can not ruin my Turkish pride. (Türklük gururumu bir terör örgütü yıkamaz)

98. Erdoğan: "Even the bombs can not affect our economy." (Erdoğan: "Bombalar bile ekonomiyi etkileyemedi.)

99. Muslim and Jewish people come together in the synagogues. (Müslümanı, Yahudisi sinagoglarda buluştu)

**Table 4.d. ZAMAN** (243+99= 342)

1. Problem Recognition (144+99=243)

a. Problem Framing (31+51+47+15=144)

| a.1.  Terrorist Events (31) |
|---|
| 1. The blackout action of Turkey. (Türkiye'yi karartma eylemi) |
| 2. Horror / The days of horror. (Dehşet/Dehşet günleri) (6) |
| 3. Foolishness and unscrupulousness. (Aptallık ve vicdansızlık) |
| 4. Terror attacks carry an anti-semitic characteristic. (Terör saldırıları anti-semitik özellik taşıyor.) |
| 5. Wild events/ atrocity. (Vahşi olaylar/vahşet) (4) |
| 6. Is atrocity a surprise? (Vahşet sürpriz mi?) |
| 7. This is not a terrorist action, this is a war. (Bu bir terör eylemi değil, bu bir savaş) |
| 8. Osmanbey and Şişli massacres. (Osmanbey ve Şişli katliamları) |
| 9. The name of  these attacks is murder. (Bu saldırıların adı cinayettir.) |
| 10. Cursed events. (Lanetli olaylar) |
| 11. Global terrorism. (Küresel terörizm) |
| 12. Turkey's September 11. (Türkiye'nin 11 Eylül'ü) |
| 13. Massacre. (Katliam) |
| 14. Crime against the humanity. (İnsanlığa karşı suç) |
| 15. Four brutal attacks. (Dört vahşi saldırılar) |
| 16. Deceit, despicableness and baseness. (Kalleşlik, alçaklık ve köpeklik) |
| 17. The brutality of terror. (Terörün vahşeti) |
| 18. Suicide attacks carry religious aspects. (İntihar saldırıları dini özellik taşıyor.) |
| 19. Foreign sourced global terror. (Dış kaynaklı küresel terör) |
| 20. Horror of terrorists. (Teröristlerin dehşeti) |
| 21. Terror is a barbarity. (Terör bir barbarlıktır) |

| a.2. Terrorist and Terrorist Groups (51) |
| --- |

1. Bombers (13)

    1. The owner of lorry's license plate with the bombs is from Bingöl. (Bombalı aracın plaka sahibi Bingöl'den)

    2. The suicide bombers are from Bingöl who are Mesut Çabuk and Gökhan Elaltuntaş. Feridun Uğurlu and Azad Ekinci provided logistical support. (İntihar bombacıları Bingöl'den olan Mesut Çabuk ve Gökhan Elaltuntaş. Feridun Uğurlu ve Azad Ekinci lojistik destek sağladı.) (2)

    3. The bomber who attacked the HSBC Bank is living. (HSBC Bankasına saldıran bombacı yaşıyor.)

    4. The planner of the suicide attacks, who is still missing, is interested in information technology. (İntihar eylemini planlayan kayıp terrorist bilişim teknolojisine meraklıymış.)

    5. Police: The bombers split into pieces. (Polis: Bombacılar parçalara ayrıldı.)

    6. Two more people related to attacks were arrested. (Saldırılarla ilgili iki kişi daha tutuklandı.)

    7. The father of the bomber said that "I wish my son would not die in that way. I could not believe how he could do these bombings. We are respectful to our nation, government, flag and Quaran. Please let us to meet the head of rabbi to apologize and wish condolence." (Bombacının babası; "Keşke oğlum bu şekilde ölmeseydi. Bu bombalamaları nasıl yapabildiğine hala inanamıyorum. Biz ulusumuza, devletimize, bayrağımıza ve Kuran'ımıza saygılı insanlarız. Lütfen bizi Hahambaşı ile özür dilememiz ve başsağlığı dilememiz için görüştürün.")

    8. We would attack the synagogue from its main enterance, but the street was crowded. (Sinagoglara ana girişten saldıracaktık fakat sokak kalabalıktı.)

    9. The family of Habib Aktaş said that Aktaş is in Algeria. (Habib Aktaş'ın ailesi Aktaş'ın Cezayir'de olduğunu söyledi.)

    10. With the DNA test, the fourth bomber is determined. (Dördüncü bombacı DNA testiyle belirlendi.)

    11. According to the police, the leader and the bombers ran away abroad. (Polise göre lider ve bombacılar yurtdışına kaçtı.)

    12. Nurullah Kuncak does not believe that his father is a terrorist. (Nurullah Kuncak

babasının terrorist olduğuna inanmıyor.)

13. Mesut Çabuk's wife is released. (Mesut Çabuk'un karısı serbest bırakıldı.)

14. The leader Habib Aktaş and his assistant Azad Ekinci do not put any name on their organization. They identify themselves as Al Qaeda. (Lider Habib Aktaş ve asistanı Azad Ekinci örgütlerine isim koymamış. Kendilerini El Kaide olarak tanımlıyorlar.)

15. Tuğluoğlu was arrested. (Tuğluoğlu tutuklandı.)

16. Three more people are arrested due to the attacks in Istanbul. (İstanbul'daki saldırılara dayalı olarak üç kişi daha tutuklandı.)

17. One accused who prepared the lorry with the bombs was arrested. (Bombalı kamyonu hazırlayan suçlu tutuklandı.)

18. Yitiz said that "Laden ordered us to be careful not to kill the innocents. I am sorry for the casualties. I wish they would be martyr." (Yitiz; "Ladin, masumları öldürmemeye dikkat etmemiz için emir verdi. Kayıplardan dolayı üzgünüm. Umarım şehit olmuşlardır.")

19. Al Qaeda's cell in Turkey established a phone dealer to prevent to be listened by the intelligence services. (El Kaide'nin Türkiye'deki hücresi gizli servis tarafından dinlenmemek için telefon bayi kurmuşlar.)

20. Al Qaeda's theorist, Adnan Ersöz, in Turkey was arrested and he is questioned. (El Kaide'nin teorisyeni Adnan Ersöz Türkiye'de yakalandı ve sorgulanıyor.)

21. Penitent Ersöz had a breakfast with Laden; "Actions affected Turkey negatively. Most of the casualties were Muslims. I repent that is why I decided to knuckle under. (Pişman olan Ersöz Ladin'le kahvaltı yapmış; "Eylemler Türkiye'yi olumsuz etkiledi. En çok kayıp Müslümanlardan oldu. Pişmanım, bu yüzden teslim olmaya karar verdim.")

22. Harun İlhan who ordered the attacks to Neve Şalom Synagogue was imprisoned. (Neve Şalom Sinagoğu'na saldırı emrini veren Harun İlhan tutuklandı.)

2. There is high possibility of an international organization. (Uluslararası örgüt olma ihtimali yüksek) (3)

3. Al Qaeda (El Kaide) (15)

1. The suspicions are towards Al Qaeda. (Şüpheler El Kaide'ye yönelik)

2. It is claimed that Al Qaeda took the responsibility of the attacks. (El Kaide'nin saldırıları üstlendiği iddia edildi.)

3. Powel: "In the attacks, all kinds of signs demonstrate Al Qaeda." (Powel: "Saldırılarda, tüm işaretler El Kaide'yi gösteriyor.")

4. Al Qaeda and /or its local stooges. (El Kaide ve/veya yerel yardakçıları)  (4)

5. Al Qaeda related or adopted the ideology of Al Qaeda. (El Kaide bağlantılı veya El Kaide ideolojisi benimsemiş) (5)

6. Ebu Hafız El Masri Brigades took the responsibility for the attacks that are tied to Al Qaeda. (El Kaide'ye bağlı Ebu Hafız El Masri Tugayları saldırıların sorumluluğunu üstlendi.)

7. Al Qaeda operation in the capital city: 12 people are in custody. (Başkentte El Kaide operasyonu: 12 kişi nezarette.)

8. Islamist terrorist organization Al Qaeda. (İslamcı terör örgütü El Kaide)

4. The attackers are not from an organization they are from a state. (Saldırganlar bir örgütden değil bir devletten.)

5. Attacks have both foreign and local sources. (Saldırılar hem dış hem de yerel kaynaklı.)

6. The corpse does not belong to Turks, they look like Arabs. (Ceset bir Türk'e ait değil, Arap'a benziyor.)

7. Relentless, fixed and narrow minded people. (Acımasız, sabit ve dar görüşlü insanlar)

8. Attacks have a relation with an organization in Afghanistan. (Saldırılar Afganistan bağlantılı)

9. Hezbollah: Al Qaeda's local subcontractor. (Hizbullah: El kaide'nin yerel taşeronu) (4)

10. Terrorists are inhuman. (İnsanlıktan nasibini almamış teröristler)

11. The attacks of anarchist, unsatisfied, rough and immature souls. (Anarşist, tatminsiz, kaba ve ham ruhların saldırıları)

| a.3. Victims (47) |
| --- |
| 1. Casualties and wounded (10) <br><br>    1. The explosion which destroyed an extended area resulted in 20 casualties. (Geniş bir alanı etkileyen patlama 20 ölüyle sonuçlandı.) <br><br>    2. The identities of casualties are determined. (Ölülerin kimlikleri belirlendi.) <br><br>    3. 27 casualties and 455 wounded in two attacks. (İki saldırıda 27 ölü ve 455 yaralı) <br><br>    4. 11 casualties and so may wounded. (11 ölü ve birçok yaralı) <br><br>    5. In the attack in addition to the casualty of general consul, 15 people also died. (Saldırıda başkonsolosun yanı sıra 15 kişi daha öldü.) <br><br>    6. Result is bad: 27 casualties, 255 wounded. (Bilanço kötü: 27 ölü, 255 yaralı) <br><br>    7. HSBC: Our 3 employees died and we have 30 wounded. (HSBC: 3 çalışanımız öldü ve 30 da yaralı var) <br><br>    8. The casualties increased to 30. Numbers can not represent the sorrow. (Ölü sayısı 30'a yükseldi. Acı rakamlara sığacak gibi değil.) (2) <br><br>    9. One more wounded died. (Bir yaralı daha öldü.) |

2. Little Hamza's arm detached while he was going to buy festive clothes. (Bayramlık almaya giden küçük Hamza'nın kolu koptu.)

3. He became a martyr as his father. (Babası gibi şehit oldu)

4. Due to the explosions, Ali Şahin lost his son and his building becomes unusable. (Patlamalardan dolayı Ali Şahin oğlunu kaybetti ve binası kullanılamaz hale geldi.)

5. A mother lost her police son after her police husband. (Polis eşinden sonra polis oğlunu kaybeden anne)

6. The funerals are buried with tears. (Cenazeler gözyaşlarıyla gömüldü)

7. AKER's director of foreign trade would fly to Spain. (AKER'in dış ticaret müdürü İspanya'ya uçacaktı.)

8. Most of the wounded do not remember their names. (Birçok yaralı isimlerini hatırlamıyor.)

9. I just wanted to go around Istanbul and terror found me. (Şöyle bir dolaşayım İstanbul'u dedim, terör beni buldu)

10. Ahmet Özdoğan and his Jewish wife Berta Özdoğan who had been pregnant for 5 months were buried. (Ahmet Özdoğan ve 5 aylık hamile olan Musevi eşi Berta Özdoğan

toprağa verildi.)

11. The funerals of the Jewish victims of terror were carried with Turkish flag. (Terör kurbanı Musevilerin cenazeleri Türk bayrağına sarılı taşındı.)

12. Hamza's arm was erected but it wouldn't be as the old one. (Hamza'nın kolu dikildi fakat eskisi gibi olmayacak.)

13. The British General Consul Roger Short died under wreckage. (İngiliz Başkonsolosu Roger Short enkaz altında öldü.)

14. While he was shaving, the building collapsed on him. (Traş olurken bina üstüne çöktü.)

15. Because of terror, she had the same sorrow in a week. (Bir hafta için de terör yüzünden aynı acıyı iki kez yaşadı.)

16. Witnesses told about horror. (Tanıklar dehşeti anlattı.)

17. Kerem Yılmazer is also the victim of terror. (Kerem Yılmazer'de terör kurbanı)

18. Victims of the British Consulate and HSBC Bank attacks are started to be buried. (İngiliz Konsolosluğu ve HSBC Bankası kurbanları toprağa başlandı.) (2)

19. The young lady who is the victim of terror will meet her hero. (Terör kurbanı genç kadın kahramanı ile tanışacak.)

20. Wife and husband died while they were watching the explosions in Levent from television. (Karı koca Levent'deki patlamaları izlerken öldü.)

21. It is believed that Önder was death but he is living. (Öldü sanılan Önder yaşıyor.)

22. Doctors also have terror trauma. (Doktorlar da terör travması yaşıyor.)

23. Yılmazer's funeral is today. (Yılmazer bugün uğurlanıyor.)

24. His funeral carried in front of the bank that he died. (Hayatını kaybettiği bankanın önünden tabutla geçti.)

25. Two symbol names of the attacks meet. (Saldırıların iki simge ismi buluştu)

26. His last spectators were his friends. (Son sahnede seyircisi dostlarıydı)

27. He performed his first prayer at her mother's funeral. (Hayatının ilk cenaze namazını annesi için kıldı.)

28. Ergün Zincirbozan took a psychological support to explain the death of his wife to his 3 years old daughter. (Ergün Zincirbozan 3 yaşındaki kızına, karısının ölümünü anlatmak için psikolojik destek alıyor.)

29. They learned in the eve day that their father became a martyr in the attack. (Babalarının bombalı saldırıda şehit olduğunu arife günü öğrendi.)

30. Elder brother Ethem: Will we not perform the namaz in Eyüp? (Ah Etem abi, hani

namazı Eyüp'te kılacaktık?)

31. The girl who experienced the terror said that she understood the value of life now. (Dehşet yüzüne yansıyan kız: Hayatın değerini yeni anladım)

32. The funeral of General Consul made with military ceremony.(Başkonsolosun cenazesi askeri törenle uğurlandı.)

33. Yılmazer lives in his play. (Yılmazer oyunda yaşıyor)

34. The broken off arm was buried in Bulgaria. (Kopuk kol Bulgaristan'da gömüldü.)

35. The victim of the bomb died while he was waiting to be discharged from the hospital. (Taburcu olmayı beklerken öldü.)

36. Sarıkaya said that while he is passing in front of the old HSBC building, he feels terrorized. He said that this attack's effect on our life can not be easily neglected. (Sarıkaya HSBC binasının önünden geçerken ürperdiğini söyledi. Bu saldırının hayatlarında silinmeyecek izler bıraktığını söyledi.) (2004)

37. Emine Boyun: My daughter would have been married if she hadn't died in the attacks. (Emine Boyun: Kızım saldırılarda ölmeseydi, evlenmiş olacaktı.) (2004)

| a.4. Targeted Places (15) |
|---|

1. The explosions turned the busiest neighborhoods of Istanbul into a battle field. (Patlamalar İstanbul'un en işlek semtlerini savaş alanına çevirdi.)

2. As Neve Şalom Synagogue, Şahsuvar Mosque was also damaged. (Neve Şalom Sinagoğu gibi Şahsuvar Cami'de zarar gördü.)

3. Due to strength of the bomb, the buildings around the targeted place are also damaged. According to the experts one of the factors that increases the effectiveness of the bomb is narrow streets. (Bombanın etkisiyle hedef alınan yerin, çevre binaları da zarar gördü.)

4. Temples have been always the first target of terrorism. (Mabetler terörizmin her zaman ilk hedefi olmuştur.)

5. HSBC and British Consulate (6)

   1. The first 6 floors of the HSBC Bank became unusable and the front part of the bank was destructed. (HSBC Banka'sının ilk altı katı kullanılamaz hale geldi ve bankanın ön cepheside zarar gördü.)

   2. The front wall of British Consulate was ruined after the explosion. (Patlamadan sonra İngiliz Konsolosluğu'nun ön duvarı ykıldı.)

   3. The HSBC Bank was insured to 26 trillion Turkish Liras. (HSBC Bankası 26 trilyon Türk Lirasına sigortalıydı.)

   4. The building of the HSBC Bank looks like a ghost. (HSBC Bankasının binası hayalete benziyor.)

   5. The findings of the HSBC Bank are moved. (HSBC Bankasının eşyaları taşınıyor.)

   6. Even though the HSBC building can resist to an earthquake in the intensity of 9, the destruction is high because the outer front of the building is built by glass. (HSBC Bankası 9 şiddetindeki bir sarsıntıya dayanabilecek güçte olmasına rağmen, hasar çok büyük çünkü binanın dışı camdan oluşuyor.)

6. Istiklal Street turned to a matter of life and death. (İstiklal Cadddesi ölüm kalım yerine döndü.)

7. The photography foundation which collapsed in the attacks is moved. (Saldırılarda yıkılan fotoğraf vakfı taşınıyor.)

8. The attacked Beth Israel Synagogue will be opened to service tomorrow. (Saldırıya uğrayan Beth Israel Sinagoğu yarın hizmete açılıyor.)

9. After the attacks, the first ritual was made in Beth Israel Synagogue. (Saldırılardan sonra ilk ayin yapıldı.)

10. After the movement of the U.S. Consulate, terrorists bombed the British Consulate. (A.B.D. Konsolosluğunun taşınmasından sonra, teröristler İngiliz Konsolosluğunu bombaladı.)

b- Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes (48+51=99)

b.1. Targets (48)

1. The attacks target the environment of dialogue and aim to violate the tranquility of the societies. (Saldırılar diyalog ortamını hedef aldı ve toplumun huzurunu bozmayı amaçlıyor.)

2. The attacks target humanity. (Saldırılar insanlığı hedef alıyor.) (2)

3. The explosions are made against the stability of our country. (Patlamalar ülkemizin istikrarına karşı yapıldı.)

4. Jewish Turk Community: The attacks do not only target us but also they target Turkey. (Türk Musevi Birliği: Saldırılar sadece bizi değil Türkiye'yide hedef alıyor.)

5. Turkey (26)

   1. Attacks aim to give a message to Turkish government. (Saldırılar Türk hükümetine mesaj vermeyi amaçlıyor.)

   2. Our citizens were targeted. (Bizim vatandaşlarımız hedef alındı.)

   3. Terrorist try to give a message to the Turkish decision-makers who insist on sending troops to Iraq in order to favor the U.S. (Teröristler, A.B.D.'nin yararına Irak'a asker göndermekde ısrarlı olan Türk politikacılarına mesaj vermeye çalışıyor.)

   4. Attacks were against Turkey. (Saldırılar Türkiye'ye karşıydı.) (3)

   5. Attacks were against Turkey's values, stability and Turkish nation. (Saldırılar Türkiye'nin değerlerine, istikrarına ve Türk ulusuna karşı yapıldı.)

   6. Party of Justice and Development: One of the targets of the attacks was the government. (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi: Saldırıların bir hedefi de hükümetti.)

   7. This attack is against our country, social peace, stability and democracy. (Bu saldırı ülkemize, toplumsal barışımıza, istikrarımıza ve demokrasimize karşı) (2)

   8. Turkey's tranquility and stability are targeted. (Türkiye'nin huzuru ve istikarı hedef alındı.) (11)

   9. Turkish economy and tourism are targeted. (Türk ekonomisi ve turizmi hedef alındı.) (3)

   10. Istanbul was targeted. (İstanbul hedef alındı.)

   11. Turkey's harmony with the modern world is targeted. (Türkiye'nin modern dünya ile olan uyuşması hedef alındı.)

6. Jews and Muslims are targeted. (Yahudiler ve Müslümanlar hedef alındı.)

7. Attacks to our Jewish citizens also target Turkey. (Musevi vatandaşlarımıza yapılan saldırılar Türkiye'yi de hedef alıyor.)

8. Bartholomeos: Attacks were not only against Jews but also against humanity. (Bartholomeos: Saldırılar sadece Musevilere karşı değildi aynı zamanda insanlığa karşıydı.)

9. Terrorists aim to give a message to the U.S., Israel and Turkey. (Teröristler A.B.D, israil ve Türkiye'ye mesaj vermeyi amaçlıyor.)

10. Jews (2)

> 1. Attacks target two synagogues and Jews. (Saldırılar iki sinagoğu ve Musevileri hedef alıyor)
>
> 2. Israeli interests. (İsrail çıkarları)

11. Britain (6)

> 1. The targets were Britain Consulate in Istanbul and Britain funded HSBC Bank. (Hedefler İstanbul'daki İngiliz Konsolosluğu ve İngliz sermayeli HSBC Bankasıydı.) (2)
>
> 2. Gül: The target was the British interests. (Gül: Hedef İngiliz çıkarlarıydı.)
>
> 3. The aim was to violate the peace in Britain and the target was Britain's interests. (Amaç İngiltere'deki barışa zarar vermekti ve İngiliz çıkarlarını hedef alıyordu.)
>
> 4. British interests are targeted. (İngiliz çıkarları hedef alındı.) (2)

12. Jewish and English populaces were targeted. (Musevi ve İngiliz vatandaşları hedef alındı.)

13. The target was the people who belong to different religions in our country. (Hedef ülkemizde farklı dinlerden olan insanlardı.)

14. The target is tranquility and stability. (Hedef huzur ve istikrar)

15. The real target would be İncirlik base. (Asıl hedef İncirlik üssüymüş)

16. The target was free nations. (Hedef özgür uluslardı.)

b.2. Reasons (51)

1. Turkey (34)

1. Turkey maintains positive relations with the U.S. and Israel. (Türkiye A.B.D. ve İsrail ile olumlu ilişkiler sürdürüyor.) (2)

2. Turkey's regional policies such as taking the decision to send troops to Iraq, preventing the provocations towards Iran, Egypt, Syria, Sauidi Arabia and etc., it challenges the other parties in Cyprus conflict, and it starts the developments in economics and politics. (Türkiye'nin Irak'a asker gönderme kararı, İran, Mısır, Suriye, Suudi Arabistan gibi ülkelere yönelik provokasyonların engellemesi şeklindeki bölgesel politikaları, Kıbrıs sorunundaki diğer partilere meydan okuması, ve ekonomik ve siyasi olarak gelişmekte olması.)

3. Aim is to damage Turkey's prestige. (Amaç Türkiye'nin imajını sarsmak.)

4. Aim is to make the relations between Turkey and Israel closer. (Amaç Türkiye ve İsrail arasındaki ilişkileri yakınlaştırmak.)

5. Aim is to affect the government's foreign policy. (Amaç hükümetin dış politikasını etkilemek.)

6. Aim is to prevent Turkey's proximity to Israel. (Amaç Türkiye'nin İsrail'e olan yakınlığını engellemek.)

7. Aim is to prevent Turkey's development and gaining power. (Amaç Türkiye'nin gelişmesini ve güç kazanmasını engellemek.)

8. Turkey stands in cultural intersection of Islam and Christianity. (Türkiye İslam'ın ve Hristiyanlığın kültürel kesişiminde yer alıyor.) (2)

9. Aim is to make Turkey closer to the U.S.-Israel axis. (Amaç Türkiye'yi A.B.D.-İsrail eksenine yakınlaştırmak.) (3)

10. Aim is to create chaos in Turkey. (Amaç Türkiye'de kaos yaratmak.)

11. Turkey's weak foreign policies and lose anti-terror attitudes. (Türkiye'nin zayıf dış politikaları ve gevşek anti-terör tavırları.) (2)

12. Turkey is an Islamist country that is governed by democracy. (Türkiye demokrasi ile yönetilen İslami bir ülke.) (3)

13. Government's Iraq policy. (Hükümetin Irak politikası) (3)

14. Istanbul is the top place in tolerance. (İstanbul hoşgörüde en iyi yer)

15. Government's domestic policies. (Hükümetin iç politikaları)

16. Turkey's foreign policies, its preference the axis of the U.S. and Israel. (Türkiye'nin dış politikaları, A.B.D. ve İsrail eksenini tercih etmesi) (3)

17. Aim is to prevent Turkey's economic development. (Amaç Türkiye'nin ekonomik gelişimini engellemek)

18. Aim is to prevent Turkey's membership to the E.U. through affecting its stability. (Amaç Türkiye'nin AB'ye üyeliğini istikrarını etkileyerek engel olmak)

19. Turkey's weak governance. (Türkiye'nin zayıf yönetimi)

20. Turkey's rejection to send troops to Iraq. (Türkiye'nin Irak'a asker gondermeyi reddetmesi.)

21. Turkey as an Islamist country has closer ties with the European countries. It is the first Islamist country that recognized Israel, it is the member of NATO and governed by a Muslim democratic party. It is a model country. (Türkiye İslami bir ülke olarak, Avrupa ülkeleriyle yakın bağlara sahip. İsrail'i tanıyan ilk Müslüman ülke, NATO üyesi ve Müslüman demokratik bir parti tarafından yönetiliyor.) (2)

22. Aim is to exclude Jewish from Turkey. (Amaç Musevileri Türkiye'den kaçırmak.) (16.11.04)

2. Britain (5)

1. British interests in Turkey are targeted because Roger Short had an extensive experience in the struggle against Islam and he was the one who planned the British policies in Iraq, Syria and Turkey (Türkiye'deki İngiliz çıkarları hedef alındı çünkü Roger Short İslam'a karşı mücadelede engine bir deneyime sahipti ve Irak, Suriye ve Türkiye'deki politikaların mimarıydı.)

2. The HSBC Bank was attacked because it is the fort of British economy. (HSBC Bankası hedef alındı çünkü İngiliz ekonomisinin kalesiydi.)

3. Britain's alliance with the U.S. (İngiltere'nin A.B.D. ile müttefikliği) (2)

4. The British Consulate was bombed because the places of the U.S. were more protected. The British Consulate was an easier target. (İngiliz Konsolosluğu bombalandı çünkü A.B.D'nin yerleri daha iyi korunuyordu. İngiliz Konsolosluğu daha kolay bir hedefti.)

3. The exploitation of the benefits of globalization. (Küreselleşmenin faydalarının sömürülmesi)

4. American and Israeli anti-terror policies. (Amerikan ve İsrail anti-terör politikaları) (2)

5. Israeli policies. (İsrail politikaları)

6. Unemployment in Turkey and Middle East. (Türkiye ve Ortadoğu'daki işsizlik)

7. Aim is to damage the morale of free nations. (Amaç özgür ulusların moralini bozmak)

8. The conflicts in the Middle East. (Ortadoğu'daki çatışmalar)

9. Aim is to push the discrimination between people. (Amaç insanlar arasındaki ayrımcılığı arttırmak.)

10. Unemployment, pressure, invasion, lack of liberty and injustice. (İşsizlik, baskı, istila, hürriyet eksikliği ve adaletsizlik) (2)

11. The European policies which supported anti-democratic regimes in the Middle East. (Ortadoğu'daki anti-demokratik rejimleri savunan Avrupa politikaları)

12. The gap between the first and third worlds. (Birinci ve üçüncü dünya ülkeleri arasındaki uçurum)

2. Management of Affect/Emotions Constructively (99)

1. Rabbi prayed with Muslims in the funerals. (Haham cenazelerde Müslümanlarla birlikte saf tuttu.) (3)
2. The shopping centers will hang on Turkish flags in order to demonstrate the solidarity in Turkey. (Alışveriş merkezleri, Türkiye'deki birliği göstermek için Türk bayrağı asacaklar.)
3. The shopping centers will be opened. (Alışveriş merkezleri açık olacak.)
4. Tourism (3)

   1. Mumcu: "Tourism is in its best condition." (Mumcu: "Turizm en iyi döneminde.")
   2. Businessmen from tourism sector from Balkans met in Istanbul: There is not a terror atmosphere, here. (Balkan turizmcileri İstanbul'da toplandı: Burada terör havası yok.)
   3. Tourism is in its golden period. (Turizm altın döneminde)

5. There is need for international cooperation to combat effectively with terrorism. (Terörizm ile verimli mücadele edebilmek için uluslararası işbirliğine ihtiyaç var.)
6. The basic reasons for terrorism, which are fanaticism and ignorance, should be prevented. (Terörizmin temeli olan fanatisizm ve cehalet engellenmeli.)
7. Tolerance statue will be placed in front of the synagogue. (Sinagoğun önüne hoşgörü anıtı dikilecek.)
8. We have to demonstrate that everyone lives under the same blue vault of heaven. (Herkesin aynı gökkubbenin altında yaşadığını göstermek zorundayız.)
9. The government will overcome terrorism trough trusting its people. (Hükümet terörizmin üstesinden halkına güvenerek gelecek.)
10. None of the attacks can succeed if we protect our solidarity. (Eğer birliğimizi korursak, hiçbir saldırı başarılı olamaz.)
11. Economy (19)

    1. Even though the foreign markets have been negatively affected from the attacks, domestic markets have not been affected negatively. (Dış piyasaların saldırılardan olumsuz etkilenmesine rağmen,iç piyasalar saldırılardan olumsuz etkilenmedi.)
    2. Standard and Poor's: "Attacks do not affect the grades of Turkey." (Standard

and Poor's: "Saldırılar Türkiye'nin notlarını etkilemez.")

3. Monetary markets have been protecting its optimistic position through not giving any premium to terrorism. (Para piyasaları teröristlere prim vermeden iyimser durumunu koruyorlar.)

4. The negative effect of the terrorist attacks on monetary markets stayed limited due to the Central Bank's measures. (Terör saldırılarının para piyasaları üzerindeki etkisi Merkez Bankası'nın önlemleri sayesinde sınırlı kaldı.)

5. HSBC: "We will not withdraw from Turkey." (HSBC: "Türkiye'den çekilmeyeceğiz.")

6. HSBC Bank: "We still trust Turkey and our optimism is continuing. Such kinds of terrorist attacks can take place in every country." (HSBC Bankası: "Türkiye'ye güveniyoruz ve iyimserliğimiz devam ediyor. Bu tip saldırılar her ülkede olabilir.)

7. The branches of the banks which were closed the day before were opened yesterday. (Kapatılan banka şubeleri dün açıldı.)

8. Foreigners think that Turkish economy will not be affected negatively from the attacks. (Yabancılar Türk ekonomisinin saldırılardan olumsuz etkilenmeyeceği görüşündeler.)

9. Vakıfbank will give a special credit for the victims of terror. (Vakıfbank terör kurbanlarına özel kredi verecek.)

10. Şener: "Bombs will not affect economy." (Şener: "Bombalar ekonomiyi etkilemez.")

11. The first terrorist attacks do not affect economy and monetary markets negatively. Some people claimed that if these attacks had been occurred when the markets were open, then they would have been affected negatively. However, the second terrorist attacks were made when the markets were open and they could not again affect the markets negatively. (İlk terör saldırıları ekonomi ve para piyasalarını olumsuz etkilemedi. Bazıları saldırıların olduğu sırada para piyasaları açık olsaydı olumsuz etkilenirdi iddasında bulundu. Ancak, ikinci saldırılar para piyasaları açıkken oldu ve borsayı olumsuz etkilemedi.)

12. The religious festivity holiday after the terrorist events provides time for the economist to evaluate the developing events which leads to positive results for

the markets. (Terör saldırılarından sonra gelen bayram tatili ekomistler için gelişen olayları değerlendirme fırsatı yarattı ve bu da piyasalarda olumlu sonuçlar verdi.)

13. Arrestment of the terrorists removed the uncertainty and this case increased the confidence towards the markets. (Teröristlerin tutuklanması belirsizliği ortadan kaldırdı ve piyasalara olan güveni arttırdı.)

14. Terrorist events will not lead to financial straits in exportation. (Terör olayları dış ticarette mali kısıtlamalara neden olmayacak.)

15. The answer to terrorism: Stock-exchange made 9,5 % premium. (Teröre cevap: Borsa %9,5 prim yaptı.)

16. Moody's: "There is no need for a change in the grade of credit." (Moody's: "Kredi notunun değişmesini gerektirecek bir durum yok.")

17. Terrorist attacks do not affect investors. (Terör saldırıları yatırımcıları etkilemedi.)

18. HSBC maintained one million dollar fund for the victims. The general director of the HSBC Bank; Piraye Antika stated that their costumers gave the greatest support to them. (HSBC kurbanlar için bir milyon dolarlık fon hazırladı. HSBC Bankası genel müdürü Piraye Antika müşterilerinin çok büyük destek verdiğini belirtti.)

19. Stock-exchange is in motion and increasing. (Borsa hareketleniyor ve yükseliyor.)

12. In the breaking Armenian Patriarch's fast, they called for cooperation against terrorism. (Ermeni Patriği'nin iftarında teröre karşı dayanışma çağrısı)

13. Erdoğan: "We do not get any messages that are given through the use of terror." (Erdoğan: "Terör yoluyla verilen hiçbir mesajı kabul etmiyoruz.")

14. According to Jews, the relations between Turkey, America and Israel will be developed more in spite of the terrorist attacks. (Musevilere göre, Türkiye, Amerika ve İsrail arasındaki ilişkiler terör saldırılarına rağmen daha çok gelişecek.) (2)

15. These attacks will push the Turkish and Israeli populace closer. (Bu saldırılar Türk ve İsrail nüfuslarını yakınlaştıracak.)

16. Turkey has been experiencing terrorism for years, therefore Turkish people are consciousness about the aims of terrorists. Due to these facts, society has been protecting its calmness since the attacks. (Türkiye yıllardır terörizmden muzdarip, bu yüzden Türk insanı teröristlerin amaçları hakkında bilinçli. Bunlara bağlı olarak, toplum

metanetini koruyor.) (2)

17. The attacks can not sharpen the distinctions between the Jews and Muslims. On the contrary, they led to the agitation of these groups. (Saldırılar Museviler ve Müslümanlar arasındaki farklılıkları keskinleştiremedi. Tam tersine bu iki grubu birbirine kenetledi.)

18. Through protecting its solidarity, Turkey gave the most proper answer to terrorism. (Birliğini koruyarak Türkiye en iyi cevabı verdi.)

19. Muslim demonstrated a great fidelity to the Jewish citizens who died in the attacks. (Saldırılarda vefat eden Musevilere Müslümanlar büyük vefa gösterdiler.)

20. Our culture bases on sharing the life, therefore no one can damage our tranquility. (Bizim kültürümüz hayatı paylaşmaya dayalı, bu yüzden huzurumuzu kimse zedeleyemez.)

21. Wolfowitz: "Attacks against Istanbul will unite the civilized world." (Wolfowitz: "İstanbul'a yapılan saldırılar medeni dünyayı kenetleyecek.")

22. Bülent Arınç: "Turkey will not give up its targets and imaginations." (Bülent Arınç: "Türkiye hedeflerinden ve hayallerinden vazgeçmeyecek".)

23. Bülent Arınç: "No one can prevent Turkey's freedom and tranquility." Bülent Arınç: "Kimse Türkiye'nin özgürlüğünü ve huzurunu engelleyemez.")

24. Our government has the enough strength to overcome every kind of problems. (Hükümetimiz her tür problemin üstesinden gelebilecek güçtedir.)

25. We shouldn't panic because it will ease the aims of terrorists. (Paniklememeliyiz çünkü bu teröristlerin ekmeğine yağ sürer.) (3)

26. Today is the day for unity; Turkey's solidarity is strong enough to prevent the aims of terrorists. (Bugün birlik günü; Türkiye'nin bütünlüğü teröristlerin amaçlarını engelleyecek kadar sağlamdır.)

27. Our loss will decrease due to the protection of our stability, economy, democracy and the most important one which is our social resistance. (Kaybımız, istikrarımızın, ekonomimizin, demokrasimizin ve en önemlisi sosyal direncimizin korunmasıyla azalacaktır.)

28. We should be conscious about the aims of terrorists, therefore we need solidarity. (Teröristlerin amaçlarıyla ilgili bilinçli olmalıyız, bu yüzden dayanışmamız gerekiyor.)

29. The thing that has to be done is to refrain from the behaviors that can damage our solidarity and unity and to unite around the government to protect Turkey's position against terrorism. (Yapılması gereken birliğimize ve beraberliğimize zarar verebilecek olan davranışlardan kaçınmamız ve Türkiye'yi teröre karşı korumak için hükümetimizin

etrafında birlik olmalıyız.)

30. The biggest fear of terrorism is a united nations' patience and discernment. The consciousness necessitates being calm and behaving balanced. (Terörizmin en büyük korkusu birlik olmuş bir halkın sabrı ve muhakemesidir. Bilinçli olmak sakin ve dengeli davranmayı gerektirmektedir.)

31. The most important attitude will be to protect our decisiveness. (En önemli tavır kararlılığımızı korumak olacaktır.)

32. Obstinacy to terror, citizens united. Terror can not achieve the expected effect on the citizens. Renovation was started in the attacked places and the houses around HSBC Bank hang Turkish Flags. (Terörün inadına, vatandaş birlik oldu. Terör, vatandaş üzerinde beklediği etkiyi yaratamadı. Saldırılan yerlerde yenileme çalışmaları başladı ve HSBC Bankasının etrafındaki evler Türk bayrağı astı.)

33. No one has the enough power to destroy this country, which has so many martyrs. (Birçok şehit vermiş bu ülkeye kimsenin zarar vermeye gücü yetmez.)

34. Civil society will protest against terrorism. They have the slogan that "The antidote of terrorism is being more united and democratized." (Sivil toplum teröre karşı eylem yapacak. Sloganları "Terörün panzehiri daha fazla birlik ve demokrasidir.")

35. In Washington, a ceremony was maintained for the casualties in Istanbul. In the ceremony, Turkish, Israeli, British and American cooperation was emphasized against terrorism. (Washington ise İstanbul'da ölenler için tören düzenlendi. Törende teröre karşı Türk, İsrail, İngiliz ve Amerikan işbirliği gösterildi.)

36. European Union (2)

> 1. Germany: "Our support for Turkey's European Union membership will continue through increasing." (Almanya: "Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği üyeliği için desteğimiz artarak devam edecek.")
>
> 2. Italian Minister Mazano: "The last terrorist events make Turkey closer to Europe. We share your sorrow with you. There was also terror in our country that is why we understand you. Therefore, the Italian government will do everything to start the negotiation process between Turkey and the E.U. in 2004." (İtalyan Bakan Mazano: "Son terör olayları Türkiye'yi Avrupa'ya yakınlaştırdı. Bizim ülkemizde de terör var, onun için sizi anlıyoruz. Bu yüzden, İtalyan hükümeti, 2004 yılında Türkiye ve AB arasındaki müzakere sürecinin başlaması için elinden geleni yapacak.)

37. Sports (4)

> 1. In spite of foreign sportsmen's irritations due to terrorist attacks, they do not leave Turkey. (Yabancı sporcular terör olaylarından dolayı huzursuz olmalarına rağmen, Türkiye'yi terketmeyecek.)
> 2. Even though Juventus does not want to come to Turkey due to terror events, the Rome Lottomatica Team does not see any danger in coming to Turkey. (Juventus'un terör olaylarından dolayı Türkiye'ye gelmek istememesine rağmen, Roma Lottomatica takımı Türkiye'ye gelmekte hiçbir sakınca görmedi.)
> 3. Go to the stadiums, courts and sport halls. The creators of this chaos aim to terrorize people therefore, do not give up but do not forget to be careful. (Stadyumlara, kortlara, spor sahalarına gidin. Bu kaosun yaratıcıları insanları yıldırmak istiyor, bu yüzden vazgeçmeyin ve dikkatli olmayı unutmayın.)
> 4. 600 foreign teams come to Antalya for camping without taking UEFA into consideration. (600 yabancı takım UEFA'nın kararını kaale almadan Antalya'ya kampa geldi.)

38. Terrorist actions were cursed by 'Silent Action'. (Terör saldırıları 'Sessiz Eylem'le lanetlendi.)

39. Thousands of people marched in Erzurum to curse terrorism. They demonstrated that no one can violate our solidarity. (Binlerce insane Erzurum'da terörü lanetlemek için yürüdü. Kimsenin beraberliğimizi bozamayacağını gösterdiler.)

40. Terror will not limit our freedom. (Terör özgürlüğümüzü kısıtlamayacak.)

41. Obstinacy to terrorism, hundred of people has been going to shopping. (Teröre inat, yüzlerce insan alışverişe gidiyor.)

42. We will not give concessions from democracy and human rights. (Demokrasi ve insan haklarından taviz vermeyeceğiz.)

43. The leaders' religious festivity message: "Terror can not terrorize us." (Liderlerin bayram mesajı: "Terör bizi yıldıramaz.")

44. Turkey will not change the route. (Türkiye rotasını değiştirmeyecek.)

45. What a pity that terrorist gave the answer to the ones who had been claming that Turkey is not a model country. However, now they are supporting the idea that Turkey is a democratic Muslim country. (Ne acıdır ki teröristler, Türkiye'nin model bir ülke olmadığını iddia eden kişilere cevabını verdi. Oysa ki, şimdi Türkiye'nin demokratik Müslüman bir ülke olduğunu destekliyorlar.)

46. We will not do the same mistakes as the other states do in their anti-terrorist policies.

We will not limit the individual freedom and will be determinant in our E.U. policies. We will not alter the sympathy towards Turkey. (Başka ülkelerin anti-terör politikalarında yaptığı aynı hataları yapmayacağız. Birey özgürlüklerini kısıtlamayacağız ve AB politikalarımızda kararlı olacağız. Türkiye'ye olan sempatiyi değiştirmeyeceğiz.)

47. People demonstrated one more time that they were not defeated by terror. (Halk bir kez daha teröre yenilmediğini gösterdi.)

48. Even though the sorrow of terror is high, it can not change Turkey's rotation towards westernization and democratization. (Terörün acısı çok fazla olmasına rağmen, Türkiye'nin batılaşma ve demokratikleşme yolunda çizgisi değişmeyecek.)

49. As a nation, we are affected so much by the terrorist events; however this makes us more united. (Ulus olarak terör saldırılarından etkilendik, ancak bu bizi daha da birleştirdi.)

50. The answer of the people to terror: "We are resisting dynamically against terrorism." (Halkın teröre cevabı: "Teröre dinamik bir şekilde karşı duruyoruz.")

51. The government's response to terrorism gave confidence to the people and markets, even though this was the first time that this government experienced terror. (Hükümetin ilk terör tecrübesi olmasına rağmen, hükümetin teröre cevabı halka ve piyasalara güven verdi.)

52. Goodness born from wickedness: According to this rule, there are some important positive results of terrorism which are (Şerden hayır doğar: Bu kurala göre, terörizmin bazı olumlu sonuçlar oldu)

   • Economy related government institutions and government had the chance to demonstrate their performances. They succeeded and gave confidence for future. (Ekonomiyle ilgili devlet kurumları ve hükümet için kendini kanıtlama fırsatı oldu. Hükümet hem kendini ispat etti hem de gelecek için güvence verdi.)

   • It is observed that our fragile economy had gained resistance in the last year. (Çok kırılgan olarak bilinen ekonominin son bir yılda direnç kazandığı görüldü.)

   • We witnessed that we have been protecting our solidarity and unity. (Birlik ve beraberlik ruhumuzun ölmediğine şahit oluk.)

53. Terror had demoralized us but we overcame it. (Terör demoralize etti ama üstesinden geldik.)

54. If we form a common platform against international terrorism, then we have to act with

no exception. (Eğer uluslararası teröre karşı ortak bir platform oluşturabilirsek, o zaman istisnasız hareket edebiliriz.)

55. A friendship bridge with Syria is established. (Suriye ile dostluk köprüsü kuruldu.)

56. No one can persuade us to anything through using bombs. An understanding, which bases on the violation of justice and human rights, cannot exist in this country. (Hiç kimse bomba yoluyla bizi birşey yapmaya ikna edemez. Adalet ve insan haklarına zarar verecek hiç bir anlayış bu ülkede var olamaz.)

57. Most of the people are hopeful from future. (Birçok kişi gelecekten umutlu)

58. Master of the Blues does not afraid of terrorism. The musicians who came to Turkey for the Blues Festival said that "We feel ourselves comfortable and secure." (Blues ustaları terörden korkmadı. Blues Festivali için gelen müzisyenler "Kendimizi rahat ve güvende hissediyoruz" dedi.)

59. Muslim, Christians and Jewish representators of each religion pray for peace. (Müslüman, Hristiyan ve Musevi dinin temsilcileri barış için dua etti.)

60. Chinese pianist will be in Istanbul in spite of terror. (Teröre rağmen Çinli piyanist İstanbul'da olacak.)

61. After the days of terror, people's anxiety starts to decrease. The streets are again crowded. If life can go on as the old days in such a short time, then this means that people feel themselves secure. (Terör günlerinden sonra, insanların endişesi azalmaya başladı. Sokaklar yine kalabalık. Eğer hayat bu kadar kısa bir sürede eski haline dönebiliyorsa, o zaman insanlar kendilerini güvende hissediyor demektir.)

62. After the terrorist events that had experienced last month, while there had been a discussion about the possible limitations on the basic rights and freedom, the members of the government emphasizes that no concessions will be given from basic rights and freedom. (Geçen ay yaşanan terör olaylarından sonra, temel hak ve özgürlüklerin kısıtlanmasıyla ilgili bir tartışma sürüyordu, hükümet üyeleri temel hak ve özgürlüklerinden hiçbir taviz verilmeyeceğini belirtti.)

63. Konya will host various represantators of religions for Şeb-i Ars ceremony. In this way, Konya will demonstrate the dialogue between religions. (Şeb-i Ars töreni için Konya, farklı dinlerin temsilcilerini ağarlayacak. Bu şekilde, Konya dinler arasındaki diyaloğu göstermiş olacak.)

64. Gül: "Because of terror, rights will not be limited." (Gül: "Terör yüzünden haklar kısıtlanmayacak.")

65. Foreign directors did not use terror as an excuse while coming to Turkey. (Yabancı

yönetmenler Türkiye'ye gelirken terörü bahane etmedi.)

66. Life in the bombed streets turned into normal. (Bombalanan sokaklarda hayat normale döndü.)

67. Syria will increase cooperation in the combat against terror. (Suriye teröre karşı mücadelede işbirliğini arttıracak.)

68. Al Qaeda's Istanbul cell was destroyed. (El Kaide'nin İstanbul hücresi yok edildi.)

69. Sarıkaya said that, "after the terrorist events the government did not leave us alone and it paid our hospital expenses." (Sarıkaya, "terör olaylarından sonra hükümet bizi yanlız bırakmadı ve hastane masraflarımızı karşıladı" dedi.) (21.11.04)

**Table 4-e. VAKİT** (216+55=271)

1. Problem Recognition (132+84=216)

a. Problem Framing (32+48+37+15=132)

| a.1.  Terrorist Events (32) |
|---|
| 1.  Bombed attacks. (Bombalı saldırılar) |
| 2.  Global terrorism. (Küresel terörizm) |
| 3.  Extrinsic events. (Dış kaynaklı olaylar) |
| 4.  Intrinsic events. (İç kaynaklı olaylar) |
| 5.  Bloody explosions. (Kanlı patlamalar) |
| 6.  State terrorism. (Devlet terörizmi) |
| 7.  Sabotage against unity. (Bütünlüğe karşı sabotaj) |
| 8.  Out of humanity. (İnsanlık dışı) (3) |
| 9.  Abhorred attacks. (Menfur saldırılar) |
| 10. Humanity crime. (İnsanlık suçu) (3) |
| 11. Synagogue massacres. (Sinagog katliamları) |
| 12. Terror of the bombs. (Bombaların terörü) (2) |
| 13. Blow. (Darbe) |
| 14. Cursed terrorist events. (Lanetli terör olayları) (2) |
| 15. International conflict. (Uluslararası çatışma) |
| 16. Planned terror threat. (Planlı terör tehdidi) |
| 17. Blood and brutality. (Kan ve vahşilik) |
| 18. Global terror. (Küresel terör) |
| 19. Bloody massacre. (Kanlı katliam) |
| 20. Violent events. (Şiddetli olaylar) |
| 21. Anarchist initiatives. (Anarşist girişimler) |
| 22. Al-Quade covered Crusade game. (El Kaide örtülü Haçlı oyunu) |
| 23. Horror. (Dehşet) (2) |
| 24. Earthquake. (Deprem) |
| 25. Terror storm. (Terör fırtınası) |

| a.2. Terrorists and Terrorist Groups (48) |
| :-- |

1. CIA and MOSSAD. (CIA ve MOSSAD) (9)

2. It can be international related. (Uluslararası bağlantılı olabilir) (4)

3. Al-Qaeda (2)

   | |
   | :-- |
   | 1. Ebu Hafız el Masri Brigades. (Ebu Hafız el Masri Tugayları) |
   | 2. Al-Qaeda: subcontractor of the U.S. (El Kaide: A.B.D'nin taşeronu) |

4. Uncontrollable intrinsic terrorist groups. (Kontrol edilemeyen iç kaynaklı terrorist gruplar)

5. Al Mossad. (El Mossad)

6. A strong state's intelligence service's support. (Güçlü bir ülkenin gizli servisinin desteği)

7. Some terrorist organizations and states. (Bazı terör örgütleri ve devletler)

8. British and American intelligence services. (İngiliz ve Amerikan gizli servisleri)

9. Terrorists are from Iran. (Teröristler İran'dan)

10. Pirate Bush government. (Korsan Bush hükümeti)

11. U.S. and Israel. (A.B.D. ve İsrail) (3)

12. MOSSAD.

13. Bombers (8)

    | |
    | :-- |
    | 1. The bombers of the synagogues are Mesut Çabuk & Gökhan Elaltuntaş. (Sinagog bombacıları Mesut Çabuk ve Gökhan Elaltuntaş.) |
    | 2. Süleyman Uğurlu, İsmail Duru, Osman Eken, Metin Ekinci and Mehmet Helvacı were put in prison. (Süleyman Uğurlu, İsmail Duru, Osman Eken, Metin Ekinci ve Mehmet Helvacı hapise atıldı.) |
    | 3. Three people were arrested. (Üç kişi tutuklandı.) |
    | 4. Four of the attackers died. (Dört saldırgan da öldü.) |
    | 5. The fourth bomber is İlyas Kuncak. He attacked to HSBC Bank (17:42, according to police records). (Dördüncü bombacı İlyas Kuncak. HSBC Bankasına saldırdı.) (17:42, polis kayıtlarına göre) |
    | 6. The fourth bomber is Mevlut Uğur. (13:36, according to police) (Dördüncü bombacı Mevlut Uğur. (13:36, polis kayıtlarına göre) |
    | 7. Tuğluoğlu has been living in Ankara for 10 years. (Tuğluoğlu 10 yıldır Ankara'da yaşıyordu.) |
    | 8. Twenty five people were put in prison related to the bombings in Istanbul. |

| (İstanbul'daki bombalarla ilgili olarak yirmi beş kişi tutuklandı.) |
| --- |

14. Local terrorists. (Yerel teröristler)

15. Modern imperialism. (Modern emperyalizm)

16. War gang in Washington is responsible for Istanbul attacks. (İstanbul saldırılarından sorumlu olan Washington'daki savaş çetesi.)

17. The world's vampire U.S. and its puppet Israel. (Dünyanın vampiri A.B.D. ve onun kuklası İsrail)

18. Subcontractors are CIA and MOSSAD. (Taşeronlar CIA ve MOSSAD.)

19. Tool of the U.S., Britain and Israel. (A.B.D'nin, İngiltere'nin ve İsrail'in aracı)

20. Abuser of the secularity and regime mafia and international intelligence organizations. (Laiklik ve rejimin istismarcısı mafya ve uluslararası istihbarat örgütleri)

21. U.S. (A.B.D.)

22. Terrorists are not Turks and Muslims. (Teröristler Türk ve Müslüman değil.)

23. Cooperation of MOSSAD and PKK (Kurdish Worker's Party). (MOSSAD ve PKK'ın işbirliği)

24. Zionists. (Siyonizm)

25. Some states' security organs. (Bazı devletlerin güvenlik birimleri.)

26. Tools of the Crusaders. (Haçlıların aracı)

27. MOSSAD, CIA, MI5.

a.3) Victims (37)

1. Casualties (10)

   1. 20 casualties, 300 wounded. (20 ölü, 300 yaralı)
   2. Approximately 25 casualties, 100 wounded. (25'e yakın ölü, 100 yaralı)
   3. 20 casualties. (20 ölü)
   4. 20 casualties, 257 wounded. (20 ölü, 257 yaralı)
   5. The casualties increase to 23, 71 wounded. (Ölü sayısı 23'e yükseldi, 71 yaralı)
   6. 237 wounded from 303 were discharged from the hospitals. (303 yaralıdan 237'si taburcu edildi.)
   7. The casualties increase to 24. (Ölü sayısı 24'e yükseldi.)
   8. The casualties increase to 25: 6 Jews, 19 Turks. (Ölü sayısı 25'e yükseldi: 6 Musevi, 19 Türk) (2)
   9. 28 casualties and 450 innocent wounded. (28 ölü ve 450 masum yaralı)

2. Martyr Bostanoğlu was in charge in Şişli Police Department. (Şehit Bostanoğlu Şişli Polis Merkezi'nde görevliydi.)
3. Hospitals are full with death and wounded people. (Hastaneler ölü ve yaralıyla dolu.)
4. People split into parts by the effect of the bombs. (Bombanın etkisiyle insanlar parçalara bölündü.)
5. Chief Rabbi Heleva is wounded. (Hahambaşı Heleva yaralandı.)
6. Sorrowful ceremony for the martyr policeman. (Şehit polis için acı dolu tören)
7. She bid farewell her martyr husband with their wedding photographs. (Şehit eşini düğün fotoğraflarıyla uğurladı.)
8. Five Jews will be buried tomorrow. (Beş Musevi yarın gömülecek.)
9. Tears in Istanbul. (İstanbul'da gözyaşı)
10. Corpses are carried away: Tears and Scream (Cesetler taşındı: Gözyaşı ve Çığlık)
11. Jewish corpses are carried away. (Musevi cesetler taşındı.)
12. Three corpses cannot be identified. (Üç ceset tanımlanamadı.)
13. Six Jews were buried. (Altı Musevi gömüldü.)
14. Witnesses told about terror: Everywhere were shaken. (Tanıklar terörü anlattı: Heryer sarsıldı)
15. British consul died. (İngiliz Konsolosu öldü)
16. Sorrow comes over sorrow. (Acı acı üstüne)
17. Bombs both burn and make blind. (Bombalar hem yaktı hem de kör etti)

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18. Funeral in the Police Department for the martyr polices. (Polis Merkezinde şehit polisler için tören)

19. Tears and pray for martyrs. (Şehitler için gözyaşı ve dua)

20. The owner of the Galatasaray Restaurant, Tezel was buried. (Galatasaray Restoranının sahibi Tezel gömüldü.)

21. Four corpses remain in the morgue. (Dört ceset morgda kaldı)

22. Heavy wounded Aynur Erkoca passed away. (Ağır yaralı Aynur Erkoca öldü)

23. His life's first funeral service. (Hayatının ilk cenaze töreni)

24. Hülya Dönmez passed away. (Hülya Dönmez öldü)

25. The sorrow of the victims' families does not cease. (Kurban ailelerinin acısı bitmiyor)

26. Nazmiye Çırık passed away. (Nazmiye Çırık öldü)

27. The wedding dress that Hülya Dönmez could not wear was wrapped to her bier. (Hülya Dönmez'in giyemediği gelinliği tabutuna sarıldı.)

28. The body of British consul was sent to Britain. (İngiliz Konsolosun cenazesi İngiltere'ye gönderildi.)

| a.4. Targeted Places (15) |
|---|

1.  Explosion in Kuledibi turned the street into a battle field. (Kuledibi'ndeki patlama sokağı savaş alanına çevirdi.)

2.  Panic in the synagogues. (Sinagoglarda panik)

3.  20 buildings are totally out of use. (20 bina tamamiyle kullanım dışı)

4.  The safety tape was limited in Nakiye Ergül Street and the places out of the safety tape had been cleaned. (Nakiye Ergül Sokak'daki güvenlik şeridi kaldırıldı ve güvenlik şeridi dışındaki yerler temizlendi.)

5.  Damaged historical buildings will be demolished. (Hasar gören tarihi binalar yıkılacak.)

6.  In the Büyük Hendek (Big Ditch) Street, there are 35 damaged buildings, and every part of Neve Şalom Synagogue collapsed. In order to prevent the bad smell, Beyoğlu municipality put perfume to the street. (Büyük Hendek Caddesi'nde 35 hasarlı bina var ve Neve Şalom Sinagoğunun heryeri yıkıldı. Kötü kokuyu engellemek için Beyoğlu belediyesi sokağa parfüm sıktı.)

7.  Five floors of the HSBC Bank became unusable. (HSBC Bankasının 5 katı kullanılamaz hale geldi.)

8.  Streets turned into a battle field. (Sokaklar savaş alanına döndü.)

9.  Damaged 113 buildings. (113 bina hasarlı)

10. Explosions were in the severity of 5. (Patlamalar 5 şiddetinde)

11. Wreckage of HSBC Bank has started to be removed. (HSBC Bankasının enkazı kaldırılmaya başlandı.) (2)

12. Broken glasses of HSBC Bank were cleaned. (HSBC Bankasının kırılan camları temizlendi.)

13. The road in front of the HSBC building was opened to traffic. (HSBC binasının önündeki yol trafiğe açıldı.)

14. The HSBC Bank moved. (HSBC Bankası taşındı.)

b. Assessment of the Problem's Root Causes (30+54=84)

| b.1. Targets (30) |
| --- |

1. Temples were targets. (İbadethaneler hedef alındı.)
2. Israel and Jews. (İsrail ve Museviler)
3. Bombs target tranquility and peace. (Bombalar huzur ve barışı hedef alıyor.)
4. Turkey (20)

> 1. Attacks targeted Turkey's peace and stability. (Saldırılar Türkiye'nin barışını ve istikrarını hedef aldı.) (2)
> 2. Attacks targeted Turkey's stability and tranquility. (Saldırılar Türkiye'nin istikrarını ve huzurunu hedef aldı.)
> 3. The targeted country is Turkey. (Hedef alınan ülke Türkiye) (2)
> 4. Turkish government is the real target. (Gerçek hedef Türk hükümeti)
> 5. These attacks target Turkey and its values. (Bu saldırılar Türkiye'yi ve onun değerlerini hedef alıyor.)
> 6. The target is Justice and Development Party's government. (Hedef Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi hükümeti) (2)
> 7. Turkish government and Turkish citizens. (Türk hükümeti ve Türk vatandaşları)
> 8. The bombs are against stability. (Bombalar istikrara karşı) (5)
> 9. Turkish citizens were targeted. (Türk vatandaşlar hedef alındı.)
> 10. The target is Turkey's tranquility. (Hedef Türkiye'nin huzuru)
> 11. The targets are Ankara and Turkey. (Hedefler Ankara ve Türkiye)
> 12. The aim is to damage Turkey's prestige and Turkey's economic, social and political stability. (Amaç Türkiye'nin imajına ve Türkiye'nin ekonomik, sosyal ve siyasi istikrarına zarar vermek.) (2)

5. The target is Israeli government's brutality and cruelty. (Hedef İsrail hükümetinin vahşeti ve acımasızlığı)
6. The target was Israeli agents. (Hedef İsrailli ajanlar)
7. The targets are anti-Americans, anti-Zionists and anti-Israelis. (Hedef anti-Amerikan, anti-Siyonist ve anti-İsrailliler)
8. The target is the U.S.'s chief assistant and partner Britain. (Hedef Amerika'nın baş yardımcısı ve ortağı İngiltere.)

9. The target is Islam. (Hedef İslam) (2)

10. The targets are Islam and its believers: Muslims. (Hedef İslam ve ona inanlar: Müslümanlar)

| b.2. Reasons (54) |
| :--- |

1. Turkey (22)

> 1. Aim is to weaken the government and to achieve secession. (Amaç hükümeti zayıflatmak ve bölücülük yapmak.)
>
> 2. Aim is to push Turkey closer to the U.S.-Israeli axis in the combat against terrorism. (Amaç Türkiye'yi terörle mücadelede A.B.D.-İsrail eksenine yaklaştırmak.) (3)
>
> 3. Turkey pursues policies that create tensions btw. Turkey, U.S. and Israel. (Türkiye, A.B.D. ve İsrail ile olan ilişkilerini gerginleştirecek politikalar izliyor.) (2)
>
> 4. Turkey has been pursuing policies towards the E.U. and this case irritates the U.S. and Israel because Turkey will not be under the influence of the U.S. anymore. (Türkiye AB yönlü politikalar izliyor ve bu durum A.B.D'yi ve İsrail'i rahatsız ediyor çünkü Türkiye A.B.D'nin kontrolü altında olmayacak.)
>
> 5. Aim is to make the Israeli-Turkish relations closer. (Amaç İsrail-Türk ilişkilerini yakınlaştırmak.) (2)
>
> 6. Aim is to provide the inclusion of Turkey into American, British and Israeli triangle. (Amaç Türkiye'yi Amerikan, İngiliz ve İsrail üçgenine çekmek.)
>
> 7. Turkey supports the U.S. and Israel. (Türkiye A.B.D'yi ve İsrail'i destekliyor.)
>
> 8. There is an indirect message from Israel to Erdoğan to change the government's attitudes because he rejected the visiting request of Sharon to Turkey. (İsrail'den Erdoğan'a hükümetin tavırlarını değiştirmesi konusunda dolaylı bir mesaj var çünkü Erdoğan Sharon'un Türkiye'yi ziyaretini reddetti.) (2)
>
> 9. The tension in the Turkish-Israeli relations. (Türk-İsrail ilişkileri arasındaki gerginlik)
>
> 10. In Turkey unity and solidarity have been sustained. Those positive developments irritate some gangs, mafia and terrorist organizations. (Türkiye'de birlik ve beraberlik sağlanmakta. Bu olumlu gelişmeler bazı

çeteleri, mafyayı ve terör örgütlerini rahatsız etti.)

11. It is aimed to give a message to the Turkish people and Turkish government, which is uniting with its people. (Amaçlanan, Türk halkına ve halkıyla bütünleşen hükümete mesaj vermek.)

12. Due to the tension between Turkey and Israel, it is aimed to regulate Israeli and Turkish relations. (Türkiye ve İsrail arasındaki gerginliğe bağlı olarak, İsrail ve Türkiye arasındaki ilişkileri düzenlemek.)

13. Aim is to push Turkey to give its support to American and Israeli policies. (Amaç Türkiye'nin Amerikan ve İsrail politikalarına destek vermesini sağlamak.)   (2)

14. Turkey's solidarity disturbs countries such as the U.S., Britain, Israel, France and Germany. (Türkiye'nin birliği Amerika, İngiltere, İsrail, Fransa ve Almanya gibi ülkeleri rahatsız ediyor.)

15. Turkey is targeted because it is a Muslim populated democratic country. (Türkiye hedef alındı çünkü Türkiye Müslüman nüfuslu demokratik bir ülke.)

16. Aim is to prepare a base for civil coup. (Amaç sivil darbe için ortam hazırlamak.)

2. American intervention to Iraq. (Amerika'nın Irak'a müdahalesi) (3)

3. These violent actions are response to the violent actions of the imperialist powers. (Bu şiddetli eylemler, emperyalist güçlerin şiddetli eylemlerine karşı bir tepki.)

4. American and Israeli offensive policies. (Amerika'nın ve İsrail'in saldırgan politikaları) (2)

5. Israeli violent politics result with the world's hatred against Israel. Therefore, it tried to victimize itself through these terrorist attacks. (İsrail'in şiddet içeren politikaları dünyanın İsrail'e olan nefretiyle sonuçlandı.)

6. Through bombing the synagogues, some people try to destroy Muslims. (Sinagogları bombalayarak bazı insanlar Müslümanlara zarar vermeyi denedi.)

7. Israeli offensive policies against Palestinians. (İsrail'in Filistin'e karşı yürüttüğü saldırgan politikaları)

8. American interventionist policies. (Amerika'nın müdahaleci politikaları)

9. Israel is perceived as a great threat to the world's peace and security. (İsrail dünyanın barışına ve güvenliğine büyük bir tehdit olarak algılanıyor.)

10. Hatred against Israel and the U.S. (İsrail'e ve A.B.D.'ye duyulan nefret)

11. Israel has tried to stop immigration from Israel. (İsrail, İsrail'den olan göçü durdurmaya çalışıyor.)

12. Imperialism. (Emperyalizm)

13. The inability to sustain peace in Palestine increases hatred against Israel and this increases threats against it, as well. (Filistin'de barışın sağlanamaması İsrail'e olan nefreti arttırıyor ve aynı zamanda da tehdit ediyor.)

14. Israeli policies that create instability in the Middle East. (İsrail politikaları Ortadoğu'da istikrarsızlık yaratıyor.)

15. The reason for the attacks based on the prevention of the opposition against Sharon and to collect all Israelis in the Israeli territory to justify their position through their increasing population in their war with Palestine. (Saldırıların nedeni; Sharon'a karşı olan muhalefeti engellemek ve tüm İsraillileri İsrail topraklarında toplayarak Filistin'de artan nüfusa karşı durumlarını meşru kılmak.)

16. Aim is to justify the wars in Iraq and Palestine through establishing a connection between Islam and terrorism. (Amaç, İslam ve terör arasında bir bağlantı kurarak, Irak ve Filistin'deki savaşları meşru kılmak.) (2)

17. Aim is to justify Israel in its war with Palestine and to justify the U.S.'s intervention to Iraq and to decrease hatred towards these countries. (Amaç, İsrail'in Filistin'deki savaşını ve Amerika'nın Irak'a müdahalesini meşru kılmak ve bu ülkelere karşı olan nefreti azaltmak.) (2)

18. The domination desires of the U.S. and Israel. (A.B.D. ve İsrail'in baskı arzusu)

19. The only responsible for the attacks is the U.S. Attacks are result of the U.S.'s intervention to Iraq, which leads to instability. (Saldırıların tek sorumlusu A.B.D. Saldırılar, istikrarsızlığa neden olan A.B.D.'nin Irak'a müdahalesinin sonucu.)

20. American imperialism and Zionism declared war against Islam. Therefore, they try to create terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda to establish a relation between Islam and terrorism. (Amerikan emperyalizmi ve Siyonizm İslam'a karşı savaş ilan etti. Bu yüzden, İslam ve terör arasında bağlantı kurabilmek için El Kaide gibi terör grupları yaratıyorlar.)

21. Aim is to increase the Jewish population in the Middle East and to strengthen Israel. (Amaç Ortadoğu'da Musevi nüfusunu arttırmak ve İsrail'I

güçlendirmek.)

22. Israeli policies and perception that Israel is the protector of the whole Jews. (Tüm İsraillilerin koruyucusu İsrail'dir düşüncesi ve politikası.)

23. Exploitation of weak one. (Zayıf olanın sömürülmesi.)

24. Inequality, injustice, domination and intervention beget terrorism. (Terörü besleyen eşitsizlik, adaletsizlik, baskı ve müdahaleler.)

25. The U.S. has tried to justify its interventionist policies through creating 'Islamist terrorism.' This is a psychological warfare tactic which will be also used to justify attacking plans to Syria and Iran. (A.B.D., 'İslami terörizm' kavramını yaratarak müdahaleci politikalarını meşrulaştırmaya çalışıyor. Bu, aynı zamanda Amerika'nın Suriye ve İran'a saldırma planlarında kullanılacak psikolojik bir savaş tekniği.) (3)

26. American and Israeli policies in the Middle East. (Ortadoğu'daki Amerikan ve İsrail politikaları)

27. With these attacks the U.S. and Israel try to dominate Turkey to withdraw its troops from North Iraq. They aim to establish a Kurdish state in this region, try to persuade Turkey for the acceptance of the Annan Plan and push Turkey to have a strategic cooperation with Israel in the Middle East. (Bu saldırılarla A.B.D ve İsrail, Türkiye'ye Kuzey Irak'dan askerlerini çekmesi için baskı yapmaya çalışıyor. Bu bölgede bir Kürt devleti kurmayı, Türkiye'nin Annan Planı'nı kabul etmesini amaçlıyorlar ve Ortadoğu'da Türkiye'nin İsrail ile stratejik işbirliği yapmasını sağlamaya çalışıyorlar.)

28. American imperialism. (Amerikan emperyalizmi)

29. The aim was to affect and orient the elections in Cyprus, Northern Iraq and Turkey. (Amaç, Kıbrıs, Kuzey Irak ve Türkiye'deki seçimleri etkilemek ve yönlendirmekti.)

30. Turkey is wanted to be used as a frontline country against the Islamist world. (Türkiye İslam dünyasına karşı cephe ülkesi olarak kullanılmak isteniyor.)

31. They try to discriminate Muslims. (Müslümanları ayırmaya çalışıyorlar.)

2-Management of Affect/Emotions Constructively (55)

1. Erdogan: "None of the countries can prevent terrorism, but our first target will be to minimize it." (Erdoğan: Hiç bir ülke terörizme engel olamadı ama bizim ilk hedefimiz onu asgariye indirmek.")

2. Erdogan: "We will prevent the victimization of our citizens and in order to achieve in this purpose, as the government we will take measures in a short while. (Erdoğan: "Vatandaşlarımızın mağduriyetini engelleyeceğiz ve bunu başarabilmek için de kısa bir süre içerisinde hükümet olarak önlemler alacağız.")

3. Çiçek: "Life is going on. If we are being attached to these events, then this will ease the aims of the terrorists." (Çiçek: "Hayat devam ediyor. Eğer biz bu olaylara bağlanırsak, o zaman teröristlerin amaçlarını kolaylaştırmış olacağız.")

4. A Jew stood together with Muslims at the same line in the funeral service. (Cenazede bir Musevi Müslümanlarla birlikte saf tuttu.)

5. In the roots of religions there is no place for violence. Represantators of the religious minorities in Turkey came together in the fast dinner. (Dinlerin kökeninde şiddet yoktur. Farklı dinlerin temsilcileri iftarda bir araya geldi.)

6. British Anglican Church Canterbury Archbishop Rowan Williams said that bombed terrorist attacks do not prevent Turkey's development. Turkey will continue its pro-European Union policies. (İngiliz Anglikan Kilisesi Canterbury Başpiskoposu Rowan Williams bombalı terör saldırılarının Türkiye'nin gelişimine engel olmayacağını söyledi. Türkiye Avrupa Birliği yanlısı politikalarına devam edecek.)

7. Today the Jews who are living in Istanbul represent us more than we do. (Bugün İstanbul'da yaşayan Museviler bizi bizden daha çok temsil ediyorlar.)

8. Erdogan: "We do not accept any messages that are given through terrorist attacks." (Erdoğan: "Terör saldırılarıyla yapılan hiçbir mesajı kabul etmiyoruz.")

9. Çiçek: "In order to get rid of terrorism, there is need for international cooperation." (Çiçek: "Terörizmden kurtulabilmek için uluslararası işbirliği gerekir.")

10. We have a sensible prime minister who deals with both our Turkish and Jewish citizens together. (Hem Türk hem Musevi vatandaşlarımızla ilgilenen duyarlı bir başbakanımız var.)

11. Erdogan: "Turkey will protect its unity against these cursed terrorist events." (Erdoğan: "Türkiye bu lanetli olaylara karşı birliğini koruyacaktır.")

12. Full support from NATO to Turkey. (NATO'dan Türkiye'ye tam destek.)

13. Berlusconi: "Hatred and terrorizing strategy cannot prevent Turkey's policies towards

the European Union." (Berlusconi: "Nefret ve korkutma stratejisi Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliği politikalarını engelleyemez.")

14. Security measures are at their highest levels. (Güvenlik önlemleri en üst düzeyde.)

15. Arınç: "No one has the enough power to prevent our social tranquility." (Arınç: "Kimsenin sosyal huzurumuzu engellemeye gücü yetmez.")

16. Foreign exchange market is static in spite of the bombings. (Bombalara rağmen dış borsa sabit.)

17. Ankara Chamber of Commerce: "We will not give victory as a gift to terror." (Ankara Ticaret Odası: "Teröre zafer hediye etmeyeceğiz.")

18. Common attitude against terrorism. (Terörizme karşı ortak tavır)

19. Bush: "We are ready for cooperation." (Bush: "İşbirliği için hazırız.")

20. Markets overcame the shock quickly. (Piyasalar şoku çabuk atlattı.)

21. All the citizens have gone to the mosques and prayed for tranquility and peace. (Tüm vatandaşlar camilere gitti ve huzur ve barış için dua ettiler.)

22. National Security Committee: "Terrorists cannot reach their aims." (Milli Güvenlik Komisyonu: "Teröristler amaçlarına ulaşamazlar.")

23. Governor of Istanbul Güler: "We have every type of material and moral richness. We should not be pessimistic about the negative developments, we have to strengthen our cooperation and preserve our trust and faith. In this way, we can overcome these bad days. (İstanbul Valisi Güler: "Her türlü maddi ve manevi zengiliğe sahibiz. Olumsuz geişmelerden dolayı karamsar olmamalıyız, işbirliğimizi güçlendirmeli ve güvenimizi ve inancımızı korumalıyız. Bu şekilde, bu kötü günlerin üstesinden gelebiliriz.")

24. Solidarity message from 42 American representatives. (42 Amerikalı milletvekilinden dayanışma mesajı)

25. The president of New York municipality went to a mosque for condolence. (New York belediye başkanı başsağlığı için bir camiye gitti.)

26. Armitage: "With attacks Turkey and the U.S. become closer. (Armitage: "Saldırılarla birlikte Türkiye ve A.B.D. daha yakınlaştı.)

27. Assistant of the prime minister Şener: "Attacks do not affect economy." (Başbakan Yardımcısı Şener: "Saldırılar ekonomiyi etkilemedi.")

28. Erdogan: "Turkey will not change its policies and alliances. We will not give any concessions from democracy and human rights. (Erdoğan: "Türkiye politikalarını ve müttefiklerini değiştirmeyecek. Demokrasi ve insan haklarından taviz vermeyeceğiz.")

29. The governor of Erzurum: "We are a whole body against terrorism." (Erzurum Valisi: "Teröre karşı tek vücut olduk.")

30. Federation of Balkan Travel Agency Union: "Life is normal in Istanbul. There is not a terror atmosphere. We will tell this fact in our country when we return." (Balkan Seyahat Acentası Birliği Federasyonu: "İstanbul'da hayat normal. Terör havası yok. Ülkemize döndüğümüzde bu durumu anlatacağız.")

31. Condolence & grave visit from Erdogan. (Erdoğan'dan başsağlığı ve mezar ziyareti)

32. American ambassador Edelman: "We will not let them to change our life styles with terror." (Amerikan elçisi Edelman: "Yaşam tarzımızı değiştirmelerine izin vermeyeceğiz.")

33. Foreign Minister of Germany Joschka Fischer gave support Turkey for the European Union. He said that "we are determinant for cooperation in the combat against terrorism." (Alman Dışişleri Bakanı Joschka FischerTürkiye'ye Avrupa Birliği için destek verdi. "Terörle mücadele konusunda işbirliğinde kararlıyız" dedi.)

34. Erdoğan: "None of the religions approve terror." (Erdoğan: "Hiçbir din terörü onaylamaz.")

35. Under the brightness of Islam; Turks, Arabs, Jews, Armenians and etc. have been living peacefully. (İslam'ın ışığı altında; Türkler, Araplar, Ermenistanlılar ve diğerleri barış içinde yaşıyor.)

36. Magnificent answer: Muslims from all over Turkey and the world came together in the mosques and gave unity and solidarity messages. (Görkemli cevap: Türkiye'nin her yerindeki Müslümanlar ve dünya camilerde bir araya geldi ve birlik ve dayanışma mesajları verildi.)

37. Minister of the government Ali Babacan: "The religious festivity mood in economy will continue." (Devlet Bakanı Ali Babacan: "Ekonomide bayram havası devam edecek.")

38. The president of Azerbaijan Republic Ilham Aliyev: "Islam is the religion of peace, fraternity, patience and tolerance. The efforts to call Islam with terrorism will fail." (Azerbaycan cumhurbaşkanı Ilham Aliyev: "İslam barış, kardeşlik, sabır ve hoşgörü dinidir.")

39. Foreign Minister and Assistant of Prime Minister Abdullah Gül: "There will not be any returns from economic development and democratization process." (Dışişleri Bakanı ve Başbakan Yardımcısı Abdullah Gül: "Ekonomik gelişmelerden ve demokratikleşme sürecinden geri dönüş olmayacaktır.")

40. Obstinacy to terrorism, citizens went to the mosques and represented unity and solidarity. (Teröre inat, vatandaşlar camilere gitti ve birliği ve dayanışmayı gösterdiler.)

41. There is no panic in the markets. (Piyaslarda panik yok)

42. German prime-minister Schröder: "We have to be with Turkey in these hard days. We should want Turkey's membership to the E.U. for the security of Europe." (Alman Başbakanı Schröder: "Bu zor günlerde Türkiye'nin yanında olmalıyız. Avrupa'nın güvenliği için Türkiye'nin AB'ye üyeliğini istemeliyiz.")

43. Erbakan: "Islam means peace. How can it be put in the same place with terror?" (Erbakan: "İslam barış demek. İslam nasıl terörle aynı yere konabilir?")

44. We cannot reach anywhere through addressing these events as 'terror from Bingöl', 'terror of Turks', 'Islamist terror'. Islam does not allow killing a person. However, if a Muslim does it, then you cannot make Islam the responsible. (Bu olaylarda 'Bingöl'den terör' gibi tanımlamalar yaparak hiç bir yere varamayız. Bununla beraber, eğer bir Müslüman bunu yaparsa, o zaman bundan dolayı İslam'ı sorumlu tutamayız.)

45. Minister of Domestic Affairs Abdülkadir Aksu: "No one should worry; we will overcome these events, also." (İçişleri Bakanı Abdülkadir Aksu: "Kimse endişelenmemeli, bu olayların da üstesinden geleceğiz.")

46. Religious festivity cures: Religious festivity holiday becomes as a cure after the terrorist events and it decreases the negative effects of terrorism. (Bayram iyi geldi: Bayram tatili terör olaylarından sonra ilaç gibi geldi ve terörizmin olumsuz etkilerini azalttı.)

47. Islam cannot be the source of terror. (İslam terörün kaynağı olamaz.)

48. Islam is the source of peace and security. (İslam barışın ve güvenliğin kaynağı)

49. President of Turkish General National Assembly Bülent Arınç: "Islam is the religion of peace." (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanı Bülent Arınç: "İslam barış dini") (2)

50. Islam looks like daytime. It advices mutual aid and solidarity. (İslam gündüz gibidir. Karşılıklı yardımı ve dayanışmayı tavsiye eder.)

51. Meaningful visit from Ukraine: The prime minister of Ukraine gave a message to the world by coming to Turkey in the days of which Turkey has addressed with terror. (Ukrayna'dan anlamlı ziyaret: Ukrayna başbakanı Türkiye'nin terörle anıldığı bu günlerde Türkiye'ye gelerek dünyaya mesaj verdi.)

52. The answer from exchange to terror: Exchange starts to positive increase. (Borsadan teröre cevap: Borsa olumlu yükselişe başladı.)

53. Erdogan: "We will not give up from democratic stability." (Erdoğan: "Demokratik

istikrardan asla vazgeçmeyeceğiz.")

54. Two slaps to UEFA: 2-0: Galatasaray took the support of 60 thousand Turks in its match with Juventus. With this victory, it gave the proper answer to UEFA. (UEFA'ya iki tokat:2-0: Galatasaray Juventus ile olan maçında 60 bin Türk'den destek aldı. Bu zaferle, UEFA'ya en uygun cevap verildi.)

**8** IBDA/C (Great East Islamic Raiders Front): It is basically a Sunni Salafist group that advocates Islamic rule in Turkey. It cooperates with Al-Qaeda in order to replace the existing system in Turkey with a "pure Islamic" state. (http://www.ict.org.il/articles/articledet.cfm?articleid=504)

**9** Islamic Movement Organization (İslami Hareket Örgütü): It is a radical Islamist terrorist organization. Its aim is to establish an Islamic government. (http://www.aksam.com.tr/arsiv/aksam/2002/12/25/yazidizi/yazidizi2.html)

**10** PKK (Kurdish Worker's Party): It was formed due to youth movements in the 1970's. It aims to establish an independent "United Democratic Kurdistan" in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia, Syria, Iran and Iraq. (http://www.teror.gen.tr/english/turkey/separatist/pkk.html)