

**THE REPRESENTATION OF 2015 ANKARA BOMBINGS IN
CANADIAN MEDIA**

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ABSTRACT

This article is a qualitative and quantitative analysis of a Canadian's perspective on the Ankara bombings that took place in Turkey on October 10, 2015. Canadian media is analyzed in order to determine how it shapes the Canadian's frame of reference. To ensure that the vast majority of the Canadian people are included in the study two newspapers and one radio/television company is included in the study.

Keywords: Turkey, Canada, Ankara Bombing, Content Analysis, News Media.

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2015 ANKARA BOMBALI TERÖR OLAYININ KANADA MEDYASINDA TEMSİLİ

ÖZ

Bu çalışma 10 Ekim, 2015'te Ankara'da yaşanan bombalı terör olayının Kanada açısından nitel ve nicel analizini ele almaktadır. Olayın Kanada'nın referans çerçevesi açısından nasıl ele alındığının analiz edilmesi amacıyla Kanada medyası analiz edilmiştir. Kanada toplumunu daha geniş açıdan temsil edebilmek amacıyla 2 gazete ve 1 televizyon kanalı incelenerek bulgular paylaşılmıştır.

116

IJSI 9/2
Aralık/
December
2016

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye, Kanada, Ankara Bombalama Olayı, İçerik Analizi, Haber Medyası.

INTRODUCTION

On October 10, 2015 in Turkey's capital, Ankara, two bombs were detonated outside the central railway station. The bombings resulted in the death of 103 civilians and injured 400 people. It became the most deadly terrorist attack on Turkish soil. At the time of the explosions there was a peaceful rally taking place, which was the target of the attack. The demonstrators were marching in order to protest the conflict between the Turkish Armed Forces and Kurdistan Worker Party (PKK), a separatist movement party. The bombing made global news; seemingly, it foreshadowed the terrorist attacks that would soon follow in Paris, Brussels, Pakistan, and other cities across Turkey. Additionally, many of these bombings took place before the G20 Summit in Antalya. Government leaders and officials, including the Canadian Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau, did not let the bombing dissuade them from attending the Summit in November, 2015. Many countries face terrorism regularly on home soil while other are affected from the fallout of the attacks. Furthermore, the media gives civilians their views on terrorists. How Canadian news media reflects the Terrorist attacks in Turkey. This report will look at how terrorism is defined in western democracies, how the Ankara bombing was covered in Canadian media, and how the media coverage illustrates Canada's view of terrorism outside of western countries.

1. Defining Terrorism in Western Democracies

To argue the issue one needs to understand how terrorism is defined in western democracies. Terrorism is controversial because academics define it in many different ways. Moving from one scholar to another, or from one government's criminal code to another government's delineates the variety in definitions that terrorism fosters. While there are some similarities among western democracies, however, there are slight differences among them; moreover, this leads to some changes in what can be included as an act of terror. According to The keywords found to describe terrorism are "violence," "threat(s)," and "politically motivated tactics" (Weinberg et al., 2004). In Canada, terrorism is defined by the Criminal Code as an act committed for ideological purposes, such as religion or politics, and for an objective or cause ("Terrorism", 2016). The purpose of terrorism is to have an affect on parts of a country. An act of terrorism, in regard to a

country's security, affects "...its economic security, or compel[s] a person, a government or a domestic or an international organization to do or to refrain from doing any act." (Egbo, 2015: 11). These are violent actions intent on gaining a desired outcome and have detrimental consequences. Acts of terror "include death and bodily harm with the use of violence; endangering a person's life; risks posed to the health and safety of the public; significant property damage; and interference or disruption of essential services, facilities or systems" (Egbo, 2015, p. 11). Various countries define terrorism differently but they each include some form of physical or mental harm towards the safety individuals or groups.

118

IJSI 9/2
Aralık/
December
2016

The definition of terrorism changes across different western nations. For example the British Terrorism Act (2006) defines terrorism as "the use and threat of action 'designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public' and 'made for the purpose of advancing a political, religious or ideological cause'" (Egbo, 2015: 11). The United States of America, similarly to Canada and Britain, defines terrorism as "activities that 'involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State....intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; influence the policy of a government by intimidation; or...affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping'" (Egbo, 2015: 11). Furthermore, the European Union (EU) says acts that intend to "seriously intimidating a population, or; unduly compelling a government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, or; seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation'" is terrorism (Egbo, 2015: 11). There are of course similarities across the western front but definitions do change. Western democracies similarities come together to include violence, threats, and politically motivated tactics with the aim of influencing, coercing, or causing fear. Some western countries include the safety of individuals as well as larger group in their definition of terrorism. Canada's definition is one that seems to include individual targeting, such as hostage taking, as well as acts of violence against large groups. The goal of terrorism, for the group or organization who committed the act, the gain something resulting from violent acts.

2. Terrorism in Canada

Comparatively, Canada has a very low level of terrorism in comparison to Turkey and many other nations have had to grapple with the detrimental effects of terrorism, some on a daily basis. Unlike many countries, Canada has been faced with “roughly 500 politically motivated terrorist events that occurred in Canada between 1960 and 1985 [and] 85 percent of which were domestic” (Egbo, 2015: 12). Despite terrorism affects on many countries before 2001, the events of September 11th in the USA, changed how terrorism was seen by the world (“Building resilience against terrorism Canada's counter-terrorism strategy”, 2013: 1). The Honourable Vic Toews P.C., Q.C., M.P. Minister of Public Safety states that “Canada played a leading role in the international community’s efforts to assist Afghanistan to counter the terrorist threat, to promote global peace and security, and to ensure terrorism does not threaten Canadian interests” (“Building resilience against terrorism Canada's counter-terrorism strategy”, 2013: 1). Additionally, Toews indicates how Canadians are affected by terrorism such as “the devastating tragedy of the Air India bombing that killed 329 people, most of them Canadians” (“Building resilience against terrorism Canada's counter-terrorism strategy”, 2013: 1). Canada tries to eliminate terrorism both at home and to citizens abroad, yet, these threats and attacks are violent and consistent.

There are four rationales hidden in terrorist acts in Canada and they are as follows: “demand based terror – activities geared towards a perceived problem; private justice terror – activities with the intent of attaining retribution; revolutionary terror – terror aimed at changes at the state level; and restoration terror – activities aimed at re-establishing a historical condition” (Egbo, 2015: 12). Currently the face of terrorism in Canada is “marked by transnational terrorism, ambiguous ownership of terrorist activities, and the link between religiously- and politically-motivated terrorist activities” (Egbo, 2015: 12). There are many kinds of terrorism which makes it hard to classify each kind. Currently the leading threat to Canadians and Canada’s national security is the several violent islamist extremist groups and this includes “violent ‘homegrown’ Sunni Islamist extremists” (“Building resilience against terrorism Canada's counter-terrorism strategy”, 2013: 2). Canadians know that it “will never be possible to stop all terrorist attacks. . .” but it is expected that the “...Government will take every reasonable step to prevent individuals from turning to

terrorism, to detect terrorists and their activities, to deny terrorists the means and opportunities to attack and, when attacks do occur, to respond expertly, rapidly and proportionately” (“Building resilience against terrorism Canada's counter-terrorism strategy”, 2013: 5). Terrorism poses a threat to Canadians and their interests and will continue to do so but Canadians and their government will adapt so as to increase the safety of civilians at home and abroad. Additionally, in order to understand a Canadian’s perspective of the Ankara bombings one must have a basic understanding of Canada’s media.

3. Canadian Media Landscape

120

IJSI 9/2
Aralık/
December
2016

A complete idea of the Canadian media landscape and the Canadian people is important to understand in order to reach every demographic for this report. This is difficult considering the size of Canada and rich cultural background created by the blend and incorporation of a wide array of cultures. Canada, in contrast to other countries, attempts to be a melting pot where immigrants can bring cultural traditions and languages creating a multicultural society. Nonetheless, despite its size, news travels fast across the country. For example, when a “cat can get stuck in a tree in Newfoundland, and – due to the miracles of modern technology – it may very well be reported in British Columbia within the hour” (“Canadian News and Media”, 2016). Furthermore, considering Canada’s size and diversity, it is important to create a link across the country. Canada did this with a railroad and with the news. In order for Canadians to “share a sense of commonality, despite being thousands of miles apart, is [by] reading, watching and listening to the same stories of human hardship, natural disaster and political scandal – and then talking about them around the water cooler the next day” (“Canadian News and Media”, 2016). In 2014 there was a total of 104 daily and 1040 community newspapers across Canada (Levson, 2016). The dailies published, on average, “31,765,434 copies over the course of a week” (Levson, 2016). In contrast the community papers “publish more than 20.6 million copies each week” (Levson, 2016). Due to the vastness of Canada’s landscape and the diversity of its people the political stance of the media organizations, in addition to the popularity, are important to consider. As a result the three Canadian news and media organizations known as The Globe and Mail (The Globe), The National Post (The Post), and the Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) are the best examples of diversity of Canadian media. Canada’s

two leading national papers, which are sold across the country, are The Globe and The Post. These two papers, despite both head offices being based out of Ontario, have journalist all over the country and cover events both at the national and international level from a Canadian perspective. The differences between these two media organizations is their political stance. Canadian citizens, like most others, subscribe to the news source which matches their own political views and “the Globe is known for being more liberal and the Post more conservative or libertarian,” (“Canadian News and Media”, 2016). The CBC is Canada’s version of the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) and it has a similar crown corporation model. According the the CBC, “[c]rown corporations are peculiar hybrid entities – somewhere between a government body and a private enterprise. They are wholly owned by the state but operate at arm's length from government” (Stastna, 2012). When the private sector cannot or is unable or unwilling to fill a need of the public, the government creates a crown corporation for national interest (Stastna, 2012). Unlike other Canadian media organizations the CBC has a mandate to push Canadian values. The Broadcasting Act (1991) states that:

“...the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, as the national public broadcaster, should provide radio and television services incorporating a wide range of programming that informs, enlightens and entertains; ...the programming provided by the Corporation should: be predominantly and distinctively Canadian, reflect Canada and its regions to national and regional audiences, while serving the special needs of those regions, actively contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural expression, be in English and in French, reflecting the different needs and circumstances of each official language community, including the particular needs and circumstances of English and French linguistic minorities, strive to be of equivalent quality in English and French, contribute to shared national consciousness and identity, be made available throughout Canada by the most appropriate and efficient means and as resources become available for the purpose, and reflect the multicultural and multiracial nature of Canada.” (“Mandate”, 2016).

As a result the Globe, Post, and CBC can be used to analyze the Ankara bombings in Turkey because such a combination reaches a vast majority of Canadian citizens.

4. Research Design and Methodology

Trying to understand the Ankara Bombing, that took place in Turkey, through the scope of Canadian news. The media is an important pillar for society. People gather information and make decisions from what they see or read in the news, which has ripple effects that can span a community or a country. The media can spread fear or bring people together. The scope of this paper is limited to Canadian newspapers between the dates of October 10 to October 17, 2016, which is the week that followed the Ankara bombing. In order to look at the Canadian perspective of terrorism and the Ankara bombing, Canadian news sources that cross different political ideologies will be analysed in order to gather a unbiased information. Therefore, to analyze the Canadian perspective both conservative and liberal newspapers will be analysed in addition to a broadcast company whose mission is to push Canadian values. The figure below illustrates the number of articles along with the dates of the news articles used for this study.

Table 1: News Articles related with the Issue

Newspaper	Number of Articles	Date	Title of Article	Author
The Globe and Mail		October 12	The Bombings in Turkey are, Sadly, Unsurprising	Mackinnon
	2	October 14	Protesting for Peace in Turkey shouldn't be Deadly	No Author
The National Post		October 10	Bomb Blast Targeting Leftist Peace Rally Calling for More Democracy in Turkey Kill 86, leave 186 Wounded	Fraser
	3	October 11	Turkish Police use Tear Gas on Mourners at Site of Two Bombings that Killed 95 People	Fraser
		October 12	Turkey's Future Uncertain as Worse Violence in Years Grips Country	Fraser and Butler
The Canadian Broadcasting Company		October 10	Bombings at peace rally in Turkey's capital kill 95	No Author
	2	October 12	Double bombings at peace rally in Turkish capital: Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu declares 3-day mourning period for 95 victims	No Author

122

IJSI 9/2
Aralık/
December
2016

Canada, relative to size, has a small population but there is a lot of diversity, therefore, it is difficult to reach every Canadian's perspective. However, if one analyzes two of Canada's most popular newspapers in addition a broadcasting company that is both government and private, which will be discussed later, the vast majority of the Canadian people can be accounted for in the report. As a result, the viewpoints of a large amount of Canadians will be included and examined in this study. This research is to answer the questions about how Canada views acts or terror in the east. Looking at the amount of coverage and language used will delineate Canadian's viewpoints.

5. The Result of the Findings

5.1. The Globe and Mail

The Globe and Mail featured two articles about the bombing in Ankara, Turkey in October 2015. The first article, by Mark Mackinnon, was published on October 12, 2015 titled "The Bombings in Turkey are, Sadly, Unsurprising" by Mark Mackinnon. The article starts off generically about terrorist attacks. The article commences with the following hook: "[s]ometimes a bomb goes off somewhere and it's absolutely shocking. Not just because of the horror of the act, but because it seemed so unfathomable that someone would target that country, at that moment" (Mackinnon, 2015). Then there is a brief description of the terrorist attack. Immediately after, the bombing is described as an "act of mass murder" (Mackinnon, 2015). This is a condemnation of the terrorists and emphasis is placed on the fact that the bombs went off during a peace rally and killed 97 people. The language used to describe the terrorist actions are harsh and there is no sympathy for the cause of the terrorists, but, the paragraph ends by stating that it is not surprising that an attack took place on Turkish soil. This is, however, the end of the commentary on the Ankara bombing itself. The article then turns to Turkish politics and a criticism of the Turkish president Erdogan and the history of conflict across Turkey. The article alludes to the regional and domestic enemies of Turkey and states that "the country's government [did not] know where to point," or who to blame (Mackinnon, 2015). Turkey has many enemies due to their politics. All of "Turkey's wars," according to Mackinnon, both internal and external, "spring from the ambitions of... President Recep Tayyip Erdogan"

(Mackinnon, 2015). He has been the head of Turkish politics for many years and has developed quite a reputation. The twin bombings in Ankara occurred at a stressful time because in November there was an election. Sources explain that “[t]ension in society [was] so high that many were quick to suggest the government might have allowed - or even precipitated - [the] attack for political gain” (Mackinnon, 2015). Erdogan could have orchestrated the attacks in an attempt to stir the pot, so to speak. This suggests that the bombing may have been an attempt to bring support for the current political part. This results from “Erdogan's desire to extend and cement his 12-year hold on power [which] has the deeply divided country heading toward its second election in five months” (Mackinnon, 2015). The government announced that PKK, the Kurdish Party who recently obtained a seat in the first election, were responsible for the bombings. As a result, during the second election, Erdogan once again attained full power over Turkey because PKK was unable to keep their seat. This article continues to explain the violent state of Turkey’s political state. Even if the election had nothing to do with the bombing in Ankara there are plenty of other suspects because “Turkey's military is neck-deep in the wars in neighbouring Syria and Iraq. Southern Turkey is a volatile mix of refugees and jihadis, Turkish soldiers and Kurdish militiamen,” therefore, it would not be difficult to have a list of viable suspects (Mackinnon, 2015). This news article comments more on the political landscape of Turkey rather than the bombing itself. There is speculation to the cause and perpetrators of the attack because there is a long list of viable suspects. All of this demonstrated that Turkey is ripe for terrorist actions because there is conflict across the country, domestic and regional.

The second story from The Globe, titled “Protesting for peace in Turkey shouldn’t be deadly”, published a few days after Mackinnon’s article, was released on October 14, 2015. This article is a lot shorter than the first one, however there are similar characteristics, such as a description of the bombing and then commentary on the Turkish political system. Once again the president is link to the bombing. This is because of how he runs the country; he has made many enemies. This article claims that inadequate security was provided for such a protest. It is suggested the bombing could “have been averted - or at least the horror could have been diminished - if only the Turkish government had provided adequate security to protect a large, peaceful protest in the capital; a peaceful protest advocating peace”

124

IJSI 9/2
Aralık/
December
2016

("Protesting for peace in Turkey shouldn't be deadly", 2015). The Canadian view is that, even if Erdogan did not personally order the bombing, he is still responsible because he did not ensure the safety of his people. Then the article talks about the enemies Erdogan has made and more information regarding the political system. The article suggest that the Turkish people will not see Erdogan work towards "building a broad coalition, and forming a consensus on making peace with the region's Kurds, and defeating ISIL. Instead, he has filled Turkish politics with more angry voices" ("Protesting for peace in Turkey shouldn't be deadly", 2015). In contrast to the first article by The Globe, this one does not delineate the papers viewpoint of acts of terrorism, only their views on Erdogan. It does, however, depict that the peaceful demonstration was in regards to a ceasefire agreement between the Turkish government and the PKK that was crumbling ("Protesting for peace in Turkey shouldn't be deadly", 2015). No more was said on the issue. The article goes back to talking about the counties politics. Turkish politics is a complicated beast. It will not be easy for the country because what "Turkey needs [is] a stronger parliamentary democracy, not more centralization of power in one man," even so, Erdogan will not give up any power ("Protesting for peace in Turkey shouldn't be deadly", 2015). The Canadian perspective of this article is a condemnation of terrorism in addition to the Turkish political system. The unrest in Turkey is tied closely with its government and the unrest in the region. It ties all these aspects together to demonstrate the interconnectedness of political unrest, terrorism, and tragedy.

5.2. The National Post

The National Post produced three stories relating to the October Ankara bombings in Turkey. Unlike The Globe's article, the first article by The Post goes into greater detail about the demonstrations and the deadly aftermath of the explosions. "Bomb blasts targeting leftist peace rally calling for more democracy in Turkey kill 86, leave 186 wounded," published on October 10, 2015, depicts a gruesome scene with its photographs and description of the events that passed, "killing 86 people and wounding 186" (Fraser, 2015). The article does not leave much to the imagination of the reader. It describes the events in great detail such as how the "explosions occurred seconds apart outside Ankara's main train station as hundreds were gathering for the rally," how there were "bodies covered with bloodied flags

and banners that demonstrators had brought with them for the rally," and how "[s]cuffles broke out between police and family members frantically searching for loved ones or complaining about the poor police response" (Fraser, 2015). Additionally, the language of *The Post* was like that of *The Globe* because the tone of the article was somber and negative towards the bombers. The author Suzan Fraser took quotes from Turkish officials. For example, she cited Lami Ozgen, head of the Confederation of Public Sector Trade Unions who said, "[t]here was a massacre in the middle of Ankara" and President Recep Tayyip Erdogan who said that "[t]he greatest and most meaningful response to this attack is the solidarity and determination we will show against it" (Fraser, 2015). There are, however, still criticisms about the Turkish political scene because of the chaos in the East. Wars surround Turkey, the world is clashing together, and the flood of refugees make for a tense political scene. Moreover, there is intense criticism of Erdogan as critics claim he has "re-ignit[ed] the fighting with the Kurds to seek electoral gains – hoping that the turmoil would rally voter back to the ruling Justice and Development Party, or AKP" (Fraser, 2015). It was HDP who directly blamed the government for the bombings while other parties such as CHP and MHP said the government could have done more to boost security in order to stop the attack, or lessen the casualties. It was later that one of the bombers was identified as a brother of an ISIL member. People refer to the Kurdish group as terrorists or rebels. *The Post* uses the term rebel, which has positive connotation while terrorist is negative and hostile. This article does highlight that the "Kurdish rebels declared a temporary cease-fire ahead of Turkey's Nov. 1 election" and that "the group [would halt] hostilities to allow the election to proceed safely under 'equal and fair' conditions. It said it would not launch attacks but would defend itself" (Fraser, 2015). The terminology used in this article illustrates the political stance of *The Post* or at the least of the writer. The Kurdish group is often referred to as terrorists due to their violent methods, which was defined in the Canadian context as terrorism because violence is used for political gain or manipulation.

The *Post's* second article about the Ankara bombing was written by the same woman, therefore, one expects a similar use of language and viewpoint. This article, titled "Turkish police use tear gas on mourners at site of two bombings that killed 95 people," does not disappoint. It was published only a day later and it sets the tone for the article. Obviously aggression and violence towards mourners

would be seen negatively by readers. The article starts as follows: "Scuffles broke out Sunday in the Turkish capital as police used tear gas to prevent pro-Kurdish politicians and other mourners from laying carnations at the site of two suspected suicide bombings" (Fraser, 2015). The incidents are defined as scuffles which does not portray hostile or violent actions. A scuffle comes across as placid so a response from police--using teargas--is seen as unnecessary by readers. The second paragraph starts with "[p]olice held back the mourners, including the pro-Kurdish party's co-leaders Selahattin Demirtas and Figen Yuksekdag," which illustrates the aggression commenced on the side of the police and not the mourners (Fraser, 2015). Fraser describes how "70 mourners w[ere] eventually allowed to enter the cordoned off area outside the capital's main train station Sunday to briefly pay their respects for the victims" and how the "group of mourners then marched toward a central square in Ankara, chanting slogans against President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, whom many hold responsible for the spiraling violence that has plagued Turkey since the summer" (2015). Furthermore, this article reiterates how the Kurdish Party announced a continuation to the 2012 ceasefire to allow for the elections to be completed safely, however, Erdogan and the government's reply was a "reject[ion of] the declaration, saying the rebels must lay down arms for good and leave Turkey" (Fraser, 2015). The violence that has plagued the area is illustrated in this article. Overall, the pictures and language provokes sympathy for the victims and mourners while simultaneously using language to condemn and generate anger against the Turkish government.

The Post's last article about the Ankara bombing was written by Suzan Fraser and Desmond Butler, titled "Turkey's future uncertain as worst violence in years grips country," was published on October 12, 2015. The bombing is mentioned in addition to how it "magnified the political uncertainty ahead of a key election Nov. 1 and raised fears that the country may be heading toward an extended period of instability" (Fraser & Butler, 2015). Before moving into Turkish politics the only thing mentioned about the bombing was that it was perpetrated by a suicide bomber. It immediately moves into the effects the bomb had on the people of Turkey and their government exasperated by the refugee crisis, the wars with Iraq and Syria, and the election have all created more chaos for Turkey. The most deadly blast in years managed to "further polarized the country as President Recep Tayyip Erdogan tries again for a ruling majority in parliament"

(Fraser & Butler, 2015). This article gives the Canadian readers a deeper perspective of the political situation and the concentration of violence. There is a higher concentration of deadly attacks in eastern Turkey, however, the deadly attacks have been moving westward; the Ankara bombing is just an example of how terrorist attacks are sweeping across the nation (Fraser & Butler, 2015). An attack in July, in a town bordering Syria, killed thirty-three people and ended a cease-fire because "Kurdish rebels blamed Turkey's government, and hundreds have been killed since then in the renewed conflict with security forces" (Fraser & Butler, 2015). Since the cease-fire ended death and violence has ensued. Despite ISIS being identified as the group responsible for the bombing, tensions have and would continue to increase between the Turkish government and the PKK. The language used by these Canadian journalists is sympathetic to the Kurdish and the rebels. The following illustrates the negativity towards Erdogan's government. Emphasis is placed on the opposition of Erdogan who "accuse him and his interim government of rallying nationalist votes by fomenting violence between the Kurdish rebels and security forces; Erdogan denies this, saying government forces are responding to increased attacks" (Fraser & Butler, 2015). Instead of focusing on the bombing itself, it divulges deeper into the aftermath that followed. Unlike the other articles from The Post, this publication portrays the other consequences for Turkey. For example, "the Turkish lira is losing value and interest rates are spiking, making it more difficult for Turkey to finance its looming short-term debt. Persistent instability also could harm tourism, an important source of revenue and foreign currency (Fraser & Butler, 2015). For obvious reasons people are less likely to vacation in a country whose instability is continually increasing. Additionally there is commentary in regards to outside, western influence. The Kurdish rebels whose kinsman are "allies in the U.S.-led coalition's fight against the Islamic State group in Syria and Iraq" have a growing voice among the Turkish people (Fraser, Butler, 2015). This thrusts the story back into the politics of the nation because with the re-election fast approaching, such influence is not looked on kindly by the current president who wanted to continue his majority government. At the time analysts said that "the bombings inside Turkey could only make the parliamentary election results less conclusive, meaning government stability will depend on the political parties' ability to form coalitions and cooperate – an elusive capacity as the country becomes more and more polarized" (Fraser, Butler, 2015). Having a coalition and a cooperative

government would help the country with the problems faced by the Kurdish separatists movement within the country by providing a more diverse and much needed voice. Sinan Ulgen from the Istanbul-based EDAM think-tank said, “[t]he optimistic scenario is that a broad based government will emerge and that it will re-establish stability and revitalize the peace process with the Kurds,” even so, there is “[t]he other possibility is that the same picture will emerge, that a coalition won’t be formed, leading Turkey into an even more tumultuous point” (Fraser & Butler, 2015). As stated in the above article, there was a lack of security where the protest took place. This opened a window for “[g]overnment opponents, including a pro-Kurdish party whose members were at the rally, have held the government and Erdogan responsible for the bombings” (Fraser & Butler, 2015). In this article this stance seems iterated. The Canadian readers can see that this story portrays the pro-Kurdish party in a better light than the Turkish government. The ending of the piece illustrated this perfectly. It highlights the accusations against the government such as “failing to take adequate measures to protect the rally, to turning a blind eye on the Islamic State group for too long and even the possibility of having some hand in the attack. Hundreds marched in the capital Monday, chanting ‘the killer state will be held to account!’” (Fraser & Butler, 2015). The Post has a more sympathetic view to the Kurdish people while stating and supporting their ideas of the government. The Kurdish rebels are not called terrorists even though international organizations do list it as a terrorist organization. The writing portrays a negative view of the current government and it is highly critical of their actions.

129

IJSI 9/2
Aralık/
December
2016

5.3. The CBC

The Canadian Broadcasting Company, a radio and television company that pushes Canadian values, took a different approach than The Post and The Globe. There were very factual in regards to the article published. The article titled “Bombings at peace rally in Turkey's capital kill 95: Turkey suspects Kurdish or ISIS bombers are responsible” was published on October 10, 2015. The piece was broken down into sectioned as follows:

Massacre,

Protests at explosion scene, and

Turkey had been on alert.

The beginning illustrates the scene of the twin bombing and the events that passed on October 10. They have a video from the scene that was captured by one of the witnesses. Capturing the moment fully, the CBC, just like their competitors, state that the protest was full of “opposition supporters and Kurdish activists [who] gathered for the peace rally organized by Turkey's public workers' union and other groups” and the goal of the protesters was “to call for increased democracy in Turkey and an end to the renewed violence between Kurdish rebels and Turkish security forces” (The Associated Press, 2015). Additionally, the article states that it was the Turkish government that “suggested that Kurdish rebels or ISIS militants were to blame” for the bombings (The Associated Press, 2015). As addressed in the articles by The Post and The Globe, it appears odd that the PKK would bomb a protests full of their own Kurdish kinsmen and people who also oppose the current Turkish government. The CBC does not address such speculation and published their article full of substantiated facts and little conjecture. Under the massacre section a picture is painted from “footage from Turkey's Dogan news agency [that] showed a line of protesters Saturday near Ankara's train station, chanting and performing a traditional dance with their hands locked when a large explosion went off behind them” and how a photographer from the Associated Press witnessed the moments when “bodies [were] covered with bloodied flags and banners that demonstrators had brought for the rally” (The Associated Press, 2015). This creates emotion in the reader which creates support for the victims of such an attack; however, it is difficult to read into the terminology used because the CBC attempts to remain unbiased. Their terminology does not allow individuals to see their political ideals. Staying neutral is an important component of the CBC. Furthermore the article cites Soner Cagaptay, an analyst at the Washington Institute, who said the attack appeared to be done by a group “hoping to induce the PKK, or its more radical youth elements, to continue fighting Turkey” (The Associated Press, 2015). Obviously one of those groups could have been, and like the Turkish government said they uncovered, ISIS who would have substantial gains if the PKK and Turkish government continued to fight. The

130

IJSI 9/2
Aralık/
December
2016

mourners, as previously mentioned, stood in protest at the scene of the explosion. The protests at the explosion scene states that “[s]ome demonstrators chanted ‘Murderer Erdogan!’ – referring to President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who many accuse of increasing tensions with Kurds to profit at the ballot box in November” (The Associated Press, 2015). Unlike The Post who used language that was hostile to Erdogan in their similar article, the CBC kept the language neutral and solely stated the facts. They leave it up to the reader to determine their stance on such matters. Furthermore, they illustrate the media blackout that followed the explosions because there was a “news blackout covering images that showed the moment of the blasts, gruesome or bloody pictures or ‘images that create a feeling of panic’” (The Associated Press, 2015). The reportage covers how people were unable to access social media, such as Twitter, because of authorities blocking access, which happens routinely after attacks in Turkey. This highlights differences between how Turkey and Canada handle such issues because Canada does not participate in censorship. In Canadian news it is rare that information cannot be published. Exceptions are made in issues of confidentiality or when dealing with minors but blocking access to social media has not occurred in Canada. Because Turkey became increasingly active in the fight against ISIS they have been more alert. There is information about how “the fighting between Turkish forces and Kurdish rebels flared anew in July, killing at least 150 police and soldiers and hundreds of PKK rebels since then” (The Associated Press, 2015). In this article labeling the PKK as rebels instead of terrorist is the only terminology which suggests the CBC’s political stance. Just like The Globe and The Post, this article also informs their readership about how the “[e]lectorate gains by the country’s pro-Kurdish party caused the AKP, founded by Erdogan, to lose its parliamentary majority in a June election after a decade of single-party rule” and how “turmoil would rally voters back to the ruling Justice and Development Party, or AKP” (The Associated Press, 2015). The attack, perpetrated by whoever, has drawn “widespread condemnation from Turkey’s allies” (The Associated Press, 2015). Due to the neutral tone of the CBC article, stating how Erdogan could benefit from the attack does not have a negative tone like the other articles. It come across neutral and factual instead of a criticism of the AKP government.

Setting itself apart from the other Canadian news agencies the CBC only published one article about the Ankara bombing.

Photojournalism was a technique used in order to illustrate the events that transpired as a result of the bombing. The photographs start before the blasts and continue to the funerals of some of the victims and grieving family members. These photographs are illustrated on the CBC's website. The photo gallery is titled "Double bombings at peace rally in Turkish capital: Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu declares 3-day mourning period for 95 victims." The photographs have a variety of sources and it is compiled of thirteen photos and range from Associated Press photographers to local journalists. They capture the action and raw emotion of the time. It produces a powerful story of pain and loss. It is unbiased with no political stance. No one is titled terrorists or rebels in the captured moment. It moves the audience to sympathize for the Turkish people.

132

IJSI 9/2
Aralık/
December
2016

6. Canada's View of Terrorism in Turkey

Obviously different news organizations portray the events on October 10, 2015, differently. Some label the events and the activities of the PKK as terrorism, however, they are labelled by Canadian news media as rebels, which has a more positive connotation. The bombing is viewed negatively but a bomb in Turkey does not seem to surprise Canadian journalists, or the Canadian people. The articles look at the bombing, nevertheless, there is a shift to the politics and government of Turkey. The *Globe* and *The Post*, even though the language used to label the PKK is different from each other, they are both highly critical of the activities of the Turkish government while others tried to remain neutral but at the same time commenting on the facts and speculation surrounding the events and aftermath of the bombing. No matter how critical of the government Canadian news reporters may be, the bombing of a peaceful protest is condemned and the lives lost are mourned. The bombing, which was committed in order to intimidate the public in the name of politics or religion cause, the government should have done more to protect their people. This act which was committed in order to intimidate the public in the name of politics or religion cause, in the Canadian context, is terrorism. The Canadian government and people will not stand behind or support such actions. Looking at the articles from *The Globe* and *The Post* one can see that they are more critical of the Turkish government, the president in particular. *The Globe* looks at the ambitions of the president and how it has led to increased violence in the region (Mackinnon, 2015). Each article commented on how increased

violence was ideal for Erdogan to motivate voters to support his part. The news about the bombing saddens the Canadian people, however, it opened up a forum for discussion on Turkish politics and the violence of the region. It is obvious that *The Globe* and *The Post* are critical of the Turkish political system, the president in particular. The CBC had a more neutral tone when reporting the events and reported only facts and stayed away from speculation. From these articles one can see that Canadian's are not supporters of the Turkish president and are not surprised that Turkey faces such hostile acts. These papers demonstrate that the bombing was discussed in Canada, even so, it is not a major issue because each article demonstrates that terrorism in places like Turkey and the middle east is expected and is not shocking.

7. Conclusion

Turkey's capital, Ankara, where two bombs were detonated outside the central railway station, resulted in the death of 103 civilians and injured 400 more. The bombs went off during a protest to stop conflict between the Turkish Armed Forces and the PKK. This activity, as stated in Canada's Criminal Code was an act of terrorism because it was a violent action with the intent of influencing the Turkish government and people (Egbo, 2015). Media sources have the ability to cause or subside fear and hysteria provoked by such acts of violence. This qualitative and quantitative analysis of the Canadian media's stance on the Ankara bombing is the focus of this article. The *National Post*, *The Globe and Mail*, and the Canadian Broadcasting Company are major news organizations in Canada, all of which wrote about the Ankara bombing. Moreover, each news organization used the bombing to open up a discussion about Turkey and their political system. Canadians were informed about the casualties and important highlights about the bombing, as well as politics since it correlated with the event. Whether the Turkish government was involved in the bombings or was neglectful in its duties to protect civilians, Canadian news organizations highlighted the issues revolving around the November election. The events of October 10, 2015, did not encourage the Canadian people to rally like they did for the Paris bombings. It is possible that because there is so much violence in the region, Canadians did not find it surprising and labelled the attack as terrorism.

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134

IJSI 9/2
Aralık/
December
2016

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ÖZET

10 Ekim 2015 tarihinde Ankara'da gerçekleşen bombalı terör eylemine ilişkin Kanada medyasını temsil eden iki gazete ve bir televizyon kanalında yer alan 7 haber analiz edilmiştir. Medya, toplumda yaşanan olayları bize iletmesinin yanısıra olayı ele alış biçimiyle, kullandığı haber dili ve manşetleri ile konuyu daha önemli hale getirebilmekte, halkın aldığı bilgilerle fikir oluşturmaya destek olmaktadır. Farklı ideolojik bakış açısına sahip olması nedeniyle seçilen Kanada medya örneğinde olayın yaşandığı 10-17 Ekim 2015 tarih aralığında- The National Post, The Globe and Mail gazeteleri Canadian Broadcasting Company adlı ulusal Kanada televizyonunda daha çok bombalı terör olayı ve yarattığı yıkımın ele alındığı haberlere yer verildiği bulgulanmıştır. Bombalı saldırının 2015 Kasım genel seçimleriyle de ilişkilendirildiği ve eleştirel bakış açısının yanısıra sivillerin yeterince korunamadığı da haberde yer verilen unsurlar arasındadır. Sonuç itibarıyla yaşanan saldırının haberleştirme şekli Paris bombalı saldırısında yaşanan halk tepkisine benzer bir etki yaratmamış, Kanada halkı Paris saldırısına gösterilen tepkiye benzer şekilde sokaklarda teröre karşı yürüyüş gerçekleştirmemiştir.

136

IJSI 9/2
Aralık/
December
2016