

The exploratory study  
of public opinion on  
terrorism and factors  
influencing it in  
Kazakhstan

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## **Abstract**

The research is an exploratory study of public opinion regarding the subject of terrorism in Kazakhstan.

The research is aimed at examining the range of feelings and perceptions generated by mediated and non-mediated terrorism news, as well as studying the factors contributing to producing these reactions.

This was approached by looking into the context of media mapping, terrorism in Kazakhstan, demographics and culture; studying the methods used by the media when reporting terrorist attacks; identifying these methods within a sample of Kazakh media; mapping the range of feelings and perceptions formed during a discussion of terrorist attacks supported by some media materials; observing the ways people manage their reactions during the focus groups; and, examining the links between terrorism reporting techniques, research context, and reactions produced by the public.

For the purpose of this research a mixed methodology was applied. In May 2016, six focus groups were conducted in Kazakh city of Ust-Kamenogorsk. Particular attention was paid to thematic analysis of focus group discussions, and content analysis of Kazakh printed and visual media.

Some of the core findings derive from the discussion about the influence of Russian television channels broadcasted in Kazakhstan. Thus, the research has identified a range of emotional responses to terrorism, both directly and indirectly mediated by agenda setting and framing. The emotions varied significantly in accordance with media consumption habits of participants, demographic variables of age, gender, as well as proximity to the attack, both geographical and from the point of group belonging. These correspond with some earlier studies by Traugott and Brader (2003) and Yarchi et al (2013).

It is impossible to draw a clear connection between the methods Kazakh media uses and the reactions generated in public. This is because only

a sample of the media was used and the focus groups were not fully representative of the public. However, this study identified the variables of methods used by some Kazakh media and the range of reactions that can be generated. It is suggested this initial work in the relatively unknown to researchers context of Kazakhstan is further used for a study of media effect.

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# **1 Introduction**

## 1.1 Rationale

This study attempts to contribute to the fight against the effects of terrorism globally in the non-researched context of Kazakhstan. In particular, it researches into emotional response of the public as well as the formation of the Kazakh public's political views on terrorism attacks.

Public opinions have been extensively studied in the contexts of UK, USA and Israel (e.g. Kampf 2014), especially considering media role in forming public response to terrorism related news. Public response has been particularly recognised in the form of fear (e.g. McQueeny 2014; Woods 2011) and anger (e.g. Shoshani and Slone 2008).

These and more reactions are being discussed in relation to factors contributing towards them in this paper such as roles of culture, media, demographics, symbols, heuristics and social belonging. This study highlights the importance of considering public opinion in relation to factors influencing it, as well as contributes to the development of a framework for understanding the connections among terrorism, public opinion and factors helping form public opinion in the unfamiliar (to researchers) context of Kazakhstan.

This understanding would provide valuable input to the context in which counter-terrorism strategies are formulated and to the debates taking place on the political responses to terrorism as a global and national threat. The data gathered in this research contributes to the development of understanding the dynamics of the 'emotional public sphere'; i.e. identifying the range of public response and looking into how these public patterns of emotional response to events and situations are generated and sustained.

## 1.2 Aims

This paper is an exploratory study of public opinion regarding the subject of terrorism in Kazakhstan.

Broadly, the research can be summarised as looking into the range of public reactions and nature of how this reactions may be formed and sustained.

Thus, this study is aimed at firstly, examining the range of feelings, perceptions, and behaviours generated by mediated and non-mediated terrorism news, and secondly, at studying the factors contributing to producing these reactions.

The research, however, does not aim at measuring the exact extent of each type of reaction. Neither does it focus on measuring media effect.

It is impossible to draw a clear connection between the methods Kazakh media uses and the reactions generated in public. This is because only a sample of the media is used and the focus groups are not fully representative of the public. However, this study aims to identify the variables of methods used by some Kazakh media, and the range of reactions that can be generated. It is suggested this initial work in the relatively unknown to researchers context of Kazakhstan is further used for a study of media effect by using the established effects and emotions.

### 1.3 Objectives

To achieve the above aims, the below objectives were set. The set objectives are tested against SMART criteria, where SMART stands for Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Relevant, and Timely. These criteria allows to make a better judgement of how worthwhile an objective is at an initial stage, as well as to systematically consider all of the objectives.

1. To set the research context in terms of media mapping, terrorism, demographics and culture
2. Get acquainted with the existing research into the methods used by general media when reporting terrorist attacks as well as what reactions those may facilitate in public.

3. To study literature on the subjects of other factors apart from media that may play role in public opinion regarding terrorism as well as what reactions they associate with.
4. To sample Kazakh media coverage of terrorism to test if the identified media factors are applicable to the context of Kazakhstan
5. To use focus groups to analyse if the previously established types of reactions to terrorism news are present in a Kazakh society, as well as identify new variables.
6. To analyse if factors excluding media, such as demographics of participants and nature of attacks had an influence on the range of emotions produced in the focus groups.

Now each objective will be discussed in more detail.

*1.3.1 To set the research context in terms of media mapping, terrorism, demographics and culture*

This is important because demographical and cultural peculiarities may explain some of the responses given in focus groups. The demographics picture is given for the population of the town of research as well as a broader region. This shows differences in heritage nationality in numbers, which will be further relevant in the discussion of what language media is being consumed as well as considerations of social belonging in relation to attacks happening in Kazakhstan, neighboring countries or overseas.

Culture is analysed using the Hofstede's dimensions model and measurements such as power distance, individualism, uncertainty avoidance, etc. There is no ready data available for Kazakhstan that could be attained.

That is why this is being approached by looking into available data for Russia, as a country of close historic proximity to compare and highlight the differences.

Terrorism context is looked into to understand the historical nature and development of terrorism in the region, which may as well form the public's views. Thus, here will be shown the timescale and frequency of the attacks.

Media mapping is going to show a brief consideration of means of media available to the public and access to those. This will also look into stages of media development, to identify the changes in media channels available, to see if there are likely any changes in the terrorism reporting in future.

*1.3.2. Get acquainted with the existing research into the methods used by general media when reporting terrorist attacks as well as what reactions those may facilitate in public.*

It is expected that media plays a large role in shaping public opinion and is one of the main sources of information. This is being analysed by looking into existing findings in the literature.

It must be acknowledged in this objective that it is hard to track whether the news were mediated or not. In contemporary life everything tends to be mediated to some extent unless it is a direct witness of an attack (which was not allowed into focus groups as part of ethical considerations). Even talking about attacks in offices or at homes can be seen as passing on mediated news with some extent of adding personal views. This study does not attempt to establish the connection between media influence and public reaction as a result. However, it looks into the existing research done by others to consider media as a factor, as well as to see what types of reactions could be anticipated in the forthcoming research in Kazakhstan.

The way the media presents news is often referred to as ‘framing’ (e.g. Baker 2010; Brigitte and Tores-Reyna 2003; Entman 1993; Gelpi et al 2013; Hunter et al 2013). In particular, the media determines to ‘emphasise certain elements of the reality and suppress others’ (Yarchi et al. 2013, p.265; Sjoavaag 2014). Thus, a media frame is ‘an interpretative package that prioritises a certain explanation or significance of an event’ (Yarchi et al. 2013, p.265). Sometimes framing is referred to as the second level of agenda setting as it ‘tells how to think about what matters’, whereas the first level simply sets ‘what matters’ (Hunter et al. 2013). Entman (1993) defined the functions of frames as defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgements and suggesting remedies. Gamson (1992) recognises frames’ functions as diagnosing, evaluating and prescribing.

The vast amount of scholarly articles on framing makes this objective achievable. The variety of media methods will be analysed by looking into media frames, which include diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing, thematic and episodic frames, as well as governmental, humanitarian and military frames etc. Particular attention will be paid to who sets the frames, what are the main explanations of terrorism given in each type of frame and what public reactions associated with those are.

*1.3.3. To study literature on the subjects of other factors apart from media that may play role in public reaction regarding terrorism as well as what reactions they associate with.*

Alike the previous objective, this objective will also look into how literature explains what the major public reactions to terrorism are, and what they are related to or dependent on. However, the focus here will be not on media, but on factors such as demographics, heuristics, nature and proximity of an attack.

This will look into patterns of whether certain types of members of public are more exposed to news about terrorism. Specifically, if demographic

variables such as age or educational level have any relevance to how people may react to terrorism. The likely patterns will be further revisited in the analysis of focus groups in the objective 1.3.6.

Proximity of an attack is being measured from the point of distance as well as considered as emotional proximity.

Nature of an attack refers to the way an attack was performed as well as who were the casualties and how many.

Heuristics is a concept studied by Tversky and Kahneman (1974) which refers to people's decision making. Thus, people have two main types of brain activity (system 1 and 2), one of which refers to simplifying some of the complex tasks which often results in cognitive biases. This theoretical work is being looked at in relation to public opinion on terrorism. In particular, how the effectiveness of previously discussed frames can depend on the way people's decision making is done. This is especially relevant to what people see as causes and effects of terrorism (those offered by media and non-mediated).

It must be said that it can be that there is no particular reaction to terrorism at all. Lack of interest in the news and what it is associated with is being considered in this objective as well.

*1.3.4. To sample Kazakh media coverage of terrorism to test if the identified media factors are applicable to the context of Kazakhstan*

Having considered media as a factor influencing people's reactions, this objective looks into whether the identified methods used by media in general are applicable to the context of Kazakhstan. Thus, this objective applies the framing theory to some sample of Kazakh media. This part of research focuses on producing a brief summary of the media situation in Kazakhstan by bringing together the information gathered for media mapping in objective



1.3.1, framing in 1.3.2, and focus group participants' media consumption in objective 1.3.5. This will hopefully allow attracting further research of media and terrorism in Central Asia.

It is reasonable to consider the identified media methods as a factor that could contribute to reactions Kazakh public has. However, as it was previously mentioned above, it is not feasible to match the exact media content and reaction produced by a participant in a focus group as a result of it. Thus, this objective looks into peculiarities of the media reporting in Kazakhstan, as well as searches for the presence of universal media practices (e.g. numerous studies of USA, UK and Israel) to see if these could potentially be considered as having an impact on public opinion in Kazakhstan.

More specifically, this will be dealt by taking media sample at the time of focus groups taking place. To allow sufficient consideration of media within the timescale set the research will proceed as follows. It will sample the printed media during the month of focus groups taking place as well as three month after, give a brief consideration of social media trends at the time of focus groups, as well as find out from participants their typical sources of television media.

The criteria for the choice of printed media sample are viewership, amount of terrorism coverage, types of media frame used, media ownership, amount of censorship etc. This will be achieved by first studying reports on the media in Kazakhstan and by visiting newspapers web pages before working directly with the materials they produce (i.e. analysis of articles in newspapers). This will be resourced at the Pushkin library in the town of research, where most of the printed editions are archived.

This objective looks to answer what is being considered as terrorism within a sample of Kazakh media, the explanations given for terrorism, what frames are being used as well as symbols and lexical forms used within those. In addition, it looks at the emotional scale of reporting events, i.e. whether the

nature of reporting is calm and factual or provocative. Finally, the speed of response and type of censorship will be looked at.

*1.3.5. To use focus groups to analyse if the previously established types of reactions to terrorism news are present in a Kazakh society, as well as identify new variables.*

The approach in this objective is to generate focus group environment in which mediated and non-mediated terrorism-related material can be discussed. This allows analysis of responses to video materials in the focus groups, as well as to general questions of causes and effects of terrorism.

It is important to emphasise that this is not a definitive study of media effect because it focuses on exploring the range of emotional responses people have to this type of news. This is because a focus group, similar to the individual interview method, allows the researcher to get only information from the words and self-assessments of participants, which is highly biased in terms of assessing media impact but very useful for the exploration of various ways of responding to perceptions of mediated and non-mediated terrorism. In group activities, the way people describe the emotional impact of news about terrorism is examined.

The measurement criteria for this objective is participant's reactions (fear and anger, anxiety, perceived threat, cognitive functioning, perceived risk and risk avoidance), as well as actual examples of change in behaviour (such as avoiding airplane flights after a suicide attack on an airplane, or simply discussing the attacks with colleagues in an office from a set point of view). In addition, the objective will observe the ways in which people cope with their reactions during the focus groups. People generally emote the way they feel. However, it could be that some are hiding their emotions for example to avoid embarrassment in a focus group. An interpretation of less obvious emotions will be looked at as well as what the emotions may lead to as a reaction.

This objective will be achieved by observation and direct questioning of participants in focus groups. It is planned that six groups of six people take place in a Kazakh city of Ust-Kamenogorsk.

*1.3.6. To analyse if factors excluding media, such as demographics of participants and nature of attacks had an influence on the range of emotions produced in the focus groups.*

The factors discussed in objective 1.3.3 in relation to literature review are being tested within the focus groups in this objective.

In order to establish if there is any connection between demographic variables and the range as well as type of reactions produced, prior to focus groups some information about participants' background will be collected. These profiles will be matched to individual responses from the group transcripts.

The proximity of an attack variable will be tested by showing video coverage of local, foreign and border countries' terrorism related news.

Heuristics will be approached by looking into explanations given by people and how they arrive at those. Especially considering whether those are complex, brief, quick in response or held back.

Nature of an attack in a discussion will be supported by a selection of various video examples of attacks. Namely, those with various numbers of casualties, various types of terrorists, and performed in different ways (such as self-detonation and shooting).

In addition this objective will attempt examining whether overall demographics and cultural peculiarities of Kazakh people discussed in objective 1.4.1 are reflected in the reactions to the subject of terrorism.

## **2 The research context in terms of media mapping, terrorism, demographics and culture**

### 2.1 Demographics

Kazakhstan shares borders with China, Kyrgystan, Russia, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. The territory of Kazakhstan occupies 2,724,900 sq. km., which makes it the 9th largest country in the world by area and the largest landlocked country (One world nations online 2015).



Source: Worldatlas 2016

Kazakhstan gained its independence in 1991, following the break-up of the Soviet Union. Looking back at the dynamics and development of inter-governmental relationships between Russia and Kazakhstan, one can conclude that their common interest in this relationship is dictated by military-political and economic activities (Bibliotekar 2016). For example, during Nazarbayev’s visit to Moscow in July 1998, two significant documents signed, which were the declaration of “Eternal friendship and allies orientation into 21st century” and an agreement for “Allocation of the bottom of Kaspian Sea for the purpose of oil extraction” (Bibliotekar 2016).

The research took place in the Kazakhstani city of Ust-Kamenogorsk (see the above illustration for the location). This city is the administrative centre of Eastern Kazakhstan Region and, according to the last available census record for 2009 (Oskemen.info 2016), 298.9 thousand people live in a

territory of 0.5 thousand square kilometres. The heritage origins of Ust-Kamanogorsk's citizens in 2009 comprise 26.5% Kazakhs, 68.1% Russians, 1.3% Germans, 1.2% Ukrainians, 1.1% Tatars, 0.2% Koreans, 0.2% Azerbaijanis, 0.3% Belorussian, 0.1% Uzbek and 1.0% other nationalities.

The 2009 census (Stat.gov.kz 2016) for the country overall shows that Kazakh people represent 63.1% percent, Russians 23.7% and others total 13.2%. For the Eastern Kazakhstan Region overall, Zakon.kz (2016) shows 47.6% of the population are male and 52.4% are female.

According to Countrymeters.info (2016), the population of Kazakhstan at the beginning of 2016 comprised 21.6% in the less than 15 years age group, 71% were aged 15-65 years and 7.4% were older than 65 years.

This research does not represent general population. Instead, it identifies the range of responses at a small sample of people within one location. It, however, looks at the factors that could influence the range of response. The demographic overview above highlights the peculiarities of the region of research with 26.5% Kazakhs, 68.1% Russians, which is almost reverse of what the demographics for the whole country is (Kazakh people represent 63.1% percent, Russians 23.7%). It is expected this peculiarity of the region as well as location of close proximity to Russia (as seen on the map above) will result in escalated concerns over terrorist attacks happening in Russia by Russian heritage participants compared to responses of those of Kazakh heritage. This demographical difference also suggests further looking into how the reactions towards the attacks in Kazakhstan compare as well as media consumption habits.

The official language in Kazakhstan is Kazakh and the Russian language has status for inter-cultural communication. There has been a well-established problem of under-utilization of the national Kazakh language after becoming an independent country in 1991 and the government programme Kazakhstan 2050 aims to tackle this problem as follows:

- o Increasing the percentage of the Kazakh language content in state-owned mass media to 53% by 2014, 60% by 2017 and 70% by 2020;
- o Increasing the percentage of the adult population speaking the state language, according to "Kaztest" results, to 20% by 2014, 80% by 2017 and 95% by 20
- o Increasing the percentage of the country's adult population speaking the Russian language to 90 % by 2020 (Strategy2050 2016).

Although no exact statistics were found on the numbers of people speaking only the Kazakh language, the above figures for language development, as well as the national content of the Eastern Kazakhstan region, suggest that conducting the study in the Russian language is justified. This did not limit the recruitment of participants being based on the language spoken.

## 2.2 Culture

Culture has been extensively covered with numerous theories proposed. Keesing (1974) recognises approaches to studying culture as including adaptive systems, ideational theories of culture (cognitive, structural and symbolic systems) and cultures and sociocultural systems. Other authors, such as Hofstede et al. (2010) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997), attempted to establish certain dimensions of culture and how countries meet them.

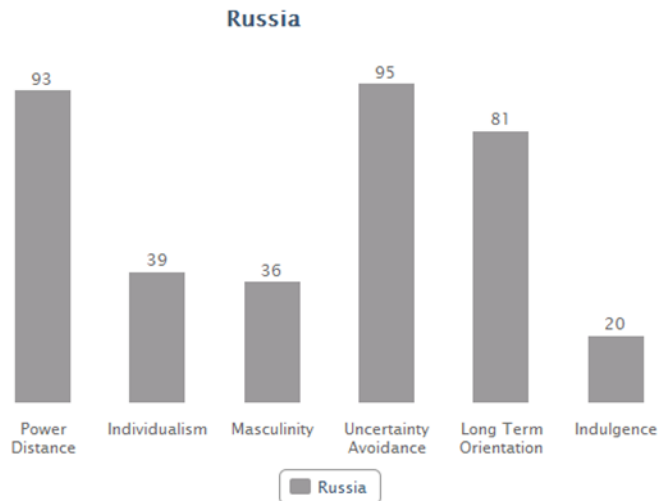
Hofstede defined seven cultural dimensions and this was further researched by Hofstede et al. (2010) who developed a tool for dimensional comparison between any two of more than 70 countries for which their study had provided data. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1997) developed a different scale for comparing culture but certain common themes can be observed, such as Hofstede's power distance and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's rules/relationships, individual/groups and individualism. Schwartz (1999) established a set of dimensions specifically for cultural values that are mapped on a circle. According to Schwartz, the UK highly values mastery as

well as having a relatively high hierarchy value, whereas embeddedness and hierarchy dominate for Asian countries. It can be concluded that not only are cultures different but the difference can also be seen and measured with specific sets of dimension criteria.

For the purpose of this research, Kazakhstan will be compared to Russia using Hofstede's six dimensions. The need for this comparison derives from the context provided earlier regarding the research environment in the attempt to explain some of the reactions and answers given by participants, as well as some of the patterns in both the Kazakh and Russian media transmitted in Kazakhstan.

There is no ready data presented on Kazakhstan by Hofstede et al. (2010). This is being generated by this study's research in reflection to Hofstede et. al. finding regarding Russia. No year of the authors' finding is provided on the web site of their tool for 70 countries. One can observe this is post-Soviet period though as the region referred to as Russia. Besides, the data for 70 countries was very unlikely to be collected within a single year.

As can be seen from Russia's score for each of the Hofstede's dimensions in the graph below, the two largest scores are for "power distance" and "uncertainty avoidance", which are almost at the very top of the scale. These are closely followed by the "long-term orientation" dimension, whereas the lowest score is for "indulgence", which is only marked as 1 out of 5; moreover, "masculinity" and "individualism" are included in the 30-40% band.



Source: Hofstede et al. (2010)

### 2.2.1. Power Distance:

According to the above research, 80% of the country's financial potential is concentrated in Moscow, which is one of the indicators showing very diverse social classes according to the income.

A similar pattern can be observed in Kazakhstan. According to the table showing the monthly wages of people in Kazakhstan by region (Tanibergenova et al. 2012, p.38), a clear pattern for the period 2003 to 2010 can be observed because the Atyray and Mangystay regions have approximately 3 times more wages than Southern and Northern Kazakhstan. This is directly attributed to the oil extraction industry in the regions. The current capital city of Astana and the previous capital of Almaty show approximately double the wages of poorer regions. The Eastern Kazakhstan region, in which Ust-Kamegonorsk city is situated, shows 61,388 tenge for the year 2012, which is approximately the same extent higher than the poorer regions as it is lower than the average figure for the country. Although the figures for 2010 are relatively out of date, it is the length of period that is important for the purpose of this example, as well as the consistency of the patterns for the significantly uneven income distribution.



Referring to researcher's personal observations, one of the distinct indicators in power distance in Kazakh society (more so than in Russian) would be purchases of expensive cars and houses (often beyond what one can reasonably afford) as a need to express higher social status.

### 2.2.2. *Individualism*

The authors of the table refer to some of the peculiarities in the language, such as the saying "we with friends" instead of "I and my friends", or regarding cousins as brothers and sisters.

One could argue that Kazakhstan's score for this dimension would be lower than that of Russia. This is partially due to the historical traditions of Kazakhs (nomadic style of life has produced a very welcoming and helping in time of need culture) as well as Islam being the main religion; moreover, family plays a very important role in life choices. This was further reinforced during the Soviet time of collectivism. According to psychological comparisons of world cultures on de-portal.com (2016), Russia is positioned in mid-scale for individualism-collectivism, with countries such as Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan leaning more towards collectivism and Baltic countries being more related to individualism than Russia.

### 2.2.3. *Masculinity*

The authors attribute the low masculinity score to "understating personal achievements, contributions or capacities", which otherwise would be "not appreciated in the society" as it would be seen as trying to establish dominance.

It is almost rude to share about personal achievements in Kazakhstan, which is probably connected to restricted indulgence that is referred to below.

One could suggest such a low score derives from a Soviet past in which the overall result was recognised more than individual achievements. People would tend to stay "humble" and work harder for the common good.

#### *2.2.4. Uncertainty Avoidance*

The score of 95 out of 100 shows a very strong unwillingness to deal with unclear situations. In the context of business relationships, the authors refer to Russians' necessity for "context and background information" before making decisions, which is further supported by "formal and distant" appearance when meeting strangers.

The same can be said about Kazakh people's decision making because a proper investigation into a matter will take place initially with consideration of the likelihood of worst-case scenarios. This can not only be seen as a factor of suspicion but also as a part of the decision-making process. As will be seen further in the findings section of this study, suspicion was clearly present in peoples' responses within all of the focus groups.

Regarding appearance, it is paid much attention in both cases and looking casual can be seen sometimes as highly disrespectful, probably because people prefer to wear conservative clothes that are certain not to cause any offence. When walking on the streets in Ust-Kamenogorsk, one can see the majority of people tend to choose a similar style and they do not stand out. However, a slow movement away from "looking like others" can be seen over the years with more and more imported goods becoming available.

#### *2.2.5. Long-term Orientation*

Regarding Russia's score for this dimension, the authors explain there is a belief in a pragmatic outlook that "truth depends very much on situation, context and time". This will be further observed in the groups when a considerable amount of the answers included 'it depends on the situation' comments.

#### *2.2.6. Indulgence*

According to the authors, the restrained type of societies "feel that indulging themselves is somewhat wrong".

Neither Russia nor Kazakhstan have particular patterns of entertainment, which is not experienced on a normal basis but rather as an exceptional reward for something. A tendency towards material reward (e.g. buying a better car) can also be seen rather than intangible rewards, such as travelling abroad. One could suggest this is due to practicality, which is highly appreciated both in Russian and in Kazakh society.

In Kazakhstan, there is no particular culture of going out because, almost traditionally, people spend their days-off staying at home and spending time with their family. This is often accompanied with relatives visiting and socialising by preparing dinners and then sitting at the table for long periods talking. Coming from the “nomadic culture” mentioned earlier, visits by friends and relatives have become almost symbolic. Moreover, some of the participant recruitment problems can be attributed to this “staying at home with family” culture, as people were unwilling to participate in something new.

To conclude this cultural comparison, one cannot say the above is an identical score to Kazakhstan, not least because the exact process for how the authors arrived at the statistics was not provided. Even though no criteria are given for scoring a country, one can argue the findings match the description of Kazakhstan sufficiently to conclude and add to the argument that Kazakhstan is still very close to Russia culturally and mentally. This discussion is not the main aim of this research; however, some of the points considered here are going to make sense of some of the findings arrived at later in the text.

## 2.3 Terrorism context

### *2.3.1. Terrorism development*

Rath (2012) used the example of South Asia countries and identified three root causes of terrorism, which are “supportive societal infrastructure” (p.27), “support from the

state” (p.29), and “management of terrorist organisations” (p.32). The supportive infrastructure for terrorism involves such conditions as when a society “facilitates the presence of extremist ideology, its promoters and recruits”, “the conditions where violence is not guilt” and, finally, where a society “is suppressed enough to accept extremism as a way of survival” (p.27). Byman (2015) further supports this by saying that where few basic social services are provided in regions of crisis and poverty, even the worst type of provision by terrorists will be seen as a solution and accepted. Unlike the case with many South Asia countries, no evidence was found of Kazakhstan being home to any home grown terrorist groups.

Dosym Satpayev (Forbes 2016) defines three stages in the formation of terrorism in Kazakhstan. First stage – years 1991-2000, when there could be observed the import of radical ideas from radical movements representatives coming from Russia, China, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. During the second stage of 2000-2011 there appeared a ‘Kazakh element’ with the coming back to the country of the people who left in the 90s to gain religious education in Turkey, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt. The third stage started in 2011 and continues still. It is represented by the activation of local radical movements, with the terrorist attacks of 2011-2012 being performed solely by the citizens of Kazakhstan.

### *2.3.2. Response to terrorism*

Gov.uk (2015) provided information about visiting Kazakhstan and stated “there is a general threat from terrorism” where “attacks could be indiscriminate, including in places visited by foreigners”. The U.S. Department of State’s (2015) report on counter-terrorism in Kazakhstan in 2013 claims there were 360 cases of terrorism financing. The report also reveals the Kazakhstani policy of “eliminating members of suspected terrorist groups” rather than “capturing them for questioning”.

This approach of Kazakhstan can be compared with those of other countries. Choiruzzad (2013) criticises Indonesian practices of mis-arrests and tortures as a means of fighting terrorism. The author refers to the case in 2011 when Untung Budi Santoso was apparently tortured and killed by the Special Anti-Terrorism Detachment 88. Moreover, the author refers to this case as “not

the first, the last or the worst of the counter-terrorism efforts by the Indonesian government” (p.12).

The study by Horsman (2005), which focused on the Hizb ut-Tahrir terrorist group in Uzbekistan, is one of a few about terrorism in the Central Asia region. This examined the government response to “actual and perceived threats from Islamist terrorism” (p.199). The author gave a brief description of other Central Asia countries, including Kazakhstan, to reinforce his argument that some features are not unique to Uzbekistan. These were the definition of terrorism being “all-encompassing, if not amorphous”, the notion of “ever-present and well-co-ordinated terrorist conspiracy” and seeing terrorism as criminal activity, thereby avoiding the emphasis on politics or religion when convicting terrorists (p.200). Relating particularly to Kazakhstan, the author refers to the draft terrorist group prescription list, which “blurs the debate” in the author’s opinion (p.209) by saying that Hizb ut-Tahrir is on the list with a description of it posing “no real threats or actions of a terrorist nature” (p.201). Horsman believes that portraying terrorism as general crime deliberately devalues its “political, ideological and religious motivations” (p.204). The author further observes “the emphasis on the external origins and values of terrorism in Central Asia” (p.205). This is seen by Horsman as an attempt to establish a “false dichotomy between an authentic, loyal and apolitical domestic Islam” and “foreign, extremist and destabilising Islamist influences” (p.206). This externalisation is believed to be rooted from Soviet Union politics in the 1980, which claimed that “Wahhabism rather than Sufism was the primary Islamist threat” (p.209).

### *2.3.3. Challenges of measuring terrorism threat in Kazakhstan*

Global Terrorism Index report (2016, 2015) is one of the respected sources within the area of terrorism impact research globally. It is prepared by the institute of economics and peace. Surprisingly, the report findings for the year 2016 show that Kazakhstan is ranked 94 out of 130 countries for the impact of terrorism, where 130<sup>th</sup> place is the least impacted. This gives it a score of two out of 10 which means that Kazakhstan corresponds to countries of “lowest impact of terrorism” (page 10). Same source for the year 2015 claimed a result of 83, which means higher terrorism impact in 2015 than 2016.

This was pointed out because of the appearing discrepancy with some other sources accessed on this subject. Looking into the chronology of terrorism activity in Kazakhstan, Vlast.kz (2016) observes a five year break in terrorist attacks in Kazakhstan. The article discusses the terrorism activity of years 2011-2012 and the recent events of 5 June 2016 Aktobe attack. The article appeared online on 6 June 2016 and thus, could not yet cover the future attack of 18 July 2016 in Almaty. The following attack dates are acknowledged by the author: 17 May 2011, 24 May 2011, 28 June 2011, 31 October 2011, 8 November 2011, 12 November 2011, 21 June 2012, 11 July 2012, 17 August 2012. Interestingly, only two terrorist attacks from the mentioned had the responsibility taken by a terrorist group. This was “Soldiers of Caliphate” – a terrorist group that does not exist anymore. There were no precedents to this sequence of attacks until 5 June 2016 (Vlast.kz 2016).

Yaskevich (2016) named the most devastating attacks in the history Kazakhstan in her article published one day after the 5 June attack 2016. Those were the attacks of 17 May 2011, 31 October 2011, 12 November 2011, 3 November 2011, 11 July 2012. Tokayeva (2011) further added another 11 dates to the chronology of attacks. A combined table with brief description of attacks can be found in Appendix 1.

Thus, although the Global Terrorism Index report reflects the events of 2011-2012 positioning Kazakhstan number 47 for these years, the publicly available sources of information suggest a re-emergence of significant terrorism activity in year 2016. On the other hand, the interpretation of the findings could be that the recent impact of terrorism globally has increased dramatically, thus positioning Kazakhstan lower on terrorism impact compared to other countries. It is worth noting here the above mentioned research by Horseman (2005), namely the fact that some terrorist activity tends to be considered as crime.

Keith Mallinson (Central Asia Monitor 2016), the chief expert of Central Asia investigating agency GPW, in her interview to BBC Russia expressed an interesting opinion that only 400-500 Kazakh citizens had joined

ISIS in Syria. And thus, the level of terrorism activity within the country was not high considering the size of land territory of Kazakhstan (as was specified earlier, Kazakhstan is the 9<sup>th</sup> largest country in the world). One could suggest here that taking only the size of territory as variable is not sufficient. This is because despite its large territory, Kazakhstan has a population of 17.04 million (World bank 2013). Here can be seen a further concern about the necessity of research findings of percentage scale of terrorists per overall population. In other words, high ratio of terrorism supportive citizens on large territory that is relatively not highly populated can signal about the difficulty in terrorism resistance compared to smaller territories.

In addition, it would be wrong to consider a complex term of terrorism within only one terrorist group, such as ISIS. The overall terrorism chronology by Yaskevich (2016) and Tokayeva (2011) prove the presence of terrorism activity in the region, despite the argument of considering this as crime.

#### *2.3.4. The attacks of summer 2016*

Keeping to the point, there were two terrorist attacks in Kazakhstan in 2016 – June 5 attack in Aktobe and July 18 attack in Almaty.

TengriNews (2016) describes the events of the first attack as follows. The attack of June 5 in Aktobe was performed by ‘religious radicals’ who killed a sales assistant of a gun shop and acquired the weapons from it. This set the alarm to which two security personnel arrived. One of them was killed, another survived after being shot. An hour later, the terrorists divided into two groups. First group, consisting of 6 people, conducted a further attack on another gun shop. The second group of 17 people captured a passenger bus but made the people in it leave. Using this bus they entered by force the army base where they started a shooting. During this three police personnel died and six were injured.

An attacks of July 18 in Almaty was performed by one terrorist who attempted to enter the Department of Internal Affairs but faced with a policemen. The policeman was shot and the terrorist acquired his gun. Using

the gun he stopped a car and drove away in it (Bnews.kz 2016). The terrorist was named 26 years old Ruslan Kulikbayev, who joined the radical salafist movement when he was serving a sentence in jail (Golos-ameriki.ru 2016).

The media response to these two attacks is further discussed in the analysis chapter.

## 2.4. Kazakhstani Media Mapping

### *2.4.1. Development of National Television*

According to KazPortal (2016) and Morozov (2007), the following stages of national television formation took place. Firstly, the 1991-1995 period was characterised by government monopoly of the media, although there was a clear vision about development of independent media at the same time. This stage is further described by the author as having a “high level of trust to media from the population”. The second stage fell into the 1996-1999 period, which saw hectic development of non-government media, as well as privatisation of the media. Therefore, there was a shift from government owning the media towards the government booking media space from independent media for ‘informational politics’. The third stage was identified by the author as the years 1999-2002 when the government’s monopoly of the media finished. Two ways of controlling the media were established, which were legislative (in the form of laws) and economic (through tenders when government and non-government agents compete for the same space in media coverage). The author further refers to this period as strictly dividing the media types into pro-government, opposition and neutral.

One can observe that the first stage of terrorism development identified above by Satpayev (Forbes 2016) corresponds to the first and the second stages of media development, which are characterised by government monopoly on media. This could partially explain the culture of seeing local terrorism as



crime activity, as this interpretation was set at the early stage by government media sources.

According to Press Reference (2016), the majority of opposition media is owned by “opposition parties and candidates” who live “outside of Kazakhstan to avoid persecution and prosecution inside Kazakhstan”. The Zona.kz (2000) newspaper, which is available online, provided findings by the PoliTon research company for the year 2000, in which the allocation of media by orientation can be seen from the illustration below. Thus, the majority of media listed still exists and their nature does not seem to have changed. The exceptions to this are *Dodjivem do ponedelnika*, *Akikat*, *Kazak Adibieti*, *Nachnyom s ponedelnyka*, *SolDat*, and *XXI vek* which were not found in contemporary Kazakhstan media by the researcher. The *Rakhat* channel was renamed in 2009 and became *CTV* (Radio Azattyk 2009).

This renaming was directly related to *Rakhat Aliev* who was President *Nazarbayev*’s son-in-law until 2008 when he was sentenced to 20 years’ imprisonment, escaped to Austria and was found later hanging in his cell in an Austrian jail. The channel obviously did not want to be associated with these events and therefore rebranded. The *SolDat* newspaper was not able to be tracked after 2003, when its director, *Ermurat Bapi*, was prosecuted for tax avoidance and fraudulent documentation (Nomad 2003).

<i>Name of the media and ranked position</i>	<i>Orientation</i>
Dgetysu	Pro-Government Orientation
Pervyi channel Kazakhstan, Kazakh radio	
Almaty akshamy, Vechernyi Almaty, Egemen Kazakhstan, Juristicheskaya gazeta	
Kazakhstanskaya pravda	

Khabar	
Dgas Alash	
Mysl'	
Dodjivem do ponedelnika	
Akikat, Kazak Adibieti	
KTK	
Ana tili, Novoye pokolenie, Turkistan, Express-K	
Kazakhskaya pravda, Karavan, Parasat, Prostor, Continent	
Rakhat	Neutral
Panorama	
Delovaya nedelya	
AiF Kazakhstan, Radio 'Azattyk'	
Vremya po	
31-channel	
Vremya	
Nachnyom s ponedelnyka	Critically Positioned to Government
SolDat	
XXI vek	

Source: Zonakz.net

Emrich et al. (2013) analysed media in Kazakhstan and concluded there is widespread self-censorship in the form of 'taboo' subjects, such as "criticism of government policies, the personalities of the President and his family and top-level corruption" (p.106). This is further supported by Dridi (2016) who provides examples of related court cases and punishments.

The final stage began in 2002 and is ongoing. There is evidence of media organisations being established, such as the Republic of Kazakhstan President’s’ Public Committee Regarding Media, which consults and deals with proposals regarding media legislation and practices (KazPortal 2016; Morozov 2007).

#### 2.4.2. Types of Media

According to Internews Kazakhstan (2008), three types of Kazakh national television channels are transmitted, which are regional, nationwide and continental. The continental type is represented by the CaspioNet channel, which is concerned with events happening in the Caspian region and Central Asian countries. There are two nationwide channels, Kazakhstan and Khabar, the first of which fully belongs to the government and is seen as one of the pioneer channels on Kazakh national television. Khabar was founded in 1995 and is part of the bigger Khabar agency, which also owns the ‘CaspioNet’ and ‘El Arna’ channels.

Thus, it can be seen there is separation of channels into those that are private and state-run. The table below shows the distribution in the example of Kazakhstan’s main media, as described by AboutKazakhstan.com (2007).

<b>Kazakhstan’s media by type of ownership</b>		
Type of media	Private	State run
Kazakhstan press, newspapers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ekspress-K</li> <li>• Liter</li> <li>• Vremya</li> <li>• Nachnem s ponedelnika</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kazakhstanskaya Pravda</li> <li>• Yegemen Kazakhstan</li> </ul>
Kazakhstan main television channels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Khabar TV</li> <li>• Kazakh commercial TV (KTK)</li> <li>• Caspionet</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kazakh TV</li> <li>• Eurasia TV</li> </ul>

Kazakhstan radio stations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Europa Plus</li> <li>• Russkoye Radio-Asia</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kazakh Radio</li> </ul>
Kazakhstan news agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gazeta.kz</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kazinform</li> <li>• Interfax Kazakhstan</li> </ul>

*Source: the table is based on the information provided on AboutKazakhstan.com (2007).*

Keeping on to the information provided on Internews Kazakhstan, the El Arna channel started as Khabar-2 and was essentially a Kazakh language channel initially. With the intention to bring some political programmes to bigger audiences, they were transferred to Khabar and Khabar-2 was renamed El Arna in 2002, as well as being repositioned as an educational-entertaining family channel broadcasting in the Russian language. Of the private channels, the most popular are Channel-31, NTK and KTK (Internews Kazakhstan 2008).

#### *2.4.3. Language and Russian Television in Kazakhstan*

News programmes on Kazakh national television are broadcast in the Kazakh and Russian languages with most news programmes repeated in another language or subtitles. According to the Law on Telecommunication (2012), section 10 (2), the weekly volume of broadcasting time for television/radio programmes in the Kazakh language must not exceed the weekly volume of time for all other languages. Moreover, the time for television/radio programmes broadcast in Kazakh within every six hours starting from midnight must not be less than the total volume of time for all other language programmes.

Although the law requires all imported films to have Kazakh subtitles (The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 15 December 2006, regarding Culture, Section 28-4), there is no such regulation of the news on Russian channels being transmitted in Kazakhstan only in the Russian language.

Goble (2016), writing for Eurasia Daily monitor in January 2016, put an article online entitled ‘Nazarbayev Blocks Russian TV in Kazakhstan’. This is obviously misleading information that does not accurately represent even the content of that particular article. In fact, the author refers to new legislation from January 1, 2016, in which non-Kazakh channels on cable television “could meet” a constraint of “editing out all advertising”. In the author’s opinion, this means the channels will lose their profits and may be refused subsidies from Russia due to its economic situation. One can observe Russian television channels currently substitute their advertising with video clips of picturesque landscapes of Kazakhstan. In order to remove the advertising from those channels, special equipment and expertise is needed that foreign operators (Djakcybayaeva 2016) or local media providers (GPR 2015) cannot afford at this stage. Contrary to Goble’s view of seeing this legislation mainly as a means of pushing Russian channels away from Kazakh television (similarly mentioned above in KazPortal’s reference to economic ways of controlling media), other factors are playing roles. From observation of previous years’ television, some advertising on Russian television was highly irrelevant to the Kazakhstan region because some of the products and services were provided only in Russia and were irrelevant or even unknown to that channel’s audience in Kazakhstan. Referring to the argument about lack of finance, Internews Kazakhstan (2008) noted that some national television channels are partially owned by businesses in Russia. For example, Russian CTC-Media bought a 20 per cent share of Channel-31 in 2007. This can be seen as an opportunity for Russian media holdings being partially reimbursed financially by acquiring shares on national television. Besides, television providers in Kazakhstan accept the cost of transmitting those channels within their packages available, which is likely to depend on the demand and ratings of the channels rather than their origins. Therefore, the assumption that only Kazakh national television will survive on Kazakhstani media market in the near future can be challenged.

Goble (2016) further refers to the Kazakhstani political analyst, Avdos Sarym, quoting “the country will eventually be Kazakh and Kazakh-speaking”

with 80 per cent of children at schools being ethnically Kazakh, as well as average ages of the Kazakh population being 26-27 and 46-47 for the Slavic population. Even assuming the author is right, this does not mean the Kazakh public only watch those channels broadcast in the Kazakh language or only national channels. However, the problem of underutilisation of the Kazakh language in media is being looked at by the government. One such example is the Strategy 2050 mentioned at the beginning of this context chapter.

#### *2.4.4. Share of Various Media*

TNS Global (2016) provides research on media reach in Kazakhstan. The following figures were purposely accessed for May 2016, as this period was when data collection was conducted for this paper. Naturally, all the top programmes for all four weeks were shown in the evening, which is a peak time when people are home after work and have free time to watch television. On the one hand, this consumption pattern could boost the popularity of the programmes whilst, on the other, those programmes could be broadcast specifically at that time to compete with other channels during the peak time in order not to lose viewers. The first two positions are shared consistently by KTK and Pervyi Chanel Eurasia, with KTK generally leading; the exception to this was one week when a classic well-known film was shown on the Pervyi channel, which made it the top choice. The three programmes after the top two most popular ones were transmitted in the Kazakh language with Russian subtitles. This challenges the claim by Internews Kazakhstan (2008) that Kazakh programmes are mainly broadcast at night or early morning; however, this could be one of the changes made since 2008 when the author's statement was made. Thus, there can be seen development of quality broadcast material which will boost Kazakh language television. Referring back to the demographics mentioned, less than 20% of population spoke the Kazakh language in 2014, and this indicator was aimed to be raised to 80% by 2017 (Strategy 2050 2016). Despite the ambition, it is somewhat doubtful that this would be achieved completely, especially by the older population who do not tend to naturally learn the language through educational establishments. Thus,

this is likely to result in heritage Russian population being even more vulnerable to Russian television propaganda due to having to refer to Russian channels.

TNS Global further provides a list of channels by popularity for the month of May, based on their daily share. The data shows a 20% share and leading position for the Pervyi Channel Eurasia, followed by KTK with a share of 13.80% and 31-Channel at 10.71%. Interestingly, Kazakhstan and Khabar have only 5.78 % and 4.97% shares, which puts them in 8th and 9th places respectively.

Similar examination of daily share of the radio indicates Radio Retro (28.11%), Avtoradio (17.01%) and Russian Radio (16.70%). The full list for radio popularity ratings in Kazakhstan shows the vast differences in shares and certain groups of radios, including those predominantly leading, those with a much lower share and a third type, the largest comprising 9 radios, having a share of less than 3%.

The latest available data for printed editions is for the year 2011. This was allocated to three groups, each of which being individually rated on average viewership per one edition. The first group is daily newspapers, in which the top three editions were Iz Ruk v Ruki, Kazakhstanskaya Pravda and Vremya. This shows a similar pattern in distribution where the remaining seven newspapers have a rating of below 2. However, this pattern is not present for weekly newspapers that show a gradual reduction of viewership from one newspaper to another on the rated list. One can observe that the weekly newspapers are more oriented towards family, entertainment and hobbies and this is even more prevalent with monthly editions, in which the major interest is healthy lifestyle, motherhood, cooking, drivers' magazine and crosswords.

Interestingly, the Central Asia Monitor newspaper, which is further examined in the analysis chapter, is not on the list. The newspaper was founded in 2004, which produces 11,000 copies, is offered aboard Kazakhstani

leading air companies and won the national award ‘Choice of the year 2015’ (CAM, 2016). Catalog (2016) describes the newspaper as a socio-political weekly paper concerned with politics, economy, economic integration and culture. Access to this newspaper is offered by all the major distributors of newspapers, which are Kazpress, Mir Press, Eurasia Press and Evrika Press (CAM, 2016). Although the newspaper is readily available on the internet, there is a tendency for paper copies of newspapers. This is due to cultural peculiarities, with many newspaper kiosks being located on the streets of Kazakhstani cities, especially at bus stops. Those kiosks also sell monthly subscriptions to newspapers alongside the usual newspapers so a selection of those are delivered to home addresses. Having said that, people frequently use the internet but mainly search information on news portals and social media platforms rather than newspapers.

Zero.kz (2016) provided internet site statistics for a period of 30 days in November 2016, showing the most used ones as Kazakh news portal nur.kz (6,546,323 views), followed by tengrinenews.kz (5,393,559 views) and Zakon.kz (45,628,075 views). According to TNB Global (2016), the most popular internet project has been Mail.ru, followed by Vk.com, Nur.kz, Olx.kz and Odnoklassniki.ru.

#### *2.4.5. Media Access.*

Access to printed newspapers was mentioned above in the example of the Central Asia Monitor Newspaper. Television in the Ust-Kamenogorsk region is largely provided by the AlmaTV Company, which offers five packages of 32 channels, 74, 105, 129 and 66 (AlmaTV 2016). The basic package contains the main Kazakh and Russian channels, the cost for which increases as entertainment channels, including music and sport, are added. The premium packages offer a bigger variety of foreign channels, such as National Geographic Channel or Fox life (AlmaTV 2016). The provision of channels supports the argument that main channels broadcasting news, rather than hobbies and entertainment, are available to most of the public who have televisions, which is a vast majority. This is particularly the case when people



use satellite television rather than cable provided by large suppliers, such as AlmaTV.

### **3 The existing research into the methods used by general media when reporting terrorist attacks as well as what reactions those may facilitate in public**

#### 3.1. Emotionalisation

Ross (2007) refers to the following types of research when considering media in relation to terrorism: “the power of the media”, particularly in situations of conflict, “the relationship among journalists, editors, authorities and terrorists”, “empirical analyses of the media” and “the connection between terrorism and public opinion” (p.215).

The influence of the media over people becomes highly effective by provoking public emotions (Richards 2007; Ahmed 2015). In particular, it is the visual images in newspapers and, especially on TV, that “increase viewers’ emotional responses to the attack” (Iyer et al. 2014, p.252; Huddy et al. 2003). The fact that the media is overly emotional can be justified partially by the need to trigger people’s attention and get through the noise of other agenda. Hoffman et al. (2010, p.560) argue that suggestions to “inoculate high quality newspapers against pressures to sensationalise terrorist attacks are unnecessary”. Emotions serve as an essential part of “perception, cognition, judgement and action” in the way they “combine with cognition to shape our perceptions” (Ahmed 2015, p.546).

The public’s response to media reporting of attacks can be summarized largely by reactions of fear and anger. Fear is characterized by support for homeland security and opposition to “risky overseas military action” (Huddy et al. 2003, p.258). Anger, on the contrary, results in the urge to fight back, as in the example of recent attacks in France. Shoshani and Slone (2008) established in their research that participants’ levels of anxiety, anger, stereotyping and enemy perceptions were raised after having been exposed to news about terrorism. Nellis and Savage (2012) conducted research into perceived threats, in which they differentiated whom the respondents were worried about when referring to perceived threats of terrorist attacks. The researchers found that both personal perceived risk and risk to others (e.g. family members) were

“positively and significantly related to exposure to TV news” (p.761). Huddy et al. (2005) point out the difference in the effects on people from anxiety and perceived threat in relation to cognitive functioning, levels of perceived risk and risk avoidance.

The debate of media effect is well established in the literature and it falls outside the main focus of this study, which is framing. Even though media effect is part of an important debate in media, it would be impossible to give enough justice to this debate within the scope of current discussion.

### 3.2. Framing Definition

The way the media presents news items about terrorism is often considered in relation to the framing theory (Benford and Snow 2000). In particular, the media chooses to ‘emphasise certain elements of the reality and suppress others’ (Yarchi et al 2013, p.265; Sjoavaag 2014); thus, a media frame is “an interpretative package that prioritises a certain explanation or significance of an event” (Yarchi et al. 2013, p.265). Framing is sometimes referred to as a second level of agenda setting as it “tells how to think about what matters”, whereas the first level simply sets “what matters” (Hunter et al. 2013).

However, framing does not always provide all the answers for the public. Traugott and Brader (2003) studied the coverage of 9/11 in newspaper articles for a period of 28 weeks following the attack. “Very few of the articles contained any information that provided explicit reasons or explanations for the attacks”. Immediately after the attacks, “46 percent of the articles contained reasoning for the attacks, which varied largely”. Five weeks after the attacks, “the number of explanations mentioned was five or less”. By around the 17th week after the attack, the figure for explanations given “was essentially zero” (p.187).

Woods (2011) provided support for the effect of media framing by examining participants’ responses to eight different articles containing different or no frames with “all other things held equal across the treatments” (p.208). As expected, those articles containing a “nuclear frame” (rather than

conventional weapons) and, especially, “the radical Islamic frame” (rather than domestically-originated terrorism) both resulted in escalated perceptions of casualty numbers, worry and risk judgements. The author’s hypothesis regarding the terrorism frame (rather than referring to “violence”) showed no significant effect on participants’ perceived threat. One could suggest this could be explained partially by “terrorism” being a much wider frame than, say, “nuclear”.

McQueeny (2014) proves the influence of media framing by stating the figures for perceived and actual threats during 2001 in the US. In fact, “in 2001, car incidents killed over 12.5 times more Americans than did the September 11th attacks”, whereas the perceived terrorist threat after the attack rocketed to 58% of Americans who were “worried that a member of their immediate family might become a terrorist attack victim” (p.298). However, the reason why people were more provoked by the threat of terrorism rather than car incidents can be explained in another way. Despite “environmental disasters, major accidents, epidemics and other calamities” resulting in higher levels of damage, they do not result from “individual people turning mercilessly violent against other people” (Richards 2007, p.128).

Framing can also be identified in terms of selection and salience as follows:

*To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman 1993, p. 52).*

From the above definition, the functions of frames are identified as defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgements and suggesting remedies (Entman 1993). Gamson (1992) recognises frames’

functions of diagnosing, evaluating and prescribing.

### 3.3. Types of frame

The types of frame depend on their functions; thus, Shoemaker (2007) recognises diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing. In this context, diagnostic stands for framing that “focuses blame and responsibility on a certain subject”, prognostic is characterised by “refuting the logic of opponent solutions” and motivational framing refers to one that “provides a rationale for engaging in collective action” (p. 17). Avraham et al. (2008) raised similar approaches in their analysis of strategies for altering unsafe place images. In particular, “Delivering a counter-message to the unsafe image” approach can be attributed to prognostic framing, “Fencing off the crises” corresponds to diagnostic framing and “Using patriotism and nationalism” relates to the motivational type of framing.

Iyengar (1990) studied 191 stories about poverty depicted on television and observed two diverse patterns, which were portraying poverty mainly “as a societal or collective outcome” (p. 21) and “in terms of particular victims” (p. 22). The author named the former pattern ‘thematic framing’ and the latter ‘episodic framing’. Thus, Iyengar (1990) recognises the thematic type of framing as being characterised by “background stories”, in which the object of the coverage is “abstract and impersonal” (p. 22). In contrast, the episodic frame uses personal experience to depict poverty.

“When exposed to episodic framing of terrorism, people were more inclined to support punitive measures against individuals; when watching thematically framed terrorism news, audience members tended to be more in favour of policies attacking the root causes of terror” (Brigitte and Tores-Reyna 2003, p.136).

Following 9/11, one of the positive changes was “the increase in thematic and decrease of episodic news frames” (Brigitte and Tores-Reyna 2003, p.151).

### 3.4. Content of frame

“Frames have at least four locations in the communication process: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture” (Entman 1993, p.52; Papacharissi and Oliveira 2008). According to Woods (2011), frames essentially “exist” in the forms of “words, images and symbols” (p.201). The author uses examples of “the Cold War”, the Berlin wall image and particular sequences in which information appears for the media audience.

#### *3.4.a. Schema*

Benford and Snow (2000) pay particular attention to collective action frames, i.e. “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organisation” (p.614). This type of frame is often considered in relation to ‘schema’. Both schema and collective action frames are “aggregation of individual attitudes and perceptions” but collective action frames are also “the outcome of negotiating shared meaning” (p.614).

“A schema is an abstract or generic knowledge structure, stored in memory, that specifies the defining features and relevant attributes of some stimulus domain, and the interrelations among these attributes” (Crocker 1984, p. 473).

Having schemas, or beliefs, gives people a sense of “order, structure and coherence” (Crocker 1984, p. ) and they are likely to go with the decision that follows their schema as it is the easiest way. This preference for a “cognitive shortcut” is further studied in heuristics theory.

#### *3.4.b. Symbols*

The use of symbols in framing can be justified with the intent to “represent emotionally evocative, self-explanatory, universally understood pictures” (Liebes and First 2003, p.59), for which “boundaries between domestic and international media are blurred” (p.61). However, symbols sometimes represent different things to people and can be interpreted differently. Gelpi et

al. (2013) prove that even a seemingly easy for interpretation symbol, such as the American flag with its obvious meaning of patriotism, can evoke various responses. This reaction is due to the individual's score on the right-wing authoritarianism scale, which reflects what type of patriotism prevails in a particular individual. Researchers found that "for those who value security and authority, the flag evokes a patriotism that supports more governmental control and military strength; for those who value liberty, on the other hand, the flag evokes a patriotism that supports individual freedoms" (p.29).

Some symbols used in framing are very provoking (Robson 2004) and violence exposing (Liebes and First 2003). Images of children are used in both examples, which is probably because children normally symbolize 'happiness' and 'innocence' (Robson 2004, p.67), two of the very strong aspects attempted to break, which can provoke strong reaction. Liebes and First (2003) studied the media decision to use footage of a Palestinian boy dying in his father's arms after shooting between Palestinian and Israeli armies. The authors point out the controversial use of the footage, meaning rational questions of responsibility for the death and why this particular victim was chosen over others were ignored by stressing the emotional aspects of brutality and compassion. Robson (2004, p.65) studied the picture of a "baby wearing the uniform of a Hamas suicide bomber, complete with bullets and explosives, and with his forehead encircled by the red bandanna or the martyr". One could suggest the important factor is that the baby was of Palestinian origin. Although some people initially thought the image in the newspaper was a sick joke or Halloween costume, it soon became evident that the true portrayal is of an ideology of raising terrorists. Thus, "terror is located in the child rather than in the costume" (p.66). It is argued that by presenting a child as a danger, terrorists try to break societal norms in which children are being protected.

#### *3.4.c. Stylistic and lexical choices of language when framing*

Gamson (1992 cited Entman 1993, p.55) observes that "a frame can exert great social power when encoded in a term like 'affirmative action'. Once a term is widely accepted, to use another is to risk that target audience will perceive the

communicator as lacking credibility – or will even fail to understand what the communicator is talking about”. One example can be seen on contemporary television in referring to Daesh as ISIS terrorist group.

Another linguistic consideration regarding media reporting of terrorism can be seen as translation of information. Baker (2010) uses an example of a girl being asked a question in Arabic on television with her saying “we want to resist” being translated in English subtitles as “we want to fight” (p.348). Baker (2010) believes that a translation by nature does not necessarily involve being “inaccurate” or “misleading” (p.247). However, Baker’s subjective opinion is caused by the criteria set for translators on the choice of information and its interpretation by agencies. The author particularly criticises the Middle East Research Institute as an example of such practice. In the author’s opinion, it uses “subtle devices” which are “carefully planned and generously funded” with the intention to produce “dehumanising narratives of Arabs and Muslims” (p.347). Creech (2014) believes the style of reporting in India was dictated by Western values and frames of the “war on terror” rather than domestic “mainstream Hindu identity” (p.402). The author further claims that when Indian media selected the US Senator, John McCain’s, quote referring to the Mumbai attacks as “India’s 9/11” for a Bangladeshi audience, this “quickly re-territorialised” a discussion regarding the Mumbai attacks “within an America-centric idiom” (p.406).

According to Patrick (2014), the use of direct quotations or by showing experts’ opinions in media sources, is seen as boosting the “legitimacy” (p.387) of the information source. Moreover, this source of information is purposely other people’s opinion rather than a reporter’s own opinion in order to avoid criticism of bias in the way an act of terrorism is portrayed. Having studied a selection of quotations used in media reporting of the 11 March 2004 train bombings in Madrid and the double suicide bombings in Baghdad on 25 October 2009, the author claims quotations are used by reporters to avoid criticism of bias associated with the expression of reporters’ personal opinions. Moreover, by framing interview questions, journalists can achieve certain



responses within a particular set of agenda, which can further be cited as direct quotes from interviewees.

#### *3.4.d. Images*

Lester's (2012) research concerned jokes and cartoons about general suicide, not necessarily related to terrorism. The author accessed the [www.cartoonistgroup.com](http://www.cartoonistgroup.com) website in September 2010 and found that 73 of 118 cartoons believed to show suicide were about suicide bombers. Generally, humour is believed to help people overcome difficulties; moreover, three of the seven types of humour defined by Landis and Ross (1933) as suicide humour fell into the categories of "incongruity, disparagement and repression" (Lester 2012, p.670). The author concludes that although some see cartoons and jokes about suicide as "offensive" (p.673), others may use them as a way of "confronting the issues and dealing with anxiety" (p. 673). One well-known example of this is the attack on French satire journal Charlie Hebdo.

### 3.5. Who sets the frames?

#### *3.5.a. Terrorists*

Terrorists themselves can set the agenda by providing the media with material, such as an attack made during a sports event resulting in the attack being reported rather than the sports event. The media are often blamed for helping terrorists achieve their goals by affording publicity. Ross (2007) believes terrorists are conscious of the timings of their attacks and well aware of "audience dynamics" (p.216). The author refers to numerous historic examples on this, including the "kidnapping of Israeli athletes during the 1972 Olympics" (p.216) with the Black September organisation's intention to stage the attack in the centre of where worldwide media were located to report on the Games. Another such example given by the author was the timing of the second plane hitting the Twin Towers on 9/11 in order for there to be extensive footage of that happening on television. Yarchi et al. (2013) believe that

“journalists are more interested in constructing a dramatic story than putting the events into a more general political context” (p.263). Shoshani and Slone (2008) refer to the relationship between the media and terrorism as the “theatre of terror”, in which ‘the careful orchestration of terror attacks has enabled relatively small groups of terrorists to command attention and magnify their power far beyond their actual capabilities” (p.628).

Iqbal (2008) entitled their article “The media-terrorism symbiosis: a case study of Mumbai attacks, 2008”. Interestingly, the author refers to the relationship between the media and terrorism as symbiosis, which is defined by the Cambridge dictionary (2016) as follows:

*A relationship between two types of animal or plant in which each provides for the other the conditions necessary for its continuous existence.*

Or:

*A relationship between people or organisations that depend on each other equally.*

One could suggest that this can be seen as a strong statement, which assumes at least two things; firstly, media and terrorism are providing conditions for each other and, secondly, they depend on each other to the same extent. The author explains their view as the symbiosis of the media and terrorism being provided by the media’s need for “dramatic events” (p.200) and the terrorists’ need for publicity, which they can offer to each other. The author further names this relationship as a stimulant causing terrorists to “extend their helping hand” (p.200) by dramatizing their acts, which is seen in acts such as “bombings, hijacks, destruction and bloodshed” (p.200).

Cooke (2003, p.89) believes it is journalists who award themselves the right to choose “who gets to speak, when they speak, and how the messenger or message is framed”, even though they were not chosen by the public to represent their views unlike, say, politicians. By the analogy of blaming the

media for helping terrorists, some researchers (e.g. Barnett et al. 2013) suspect governments of supporting terrorism via telecommunications and cases of financing. However, this assumption was not confirmed in their findings, although the authors remained sceptical and qualified their findings by claiming difficulty on accessing information.

Yarchi et al. further claim that terrorists' actions "are designed to promote their existence and their goals" (p.265), which seems to match journalists' goal of exposing people to terrorism-related news. This poses the question of whether media should report the attacks at all, although this exposure can be seen as the public's right to know the truth (Richards 2007). Even though "terrorist acts unfortunately possess elements sympathetic with news values, such as drama, visuals, sound bites, relevance, and general newsworthiness" (Yarchi et al. 2013, p.55; Papacharissi and Oliveira 2008), the media's intention in covering the attacks is not one of helping terrorists. News organisations are essentially businesses that want to sell the story; besides, it is counter-terrorism that Hoffman et al. (2010) believe is mainly conveyed in news, as opposed to the terrorist attacks themselves.

Kampf (2014) follows objectivity and recognises both views regarding the media effect on terrorism. On the one hand, "if radical groups were given a voice on a regular basis, their motivation to act violently would be reduced significantly" (p.2). On the other hand, "the media is the oxygen of terrorism", meaning that "preventing terrorists from getting publicity would reduce their motivation to act" (p.2). Therefore, it can be concluded that terrorists do provide the media with content but they do not have any power in deciding how journalists set the agenda and framing.

### *3.5.b Censorship*

In order to answer who sets the frames, one could possibly examine censorship. Graber (2003, p.28) recognises 'formal censorship', 'free press' and 'informal censorship' when raising the problem of balancing national security with free press rights. Thus, framing would be mainly shaped via

guidelines from the government regarding formal and informal censorship and it would be reporters themselves in the case of freedom of speech.

McGarrity (2011) identified and studied the factors restraining the Australian media from functioning, which are, firstly, the laws preventing media access to some of the information regarding ongoing trials and court hearings. Second is the “chilling effect” (p.274) on the media’s intentions to speak out because of obstacles faced. Finally, the media’s dependence on governments as an information source is exploited.

This corresponds to what was referred to above as third stage of Kazakh media development by KazPortal (2016) and Morozov (2007). Namely, with the end of government monopoly in Kazakhstan during 1999-2002, legislative and economic ways of controlling the media started its practice.

Censorship sometimes results in the complete loss of a means of media by mass administrative organisations. An example of this is the extinction of some opposition media in Kazakhstan mentioned in the media mapping section above. Bertelli and Sinclair (2015) claim that higher publicity associated with a media information source results in it being less likely to be closed down. Moreover, those media being consumed by “core supporters of the incumbent government” are less likely to be terminated.

### *3.5.c. Government*

Matthews (2013) researched sources of information for newspaper coverage of Islamist plots and provided findings that contradict the perception governments set the agenda for the media. In fact, government sources of information accounted for only 12.2 per cent. It is interesting to note that access to government sources by journalists was typical in “wider themes”, as opposed to “providing details about the plot”, which was prevalent in referring to police or security sources (p.307). Hutchings and Miazhevich (2009) calculated and rated top 30 actors of the media portrayal about Aleksander Litvinenko, an ex-Russian spy poisoned in London. The data was collected from British BBC

and Russian channel 1. The findings show a considerably higher figure (9.2%) for the UK police/prosecution being an actor in BBC. This is compared to Russian police featuring in Channel 1 at 4.7%.

Silverman and Thomas (2012) studied the public statements by MI5 and the Anti-terrorist Branch and observed a change in the post-1992 period towards “greater openness” (p.283). The reasoning for this was, firstly, “to justify increased resourcing to meet the terrorist threat” (p.284). Secondly, “having emerged from the shadows, the security service could not escape the obligation to play its role in an increasingly mediated environment” (p.284). Moreover, the authors’ interview with David Blunkett, a British politician, received a reply showing one of the fundamental changes in reporting terrorism in the last 20 years (as stated in their paper of 2012). This showed the need for a response to be immediate because stating something along the lines of “we are reflecting, we will make a statement soon” (p.279) is no longer appropriate. Therefore, it can be seen that the speed of response may make it more challenging for censorship to be applied.

#### *3.5.d. Other media news sources*

Various media often serve as one another’s sources of information; for example, it is common for a radio item to refer to leading television and newspaper sources. This passing on of the information happened in the case of the 2011 attacks in Norway (Falkheimer 2013); thus, some sources soon after the attack concluded and reported “an Islamic terrorist group was probably responsible” (p.53). The author uses an example of the Weekly Standard being quoted as a source in the Washington Post, following which speculation was further adopted and spread by other media sources.

Even coverage of a domestic attack is sometimes led by foreign sources. Creech (2014) studied coverage of the 2008 Mumbai attacks by analysing news articles between November 26 and December 2008 . Forty of 97 articles analysed from three main Indian newspapers originated from “international wire services like the New York Times” (p.402). Therefore, one

can see from this example that Indian newspapers were using information provided in the foreign media when reporting a local attack. The author refers to this as a sign of “the institutional relations of press publication” being “an inherent bent towards the West” (p.402). One could possibly suggest that this can also be explained by using bigger well-known foreign news agencies to add perceived credibility to the information source.

#### **4 Literature on the subjects of other factors apart from media that may play role in public opinion regarding terrorism as well as what reactions they associate with.**

Framing only via news coverage in a particular way is not certain to generate a particular response because other factors, such as demographic profile and heuristics, can also influence people's perception of the conflict.

##### 4.1. Nature of an Attack

The success of a frame also depends on the nature of the attack. Thus, Yarchi et al. (2013) proved that a terrorist suicide attack is more likely to have a greater effect on the public than a non-suicide act of terrorism. However, the type of attack is a less influential factor than the number of victims, which is often characterised in the frame as “supporting the victimized country” (p.273). Silke (2006, p.26) criticises contemporary views of suicide as “madness, brainwashing, coercion, and fanaticism”; moreover, the author points out an inability to see suicide as “an essentially reasonable action” (p. 35), deriving from “rational” decision making (p.35). The author suggests looking into historic events in search of an objective view; thus, his finding shows that Japanese Kamikaze during WWII were viewed with “incredulity” (p.45) and were dreaded by the Allies. After the war, the US Strategic Bombing Survey showed a completely different fear reaction towards Japanese suicide bombers; namely, the suicide was seen as “effective and supremely practical” (p.45). This example from the article shows the change over time in perceptions of terrorism.

The nature of an attack seems to play an important role in setting the context, which is relevant to Long-term orientation dimension of Hofstede discussed above. Since it was established in the context chapter that Kazakhstan is at the top end of Long-term orientation dimension, it is expected that participants' responses will depend on the ‘situation, context and time’ (Hofstede et al) of an attack.

#### 4.2. Viewers' Interest

The media effect can actually also be reinforced by a lack of interest in the subject of reporting. This is because “opinions about issues of importance to an individual are more stable than opinions about issues that are not considered important” (Gelpi et al. 2013, p.29); therefore, people who are less interested in the subject being framed are more accepting of and influenced by framing.

#### 4.3. Education Level

Traugott and Brader (2003), who researched explanations for terrorist attacks in the perception of the public, used telephone interviews to find a strong positive connection between “Higher levels of education and political knowledge” and “number of explanations given” (p.192).

#### 4.4. Age

Thornton (2015) draws attention to children as a group highly sensitive to terrorism exposure. Some children were faced with terror directly and experienced living in refugee camps, which is recognised unquestionably as a huge trauma. However, “it is a mistake to think that” any stress caused to children “can be safely left to fade with time” (p.80). “The more vivid and dramatic the reporting, the stronger the impact; the more extensive and intense the media coverage, the bigger the effects” (p.80). Maholms and Printz (2009) in “Children’s Exposure to Violence” refer to and discuss their previous papers on child violence exposure, including exposure to war and terrorism. They conclude there is an urgent need for research on factors of “resilience as well as risk” regarding children experiencing violence. The authors believe these factors are able to reveal the roles of “schools, communities and families” in facilitating “ameliorating or exacerbating” consequences. The lack of research on this subject is explained by authors from a methodological viewpoint; particularly, challenges are faced in the sampling, recruitment and ethics associated with the use of children exposed to violence as participants.



#### 4.5. Proximity

“The closer to home, the more personal the threat seems and the greater fear it evokes” (Thornton 2015, p.80). Regarding proximity of the attack, Vamik Volkan (2004) studied large group identity and found that “protecting psychological existence as a member of large group was more important than the risk of bodily injury or even death” (p. 24). This phenomenon of large group identity, one could observe, is similar to what is commonly known as patriotism. This strength of large group belonging is explained by “individual’s sense of ethnic, religious, or national identity”, being very closely connected to their ‘core’ identity, which is “deep, personal sense of sameness, of stable gender and body image, and of continuity between past, present and future” (Volkan 2004, p.24). This can be further considered in relation to Hofstede’s individualism dimension discussed in the context chapter. Namely, Kazakhstan being high on the collectivism scale could potentially result in proximity of an attack being considered in relation to the whole territory of the country, rather than individual’s location within it. In other words, an individual would be equally concerned about an attack happening in their town of residence as one would be concerned about it happening anywhere else within the country.

#### 4.6. Heuristics

Heuristic is a “simple procedure that helps find adequate, though often imperfect, answers to difficult questions” (Kahneman 2011, p.98). Tversky and Kahneman (1974, p. ) studied the role of heuristics in people’s judgment under uncertainty conditions and found that despite being useful, “simpler judgemental operations” sometimes result in “severe and systematic errors”, known as ‘biases’. Three types of heuristics were considered under this context. The first type is representativeness heuristics, which often takes place when people have to decide “the probability that an object or event A belongs to class or event B”. The second is availability of scenarios heuristics, which refers to situations when “people are asked to assess the frequency of class or plausibility of a particular development”. Finally, adjustment and anchoring heuristics “is employed in numerical prediction when a relevant value is

available”. One example of cognitive biases was revealed when two groups of people were asked to guess a result for multiplication of numbers, one case of ascending digits and another case of descending digits. Thus, the  $8 \times 7 \dots \times 1$  sequence resulted in a median guessed value of 2,250, whereas the case of  $1 \times 2 \dots \times 8$  produced a value of 512. This showed that people naturally adopted the easiest way of doing the task, which is by only performing “the first few steps of multiplication” and then guessing the result. This simplification can also be seen in the context of terrorism reporting. Particularly, when using the above mentioned symbols as part of framing.

Heuristics, being a simple way of finding quick answers to complex questions, are the embodiment of Hofstede’s uncertainty avoidance dimension. This is because heuristics are about trying to get certainty, by a short-cut. As was discussed above, high score on uncertainty avoidance is likely to result in Kazakh people being reluctant to form an opinion on terrorism related questions before giving it enough thorough consideration.

#### 4.7. Conclusion

Thus, although the application of a frame when the media is reporting events is not deceitful, it certainly has the power to influence public reactions to an issue. Popular examples amongst scholars are to report one team as a winner and another as a failure (Kahneman 2011) in a football match, which is the same event for both teams, or portraying the same individuals as ‘freedom fighters’ and ‘terrorists’ (Papacharissi and Oliveira 2008, p.53).

To sum up, both mediated and non-mediated factors are related to people’s perceptions being influenced. Some non-mediated factors are used by the media, in which framing can reinforce people’s existing beliefs, which is also known as a schematic approach (Crocker 1984). Alternatively, it can establish a new belief people will follow with the easiest explanation for the event, according to heuristics; furthermore, it can also be assumed media framing can have little if any effect on certain individuals due to the other factors listed above.

## **5 Methodology**

This study adopts a mixed method of research, comprising content analysis of media materials, focus group discussions and thematic analysis of participants' responses.

The qualitative approach reflects on the nature of the question about participants' feelings, which would be impractical to collect on a large numeric scale. Some of the qualitative data is then transferred into a numerical format for further analysis. For example, participants' emotions were qualitatively analysed into themes, such as anger and fear, with the frequency of themes appearing per person per group being calculated and presented quantitatively. The details of descriptive counting will be further considered in thematic analysis section of this chapter.

The primary research was conducted in the Kazakh city of Ust-Kamenogorsk and involved working with 6 focus groups, as well as accessing newspaper and TV news' archives. The data was gathered by the researcher in the Russian language spoken by the locals before being translated into English. Video recordings of the focus groups were taken to allow subsequent transcription, as opposed to taking notes, to allow more efficient and coherent discussion.

### **5.1. Instrument**

The instrument used for the primary research was focus group interviews, which allows a range of views to be gathered, as can be seen in studies by Sirin and Geva (2013), Shoshani and Slone (2008) and Slone et al. (2008). Thus, the value of focus groups is in eliciting the range of emotional responses, which meets the objective of exploring public response to terrorism. Moreover, Lawrence (2014) claims that focus groups are practiced when dealing with 'topics that are poorly understood, so exploration and discovery are accomplished' (p.16). This is particularly beneficial to this study in the relatively unfamiliar to researchers context of Kazakhstan.

The significant advantage of focus groups is seen in people talking to each other and elaborating their views to provide fuller responses. This further results in ‘obtaining information on collective views’ (Lawrence 2014, p.16), or in words of Ivanoff and Hultberg (2006, p. 129) focus groups allow a researcher to obtain ‘a collective understanding of participants’ views’ as a group.

However, this can also be seen as a limitation as people can also be inhibited. In the focus groups for this research, older groups were particularly less affected by this limitation, and by clearly stated disagreements with some of the views expressed by others.

According to Anon (2012) ‘non-independence of responses is a necessity in focus groups’ (p.30). Non-independence is due to participants in a group hearing others responses, as opposed to a one person interview, where the responses and ideas are coming from solely one person. The benefit of non-independence, however, is that when expressing a ‘thought for a first time’ or ‘hearing an opinion for the first time from others’, participants become more clear on ‘their own thoughts and those of others’ (p.28). This allows the researcher to see ‘not only what they [participants] think, but also why they hold that view’ (Ivanoff and Hultberg 2006, p.125).

## 5.2 Recruitment and Sampling

Participants for this research were recruited through direct contact using an informal network, further supplemented with use of the snowballing approach. The only criteria in this process were to create groups that would be gender balanced and have similar age profiles. The intention to create groups formed from participants of a similar age is due to the cultural characteristic of Kazakh people to afford older people the priority to speak, which contradicts the principle of equal right of participation in the focus group. The demographic profiles of participants were obtained from participants prior to their focus group interview to establish variables, such as gender, age, employment, religion etc. Immediately before the discussion began, participants were asked

which channels they watch, the frequency and their level of media awareness. At the end of the focus group interview, participants were given a form to complete, which asked for any comments additional to the discussion that they had not shared with the group and their reasons why.

The researcher visited Kazakhstan in May 2016 and recruited 35 participants for the 6 focus groups. By definition, a focus group has to be formed from a small number of people who are interviewed at the same time, which proves problematic for groups to be a true representation of the public. However, this study does not seek to offer a definitive profile of public response, but rather to explore a range of responses people generate by mapping out the predominant patterns of emotional responses. This process of mapping the pattern of emotional responses was repeated until no new patterns appeared.

Fugard and Potts (2015) expressed their concern over choosing a sample size. The researchers refer to the fact that guidelines for thematic analysis sample vary from 2 to over 400 participants with no clear rule of choosing a number in between. Thus, Fugard and Potts (2015) developed a table (p.674) where they calculated the preferred size of sample for intended theme prevalence and number of instances a theme occurs. For instance:

*To have 80% power to detect two instances of a theme with 10% prevalence, 29 participants are required (p.669).*

The above estimate by Fugard and Potts suggests that it is reasonable to choose 36 participants for the purpose of this study.

### 5.3 Focus Group Material

Seven TV news items were shown to the focus groups, after which the group considered the media material and conducted brief content analysis. Three of these items lasted less than or only just over a minute. The videos were chosen in such a way that they represented examples of foreign and domestic attacks

as well as being taken both from Kazakh and Russian television (see illustration below).

Kazakh television	Russian television
<i>Foreign terrorism</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kyrgyzstani terrorists potentially escaping to Kazakhstan (Astana Channel)</li> <li>- Kazakh terrorists running away from the prison in Kyrgyzstan (KTK channel)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Norway attack on Utoya Island at the camp (Pervyi channel)</li> </ul>
<i>Local terrorism</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self-detonation of the terrorist in Taraz city</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• School captured in Beslan (Pervyi channel)</li> </ul>
<i>On the same attack (the most recent)</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Khabar channel reporting about the attacks in Belgium</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NTV channel reporting about the attacks in Belgium</li> </ul>

All news programmes on Kazakh national television are shown in the Kazakh language with a compulsory repetition in the Russian language. The guideline for the channels is to show equal amount of television content in Russian and in Kazakh languages, but some channels have slight deviations from this, according to Internews Kazakhstan (2008).

Although the law requires all imported films to have Kazakh subtitles (The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan of 15 December 2006 regarding Culture, Section 28-4), there is no such regulation of the news on Russian channels being transmitted in Kazakhstan only in the Russian language.

Therefore, the channels shown in the table below as being transmitted by Kazakh television are presented both in the Kazakh and Russian languages, whereas those transmitted by Russian television are only presented in the Russian language.

The viewing of the programmes started with the Russian television reporting of Norway and Beslan, which had the common theme of children as victims. This was followed by Kazakh television's item about security of the country and the terrorism threat originating domestically and from Kyrgyzstan. Finally, the reporting of the same attacks on Belgium were shown as the most recent attacks, along with comparison of the differences and similarities between the Russian and Kazakh reporting styles.

#### 5.4 Questionnaire

The questions for the focus groups were designed and later improved, as shown in Appendix 2. These were grouped into general questions that asked participants about the attacks they knew about, perception questions relating to the core reasons for terrorism, mediated terrorism questions and the aspect of censorship, questions relating to the videos, personal responses to potential security crisis, trustworthiness of the media and, finally, changes observed on national television over time. Each group of questions was attempted using triangular structure referred to in Plummer-D'Amato (2008) as illustrated below.

Furthermore, one of the questions on the group agenda was approached differently. As a technique for enhancing participation and group performance for the question about minimising the negative effect of reports about terrorist attacks, the six participants in every group were divided into two sub-groups of three people for discussion. The result of this discussion was later shared with the overall focus group. The individual responses during the sub-discussions have been transcribed where possible, with younger groups proving harder to distinguish individual responses because of the number of people contributing at the same time. In addition, the middle-aged group and the group comprising those over 57 years were more emotional in their discussion; hence, particular participants' views stood out from the overall background noise. Therefore, analysis of this question mainly concerned the opinion itself rather than searching for an explanation for this opinion in a participant's background.

Nevertheless, some comments that appeared during the sub-discussion but not shared as part of the group report, were paid attention to.

Triangular structure of focus group questioning.

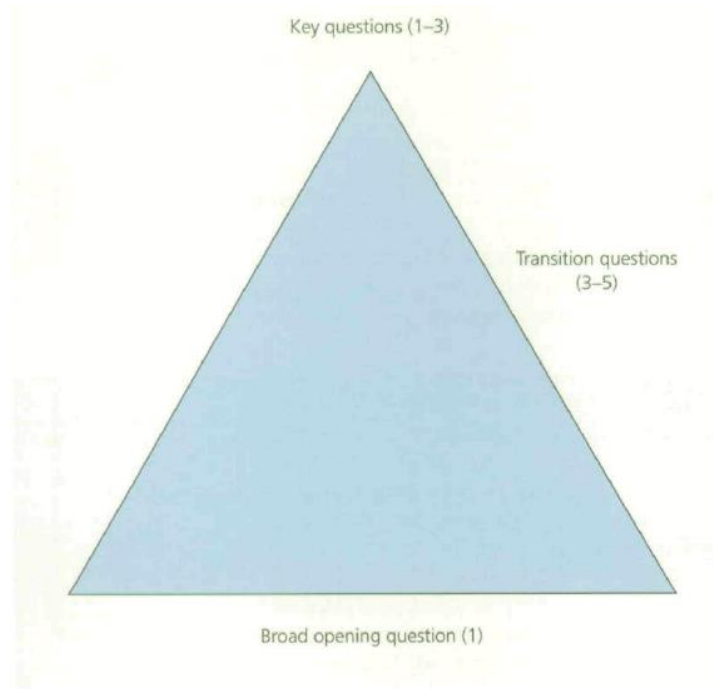


Figure 1. The 'triangular' structure for focus group questioning proposed by Hurworth (1996). The interview moves from a very broad-based opening to an extremely focused end point. Numbers in brackets indicate the suggested number of questions in each phase.

Source: Plummer-D'Amato (2008).

### 5.5 Identifying and tackling problems

A concern over poor group participation in a discussion was identified; however, this was dealt with via facilitation techniques and discussion management. Particular attention was paid to allocation of people to the groups, using knowledge about the individuals to maximize the possibility of everyone contributing fully. Moreover, the atmosphere of comfort and friendliness put participants at ease. This was achieved by taking certain factors, such as the venue, ease of transportation to it and time of day reflecting participants' lifestyle, into consideration, as well as the provision of hot drinks.



Two main issues slowed down the process of recruitment significantly, which were, firstly, related to security concerns and people being reluctant to go out and, secondly, a reluctance to talk about a terrorism-related topic. People often refused an explanation of what the research is about or refused to participate after having read the Information Sheet and Consent Form. These two documents were designed to help participants and protect their rights but they were misunderstood by some of the potential participants and caused suspicion about the intentions of the research.

Significant difficulty was experienced in getting participants because of concern over safety in Kazakhstan, particularly as there were riots during the time of the research, such as on May 22nd. In the period after the research (June 5th), a terrorist attack occurred in Aktobe city that put the country on a 'yellow' code alert for 40 days. People are generally much less familiar with any type of research, especially as marketing research is not developed in Kazakhstan. When people heard the research topic concerned terrorism, most declined immediately, whilst some were initially agreed but later declined very close to their group time and date.

All the 6 planned focus groups took place, although one group contained only 5 participants due to a last-minute withdrawal; therefore, group 6 had only 2 male participants, compared to 3 in every other group. The groups were planned to be organised strictly according to age and gender. The gender criterion was followed but one group had someone slightly older (58 years), whereas other participants in that group were limited to 56 years. However, this did not seem to interfere with the findings as that person got on with the younger age group well. There were no cases of power being exercised in this group because of the age difference.

#### 5.6 Principles and procedures

Ethical considerations concerned a consent form (appendix 3) and participant information sheet (appendix 4) being approved by the BU ethics committee.

## 5.7 Data collection

A fieldwork trip to Kazakhstan took place from 30th April to 31st May, during which 6 focus groups were undertaken. Data from the interviews was collected by filming the group discussions and the focus group activities lasted about 1 hour 10 minutes on average. Regarding limitations, people might be somewhat uncomfortable in expressing their views on camera; however, some degree of bias cannot be eliminated altogether because participants may not reveal their true views but express commonly-accepted views in public. Concern over the recording was reduced by placing camera so that it did not intimidate respondents; however, they were fully aware and gave permission to be filmed.

General analysis of the printed newspapers was undertaken at Pushkin Library in Ust-Kamenogorsk city, which provided access to the newspapers. The next step was to eliminate newspapers devoted to sport, agriculture and other subjects unrelated to the research topic. Furthermore, newspapers produced in the Kazakh language were excluded due to the practical issue of translating from Kazakh. Further analysis was conducted on the remaining newspapers, which were more likely to contain news on terrorism or related to national security. This was achieved by going through at least 2 months' worth of editions. It was assumed that any mentions of terrorism would be included in this 2-month period, as it should include one of the large terrorist attacks in Belgium on 22nd of March 2016. Surprisingly, only two of the remaining newspapers mentioned this attack, which were the *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* newspaper and the *Central Asia Monitor* newspaper (the original title is also in English). The decision was made to eliminate the *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda* due to the scope of the coverage of the attack compared to other material. One can see from figure below that limited space was allocated to this news and no follow-up on the development of consequences or causes was conducted. Moreover, the coverage was very general, focusing more on the closure of the airport and its security situation rather than on an attack. Interestingly, the source of information was "open internet resources", as opposed to gathering information first hand. This was also the case with a short note entitled

“Children as suicide bombers”, referring to the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria (see adjacent illustration). However, the opposite was the case with the Central Asia Monitor, in which the main concern was the political response to terrorism and the conflict in Syria. Historically, extensive coverage of the conflict in Ukraine could be seen, as well as the terrorist attack in France, which related more to what participants in focus groups mentioned later in the research. Thus, a specific edition, namely Central Asia Monitor, was accessed from the archive from January 2015 until October 2016 to observe and decide on the relevance of chosen media. Editions of the newspaper during the summer 2016 period were sent via email after having been scanned from printed copies. These were sent in full for the researcher to verify which articles should be included in the analysis.



(14<sup>th</sup> April 2016)

(2<sup>nd</sup> April 2016)

In addition, the social media practices of participants cannot be ignored. The specific share of news sources is further presented in the findings section; however, it should be noted that the internet was stated as the main source, closely followed by television. The focus of this research and the impracticality of tracking the social media news participants access mean no

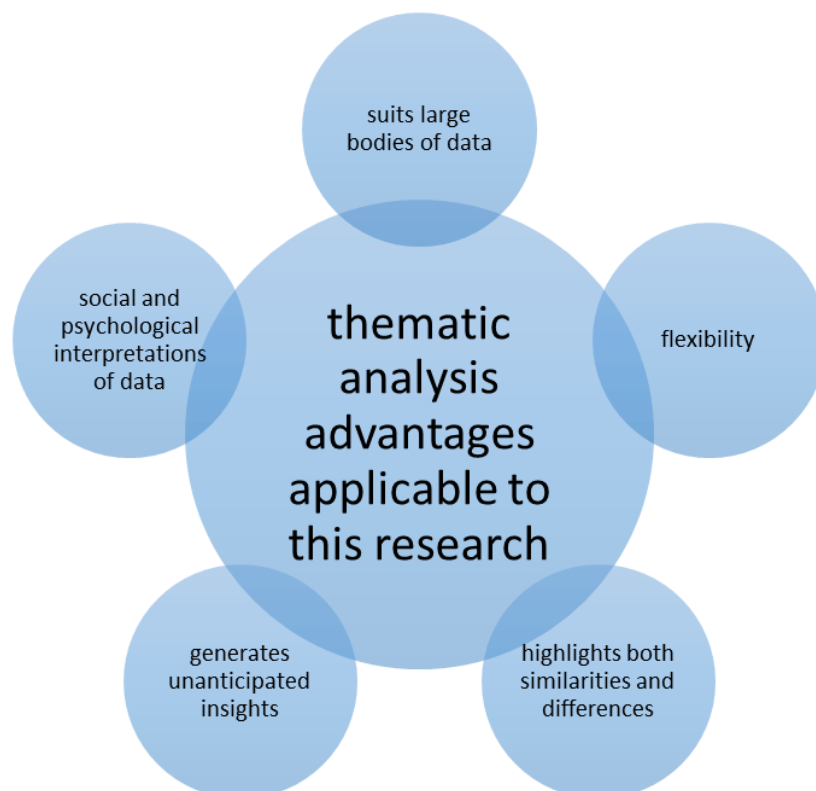
deep analysis of social media was conducted. However, the responses could be directly followed to the content of VK (also known as VKontakte) in some cases. It is assumed that most participants would encounter this type of content on various platforms as well, such as OK (also known as Odnoklassniki), which tends to be used by the middle-aged to older age groups.

### 5.8 Data analysis

Printed materials were approached by content analysis.

The analysis technique for the focus groups data was thematic analysis, which is considered the most appropriate tool for this research due to its “theoretical freedom” and ability to give “a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of data” (Braun & Clarke 2006, p.78). Other advantages identified by researchers of this method are indicated in the diagram below.

Advantages of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006, p.97)



### *5.8.1 About thematic analysis*

Braun and Clark (2006) were one of the first to define thematic analysis as a ‘method in its own right’, as opposed to being a stage of other methods, such as grounded theory. Brooks et. al. (2006, p.206) went further in saying that thematic analysis is a collective name for a category of ‘approaches to qualitative analysis’ that aim to ‘define themes within the data’ as well as ‘organise those themes into some type of structure to aid interpretation’.

This study on terrorism in Kazakhstan bases its methodology on the thematic analysis by Braun and Clark (2006) as well as template thematic analysis by Brooks et. al. As pointed by Brooks et al (2006) there are three main differences in the two types of thematic analysis. Firstly, in Braun and Clark themes are developed after coding of all data has been attempted, whereas in template analysis the initial themes are identified after a sub-set of the data. The latter is more applicable to this study as the longest two transcripts were used to identify initial themes at first, as they were more likely to contain the themes also present in shorter focus group discussions. Secondly, Braun and Clark’s thematic analysis ‘defines themes at a late phase of the process’, whereas in template analysis by Brooks et al (2006) this is done at the time of developing a template. For the purpose of this study the themes were defined at a later stage according to Braun and Clark with some of the narrower initial working themes titles being substituted with more broad definitions to suit the complexity of data. Thirdly and finally, studies using Braun and Clark’s method generally have one or two levels of sub-themes, whereas in template analysis four and more levels are normally applied. This study uses one level of sub-themes hierarchy as practiced in Braun and Clark.

### *5.8.2 Ways of performing*

Researchers have demonstrated various ways of performing thematic analysis. Thus, Aronson (1995, p.1-2) suggests the following sequence of steps: collecting data, identifying all data that relate to the already classified patterns,

combining and cataloguing related patterns into sub-themes, and finally, building a valid argument for choosing the themes. This is an example of what Braun and Clark (2006) would class as theoretical thematic analysis, or deductive, as referred to by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006). Here the already established set of themes is being looked for in a data set, as opposed to identifying themes from the raw data in inductive method. This pre-established themes are sometimes referred to in the literature as a priori themes (Brooks et al 2006; Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006).

### *5.8.3 Potential disadvantages of the method*

Some of the aspects of thematic analysis can be considered as both beneficial and disadvantageous. For example, Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) demonstrated the approach where only one person, as opposed to a panel of experts, is doing thematic analysis. Here the authors see consistency of the analysis as a strong point, whereas there is a lack of ‘multiple perspectives from a variety of people’ (p.92) and possible subjectivity due to this. However, this could be addressed via another advantage of thematic analysis which is its transparency of ‘formulating the themes from the initial participant data’ (p. 82).

The flexibility of the method pointed out by Braun and Clark (2006) can in fact mean that there is ‘never a final version’ (Brooks et. al. 2006, p.204) of the analysis, as ‘continued engagement with the data can always suggest further refinements to coding’. Thus, once the essential to the research question data is analysed, it is only defined by the time and resources available. One can conclude here that being time consuming could potentially be another of the disadvantages of the method. However, there are examples in practice of using computer software as a means to overcome this disadvantage. For instance, Zimmerli and Badillo (2016) when doing a thematic analysis of French-speaking print media searched for themes of innovation and social networks using LexisNexis by entering key words. This allowed the researchers to track how the themes developed over a large period of time from 2007 to 2014 and ‘not necessarily consult the content of articles’ (p.123). Anon

(2012) used similar approach at the initial stage of thematic analysis in their research by ‘providing descriptive counts of how often a concept is verbalised’ (p.30). However, it was stressed as an early means of comparing focus groups, and the main aim should be ‘searching for meaning in participants’ responses rather than to quantify their responses’ (p.29). Another problem in counting how many times a certain theme or sub-theme occurs is the fact that participants not always feel the need to express their agreement or disagreement with what is being said in a focus group. Similar problem was raised in Thompson et. al. (2013) where thematic analysis was applied to study over ‘80,000 messages from a brand-specific online forum’ (p.55). Those referred to as “lurkers” by Thompson et. al. are similar to focus group participants who follow with the discussion but do not express their agreement or disagreement with that is being said in the group.

To sum it up, Braun and Clark (2006) claim that most of the disadvantages tend to be due to ‘poorly conducted analysis or inappropriate research questions’ as opposed to coming from the ‘methods themselves’ (p.96).

## 6 Findings and analysis

### 6.1. Newspaper analysis

During the period of research, two terrorist attacks happened in Kazakhstan – June, 5, and July, 18. To capture the media reaction to these, a period of September, 8, 2016 – June, 3, 2016 was analysed. Brief content of the chosen articles as well as further comments to those can be found in the table in Appendix 6.

#### *6.1.1. General observations*

Regarding the emotionalisation in attacks reporting, one can observe rather calm nature of the actual facts reported. For example, the focus was on material help to families of victims, rather than humanitarian aspect of families left alone. Another example is lack of any evident anger towards terrorists throughout the three month period of analysis. This was substituted with “police incompetence” frame (see Appendix 6, edition 30), as well as “misplaced and corrupt mayors” (edition 26, 25). However, influence on emotions is added by choice of words of high-flown style sounding almost poetic:

*(Reporting July, 18 attack) 24 minutes. Is it a lot or is it short? In terms of universe it is hardly anything. But for Almaty people who survived the Black Monday... (Central Asia Monitor, edition 29, 2016, page 9);*

*(Reporting June, 5 attack) ... whether out authority will stop playing hide-and-seek with reality, by covering the civilians from potential threats with inflatable mattress titled “Kazakhstan – an Island of stability” (Central Asia Monitor, edition 23, 2016, page 1).*

The terrorist attacks timing was followed by land reform protests, which were framed by some as attempted government overthrow (see further below in text). The article of edition 23 titled Bloody Sunday quoted one of the social media posts by general public stating the opinion that the attack of June 5 was essentially ‘staged’ by the government to distract public from ‘the



sharpest issue' of land (page 3). Same article features an opinion of Natalya Kharitonova, the coordinator of United Eurasian Experts Network JEEN, supporting the link between land protests and the attacks: the forces hit the rebels and now they revenge hitting back. The president's statement on the June attack further gave some ground to believe in the connection: 'revolutions start with protests, killings and aims of gaining power' (edition 23, page 2). However, this explanation was not unanimously believed in by the Kazakh experts within the newspaper articles of the analysed period. It is argued that here the timing of the attack can be attributed to what Ross (2007) specified as "audience dynamics", where the terrorists simply used the timing of the protests.

#### *6.1.2. Definition of terrorism in the media*

The non-clarity of the term terrorism and the use of criminal frame on terrorism in countries of Central Asia were pointed by Horseman (2005). Further support for that was found in this research within media response to terrorism as well as publics mediated perception of it (see further in the discussion of focus groups).

In article titled "Zapadnya" (Central Asia Monitor, edition 26, 2016), additional information about which can be further found in Appendix 7, the raise of extremism in Western regions of Kazakhstan is directly explained by most of the previous mayors being convicted of stealing government money or exploiting the power given to them.

Central Asia Monitor's article of edition 24 titled "The logic behind inevitability" featured an opinion of politician, Rustam Burnashev, who claimed that there were only three terrorist attacks characterised as such in court (those do not include the attacks of June and July 2016). Whereas all the rest is claimed terrorism by 'the wider public' (page 4).

Edition 23 reporting on the attack of June, 5 on the very front page states that it is 'non-sense' that the events in Aktobe were classified as terrorist attack in less than a day having passed since.

Central Asia Monitor (edition 23, page 3) presents an opinion of Dosym Satpayev, the director of the Risk Assessment group, who criticises government for convincing everybody in criminal side of attacks rather than referring to it as acts of terrorism:

*... the authorities should not see Maidan in everything and tie protestants on the streets, but rather recognise the threat from radical movements (page 3).*

Igor Tushkevich was chosen as a representative of Ukrainian media's version on the attack in Kazakhstan. In his opinion the attacks aim was to show that Kazakhstan cannot handle the issue of terrorism and needs help from overseas, such as the one offered by Russia:

*If the thesis of "Islamic State" will be put further forward, then we can confidently conclude: Vladimir Vladimirovich, we recognised you (page 3).*

Similar view to Tushkevich's is earlier reported in edition 22 (Central Asia Monitor, page 4) by invited expert, politician, Rasul Dgymaly. The politician looks into the scenario where in case of national security destabilisation in Kazakhstan, Russia would offer to send its troops to Kazakhstan – 'so to say for the reinforcement of constitutional way of life', and he continues: 'something similar to this happened in Ukraine'.

To sum it up, in the attacks of June 5 and July 18 there was no clear definition of what was meant by them – whether those were radical religious terrorism attacks, criminal activity in the regions, or the beginning of government overthrow and pre-war situation.

### *6.1.2. Censorship*

One of the articles (Central Asia Monitor, edition 33, 2016, page 9) purposely contrasts the amount of detail given on events reported in Armenia. It further explains that Kazakhstan is on the 160<sup>th</sup> place out of 180 countries for freedom of speech. This falls into Graber's (2003) discussion on censorship as well as

what McGarrity (2011, page 274) referred to as ‘chilling effect’ on media’s willingness to report certain details.

### *6.1.3. Framing*

Referring to the three types of framing defined by Shoemaker (2007) mentioned previously, there can be found proof for all three of those being present within the Central Asia Monitor newspaper. However, these are produced by different actors and with varying intensity.

Motivational framing can be seen in president’s statement regarding the attack in June (edition 23, 2016). There he finishes his statement on the action note for people to stand for the peace of the country. Regarding this, article titled Threats – the real ones and the myths (edition 24, page 7) features opinion of expert, Daneel Bekturganov, who brings a comparison between the reaction to similar attacks in Paris and Orlando to the one in Kazakhstan in June. Referring to the author, in both foreign attacks cases the reaction was to ‘unite for the preservation of common values – freedom, democracy and equality’, whereas in case of Kazakhstan, this was ‘uniting with the nation leader’ (page 7). Thus, here motivational framing can be seen as framing of collective outcome, which Iyengar (1990) defined as thematic framing.

An example of Iyengar’s episodic framing is the story by Medey Sarseke who witnessed throughout his life what effect 473 nuclear explosions did to people, cattle and nature. His story was published in edition 34 of Central Asia Monitor to note the 25 years of Semey nuclear site being closed. This story would be particularly close to people of Ust-Kamenogorsk due to its location proximity.

Diagnostic framing is evident from blaming religion as a root cause of terrorism. Article from edition 22, titled Sharia and contemporary law, suggests:

*Is there a time now to reform Islam in the way of cutting its involvement in government matters and leave just the spiritual functions of it? (page 6)*

The vivid example of prognostic framing is article of edition 23 - Bloody Sunday, where the opinions on versions explaining the attacks are challenged by offering facts which cancel the opponents' assumptions.

#### *6.1.4. Other explanations given*

Referring to previously mentioned Traugott and Brader (2013), the researchers established a pattern in reporting of the 9/11 attack in newspaper articles. Namely, the amount of explanations given being 46% immediately after, then reducing to five or less in five weeks and finally dropping to zero by 17<sup>th</sup> week. Interestingly, the explanations of June attack being tracked as late as two months after are still discussing the possible versions with no noticeable progress from explanations given immediately after the attack. One of the striking features of the reporting and the reaction to the two attacks was the vast variety of explanations given. Article Bloody Sunday, which is brought as an example of prognostic framing above, paid attention to various versions of the attack coming from different sources. Thus, the media reported the terrorists to be Wahhabi. This originated from Bakhytbek Smagul, member of parliament, stating so. The journalist challenged this by saying that the only apparent evidence to this seemed to be that the social media activity of the terrorists. From the point of view of Russia media, the attack was thoroughly planned and attempted to destabilise the ground for neighbouring Russia. Kazakh expert and PR-consultant, Erlan Askarbekov, paid particular attention to the appearance of terrorists. This very consideration can be linked to earlier discussion of Kazakhstani culture and Hofstede's dimensions. The expert is reported to be saying the following on terrorists wearing shorts and sandals:

*... as if they did not go to, practically, execute their lives, but to buy ice-cream instead. This cannot be linked to ISIS or Al-Qaida. Neither*

*can it be connected to the West or Russia. The organisers are local criminals at most. (Central Asia Monitor, edition 23, page 3)*

One could suggest that the sequence in which the journalist presented the versions here was aiming to influence the public's opinion. Thus, the explanation given by the president's statement was followed by guessed explanations from social media accounts of general public. The final judgment (pseudo-religious individuals instructed from abroad) given by the authority was to be seen as 'axiom' (page 3) rather than for public to have details and try matching those. The variety and extent of public's versions here is somewhat exposing the effects of not providing information by the authority.

#### *6.1.5. Speed of response*

Speaking about the speed of response after an attack has happened, Silverman and Thomas (2012) gathered an opinion of a politician saying that putting a message of 'we are reflecting' (page 279) is no longer appropriate as public demands immediate statement. This was in the case of Britain. Kazakhstan response to the attack differed largely with response being delayed for practically a day since the shooting attack on July 18. This could be explained by higher amount of censorship imposed in Kazakhstan, where thoroughly thought response is given to the public later, rather than an immediate reaction of revealing the facts known so far.

It is believed that this delay of response adds to the panic. Central Asia Monitor edition 24 offers opinion of Tolganai Umutaliev, CEO of the Central Asia fund of democracy development, saying that delayed informing of the public, as well as misinforming, are believed to set panic on people more than the nature of the events.

The press response of the newspaper itself on the attack in July was delayed by a week. This can be explained by Central Asia Monitor being a weekly newspaper. Thus, during the edition of 15-21 July nothing was said about the attack. The attack of July 18 was only dealt in the following edition.

### *6.1.6. Nature of government response*

Government's response to the attacks is particularly concerned with the help to families of victims. Thus, the reporting of June 10-16 (Central Asia Monitor, edition 23) informs the public that there was made a decision to increase the material help for the families of Aktobe attack victims. This amounted to 5 million tenge (approximately 12 thousand GBP) as opposed to 1 million decided initially. Same page of the newspaper contained president's message where he gives an order to help the families. This increase can be seen as a reaction to president's order and it being fulfilled.

In case of victims of July, 18 attack, families of Maksat Salimbayev and Timur Begasilov (both are policemen who died on duty) were handed keys from their new flats in prestigious living complex (edition 29, page 2). This was done publicly by the mayor of Almaty after his speech, which is looking somewhat as a PR move rather than humanitarian action. The article, however, did not pick up on this.

### *6.1.7. Source of information and use of citations*

The tendency of various means of media to pass on information to one another (e.g. the one observed in studies by Falkeimer (2013) and Creech (2014)) found its evidence in Central Asia Monitor edition 33, where an article was presented in the form of interview transcript with Kazakh expert, Aydos Sarym, which originally took place on the radio. Another such example is from edition 29, which deals with an interview taken with the wife of the terrorist which is sourced from KTK television channel.

Previous research by Mathews (2013) showed government and police as top two sources of information. Within the Central Asia monitor there can be seen a clear picture of "experts" being used as people informing and clarifying the events for the public. The majority of experts chosen are politicians and scholars. Here the style of reporting revealed a striking feature of using quotations which at times showed no journalist interpretation at all. For example, the following articles were based on journalist setting the topic

and the experts' giving their opinion presented as direct uninterrupted quote: edition 24 page 4, edition 24 page 7, and edition 22 page 4. Patrick (2014) explained the use of citations as a way of boosting the 'legitimacy' (page 387) of the source of information. The researcher further pointed out at the possible loophole where journalists can achieve desirable responses by giving specific agenda setting questions and using the responses as direct quotation material. This method was used by Kazakh journalists although in a very transparent way of presenting all the agenda setting (and very leading) questions and then positioning the experts' reply to those as a single uninterrupted piece of text. For example, in edition 22 a journalist sets the question of 'Who will benefit from the raise of protest movements in Kazakhstan?'(page 7) and offers three answers to consider – Russia, the West and the connection to Nazarbayev's visit to Moscow. All the three answers are further explained by the journalist which is leading the experts in the desirable answer even more.

On the other hand, it can be assumed that the very choice of experts to ask was made by the journalist themselves based on experts' background. Thus, the desired response could be the opposite of what the journalist offers, which would be a technique to emphasise the point made by expert. For example:

*If to answer the exact formulation of the question, then anybody would have to say that "Kazakhstan does not have effective strategy of fighting terrorism" (edition 24, page 4).*

Interestingly, after being asked about the reasons for the anti-terrorism strategy not working in Kazakhstan, both experts gave a heated reply of why the strategy does work.

#### *6.1.8. Lexical choice*

The article in edition 33 deals with the aftermath of the attack in Almaty on July 18. It puts a question: 'Is the Kazakh society ready to state its position regarding salafists?' (page 1). Interestingly, the word salafist was used. An interpretation of this word was found in Oxford dictionary (see appendix 6).

The use of such a complex term for audience to follow goes against the heuristics theory of simplification by Kahneman (2011). However, one can suggest the possible explanation as media establishing a clear differentiation between traditional Sunni and radical salafist type. This differentiation seems somewhat needed as a precaution of not offending the readers, majority of whom would be Muslim due to national demographics. Another possible explanation for the usage of this term is one deriving from Gamson (1992), which is following the previously set term of “salafists” at the fear of losing credibility in case of changing it to simply “radical religious movement”.

“Salafists rebranding” article (Central Asia Monitor, edition 31, 2006) has the following subheading: ‘What clothes does religious extremism dress in?’ (page 1). The choice of words here, i.e. extremism as an object rather than extremists as people, suggests an interpretation of talking about religious extremism as a social class.

Another article from edition 31 is named “Spell the way you hear it” (page 5). The title of the article is adapting a common saying in a new context. Normally this is used by teachers at school to mock the students who do not follow the rules of spelling in their writing. Here this phrase suggests the meaning of being unprofessional or even deceitful. The further sub-heading says ‘Russian media interpret the events in Kazakhstan different to how we do’ (page 5).

Creech (2014) found proof for Mumbai terrorist attacks being reported in a style following Western values rather than local Hindu identity with the example of “India’s 9/11” frame. By analogy to the example, there can be seen the use of “Almaty shooter” frame present in edition 29 and 30 of the Central Asia Monitor. Here the frame originated from “Munich shooter” in Germany. Another example is an article published on terrorism in Russia titled One country – two religions (Central Asia Monitor, page 11). This article deals with the conflict between traditional and radical Islam. The issue is referred to as “religious war”, a term somewhat symbolic and resembling the one of “war on terror” after 9/11.



### 6.1.9. Symbols

The importance of symbols in the discussion about media influence was shown above at the example of studies by Liebes and First (2009), Robson (2004). Particularly was mentioned the possibility of multiple interpretations of one symbol as it was the case with American flag. Within the analysis of Central Asia Monitor newspaper, numerous symbols were identified.

Asylbek Izbaïrov, an invited expert to the newspaper edition 24, commented on consequences of the attack in Aktobe as follows. The expert brought examples from the social media of the use of words “beard-men”, “goat-bearded”, “hidjabi”, etc. This was further escalated to some Kazakh people suggesting to refuse from Kazakh surnames, which have Arabic roots. This is despite the fact that ‘40% of words in the Kazakh language originate from Arabic’ (page 7). The interpretations of these symbols is explained by stereotyping and going with the easiest explanation, which resembles heuristics theory.

Within the newspaper itself, the usage of symbols was evident within the choice of illustrations.

The front page illustration of edition 29 puts the man in police uniform in the centre of the events pictured around him. This shows a clear accent in the frame of police involvement rather than humanitarian frame of reporting about the victims.



The picture for the article on page 9 of edition 29 shows police holding their hands by heart, most likely listening to the Kazakh anthem. Most of them are facing and looking down. One can suggest the meaning behind this picture is to show that the police are patriots of their country and they are deeply guilty of letting it down.



The picture from front page of edition 26 shows a symbolic fence between the obscure figures of terrorists and the four people in suits, presumably the four mayors of the Western Kazakhstan region. Here once again it can be seen the threat of terrorism coming from abroad, with the fence symbolising the border, as well as no detail of terrorists apart from them being armoured and thus being a danger.



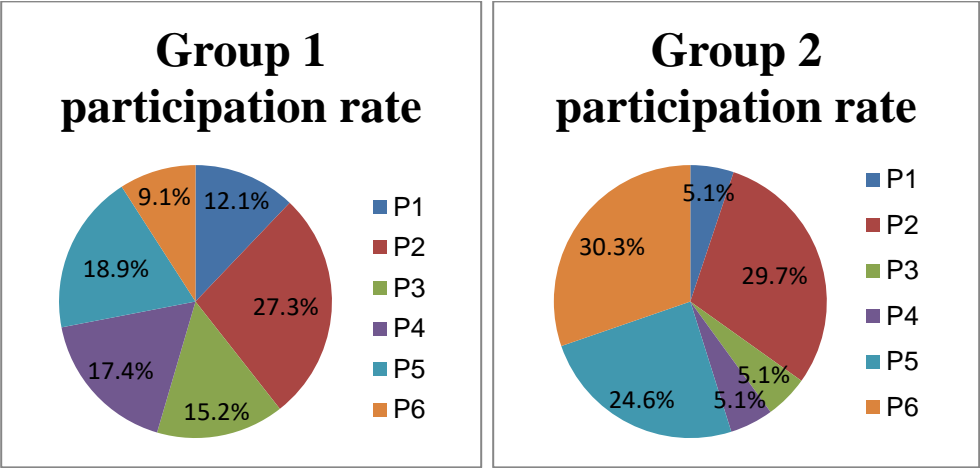
Summary for the section 4.1. can be further found in the conclusion chapter.

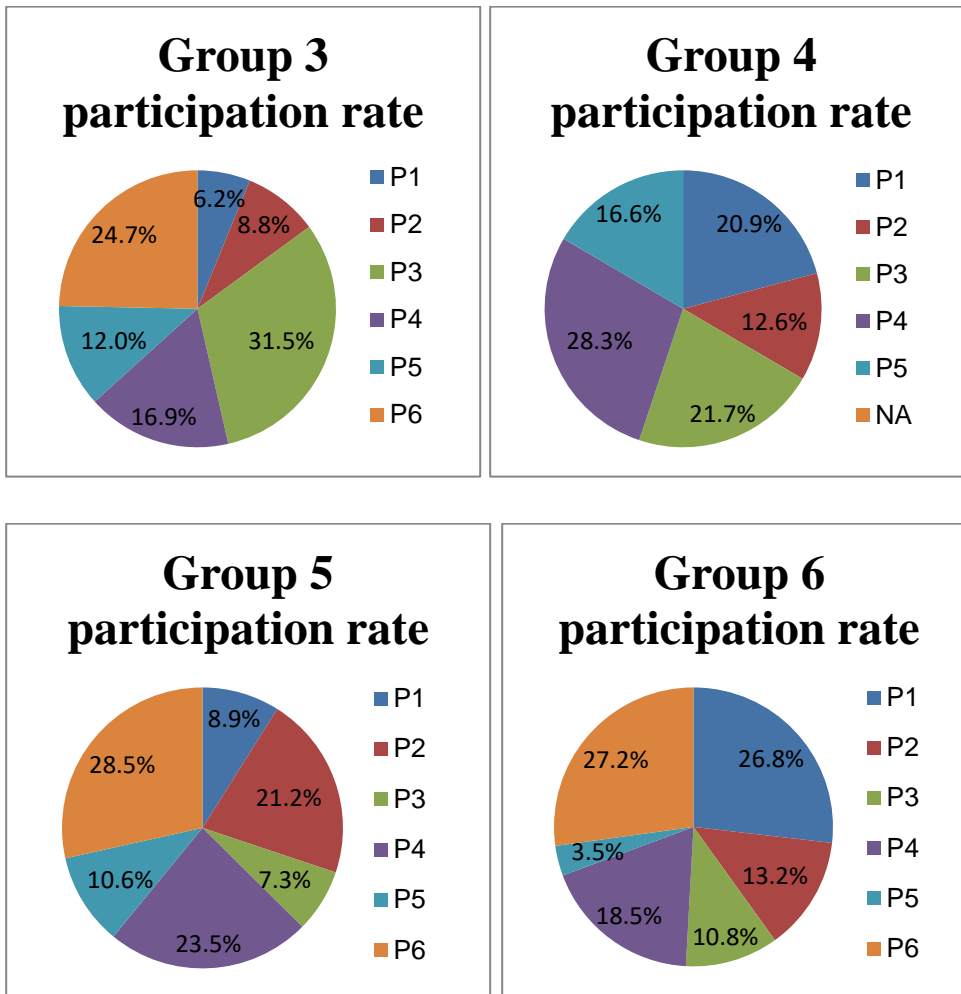
6.2 Focus groups analysis: the range of reactions

6.2.1 Group Dynamics

Prior to analysing the actual responses of participants, this part of the text will deal with the environment in which the responses took place. There are patterns common to all of the groups as well as particular cases. A range of group atmospheres was observed, from not being serious about the subject to becoming tense and defensive.

Various participant behaviours were observed, the most expected one being that every group had clear roles for participants in the group. Frequently, leaders were “speaking for the group” with other members of the group not contradicting to them, which creates an impression of passive agreement. In other cases, an extensive explanation would be given by one participant and the rest of the group would support this opinion by simply saying “yes” or repeating what was just said almost word-for-word. Some groups had one participant who remained “silent”. Thus in groups 6 participant 5 attributed only to 3.5%.





With some participants leading in groups, it was notable that groups one, three and four somewhat skewed the focus of the discussion in two different ways. In group one, participant-2 spoke after having paused and looked around to “give a chance” for others to go first. This pattern was soon realised by the group. Instead of concentrating on what they would say, they avoided being questioned directly by the researcher or avoided the silence after a question was given by seeming not to be paying attention and allowing participant-2 to help the group out by answering. This pattern was disrupted by the researcher by preventing the leading participant from answering first until the balance was regained, as well as by asking participants to answer one-by-one or by them working in groups or pairs. This was easier to tackle with the younger groups who are more familiar with such facilitation techniques often used by teachers in schools. In groups three and four, the skew was more

complicated as it was mostly guided by emotion rather than knowledge in group one. However, the way the group members started to counteract this by backing up, contradicting or trying to calm both was observed by the researcher who decided not to intervene but conduct observation. This is an example of how a focus group could be used as a means of research and best applied to the 30+ age group.

In some parts of the discussion an artificially large number of proverbs, idioms and common truth answers were used, which did not seem a natural way of speaking. In other cases, people would contribute by saying something not meaning anything in particular but showed their willingness to contribute towards the group discussion. Cases of metaphoric speaking have also been registered and one could suggest that the somewhat obscure way of expressing opinions, as well as reciting common truth, proverbs and sayings, is a way of avoiding the anxiety of disagreement from the group or saying something that would sound as if one lacked knowledge. Disagreement is less likely with something that is a common truth or unclear and can be interpreted in various ways.

People in the groups tended to reply at times as everyone was talking at the same time. In some cases, this was giving an impression of going with the majority rather than considering their reply or even of expressing their view in the overall “noise” which put less stress on participants to share their view publicly. This tends to indicate some participation anxiety.

In some cases, the groups would not give the expected answer. However, the researcher decided to artificially support the expected answer to see how strong participants’ opinions were. This was not with the intention to lead to an expected answer but rather to establish what reasoning guided the participants whilst they counteracted the suggested explanation. An example of such a situation is the group task of finding ways to minimise the negative influence of the media on a sensitive public.

It is interesting to note the usage of some slang words, which mostly contributed towards the “anger” category. This slang was translated into English using the researcher’s best knowledge. However, to avoid using a slightly different tone in the sentence the slang words are highlighted in italics and referred to in original notes. The notes also serve to minimise the difference in participants’ backgrounds and potential readers of the work; for example, some of the regional peculiarities, such as names of local politicians, are not likely to be known globally.

Participants often do not see the need to repeat what the others just said, for example:

*(G2P1) \*trying to speak\**

*(G2P5) Not to set panic.*

*Sorry?*

*(G2P1) He just said that. (Pages 4-5, lines 31-33)*

Hence, one could assume that the group’s failure to contradict often means participants passively agree without expressing their agreement openly. This can be further supported by occasions when participants do disagree with what was said and feel confident about stating this disagreement (group 3).

Some people did not talk much in the group but one can argue that these people are no less important for the research. If only those with strong political views and/or knowledge of the subject were recruited, it would not show a realistic spectrum of peoples’ reactions to terrorism and give a feel for the situation.

As a means of coping with problems whilst recruiting was getting couples to participate (same age group, one of each gender) as well as getting existing participants to recruit others (be advocates of the research). The former was the case in group 4 with participants 3 and 4, and in group 3 with participants 3 and 4.

At times, “like at school” group dynamics could be seen. The researcher would have to go ahead and address participants by their names (see Appendix 6, notes to the transcript 2), give the order of answering, e.g. answering one-by-one starting from the right. Groups 1 and 2 displayed this especially because they only finished at school relatively recently.

Notes were taken to give more sense about what was said and some sentences are paraphrased; in this approach, no words are added that participants did not actually say in the transcript (avoiding bias). The author believes the meaning of the translation is the same; another researcher can refer to the notes and decide for themselves. In cases where there is a room for some doubt, there are notes for readers to judge, which makes it transparent.

\*Emotions\* signage was used within a transcript to differentiate meanings. For example, what seems to be anger from the way a sentence was constructed on paper, could actually mean expression of sadness (G4 Pg13, ln5-6). This happens for two reasons, which are being lost in translation but even more so from the importance of voice and intonation when people express themselves. They say: “it is not what you say, it is how you say it”. In cases on the voice recording when it was evident people emotionally mean more than they just say in words, the emotion was noted with \*\* signs within the transcript:

(G4P4) ... On TV, you can see cats and dogs killed. Do not kill them.  
\*sad\*

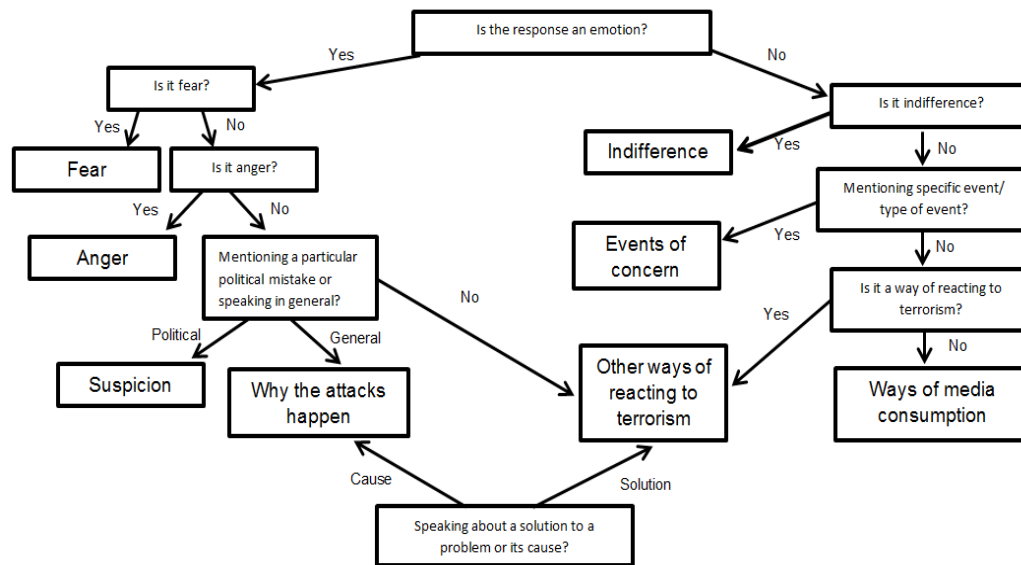
### *6.2.2 Public Response to Media Coverage of Terrorism Attacks*

Having analysed people’s responses within all the groups, the following themes and sub-themes have been identified (see table below). The full tables for each group can be seen in Appendix 9, where the location of each theme within the transcripts is specified by G=group, P=participant number, Pg=page number and ln=line number.

<b>Thematic analysis of focus groups</b>	
<p><b>Fear</b></p> <p>Moderate fear</p> <p>Proximity</p> <p>Unexpectedness</p> <p>Extreme fear</p>	<p><b>Other ways of reacting to terrorism</b></p> <p>Assessment of what the media does</p> <p>Background knowledge/ opinion of terrorism</p> <p>Sadness/ empathy</p> <p>Uncertainty or mixed emotions</p> <p>Unfairness or powerlessness</p> <p>Hopeful and positive</p>
<p><b>Anger</b></p> <p>Anger towards terrorists directly</p> <p>Anger that terrorism is able to happen</p> <p>Political anger</p> <p>Consequences of terrorism</p>	<p><b>Events of concern</b></p> <p>Particular countries/ cities</p> <p>Types of events</p> <p>Particular attacks</p>
<p><b>Suspicion</b></p> <p>Towards focus group activity</p> <p>Towards politics of other countries</p> <p>Towards home government</p> <p>Suspicion in general</p> <p>Arguments for no suspicion</p>	<p><b>Why attacks happen</b></p> <p>Terrorists' recourses</p> <p>Ways of radicalisation</p> <p>Other causes</p> <p>Terrorists' personality</p> <p>Politics &amp; high resonance intentions</p>
<p><b>Indifference</b></p> <p>It cannot be changed</p> <p>We are not the ones to change</p> <p>Denial of any problem</p>	<p><b>Ways of media consumption</b></p> <p>Own habits</p> <p>Opinions about media consumption</p> <p>Particular examples of channels, newspapers, etc.</p> <p>Other in relation to the attacks</p> <p>Changes observed</p>



Due to the nature of responses, it is sometimes impossible to attribute certain responses to solely one theme or sub-theme. As a way of solving this, some responses were put in the maximum of two categories. These are put in bold and italics within the table in Appendix. Another technique that was developed is prioritisation of themes. An example of this can be seen in the following flow chart:



These themes are now going to be further discussed below.

### 6.2.3 Fear

The first theme appearing in the thematic table is fear, which is separated into sub-themes of moderate and extreme fear. The judgement of whether a certain fear response is moderate or extreme was made according to the researcher's interpretation. For example, 'Yeah, true. It is scary' (G3P6pg2ln20) was seen as moderate. Whereas 'And after this the worst can happen' (G3P3pg19ln19) was seen as extreme.

Interestingly, the reaction to videos in most of the times is fear for that happening to the participants themselves as opposed to compassion to the victims. The events happened in the past, but they are perceived as a future threat.

Some of the examples of the cases where it was compassion that participants predominantly felt are as follows:

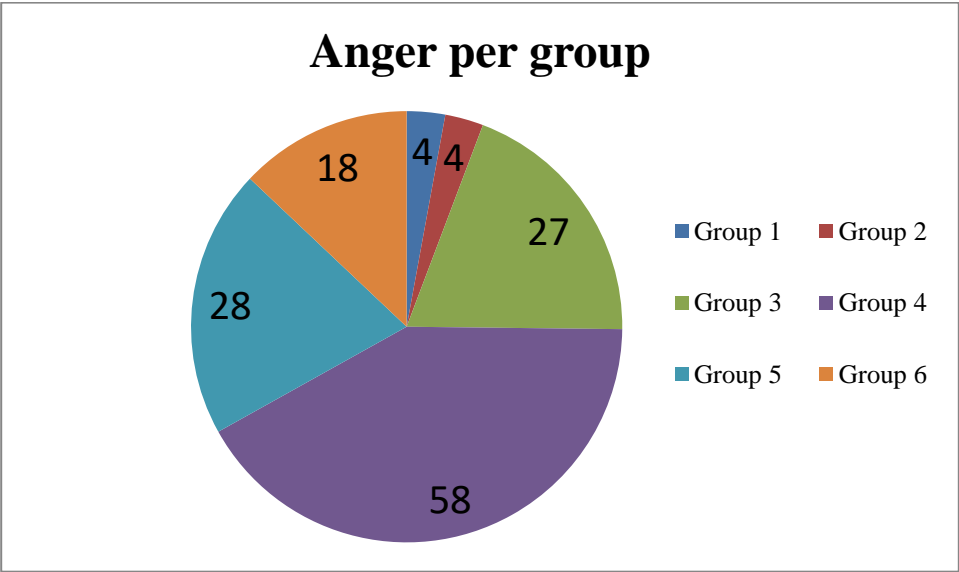
*(G3P6) Obviously, you look even say at this girl and think that all her life is broken now. Regarding those who died, their relatives who survived, do you think they will be able to ever forget this all. Their whole life turned upside down and everything in it broke. She lost her relatives and thus lost herself, so to say. How can you live after this? Try forget that? Well, you won't be able to. This is impossible. She is now left without mother. If she had her mother, her life certainly would develop differently. Same if her other relatives survived (Pg9, lines 26-32).*

The following response was especially emotional and still this was guided by empathy rather than fear:

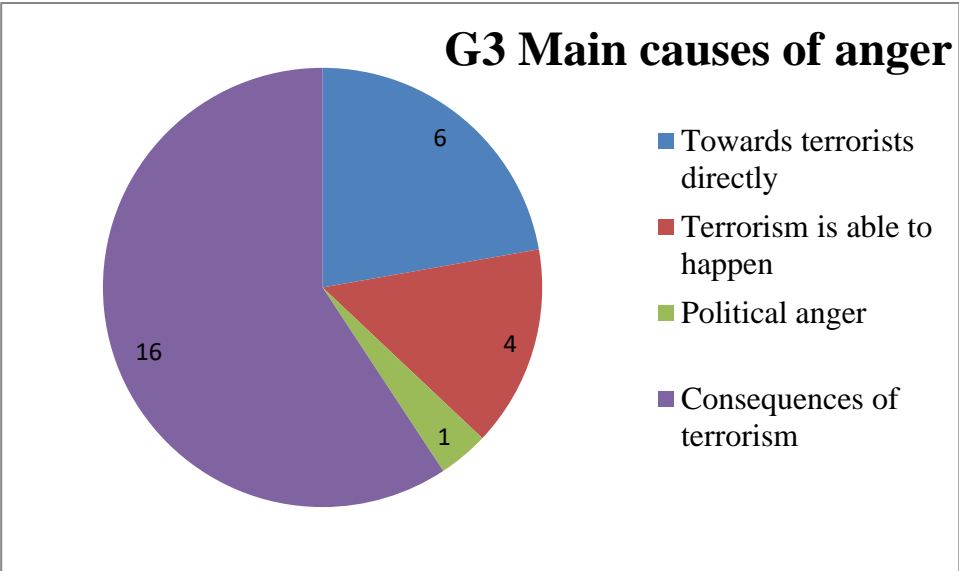
*(G3P4) ... Whether to open that video for viewing or not. As for me, I never watch this type of thing because I know that after that I won't be able to eat or sleep for a while. I will cry. I feel pain if that would be a dog let alone a person. I personally cannot watch this. Some, on the contrary, desire to see that and all sorts (Pg12, lines 19-22).*

#### 6.2.4 Anger.

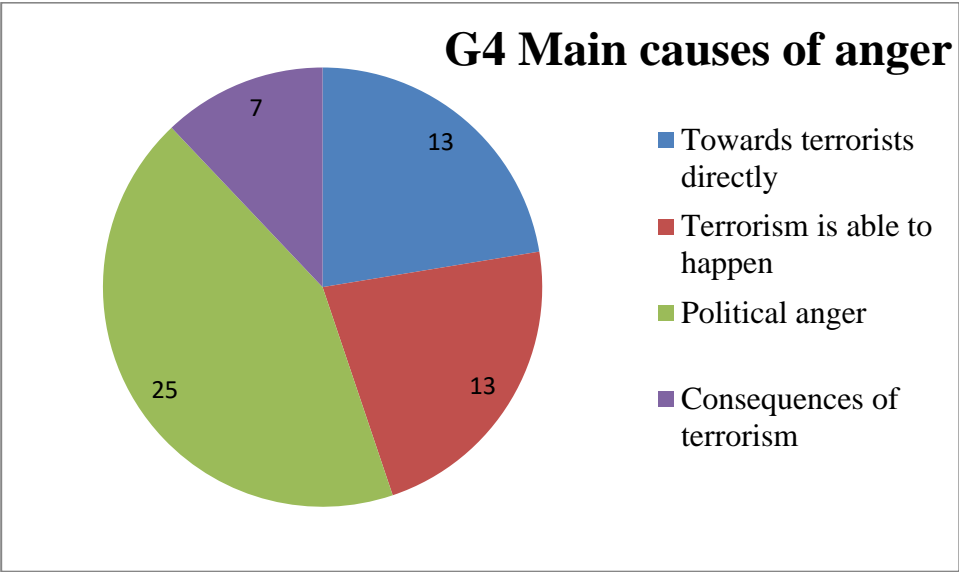
The next theme found in participants' responses is anger.



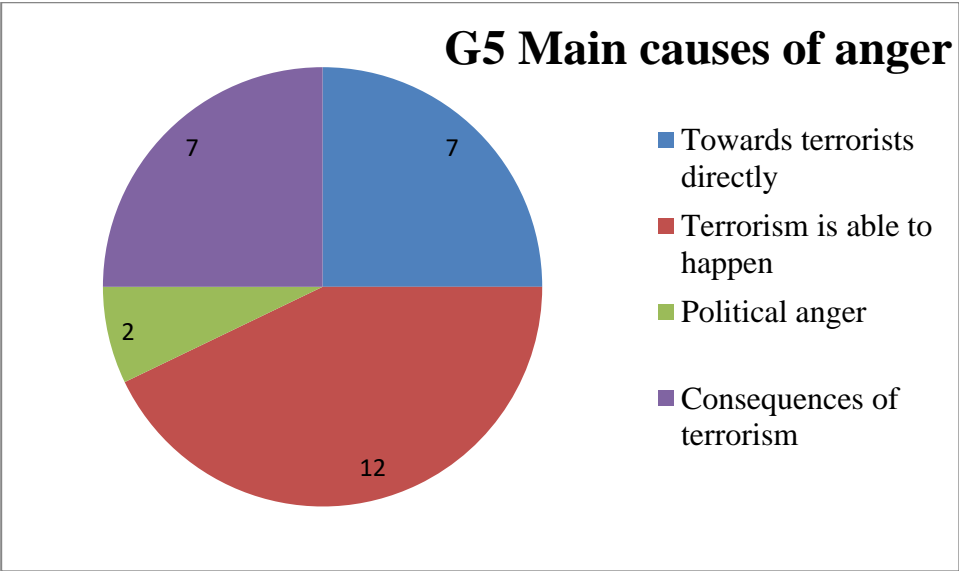
The nature of anger is further considered for each group. Due to the low scores of groups 1 and 2, it is difficult to draw a comprehensive picture of the main reasons for anger. Looking at the actual responses, they remaining as being very general, which shows a moderate level of anger.



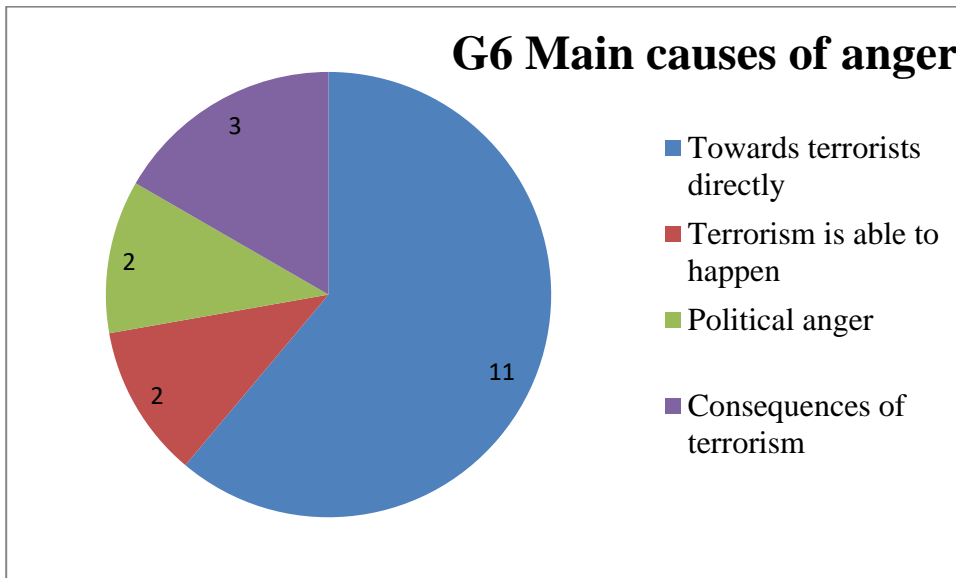
Consequences of terrorism, not political anger.



Highest on anger group due to political anger



The ability of terrorism to happen is slightly higher



Mainly anger towards terrorists

Things that make participants angry are divided towards terrorists directly, the fact that terrorism is able to happen, political anger and the consequences of terrorism. The distribution can be seen from the pie charts, particular examples can be found by referring to the transcripts using the coding of thematic analysis tables.

The most striking finding here is the amount of political anger in group 4. There can be further seen particular focus on Russia and refugee crises in the discussion. As a solution to terrorism the help of Russia is considered as it associates with better preparedness. Here strong collectivism can be observed during the discussion:

*(G4P1) We cannot even see what weapons we have as a country. During the parade in Russia on the 9th of May we were shown, and what about our country? We did not have that parade. Maybe we do not have that at all? All those old tanks that Russia got rid of and gave to us when they went back and that is all? We do not produce anything. We do not see anything.*

*(G4P4) And Kazakhstan is not that much of a rich country to be able to defend itself on its own. It is highly unlikely that it can do that. So we need to be closer to Russia.*

*(G4P1) Because Russia has the power and we do not have anything.*

*(G4P2) So we need to live at peace with our neighbours. (Page 18, lines 10-18)*

*(G4P4) If the Patriotic War was going on right now, and everybody would be standing separately... Hitler would easily come and TAKE EVERYTHING! \*raising voice\* Only because all the nations were as one, all of them were fighting for their united country; that is why they "broke their teeth here".*

*(G4P5) As they say, "you cannot break a broom, unless you break it one piece at a time". (page 18, lines 19-24)*

Further this mentality of collectivism and patriotism can be tracked to social media. The illustration on the left reads "We are Syrian women, we fight and we die whilst securing our country from the enemies. And we are poor Syrian refugees. We do not want to fight, we want German bear and benefits!". This opinion was common throughout the focus groups and expressed by different participants:

*(G1P1) You run away from your country where the events are happening... but at the same time this type of people do absolutely nothing to change the situation (page 13)*

*(G2P6) The women stay and the refugees are all young men... They all want the benefits and none wants to work. They are just leaving their country, that is not a solution (page 11)*

(G5P6) People movement from one part of the world to another. The current situation with refugees is only a tiny part of what can be (page 13)

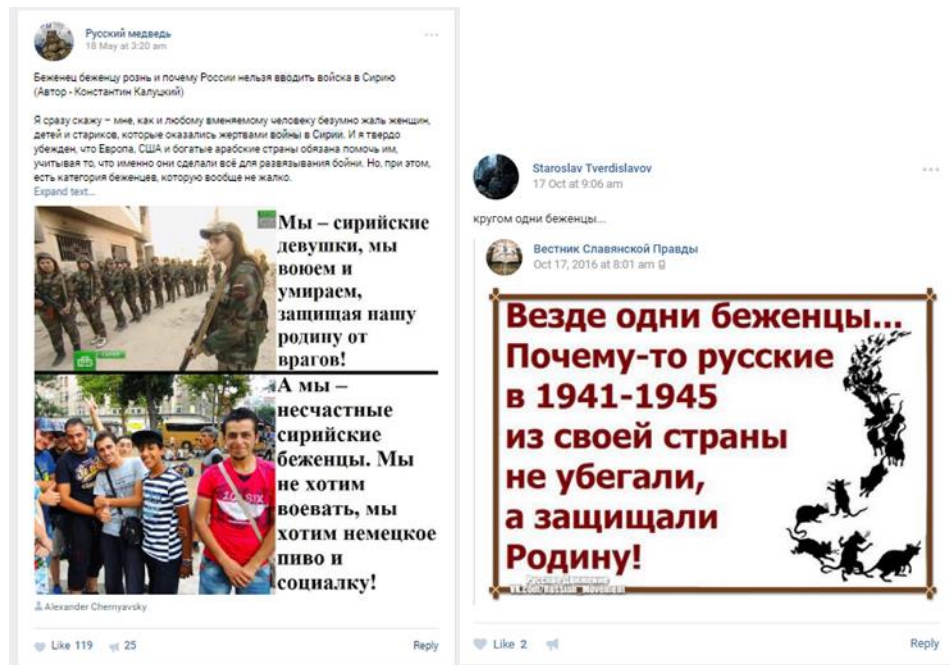
This found particular support in group 6:

(G6P1) those refugees still keep and keep going there (page 18)

(G6P4) then defend your Syria, why don't you? (page 18)

(G6p6) And look how many young men are out of those leaving? Young men who could have protected their families. All those people who cannot fight and counteract terrorism are the ones running (page 18)

In addition, the post on the right follows the above response by participant G4P4 precisely which suggests the participant could be influenced by reading the social media. The text reads: “Those refugees are everywhere... For some reason the Russian people during 1941-1945 did not run away from their motherland but stood up to fight for it”.



Source: vk.com

### 6.2.5 Suspicion

The next identified theme is suspicion. This theme was anticipated by the researcher considering some of the cultural peculiarities, as well as the research by Horsman (2005).

Twice in the research, the researcher was suspected of working for terrorists to help gain information for them, G5 Pg5, lines 20-21:

*... Just get us some information about you know what. This happens as well.*

As well as when answering the question “What type of terrorist attack is the most disastrous?”:

*(G4P4) As a matter of fact, whom are you working for? ... What, ISIS people no longer can think of something? (Pg10, lines 8-10)*

### 6.2.6 Indifference

The fourth theme is indifference. This is not one of the biggest themes within transcripts of the groups, however it represents an important attitude of the participants. The following three explanations to indifference were identified.

- 1) It cannot be changed:

*(G1P4) I do not think that I can do anything about terrorism. Dealing with terrorism is out of our competency (page 12 lines 25-26)*

- 2) We are not the ones to change:

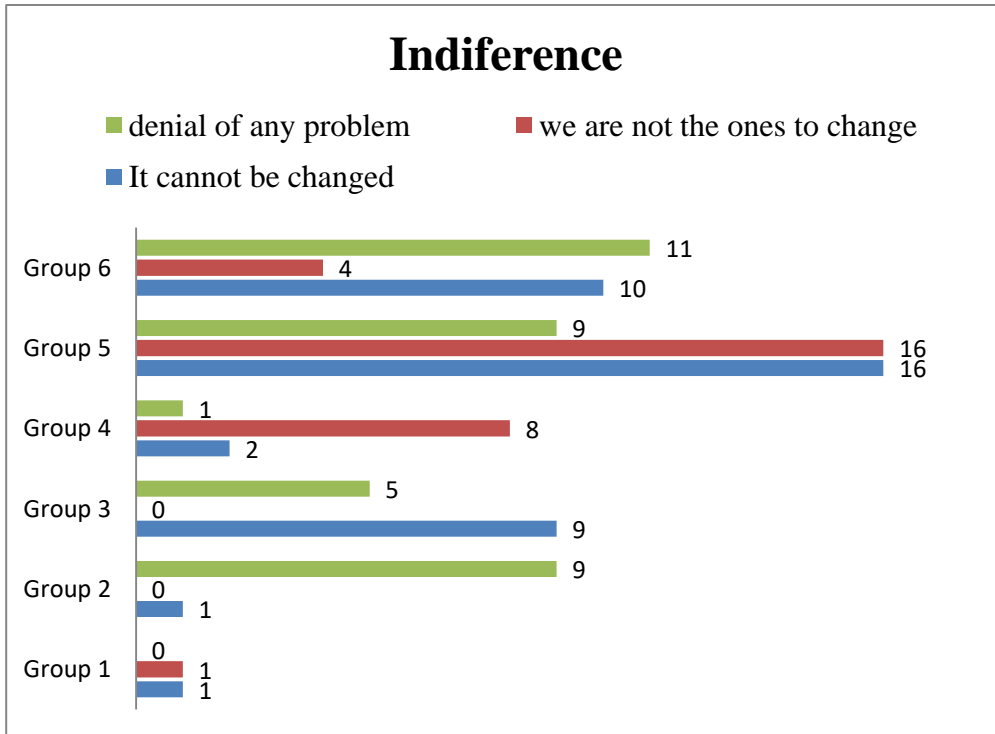
*(G4P2) Change the power! But we are not able to do that (page 8 line 30)*

- 3) Denial of any problem:

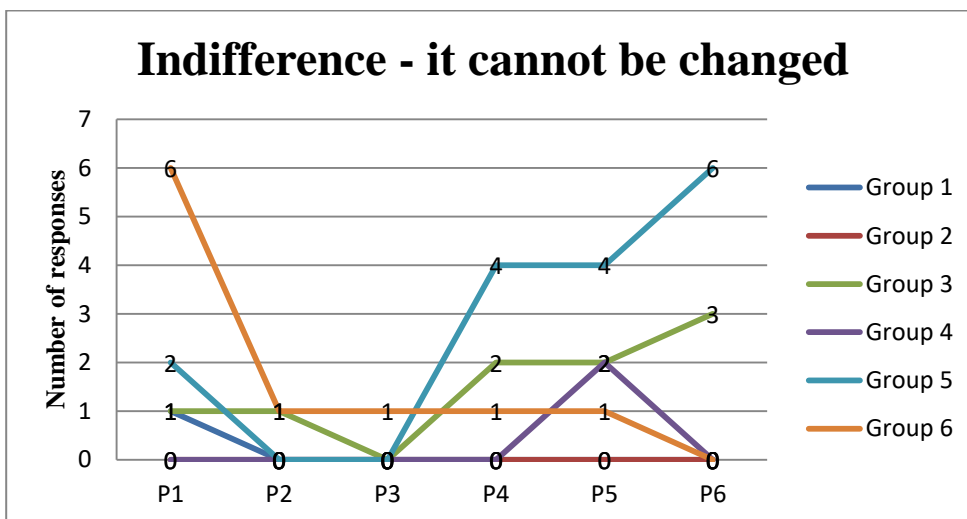
*(G2P2) There people constantly die so the audience gets used to this news (page 5 line 23)*



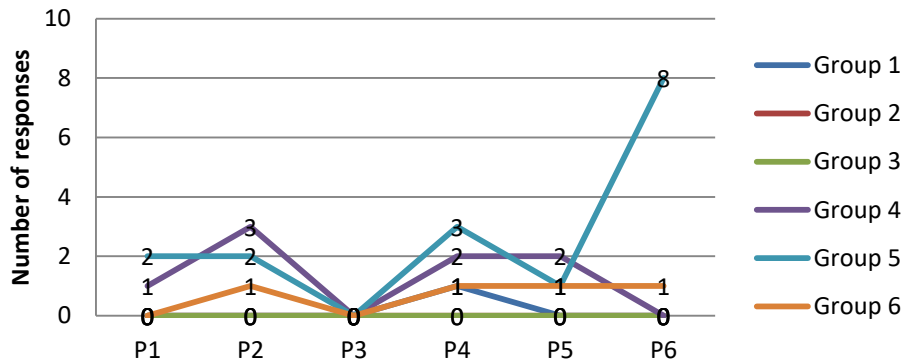
Indifference is presented in the graph below per group per each kind of indifference identified as a sub-theme.



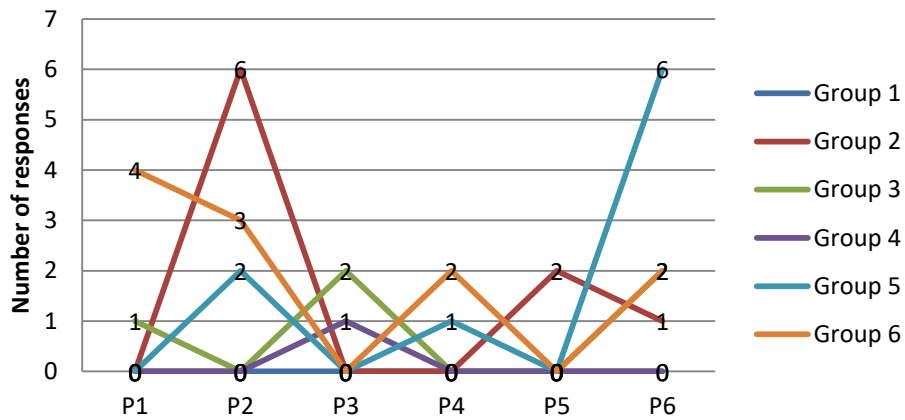
Consistency of responses among participants within groups can be observed of the 3 graphs below.



### Indifference - we are not the ones to change



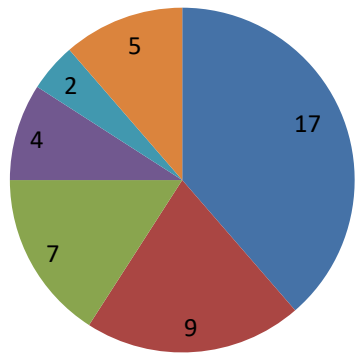
### Indifference - denial of any problem



#### 6.2.7 Other ways of reacting to terrorism

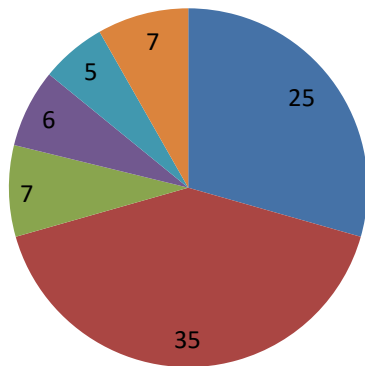
These are presented per group below.

### Group 1 - Ways of reacting to terrorism



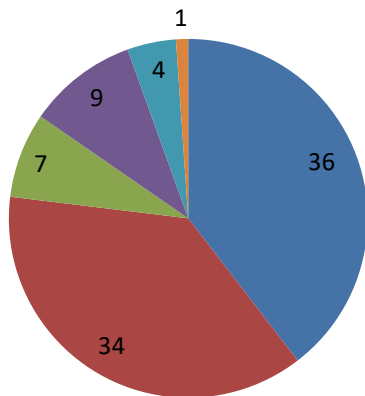
- assessment of what the media does
- background knowledge/opinion of terrorism
- sadness/empathy
- uncertainty or mixed emotions
- unfairness or powerlessness

### Group 2 - Ways of reacting to terrorism



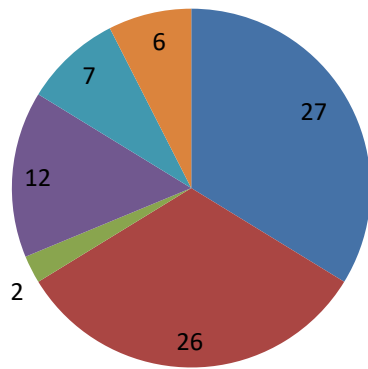
- assessment of what the media does
- background knowledge/opinion of terrorism
- sadness/empathy
- uncertainty or mixed emotions
- unfairness or powerlessness

### Group 3 - Ways of reacting to terrorism



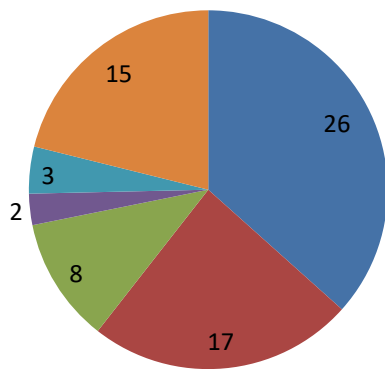
- assessment of what the media does
- background knowledge/opinion of terrorism
- sadness/empathy
- uncertainty or mixed emotions
- unfairness or powerlessness

### Group 4 - Ways of reacting to terrorism



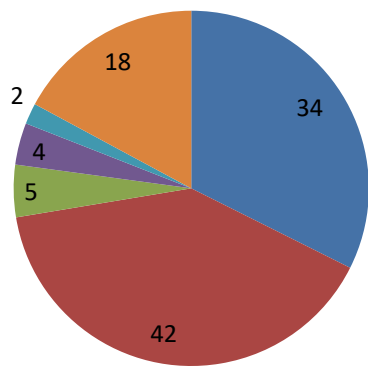
- assessment of what the media does
- background knowledge/opinion of terrorism
- sadness/empathy
- uncertainty or mixed emotions
- unfairness or powerlessness

### Group 5 - Ways of reacting to terrorism



- assessment of what the media does
- background knowledge/opinion of terrorism
- sadness/empathy
- uncertainty or mixed emotions
- unfairness or powerlessness

### Group 6 - Ways of reacting to terrorism



- assessment of what the media does
- background knowledge/opinion of terrorism
- sadness/empathy
- uncertainty or mixed emotions
- unfairness or powerlessness

Kazakhstan's policy to 'eliminate members of suspected terrorist groups' rather than 'capturing them for questioning' was discussed above with relation to the U.S. Department of State's (2015) report on counter-terrorism in Kazakhstan in 2013. This, however, found support in some of the participants in the way of appreciating the speed of response:

*(G4P3) See who is there in Russia right now? But it took Nazarbayev, no matter what good or bad people say about him, to bring in the troops and this is it. They are all ready to counteract. And they said they will do that in a very tough way. (Page 16, lines 25-27)*

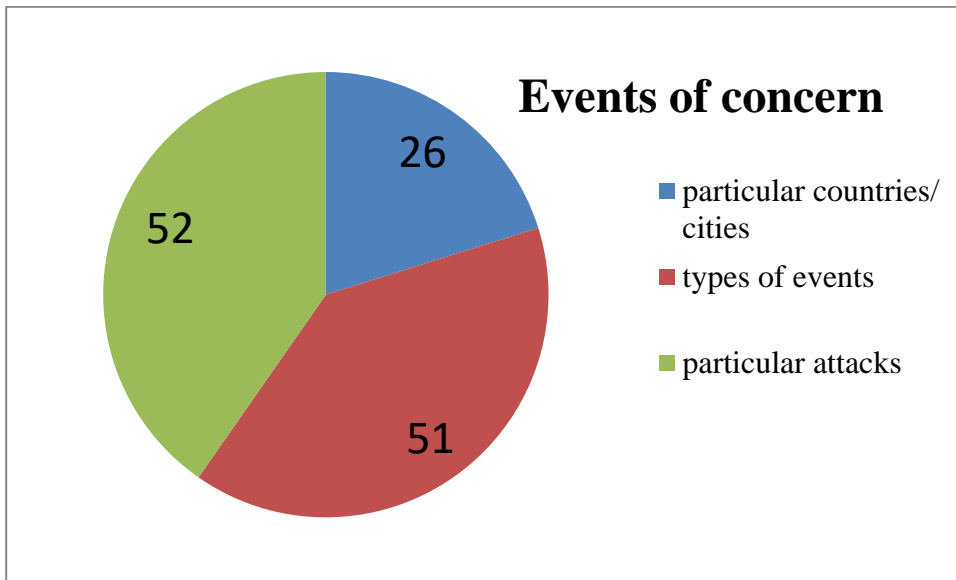
One of the ways of reacting to terrorism is seeing the attacks as events of their own, rather than in the picture with conflicting sides and responses. By analogy, the 9/11 attack would be seen without the war on terror frame and army response. Similar parallel is driven for events in Ukraine or preparation of the protests in May 21-22 in Kazakhstan:

*(G4P5) What has war to do with terrorist attacks? They are going to indoctrinate. Take even, for example, the land reforms, when they were planning the riots for the 22 of May. On television they even revealed that in Astana there was planned a revolution. They even found the burning liquid of Molotov, found equipment. And in Almaty so many weapons were prepared. And how was Ukraine destroyed? It started with the same revolution and it went on until they destroyed everything. And now they live well? (G4 Pg16, lines 15-20)*

The strong reactions to the material shown and discussed in the focus groups were not always the case. For example, when asked regarding the Khabar's video of terrorist attack in Belgium video, the most striking feature for participant G6P2 in the video was a reporter making a grammatical mistake. Thus, people are not necessarily always affected greatly by media content; some of the occasions when reporting of terrorism did not result in strong reactions:

(G6P2) *What about us? The fact that her last phrase was 'had been found' [in Russian this was said with wrong choice of gender grammar] \*laughing\* Yeah that is what we remember (Page 16, lines 25-26).*

### 6.2.8 Events of Concern



<u>Types of event</u>	
<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 4</u>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crime</li> <li>• Politics</li> <li>• Sport</li> <li>• Must be self-detonation (suicide bomber)</li> <li>• School shootings</li> <li>• Number of victims (event of large scale) +3</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bus attack</li> <li>• Kids die/Plane attack +1</li> <li>• Train explosions +1</li> <li>• Terrorist attacks/shootings</li> </ul>

<p><u>Group 2</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Riots</li> <li>• Terrorist attacks</li> <li>• Economy/Society</li> <li>• Explosion in underground and planes</li> </ul>	<p><u>Group 5</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sport</li> <li>• Terrorist attacks</li> <li>• Economics</li> <li>• Finance</li> <li>• Extent to which the destruction was done/number of victims</li> <li>• Nuclear attack</li> </ul>
<p><u>Group 3</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Topics of current interest</li> <li>• All themes</li> <li>• Flooding, hail storm, or some kind of accident</li> <li>• Everything that happens in the world</li> <li>• Politics +2</li> <li>• Regions of conflict</li> <li>• Weather</li> <li>• Sport</li> <li>• Emergencies</li> <li>• Number of victims</li> </ul>	<p><u>Group 6</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Current issues</li> <li>• Day to day issues</li> <li>• News programs, what is vital, what relates to Kazakhstan +2</li> <li>• Terrorist attacks where children die</li> <li>• Planes blown up</li> </ul>

Attacks of concern			
Particular countries/cities	Particular attacks	Particular countries/cities	Particular attacks
Group 1		Group 4	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Iraq</li> <li>• Iran</li> <li>• Turkey +1</li> <li>• USA</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• September 11<sup>th</sup></li> <li>• Beslan School</li> <li>• Moscow Underground +1</li> <li>• Paris +1</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Syria</li> <li>• Ukraine +2</li> <li>• Russia +1</li> <li>• Kazakhstan +1</li> <li>• Volgograd</li> <li>• Moscow</li> <li>• Domodedovo</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Volgograd - a bus was blown up</li> <li>• Planes in Ukraine +3</li> <li>• Beslan +1</li> <li>• Moscow Theatre</li> <li>• Saint Petersburg tramway</li> <li>• September 11<sup>th</sup> +1</li> <li>• Kiev Maidan</li> </ul>
Group 2		Group 5	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Istanbul</li> <li>• Syria +1</li> <li>• Turkey +2</li> <li>• Beslan</li> <li>• Paris</li> <li>• Russia +1</li> <li>• France</li> <li>• Kazakhstan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Twin Towers +1</li> <li>• School in Beslan +1</li> <li>• Istanbul</li> <li>• Town on the border between Syria and Turkey</li> <li>• Moscow Underground</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• America</li> <li>• Iraq</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• September 11<sup>th</sup> +1</li> <li>• Attack in France</li> <li>• Iraq</li> <li>• Almaty</li> <li>• Blew up school +2</li> </ul>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Office of Charlie Hebdo</li> <li>• Café in Turkey</li> <li>• Donbass</li> <li>• Plane with Russian tourists</li> <li>• Russia located its troops in Syria</li> </ul>		
Group 3		Group 6	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kazakhstan +1</li> <li>• Russia</li> <li>• France</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• September 11<sup>th</sup> +2</li> <li>• Beslan +2</li> <li>• Russian plane in Egypt +1</li> <li>• Moscow underground</li> <li>• In theatre</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ukraine</li> <li>• Russia +1</li> <li>• Syria +1</li> <li>• Nazarbayev</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Beslan +1</li> <li>• September 11<sup>th</sup> +1</li> <li>• Ukraine plane explosion</li> <li>• Recent attack when 60 people died</li> </ul>

Common feature - Crowded places – 14 participants out of 35.

This is further influenced by assumed social media practices of the participants. For example, in response to participant G4P4 asking “why is Russia bothering them?” participant G4P5 replied:

*(G4P5) They soon will be flooded that is why. They say soon whole America will be under water, this is why.*

This perception can be tracked to social media with the illustration of the post below. The information reads: “The scientists have published a list of cities which will go under water by 2030.” The first in that list is positioned New York.



*vk.com*

### *6.2.9 Why Attacks Happen*

Some common opinions were observed, such as the lack of information provided by the media regarding causes and factors leading to an attack; that is, only the consequences are shown.

General perceptions was that the terrorists know whom and what to offer. The youth was specified as an easy target for terrorists because of money temptation as well as lack of life experience. When speaking about men joining

terrorists the explanation was saving the family from poverty. This is the evidence supporting previous research by Byman (2015).

The environment one is brought up in is seen as one of the root causes of becoming a terrorist. Participant G4 Pg13, lines 13-14 (below) even compares the raising of children to bringing up dogs. Seems somewhat inappropriate at first but he makes a crucial point. The way they both are raised determines their perception of the world if they see no other environment; according to this opinion, if people are enclosed in violence then they only know violence as a means of solving things.

*(G4P4) It all starts from there. A person who has a kitten or a puppy growing up in their house is able to love and will never do bad things to another person as well as to a kitten or a puppy. And those who bring them up in a bad way; for example, people who have a fighting dog, are people who do not like other people.*

*(G4P3) Neither do they like dogs.*

*(G4P4) It all is about upbringing when a dog is raised to be a killer. The same happens with a human. (Page 13, lines 8-14)*

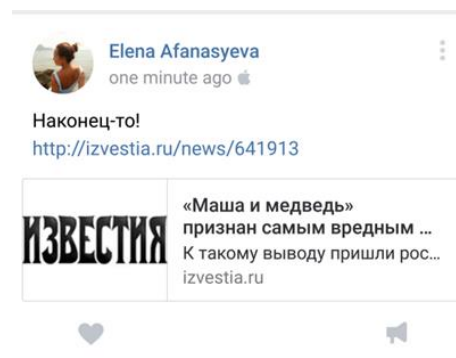
Some of the other reasons given for why attacks happen are actually in the anger category:

*(G4P5) They must be forced to work with uranium. Otherwise they want to die well. Those who are normally shot must be forced to work in inhumane conditions. Then they would understand and consider and it would be shown on TV for those who do this. See he did that and now he has this type of work. ... Back to how it was previously, when people were made to extract uranium wearing shackles. So that they went bold, couldn't eat or drink and this all was shown. This way maybe some will reconsider next time whether to make this step or not. ... Otherwise what is it that he is killed? He is killed and what then? He*

*used to be and now he doesn't exist anymore. So what? When it can actually make others think twice about going for such a sacrifice. (Page 12, lines 9-20)*

There was an overall pattern in all the groups and particularly in group 5 about the influence of violence in cartoons for children on them seeing violence as norm and becoming vulnerable to radicalisation further in their life. Some of the examples brought by the participants were Tom and Jerry, Soviet cartoon Nu Pogodi and modern animation Masha and the Bear.

The last one has received some discussion in social media as well, which could potentially influence the opinions of participants. Thus, a VK user posted: 'Finally!' and shared a link for a newspaper article where it says that Masha and the Bear was ranked the worst cartoon for children psyche by the psychologist association (the original post is illustrated below).



Source: vk.com

Interestingly, despite the disapproval of violence in cartoons participants strongly supported the idea of children being exposed to news coverage of terrorist attacks on television. One of the questions addressed to participants was based on the previous research by Thornton (2015) and Malholm and Printz (2009), namely: "What measures could be undertaken to minimise the negative influence of terrorism reporting on vulnerable groups?" This question was received by most participants with objection to the need in or ability of reducing the effect. Some common opinions were observed, such

as the opinion that children must be educated about terrorism from an early age: A “Hiding from them” approach is not going to work, they will find out anyway.

It can be concluded here that the actual fact of seeing violence on television by children parents do not receive with objection, however this is due to the educating purpose of it showing violence as a bad, tragic thing. Whereas in cartoons the violence is presented in a playful manner which in participants opinion children will misunderstand.

Political reasoning of why the attacks happen resulted in cases where some participants actually were talking in favour of Saddam Hussein and the regime in Syria. Some examples are below:

*(G2P6) In case of Islamic State, the others came to their territory to put in place their own way of life and their democracy. For the mentality of local people that democratic way of life will never work (page 3)*

*(G3P2) When there was Saddam Hussein, he controlled them all (p.18)*

*(G4P4) Why must everybody live by American standards? Why Iraq, for example, cannot live by their own rules, the way they like? (page 5)  
... If a person uses a gun against a selected government – they are already a terrorist and bandit (page 20)*

*(G5P2) Remember Baghdad and Saddam Hussein? That is where it all started. That is why the war started and Americans started intruding in Iraq. That is what caused that terrorist attack in America, and those terrorist attacks in Iraq. (page 3)*

People see various types of terrorists as opposed to them being referred to as one type. Thus, there were identified as ruthless terrorist and those followed and trapped to be such. There are masterminds terrorists in charge and cannon fodder, which are the executors. This gives the reasons for why attacks happen. Those who want to prove the power versus having no choice. Attacks due to ill psyche of a single person and those associated with a terrorist group. In addition, terrorists of various backgrounds. The examples of this could be found amongst all the six groups:

*(G1P2) Self-detonation as a rule carries in itself some religious or ideological ground. A shooting as a rule is related to psyche type of illness (page 2)*

*(G2P6) There is an opinion that some organisations are supported by certain governments (page 2)*

*(G3P6) Same with young girls or lonely people. They read the emotions of people very well. And understand who needs what, what vulnerable strains to pull. Who needs what to be lured (page 4)*

*(G4P3) A young man was saying on TV that those from previous Soviet Union are for them 'cannon fodder'. They purposely send them to die. Those who are at command not so much. (p.5)*

*(G5P6) Young people – unstable psyche and not enough educated. Women are offered good pay and employment (page 5)*

*(G6P2) Well it is the terrorists' hands that the nuclear weapon is in. But the at charge type of terrorists. That main bunch of elite that lives offshore. But if we speak about the beard type then of course they will not be let to it. (pg 15, ln 22-24)*

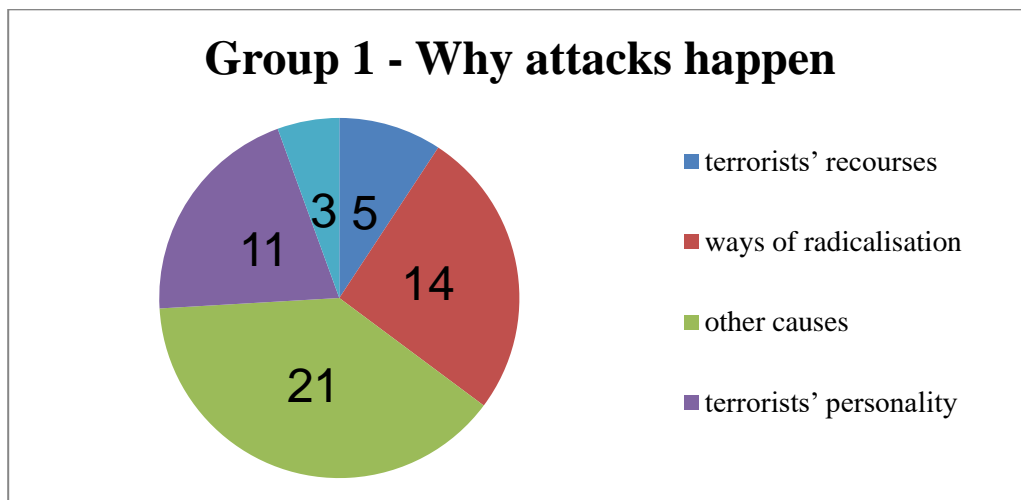
On many occasions participants were specifying money as the main factor that can lead anybody to be radicalised. In fact, 12 participants out of 35 mentioned money as one of the key factors in why people would become terrorists.

For example:

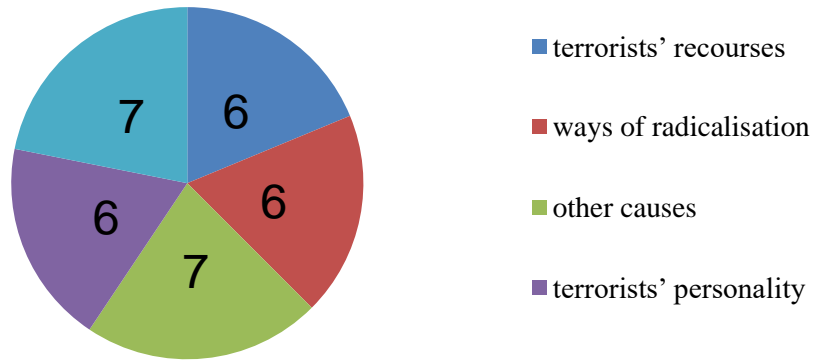
*(G4P2) They may pay him well, he will leave this money to the family and say “may I die but my family will survive”... Because of, so to say, not seeing any future or anything good ahead. “At least I will save my kids” (pg 5, ln 6-10).*

Here can be seen the ‘family’ theme which is further discussed in relation to blackmailing as a method of recruitment rather than bribing:

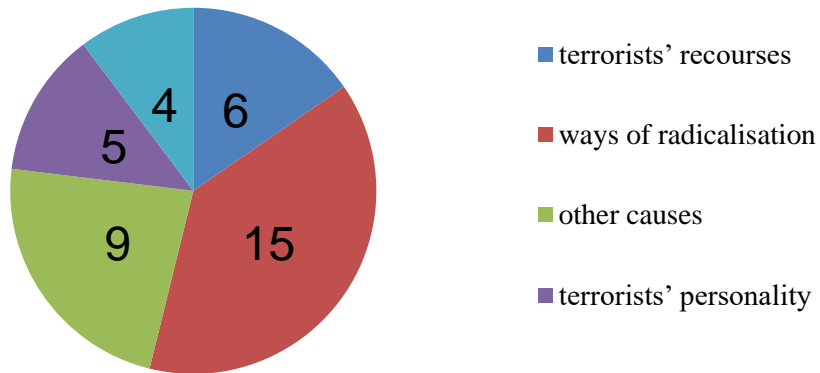
*(G4P4) This may be or they can also say “we will destroy your family if you won’t do certain things”. (pg5, ln 12-13)*



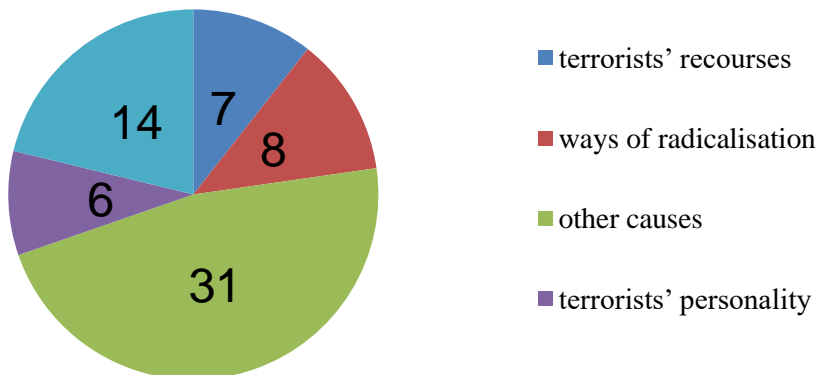
## Group 2 - Why attacks happen



## Group 3 - Why attacks happen

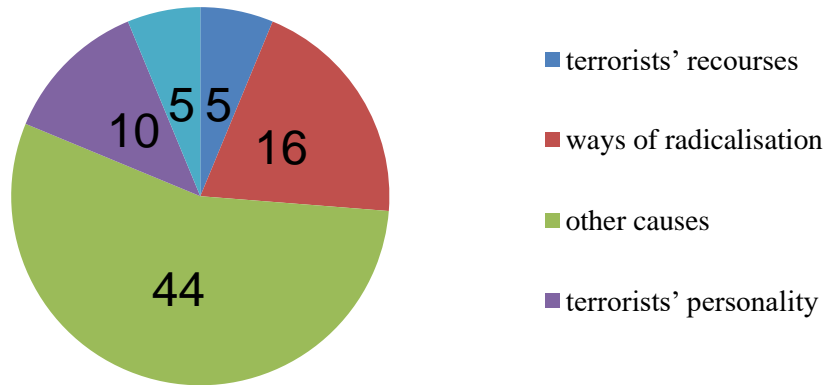


## Group 4 - Why attacks happen

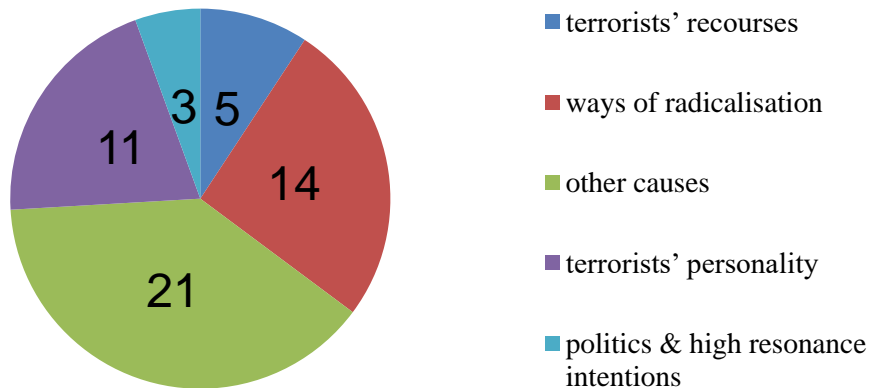




### Group 5 - Why attacks happen



### Group 6 - Why attacks happen



#### 6.2.10 Media Assessment

The academic debate on media interest in terrorism reporting was presented in chapter 2. Similar views to those of Yarchi (2013), Iqbal (2008), Kampf (2014), etc. were found within opinions of focus group participants:

*(G4P4) As for reporters, you do not need to seek “burning facts” and pleasantly speak about them. Some of them need something that would leave everybody shaken and they report it with such a delight. Of course it would be better if they reported in a neutral way and left it for the audience to decide whether they need to be delighted or frustrated. (Pg13-14, lines 33-32).*

The participant further explains that the reason for neutral reporting is not only not to harm people emotionally but also to stop extreme people from taking action:

*(G4P4) There is no need to hide, you just need to tell the truth in a neutral way. Say that a certain thing happened and then people are to judge whether to be delighted or worried. There are some who say I like this \*making impression\* “look how wonderful, how many people were killed” all delighted. Then a young person will be watching and thinking “if I do the same they will be talking about me with the same delight” .... Pg14, lns11-16*

#### 6.2.11 Strategies people employ to express their feelings caused by news of a terrorist attack

##### a) Laughing



Laughing was not the expected response when dealing with research on the subject of terrorism. However, the pie chart above shows numerous occasions of laughter during the focus group activity. Looking into the reasoning and nature of laughing further, laughter can be explained as a means of coping with

anxiety. This function of laughter was earlier mentioned with the example of study by Lester (2012).

Nervous laughing was mostly the case, for example:

*(G3P5) \*trying to find words\* this type of feelings you ask about I do not think even should be revealed. \*laughing\* This type of negativity can turn into something very ... \*laughing\* (page 10, lines 3-5)*

However, sometimes laughter was not a means of coping with fear or emotions; it was rather a sign that people were fine talking about the subject and were relaxed about it:

*(G6P1) Well, I think that they are running not from the good life. There is a war, there is nothing to eat, so they run somewhere. Merkel promised them that she will settle everybody. \*laughing\* (pg15, lines 1-3)*

Very similar reaction to laughter is joking about terrorism as a means of coping with fear. For example, Pg20, lines 26-31:

*(G5P3) And where to anyway?*

*(G5P2) To the mountains!*

*\*laughing\**

*(G5P2) Yeah set up a tent there and live.*

*(G5P6) Yeah they will take the sticks, pitchforks and machine guns and will go fight. \*laughing loud\**

b) Aggression.

One of the examples of open reactions, as opposed to reserved, is aggression. Interestingly, there was no pattern of certain questions resulting in responses of aggression. It is assumed, however, that somewhat common feature was the fact of disagreeing or not liking the question asked. When asked opinion on

broadcasting the children victims during the Beslan attack participant G3P6 replied as follows:

*(G3P6) Those children who are being saved and taken out of there do not care at all, sorry for my language, whether their faces will be shown or not. What matters for them is that somebody saves them. And later on, I think it doesn't matter to them at all if they will be shown on television in the moment of them being so petrified and wanting to leave that horrible place. When they are being saved I do not think at all they are thinking about that or whether they will appear on television or not. \*outraged\* (Pg13, lines 25-30).*

Another possible explanation is the personality of a participant. For example, participant 3 in group 3 saw the questions 'deeply wrong' on several occasions (G3P3pg1ln12, G3P3pg2ln13, etc.). This was including the opening discussion question of what main topics are being in media.

### c) Positioning oneself as a victim

One of the striking features found in the research is participants acting as victims of the Western world. This seems to fit under the political propaganda of putting blame on external factors. This was particularly evident in group 5, which is the only group where the participants watched predominantly Russian channels. For example:

*(G5P3) Russian people, Putin, said that he wants to blow up all the terrorists, where their leader is...*

*(G5P4) All in a crowd.*

*(G5P2) ... and America knows this information but they do not want to give away this information to Russia. It was more than on one occasion that Putin asked them. (Pg7, lines 21-22)*

#### d) Avoidance

The theme of indifference was sometimes appearing as a way of avoiding getting into trouble.

Thus, when asked about visiting a country right after an attack has happened there (using the example of Norway attack video) the majority of participants said it would be highly unlikely. This is despite the statistics produced by researchers such as McQueeny (2014) where the security level is higher and the likelihood of another attack is lower compared to other destinations soon after the attack. This shows escalation of perceived threat in public's opinion.

Another reason for avoidance is personal belief that “minding terrorism is a bad thing” (G5Pg8ln26-27):

*(G5P6) ... So for a person who thinks it is his business, let him mind it and watch.*

This was further explained by religion:

*(G5P6)...For a normal down-to-earth person, this is not needed at all... It is not granted that the Orthodox, well, all the religious people and in a good way, doesn't matter whether it is a Muslim or a Christian, have always kept away from politics. Because they believe there isn't anybody decent apart from Allah or god. (Pg9, lines 6-7)*

#### e) Putting the attack on oneself – “passive experience”

Overall for the groups it can be observed that perception of the threat of a terrorist attack is very high. In some cases, people almost try to imagine the attack on themselves and are left feeling as if they themselves witnessed an attack in reality. One of the explanations for this is the extent to which the victims and the participants are alike. For example, when talking about Beslan video:

*(GIP2) ... We can remember these events very clearly, because our generation was starting school at that time. This happened on September 1, and when we came home from school we were watching the breaking news, the reporting. So the subject of this terrorist attack is very painful to us individually. This, so to say, touches us deeply. (pg9, ln16-19)*

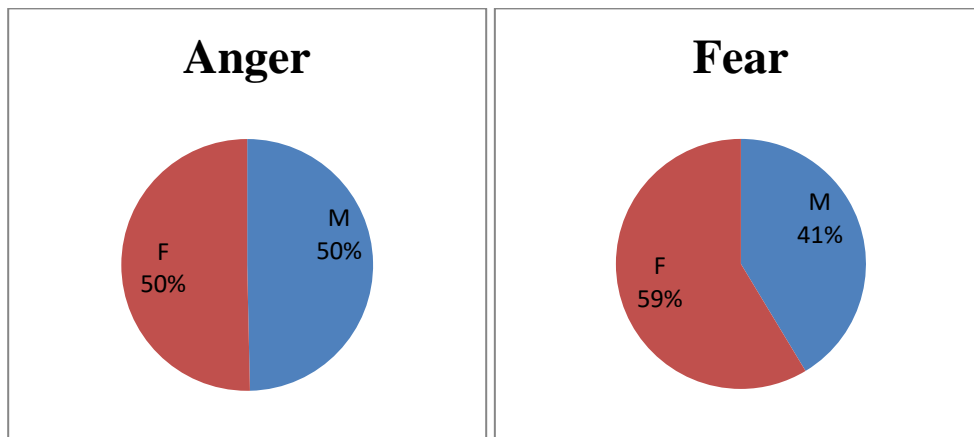
At the same time, some strong views have been expressed against lesser coverage of the attacks on television if something did happen. This was reasoned by awareness of what can happen and how to react in such situations.

6.3 Factors excluding media, such as demographics of participants and nature of attacks and their influence on the range of emotions and opinions produced in the focus groups.

*6.3.1 Group Demographics*

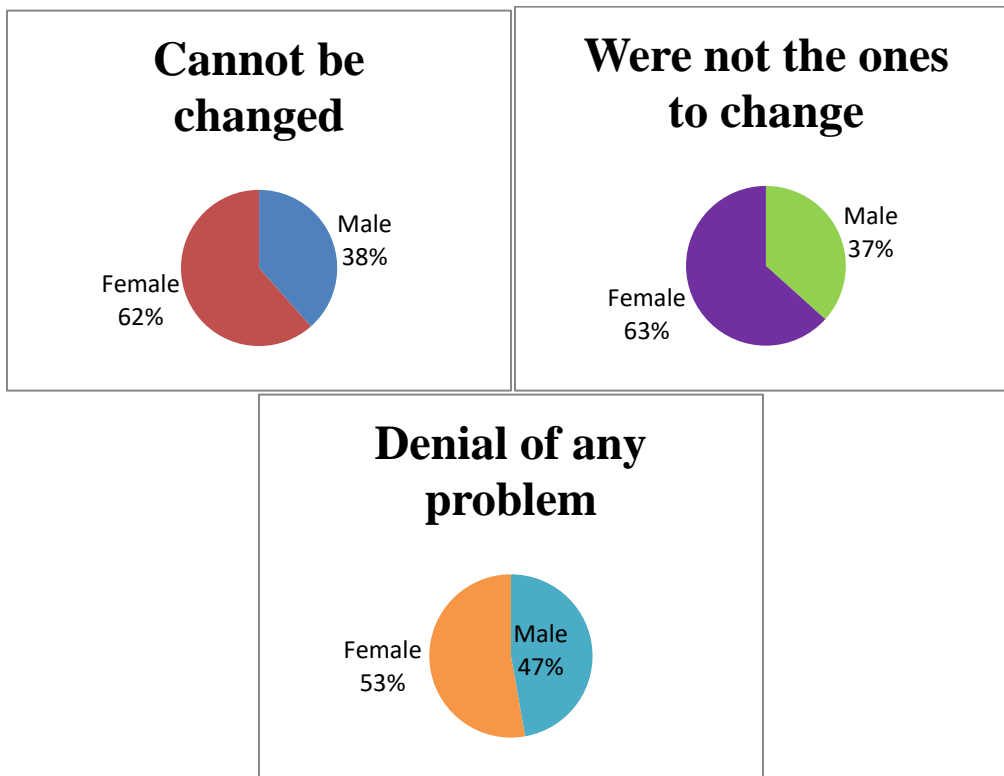
a) Gender

Regarding gender considerations of anger, no particular differences are shown. Once the weighted percentage was calculated for the 1 missing male participant in group 4, the result shows an equal amount of anger distributed for males and females.



However, this was not the case for the fear reaction, for which females were nearly 10% more likely to express fear in the focus group discussions than males. It is believed that male are generally less likely to admit openly to feelings of fear, which could influence the results. This bias was partially reduced by the method for data collection being observation and questioning regarding terrorism. There were no direct questions about fear and no self-scoring by participants themselves as to how scared they are.

Testing of gender differences in responses for each type of indifference reaction, which are presented in the following three pie charts, shows consistent prevalence of female suspicion over male. This is less so, however, in case of “denial of any problem” type.



## b) Age

The role of family and bringing up in preventing radicalisation was mentioned on many occasions within the groups. This can be explained by the firm belief in groups of 30+ age that young people are particularly vulnerable to radicalisation. In fact, it was mentioned by 14 out of 23 participants that the youth are an easy target for terrorists.

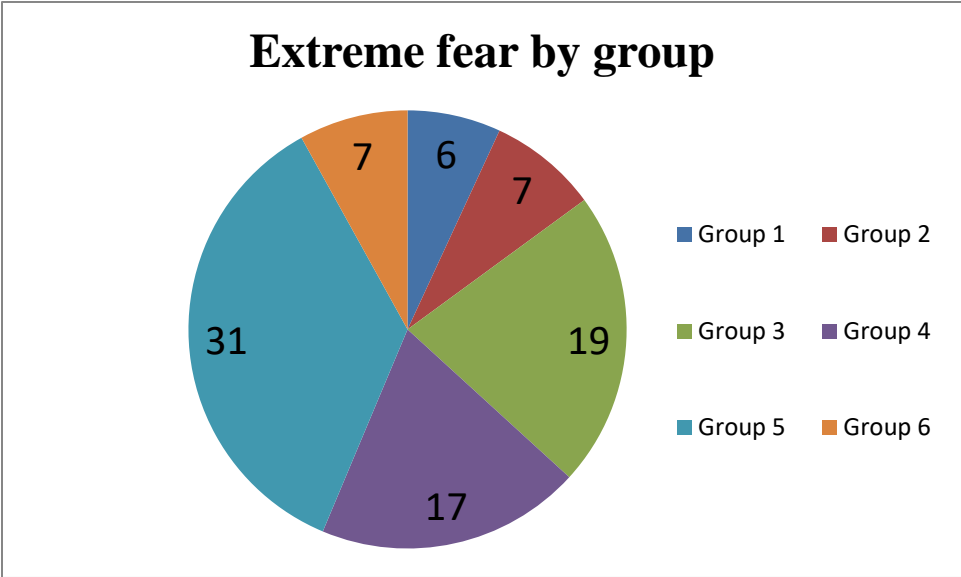
Age differences have other implications for people's opinions. On the one hand, people's opinions and views of life can remain broadly the same, which would be following the cohort effect. On the other hand, the differences in groups attributed to age could follow the generational impact, where participants of a younger age would eventually follow the root of older participants in their political views.



The pie chart below shows that group 5 was significantly higher on extreme fear than the rest of the groups. This was expressed in actual comments of participants, for example, as follows:

*(G5P6) We think that 'please, god, not us' and not our Kazakhstan.  
(page 4line 5)*

*(G5P2) This is what is the most disastrous. The nuclear war.(page 12  
line 22)*



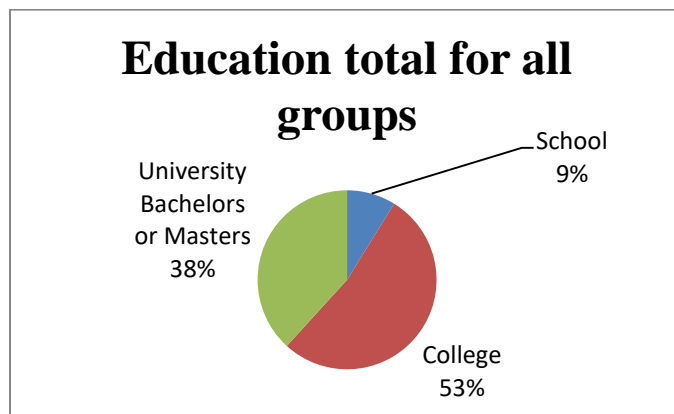
Regarding overall fear in the pie chart below, it can be noticed that the value for group 2 remained the same, which means that group represented the lowest fear among groups, whereas all of the fear responses were extreme fear. The leading position for extreme fear was in group 5, whereas fear overall was approximately the same figure for groups three and five, which were both significantly higher than the other groups. Groups 4 and 6 were positioned in the middle, whilst the lowest on the fear scale were groups 1 and 2. This finding, particularly the way each group is paired, suggests age dependence for the results. Thus, ages 30-56 are significantly predisposed to expressing fear as their response, followed by those aged 56+and with ages 18-29 expressing least fear.

It must be specified here that the figures are given as numbers of responses rather than percentages. Particularly low scores are partially explained by the lengths of transcripts in those groups; for example, transcripts of groups 1 and 2 are about 15 pages long. This comparison is not relevant to other groups, such as group 4 is 24 pages long and attributed to 27 responses, whereas group 3 is 21 pages and represents the highest score of 49. Nevertheless, the timing of all the groups was approximately the same. The presentation of percentages is not seen practical in calculating the overall value for responses due to the qualitative nature of findings.

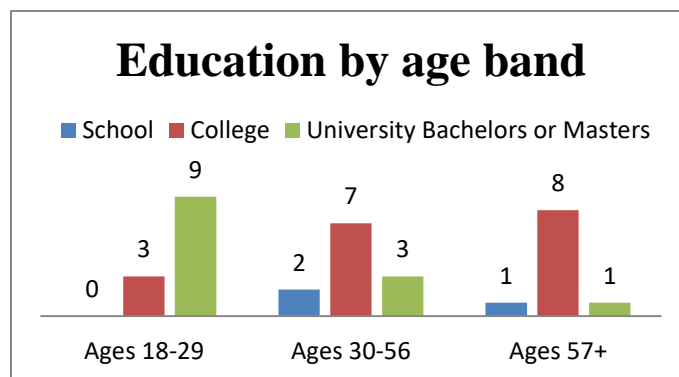
Due to working with words rather than numbers, the above findings in pie charts should be treated with caution. In particular, those responses of a few words and those of a few lines were counted as one and the same number towards the pie chart. It is believed that the qualitative nature of the response matters most as some key reactions may be captured within responses of a few words and do not necessarily take as many lines, which otherwise would be a sign of a key response in number representation. The purpose of creating the pie chart was purely to give some initial understanding of the results. To gain a deeper perspective of responses a qualitative examination of responses follows below.

### c) Education

Previous studies (e.g. Traugott and Brader 2003) noted that higher levels of education result in more explanations being given for causes of terrorism. As can be seen from the pie chart below, only 81% of participants had at least college education and 38% had at least one university degree.



This allocation significantly differed throughout groups according to age. It must be noted here that groups 1 and 2 attribute to the 18-29 age bands, groups 3 and 5 to ages 30-56 and groups 4 and 6 are for those 57+ years of age. This numbering represents the order in which the groups took place. Referring to the graph below, a significant generational difference can be seen. Thus, all of the participants in the youngest group continued their education past school with the majority having attained a university degree. However, as the age increases, a significant decrease can be seen in people attending university. It is argued that this pattern is not limited to the focus groups but reflects the importance of education in contemporary Kazakh society. Ages 30-56 and 57+ have similar educational profiling with a majority having attended college and relatively similar low number for school and university. The presented results are limited due to one missing participant in group 4 and participant 6 in group 6 not giving an answer to this question. Within an age band of 30-56 years, group 5 has an equal number of representatives for each type of education group.

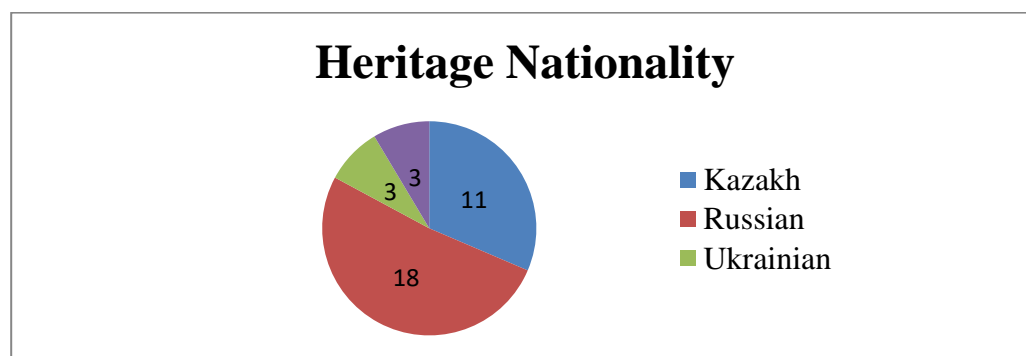


This only illustrated the level of education; however, occupations of participants was obtained as well in case it indicates the derivation of some of the explanations (see appendix 8 for demographics table).

From looking into appendix 11 it can be seen that the highest amount of explanations were offered by participants G2P6 (university), G4P1 (college), G4P4 (college), G4P5 (university) and G5P6 (university). Unlike in the research by Traugott and Brader (2003) there was no specific pattern identified in numbers of explanations given and educational level. However, one can notice that most of the participants belong to group 4.

#### d) Heritage nationality

Having looked into the heritage nationality profiling of people in Kazakhstan and the region-specific profiling for Ust-Kamenogorsk in the introduction section, the majority of participants were expected to be Russian by heritage. As can be seen from the pie chart below, native Kazakh status was attributed to 11 people, compared to native Russian status being attributed to 18. It must be specified, however, that all participants are Kazakh by nationality and all were most likely to be born in Kazakhstan.



Considering religion profiling, the graph below shows similarity with the heritage nationality pie chart. This reflects the cultural and historical differences of Kazakh people coming from an Islam religious background and Russian people from an Orthodox Christian religious background. This, however, is not always the case because only 9 of 11 Kazakh participants are Muslim. Interestingly, only 1 participant was an atheist but one could suggest

this figure would be much higher in a Western society, at least for the youngest age group.

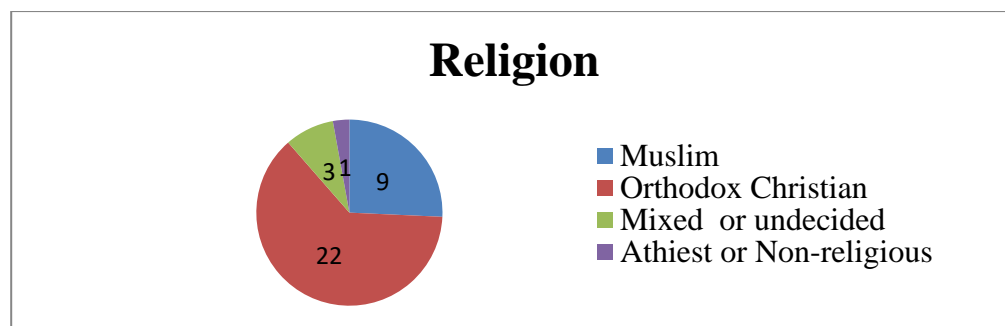
Particular attention to the issue of Ukraine and role of Russia and the States was given by participant G4P4. This is explained by his heritage nationality being Ukrainian. Here the difference in emotional response to domestic and foreign attacks is particularly evident:

*(G4P4) What I remember mostly is that they had a terrorist attack. Well, yeah, people died there. Of course, many people. This is bad, this is hard, this is about them being attacked by terrorists. And the fact that Poroschenko keeps attacking Donbass and there are thousands of those killed and wounded and with distorted body parts, and people have nowhere to live – this is normal. And why does all of this happen? As I see it, if a person uses a gun against the selected government – they are already terrorists and bandits. And they have good terrorists and bad terrorists. The good terrorists is the type liked by Americans and the bad type is the one not liked by Americans. ... Actually, they have not stopped being terrorists because they go with loaded guns against the elected government. (Page 20, lines 6-15)*

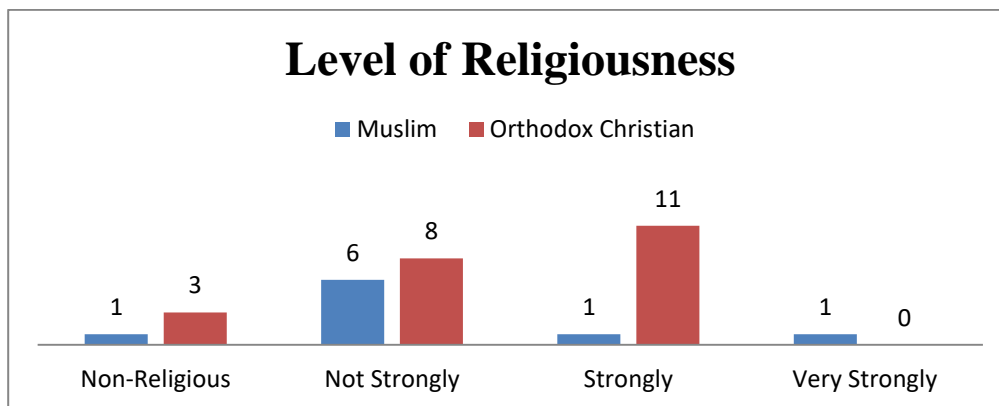
Another participant tries to help justify the G4P4 talking mostly about the issues in Ukraine by saying the Ukraine topic is closer than Belgium.

*(G4P1) You see, this topic about Ukraine is much closer to us than that Brussels. Of course, people died there. (Page 21, lines 8-9)*

#### e) Religion



Considering oneself of a certain religious background does not necessarily mean this religion is followed, or it can be followed to various extents. The graph below shows the majority of Muslim people were “not strongly” religious, apart from the only participant from all of the groups being attributed to “very strongly religious” and a Muslim. Generally, the Orthodox Christian participants were more religious, with 11 people scoring “strongly religious”. The description for each of the variables can be found in participant demographics form.



Overall, there was little reference to religion within the groups. One exception was participant G5P6 who on several occasions brought up subject of religion into explaining why the attacks happen. For example:

*(G5P6) All this that is going on with religiousness, it is absolutely not Islam. The Islam as it is never provides for a murder of a person. And what is happening at the moment, ‘Allah Akbar’ – this is absolutely different... Because there is real Islam and people who are following it are pure, they are kind hearted, they would never hurt anybody. (page 2)*

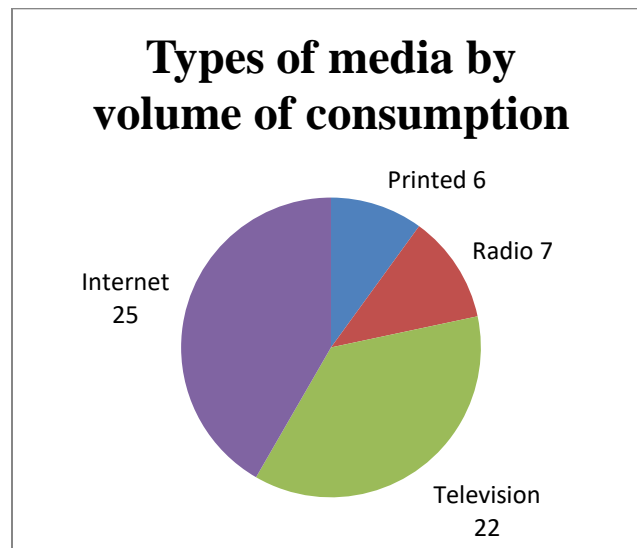
It is worth noting that being a strong advocate of Islam the participant actually was of a strongly religious Orthodox background.

### 6.3.2 Media Consumption Habits

**Here the conclusions are based not on the effect of media, but on the consumption of media reported by participants in pre-discussion questionnaire as well as shared during the discussion in groups.**

Participants have been asked about their main source of information without being restrained to choosing just one. Thus as can be seen from the pie chart below, internet and television were the leading sources of information.

Whereas radio and printed materials were only chosen by 7 and 6 participants out of 35 respectively.

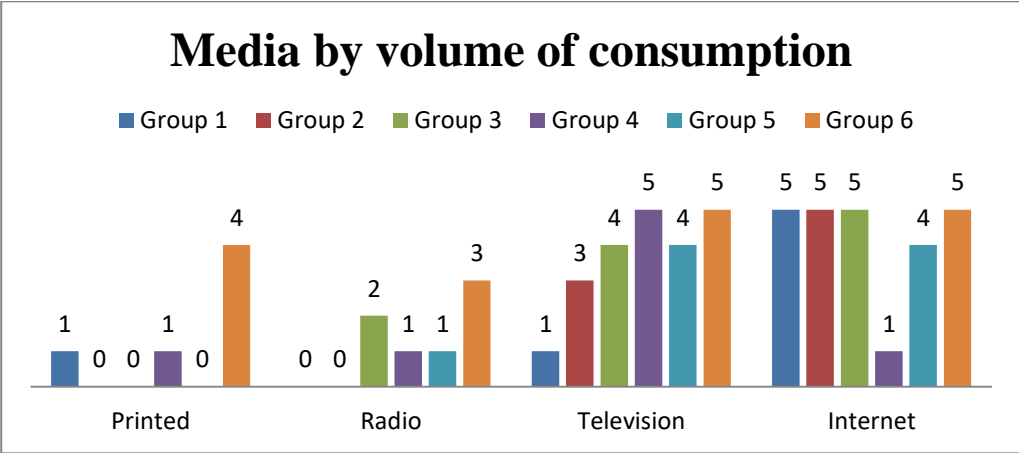


The graph below shows the choice of media sources specifically for each group.

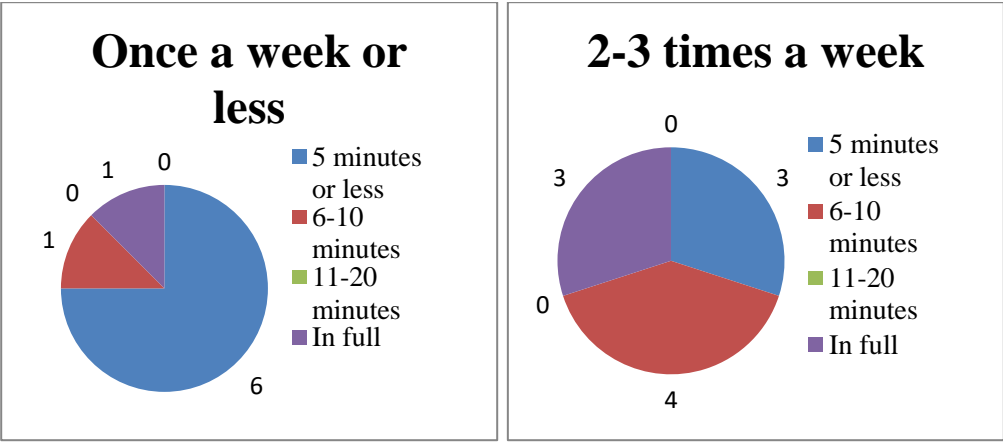
The types of media scoring were high for the internet and television and are reflected in high scores per group. Group 4 is the only one standing out for not specifying the internet as the main source or one of the main sources. Moreover, it has same low score for the choice of printed media and radio, with television being the dominant source of information.

Radio is not a preferred source of information for the two young groups.

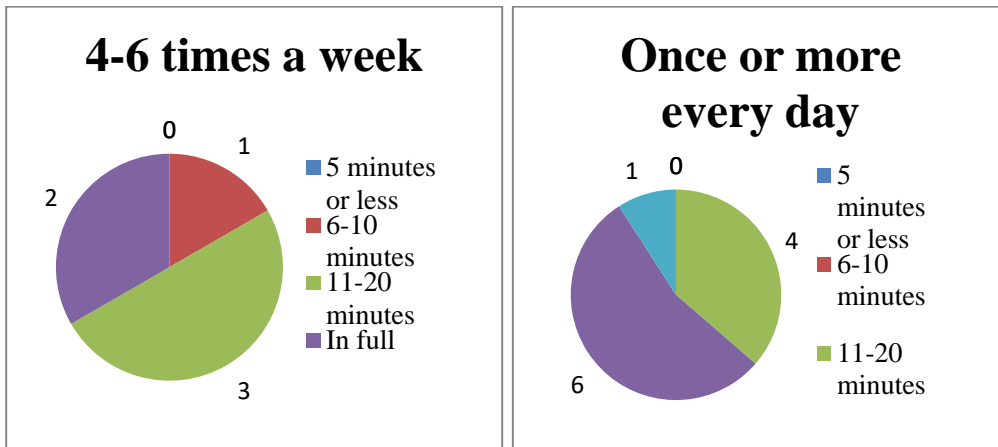
In group six, participants seemed to be using all four means of media almost equally.



Having specified their preferred sources of information, participants were further asked the extent they were exposed to television. Even though the internet scored slightly higher than television, the internet was mostly chosen in responses alongside other media, whereas television stood out as a single response as well.

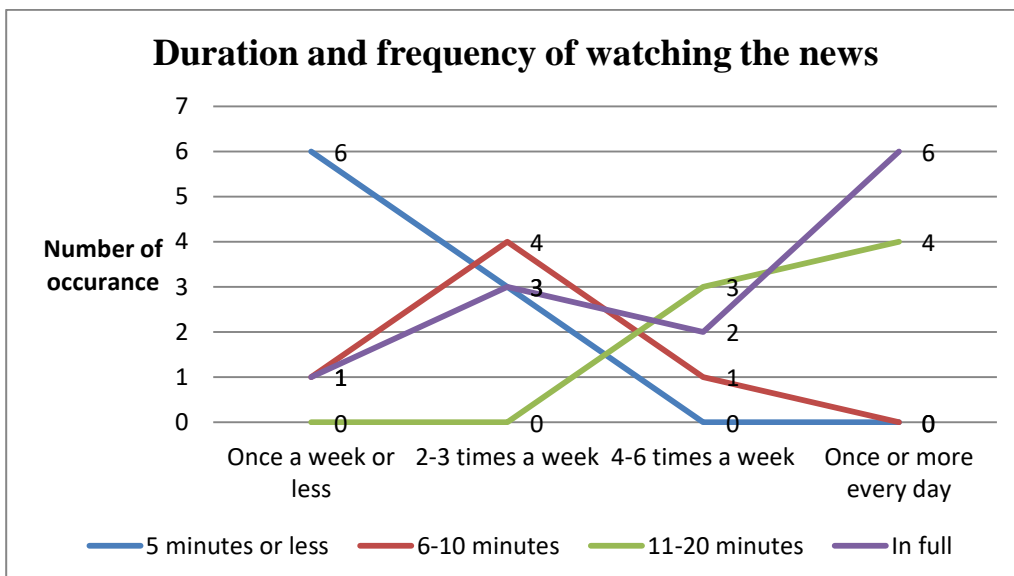






It can be noticed from the pie charts above, that watching television in full increases with the frequency of watching television. 11-20 minutes of watching television is only practiced approximately to the same extent, in higher frequencies of 4-6 times a week and once or more every day. The duration of 6-10 minutes is highest in 2-3 times a week.

Watching television for 5 minutes represents three quarters of once a week or less. This points at a category of people who are not very interested in news so this lack of interest is consistent within the duration and frequency dimensions. This compares to one person who watches television once a week or less but in full. From further analysis it can be identified that this person's occupation is a trucks loader, which could explain the media consumption pattern by lack of spare time.



The graph above summarises the information presented in the pie charts and it can be seen that people watching television for longer periods of 11-20 minutes or in full are more likely to watch it more often as well. However, the opposite pattern can be seen for watching television once a week or less, with fewer people watching every time the frequency increases.

Resulting from participants' self-assessment on the pre-discussion sheet, as well as the researcher's observations during the focus groups, the following functions of media were identified for the public in Kazakhstan. One can suggest that this pattern is mostly universal rather than region-specific.

Type of media	Function of the media as practiced by participants
Internet	Used for further search of the news that were of interest as well as checking the various sources of information to find the truth.
Television	Either used as a background noise, or as a means of quickly updating oneself with recent events.
Newspapers	Tend to be ordered as a hard copy subscription in local kiosk and delivered to mail box. Practiced mainly by older age groups or/and professionals.
Radio	Mostly used whilst driving/ being a passenger in a car.

Access to and interest in the source of information plays an important role of the source being first in addressing the information.

*(G1P2) I remember because at that moment I was driving a car and it was radio where I heard the first news about this (Pg11, ln14).*

To understand further the function of television in media reporting, people's habits of media consumption can be considered, e.g. (pg17, lns23-27):

*(G5P6) For example, you turn the TV on and there is some harmless news programme on. Sometimes people do this just for some background noise. There is a news programme with an interval every thirty minutes and most of the time the information is on a rotation, including all the other channels. Be this Euronews or any other (page 17, lines 23-27).*

Some people (G3 Pg20,ln24) seem to prefer to watch only the highlights because they fear the details and anxiety of a terrorist attack "in progress". But actually, watching everything at once (highlights) can be more overwhelming (e.g. group1 participant2)

The following can be summarised from the mentioned participant G1P2 pg7, lns21-22:

- People are shocked when there is an overload of information shown at once.
- If people follow the story from the very beginning they digest and "cope" with the information ready for the next update.
- If a person was away from how the story was unfolded and sees everything at once, they will be more emotionally affected. This would be the case when, for example, watching the summary of what happened during the week on Sunday episodes of news programmes.

This can be compared to the opinion of participant 5 in group 3:

*(G3P5) Once a week! Only the highlights! \*laughing\**

Participant G3P4 specified that they watch television every day for 11-20 min. However, one can further see the internet is their main source of information. The fact that looking at news using the internet attributes to even higher engagement with the source (not necessarily reflected in time spent on it) shows a significant interest in the news.

One of the questions addressed is participants' reaction to videos: how many were aware of the attacks shown before seeing it in the focus group? Interestingly, a clear pattern emerged of Russian and foreign attacks (Brussels) being well known to participants but local attacks were not familiar to them in most cases. This is explained by missing out on local news by the participants who predominantly watch foreign channels.

The table below shows the specific channels watched by the participants in the six groups. National television channels are marked in blue, Russian channels are in brown and foreign channels are in green.

Name of TV channel	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5	Group 6
KTK	2	1			3	2
NTK					2	1
Kazakh channels					2	
Khabar				1		3
31-Channel	1					
24KZ	2					
Kazakhstan Channel	1	1				
Russia-1				2		
Mir-24				2		
Russia Channel		1	3	1		
RenTV				1		
Pervyi Eurasia		2		1	1	
TVC						1
Russia-2			1			
Russian Channels						1
RTR			2		1	
Pervyi Channel		2	2		1	
NTV		1		1		2
Euronews	2					
CNN		1				

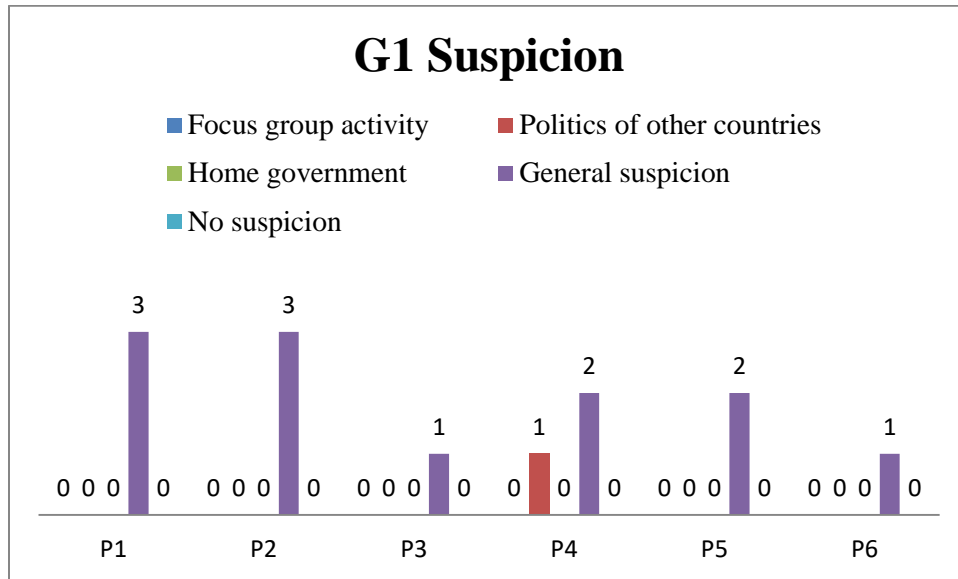
Some of the identified peculiarities for each group follow. There is a tendency for young people to watch foreign channels (i.e. Euronews, CNN). People in group 1 mainly watched Kazakh channels and did not specify any Russian channels. Group 2 was the only group that watched at least one channel out of all three groups i.e. Kazakh, Russian and Foreign; predominantly, Russian channels were mostly watched. Only Russian channels were watched in group 3, which was also the case for group 4, apart from one person watching Khabar. In group 5, 30% watched Russian channels and 70% watched Kazakh channels, whereas group 6 a relatively similar allocation of Kazakh and Russian channels were watched.

Thus, groups 3 and 4 differed from the rest in that they were mainly watching Russian media channels. This was further analysed in relation to the amount of exposure specified by participants themselves above and the frequency of it. The following participants were selected for highest exposure to Russian television: G6P1, G5P6, G4P4, G4P1, G4P2, G4P3, G4P5, G3P2, G3P3, G3P4, G3P6. G4P4 in particular specified a higher number of Russian channels watched than anybody else. One can observe a pattern of those participants watching Russian television and escalated numbers of political

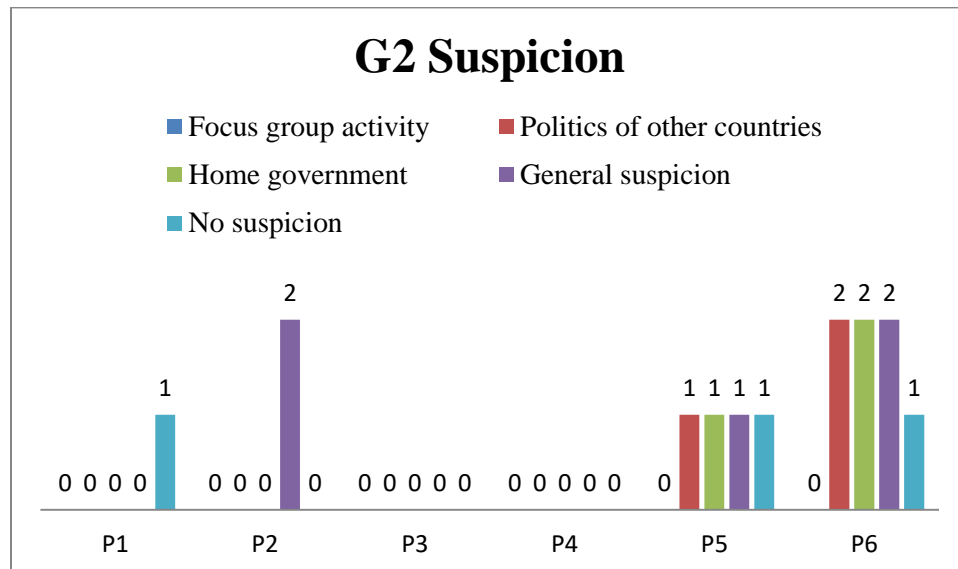
anger as well as anger towards consequences of terrorism in their responses compared to everybody else.

This influence of media consumption habits found further support in the suspicion dimension.

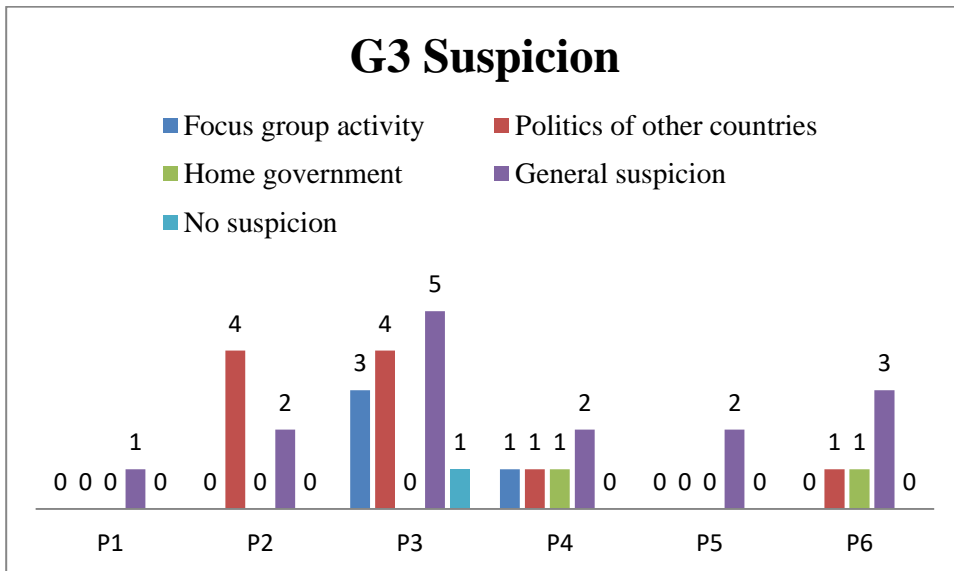
In group 1, consistent general suspicion amongst all the participants can be seen.



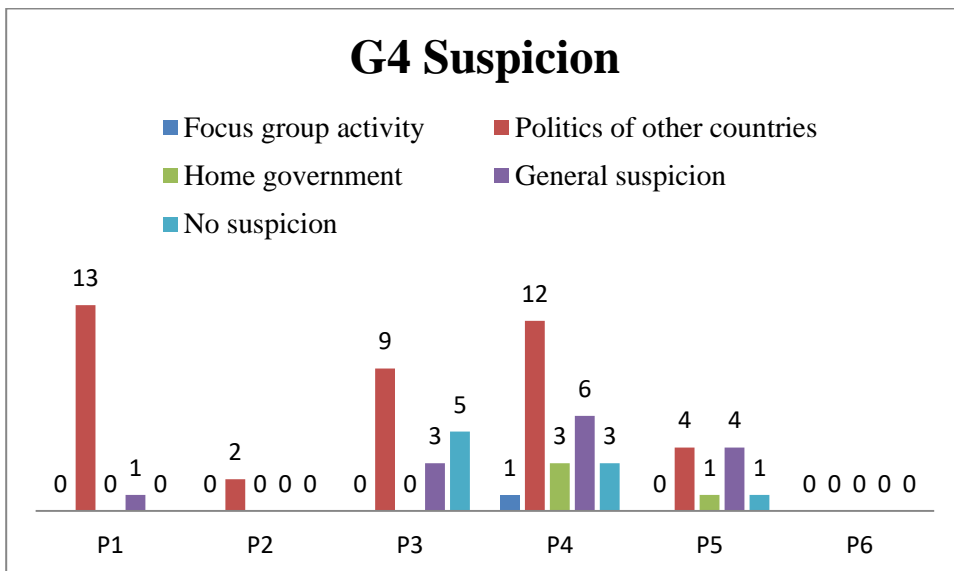
In group 2, two participants were suspicious and their suspicion was almost equally distributed over all suspicion categories.



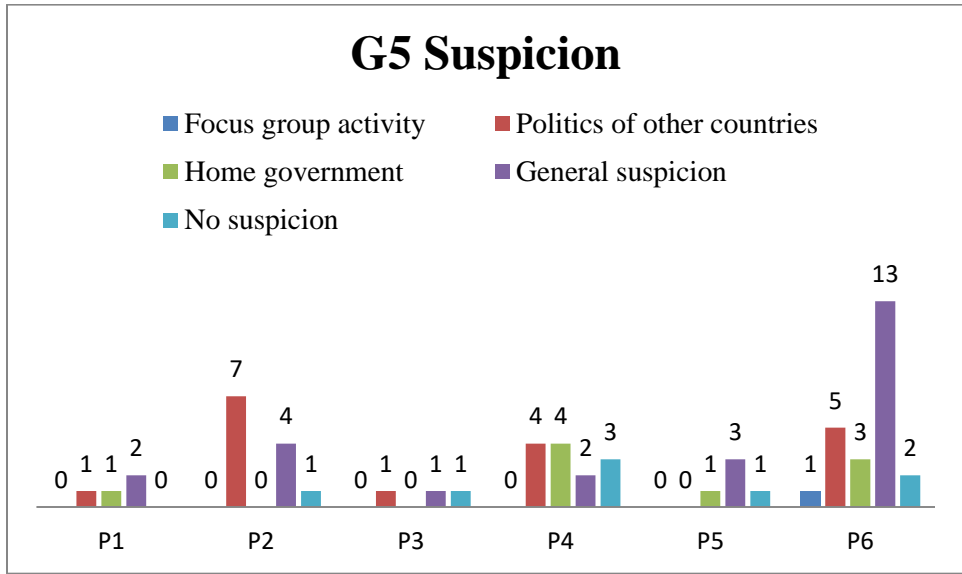
Group 3 evidenced some cases of suspicion towards the focus group activity.



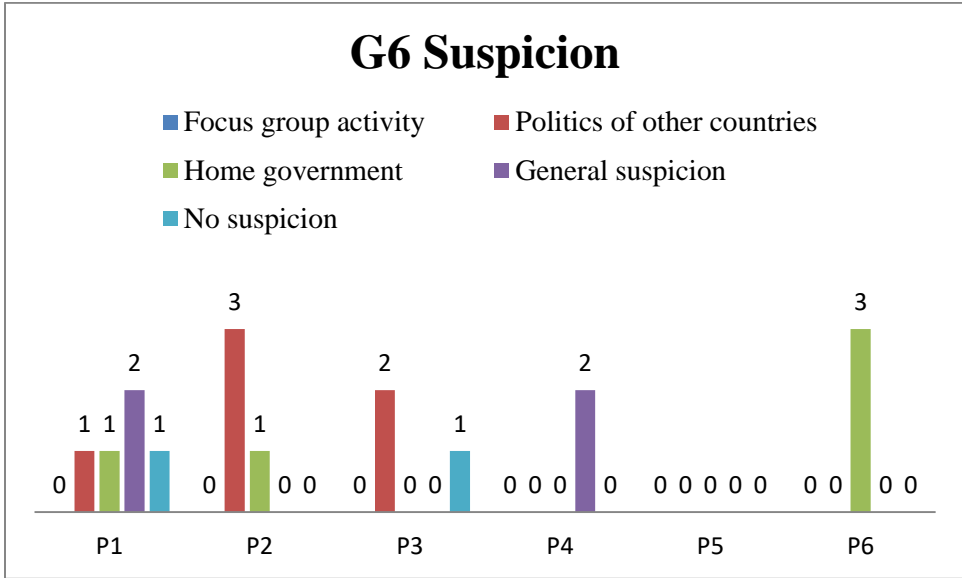
Group 4 had more suspicion towards the politics of other countries than the rest of the groups. This was particularly expressed by three members of the group and found support from two other members.



Some views opposing the notion of suspicion were expressed by 5 out of 6 participants in group 5. Participant 6 in group 5 had the highest suspicion score amongst all groups and participants.



Participants in group 6 showed a moderate level of suspicion within each type of suspicion. Participant one scored highest on the overall level of suspicion in this group and participant five did not express any suspicion at all, similar to four other participants (G2P1, G2P3, G2P4, and G4P6) in other groups.



It can be seen from the charts above that groups 3 and 4 as well as participant G5P6 demonstrated most suspicion. This further can be matched to the list of participants who stated high amount of Russian television exposure.



### 6.3.3 Proximity of the attack

In addition, two sub-themes of proximity and unexpectedness were included as factors of fear. Thus, every response falls into either moderate or extreme levels of fear and some are further added to proximity or unexpectedness sub-themes. As an attempt to see relationships between factors and levels of fear, the following table was compiled.

<b>Relationship between levels and factors of fear</b>							
	<b>Group 1</b>	<b>Group 2</b>	<b>Group 3</b>	<b>Group 4</b>	<b>Group 5</b>	<b>Group 6</b>	<b>Total</b>
Moderate fear and proximity	0	0	1	0	3	1	5
Moderate fear and unexpectedness	0	0	0	0	1	6	7
Extreme fear and proximity	3	1	4	1	5	0	14
Extreme fear and unexpectedness	0	1	0	2	3	0	6

It can be concluded from the table above that proximity of the attack is associated with the response of extreme fear, which supports the finding by Thornton (2015) and Volkan (2004) that domestic attacks result in higher response.

In some cases the results suggested that when participants were emotionally concerned with an attack or the attack happens in relevant proximity to them, they were able to mention the particular name of the attack whereas when it's a distant attack, both emotionally and distance-wise, they were only able to mention the country it was in.

The situation in Ukraine appears as one of the immediate answers; interestingly, this is mostly considered from the viewpoint of Russia's role in the conflict.

It interesting to note that the replies were dealing with attacks to other countries as opposed to those that happened in Kazakhstan. This somewhat deviates from the academic debate over proximity of the attack being connected to evoking greater concern (Thornton 2015). For example, Pg11n12-13:

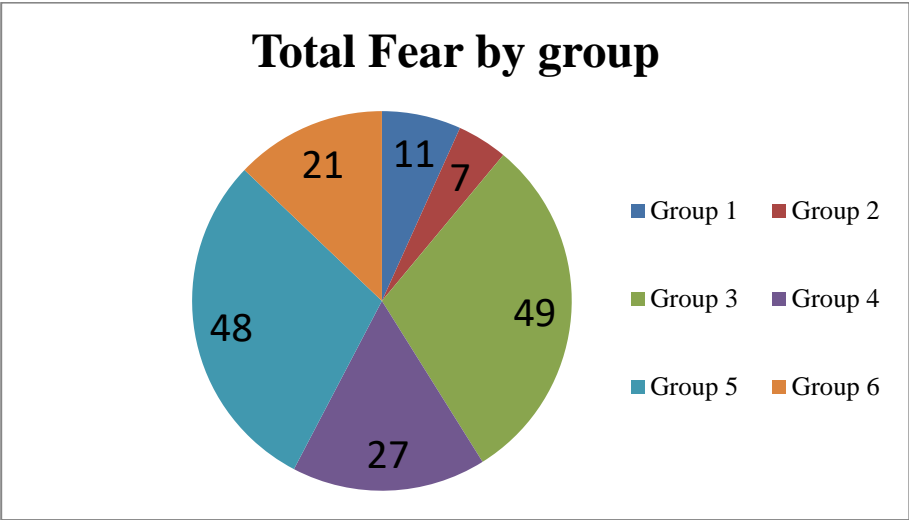
*(G4P4) Well, what themes, those of current interest. For example, the situation in Syria, Ukraine. Who and in what way attacks Russia. These are what bother me.*

Here there can be seen what is referred to as social identity theory, where the participant associates oneself as a person of Post-Soviet Union rather than Kazakhstan citizen. Thus, despite the potential perceived threat being for a foreign state, it is considered in the mind of participant as domestic one. Moreover, the previous points made in the “fear” section about the possibility of a new attack as well as criminal side of it are applicable here as well.

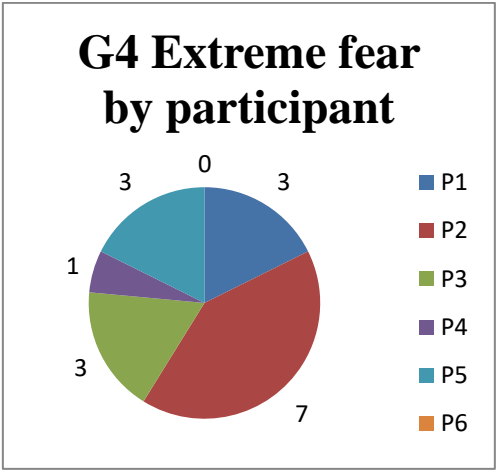
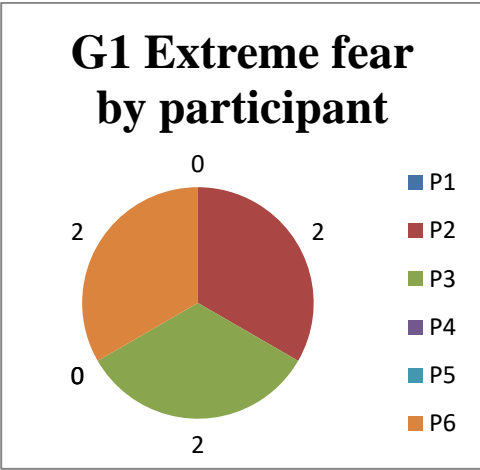
Location is further considered for variation in emotional response within domestic terrorism. Here there were no significant differences identified:

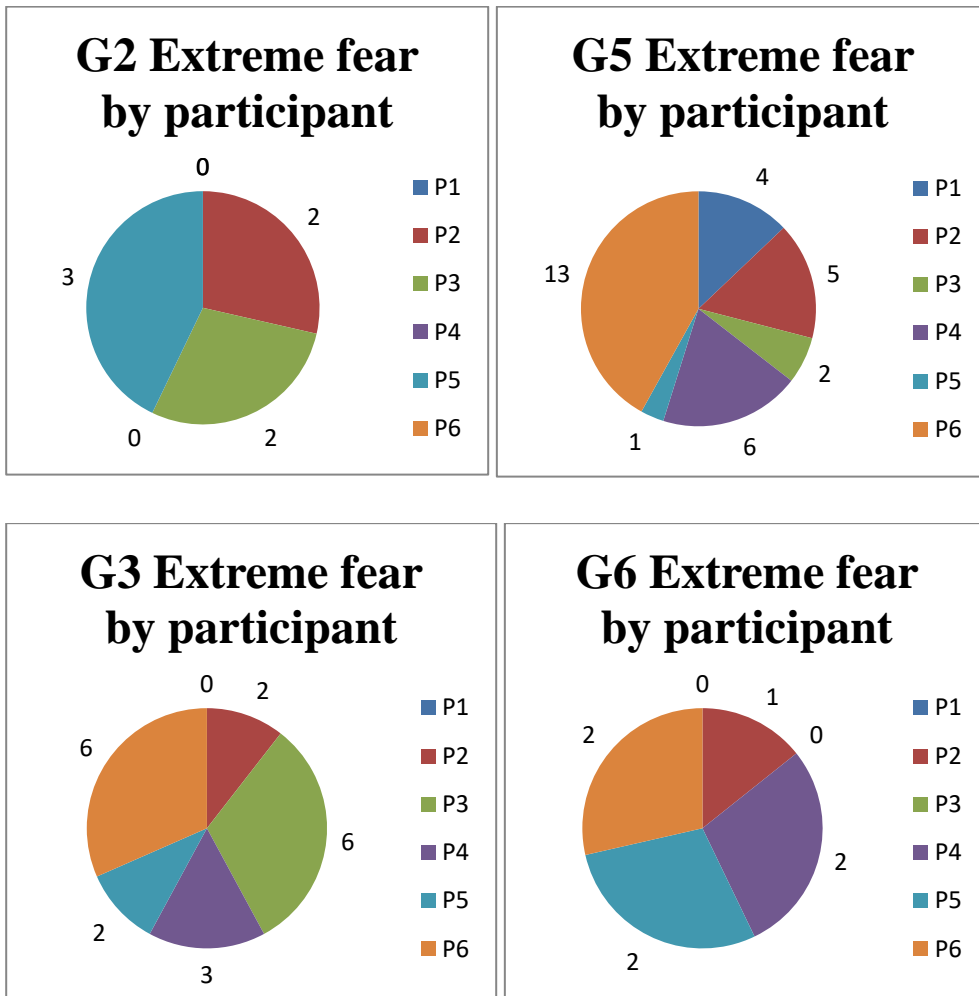
*(G1P2) If we talk about our country in particular, it is equally terrifying to hear about an attack happening in your city or in the neighbouring city to yours. As for me, if that happened in my country then it already affects me directly. That is already an event that touches to some extent the people who are close to me. Maybe some people I know and so on. (Page 13, lines 20-24)*

#### *6.3.4 Group dynamics influencing reactions*



It can be seen that extreme fear was not equally represented within groups with some group members showing higher scores than others. To find out if this means the result per group cannot be considered as an overall figure in comparisons amongst groups, it was decided to look at the charts of participation per group. It is believed that if the fear responses within groups are consistent with patterns of group participation, then the differences in numbers of responses within each group can be attributed to group dynamics.





### 6.3.5 Participant's emotional state

Some of the fear can be partially explained by “unrelated” themes that influence anxiety level such as the following:

- Land issue (e.g. G4P5 page 1) - this has been covered in the newspaper analysis above.
- Economic situation (e.g. G5P6pg17ln7-11).

Thus, the bigger initial level of stress results in adding more to the panic in comparison to if people were relatively calm emotionally in the first place.

### 6.3.6 Nature of an attack

The finding that people would be fearful of terrorism news was expected. However, there were certain factors of fear identified. If an attack is perceived as a single occasion, the fear is much less than with a sequence of attacks:

*(G3P4) If there was a single terrorist attack, then these things happen. We are probably prepared that it can happen here as well. Whereas if there will be some kind of escalation on nationality ground somewhere in Kazakhstan or in our city, then obviously we personally will leave. But if there happens a terrorist attack like one of those terrorist attacks, god forbid of course, this obviously does not give enough reason to move from the city. Because this can happen everywhere. (page 16, lines 22-27)*

This derives from a judgement of the likelihood that another attack can happen. Another factor determining the degree of fear is the reasoning behind the attack. Higher fear is when the attack is due to a fundamental problem, such as the conflict on the basis of heritage nationality.

This is perceived as making follow-up attacks expected. Moreover, the problem seems location specific, so leaving the location would solve it. People judge how likely the attack is to repeat, because this determines their reactions of leaving the country or coping with the anxiety (“this won’t happen again”) and moving on. For example:

*(G2P5) First thing is to run away from here \*laughing\* to be honest. If the real war starts. (pg11, ln 21-22)*

Whereas if the attack was explained by the participants due to the ill psyche state of the attacker, in this case it is not likely to repeat as the particular individual is no longer a threat. Besides, this type of an attack can happen anywhere so leaving would be pointless.

Type of attack determines a lot as well. The very definition of terrorism was very blurred. Participants were purposely not restrained by any definitions

in order to obtain their understanding of this subject. Thus, terrorism would often be perceived by war or crime activity throughout the discussion. Interestingly, the “war” perception of terrorism results in a significantly higher fear than “crime activity” perception. This is further stressed by irrelevance of the “foreign-or-domestic” attack factor. Thus, those attacks that were seen as “crime” even though happening in the native country caused less emotion than “war” type attacks happening abroad.

Regarding the video about the Norway attack, people considered it as an act of terrorism, whereas a local attack of a suicide bomber in Taraz city was seen as a crime. Moreover, the local attack in Taraz was not as memorable for the participants as, for example an attack in Beslan, which happened much earlier. For example:

*(G6P6) Yeah, it is just that it was too long ago. Some things get forgotten.*

*(G6P1) Yeah, we could have just forgotten that. It is 5 years that have passed. (Page 12, lines 14-15)*

Terrorist acts are seen as a thoroughly planned event. Acting openly and out of passion rather than in cold blood is associated with crime.

*(G6P2) They could have hidden and performed a terrorist attack, whereas here it is a murder of some kind.*

There is some evidence to believe that the way government reacts to events determines whether people see that as an attack or murder/crime:

*(G6P1) Well, it must be because of the follow-up investigation. Because of what they did in relation to what happened (Page 12, lines 25-26).*

Further on, lack of information and news coverage suggest it is a crime rather than terrorism.

*(G6P6) The main thing is that we know how the guys at the top of it all were arrested. But how they actually performed the attack we do not know. So this goes so to say as normal news. (Page 13, line 5-7)*

### 6.3.7 Children as victims

The highest emotional response from the shown videos in the focus groups received Beslan attack. This is the symbol of pure and utter terror inflicted on innocent children. There is also a factor of “domestic” attack influence. Even prior to showing the video, when asked about the most devastating attack Beslan was amongst the answers nearly every time. If the same question is asked in a Western society that would probably be 9/11.

One of the most striking types of events that cause higher emotional response is the one with children being victims:

*(G4P2) And so many kids die. In planes, really, when a person flies who needs to be taken down, they blow the whole plane to get to that person. But how many of those on the plane die! (Pg2, line 29)*

Earlier discussion established that children are often used as targets due to them being symbols of ‘happiness and innocence’ (Robson 2004, p.67). This study further revealed that children are seen as symbols of future of the nation:

*(G1P5) In other words, the generation that only was starting their lives. And then at once their parents and relatives lost their generation that only recently was born. \*very emotional\* They only were starting their life journey. That is the worst that can happen – losing your children. (pg9, ln27-30)*

Another example is from group 3. When answering “what feelings do you experience towards the victims of the tragedy?” participant 5 replies:

*(G3P5) Those are children, children are the future. (pg9, ln22)*

### 6.3.8 Source of information

On the example of local terrorism videos, participants were asked if they become less worried from being told everything possible for the security of the border is being undertaken. This showed that the **expert's knowledge** of the real threat does not always influence people to calm down:

*(G4P1) No.*

*(G4P2) No.*

*(G4P5) It stays open for those who really want to cross and they can cross.*

*(G4P4) On the road they obviously can put many check points but you can very freely move from one village to another. Nobody will catch you.*

*(G4P5) You can go through a river as well, anywhere you can cross.  
(Pg15, lines 14-21)*

Thus, people remain sceptical of the counter-terrorism measures in situations where there nature of the threat is terrorism coming from abroad.

Participant 2 in group 1 claims the following:

*(G1P2) ... whereas in relation to the information it must be covered fully, so that people knew about this. Because as a rule we form our understanding from too short pieces of information. In addition, if a terrorist attack happened abroad, a lot of information is lost or **distorted through the translation**. In any case, it is very rare that any news programme would report raw information to the public, the way it initially is. The difficulty of translation has an impact. (Page 7, lines 2-7)*



### 6.3.9 Censorship

There can be seen two ways participants see the Media influence the interpretation of information:

- 1) Exploiting the facts when given separately.
- 2) Suggesting the interpretation when choosing which facts go together to show to the public.

Having said that, the timing of showing the news is seen as means of censorship:

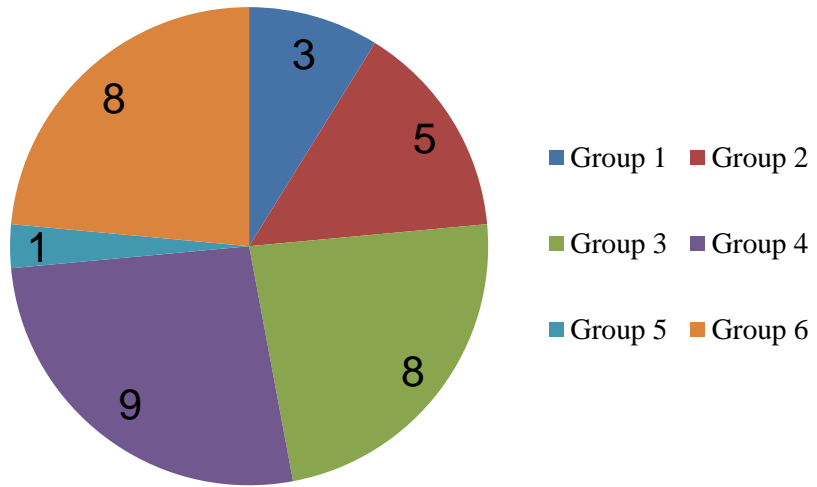
*(G1P2) Well, if the censorship is applied, so to say, only partially, it can set panic. Basically, censorship must be present in terms of timing. There must be a certain pause given to the public to absorb the news. The information must be given by portions, not to fall on you but be given out gradually. (Page 7, lines 13-16)*

G1P2 sees a benefit in not showing the attacks at all or limiting their coverage. Here no access to mass media/coverage opportunity available is seen as the attack not being worth doing. This view resembles the discussion by (Kampf 2014) that the media is the “oxygen” of terrorism:

*(G1P2) Well here the place must be connected to the purpose of the attack. This is first. Secondly, big crowds of people and the opportunity for this to be covered in the media. The opportunity to inform, for the information to go public. (Page 3, lines 30-32)*

From the graph below it can be seen that the expectation that older age groups will have much more to say about the changes on local television was not proved sufficiently:

## Changes observed on local television



## **7 Conclusion**

### 7.1 Key findings

The key finding of the research is the range of reactions to news about terrorism by the Kazakh public. This was presented by main reactions identified which included: Fear, Anger, Suspicion, Indifference, Events of concern, attitudes towards Why attacks happen, and explanations by Ways of media consumption.

The highest emotional response from the shown videos in the focus groups received Beslan attack. This is the symbol of pure and utter terror inflicted on innocent children. There is also a factor of “domestic” attack influence. Even prior to showing the video, when asked about the most devastating attack Beslan was amongst the answers nearly every time. If the same question is asked in a Western society that would probably be 9/11.

Media Consumption Habits played one of the main roles in explaining people’s reactions of anger and suspicion.

Thus, most of groups 3 and 4 as well as participants G6P1 and G5P6 differed from the rest in that they were mainly watching Russian media channels. This was further analysed in relation to the amount of exposure specified by participants themselves and the frequency of it. One can observe a pattern of those participants watching Russian television and escalated numbers of political anger as well as anger towards consequences of terrorism in their responses compared to everybody else.

According to the government action plan Kazakhstan 2050 the amount of Kazakh language content in state owned mass media will be increased to 70% by 2020. Referring back to the demographics mentioned, less than 20% of population spoke the Kazakh language in 2014, and this indicator was aimed to be raised to 80% by 2017. Despite the ambition, it is somewhat doubtful that this would be achieved completely, especially by the older population who do

not tend to naturally learn the language through educational establishments. Thus, this is likely to result in heritage Russian population being even more vulnerable to Russian television propaganda due to having to refer to Russian channels.

The role of family and bringing up in preventing radicalisation was mentioned on many occasions within the groups. This can be explained by the firm belief in groups of 30+ age that young people are particularly vulnerable to radicalisation. In fact, it was mentioned by 14 out of 23 participants that the youth are an easy target for terrorists. If this finding is to follow the generational impact, the implication would be that those of the younger groups would gain similar explanations when they reach ages of 30+.

## 7.2 Terrorism in Kazakhstan

Looking into the chronology of terrorism activity in Kazakhstan (Vlast.kz 2016) there is a five year break between the attacks in 2011-2012 and recent attacks of 5 June 2016 in Aktobe and 18 July 2016 in Almaty. There can be seen a re-emerging threat of terrorism.

Features of terrorism in Central Asia, earlier studied by Horseman (2005), found support through the answers given by participants in this study as well as in the numerous explanations of the attacks found in the sample of printed Kazakh media. Horseman particularly pointed out at the definition of terrorism being ‘all-encompassing, if not amorphous’, the notion of ‘ever-present and well-coordinated terrorism conspiracy’, and seeing terrorism as criminal activity (p.200).

Having looked at the stages of national television development as well as the stages of terrorism development in Kazakhstan, one can observe the following. The first stage of terrorism development defined by Satpayev (Forbes 2016) corresponds to the first and the second stages of media development, which are characterized by government monopoly on media.

This could partially explain the culture of seeing local terrorism as crime activity, as this interpretation was set at the early stage by government media sources.

Previous studies on framing showed evidence for the existence of various types of frames. Examples of those are diagnostic and prognostic frames identified by Shoemaker (2007); episodic and thematic frames defined by Iyengar (1990); collective action frames studied by Benford and Snow (2000), etc..

There have been two terrorist attacks during the three months of newspaper analysis. Those were the attacks of June 5 in Aktobe and the shooting of July 18 in Almaty. In both cases the framing was concerned with the activity of police as well as the motivational framing of not falling into the provocation. The exact reasoning for the attacks was not given and the amount of explanations produced by the media and invited experts varied largely. Some of those were attributing to the cultural peculiarities of Kazakh people outlined in the Hofstede's model in the introduction.

Overall, three main frames for the attacks were set. Those are: a failed attempt of government overthrow, operation of radical religious groups, and Russia's attempt to get its troops into Kazakhstan for the purpose of regaining stability. The last one was particularly speculated by driving an analogy with the events in Ukraine. The fear of Ukrainian scenario was present in the discussions of focus groups as well. This was mainly coming from the participants of Ukrainian heritage.

When journalists are acting as setting of the themes, their practice is often criticized in academic research for supporting the aims of terrorists in providing those with publicity. This found its proof in the research by Yarchi et al. (2013), Shoshani and Slone (2008), Ross (2007), and many more.

Throughout the focus groups and particularly in groups 1 and 4 the carrying information to the public role of media was stressed. Here it was talked about the way the news are reported as a main factor. Namely, the

reporting needs to be of a neutral character as opposed to being ‘delighted’ with the story and give terrorists impression of fame. Instead people suggested the usage of terrorism reporting where the consequences of becoming a terrorist are shown.

Particular attention throughout the period of newspaper analysis was paid to the speed of response. Here the non-clarity and delayed response of information to the public resulted in escalated fear. The media source explains this by the issues of freedom of speech, delayed press release from the authorities as well as informal censorship. These were earlier discussed as factors of chilling the media’s willingness to proceed further with the details (McGarrity 2011).

### 7.3 Common reactions within focus groups

There was an overall pattern in all the groups and particularly in group 5 about the **influence of violence in cartoons** for children on them seeing violence as norm and becoming vulnerable to radicalisation further in their life. Some of the examples brought by the participants were Tom and Jerry, Soviet cartoon Nu Pogodi and modern animation Masha and the Bear.

One of the questions addressed to participants was based on the previous research by Thornton (2015) and Malholm and Printz (2009), namely: “What measures could be undertaken to minimise the negative influence of terrorism reporting on vulnerable groups?” This question was received by most participants with objection to the need in or ability of reducing the effect. Some common opinions were observed, such as the opinion that children must be educated about terrorism from an early age.

Thus, the actual fact of seeing violence on television by children parents do not receive with objection, however this is due to the educating purpose of it showing violence as a bad, tragic thing. Whereas in cartoons the

violence is presented in a playful manner which in participants opinion children will misunderstand.

**Political reasoning** of why the attacks happen resulted in cases where some participants actually were talking in favor of Saddam Hussein and the regime in Syria. This was explained in all occasions by the opinion that countries must be able to keep their elected government even if it is being a dictatorship.

People see **various types of terrorists** as opposed to them being referred to as one type. Thus, there were identified as ruthless terrorist and those followed and trapped to be such. There are masterminds terrorists in charge and cannon fodder, which are the executors. This gives the reasons for why attacks happen. Those who want to prove the power versus having no choice. Attacks due to ill psyche of a single person and those associated with a terrorist group. In addition, there are terrorists of various backgrounds.

**Behavior response** within groups was presented by reactions of laughter and decisions of avoiding places of recent terrorism events.

Looking into the reasoning and nature of laughing further, laughter can be explained as a means of coping with anxiety. This function of laughter was earlier mentioned with the example of study by Lester (2012).

When asked about visiting a country right after an attack has happened there (using the example of Norway attack video) the majority of participants said it would be highly unlikely. This is despite the statistics produced by researchers such as McQueeny (2014) where the security level is higher and the likelihood of another attack is lower compared to other destinations soon after the attack. This shows escalation of perceived threat in public's opinion.

Further the research looked into possible reasoning of the emotions.

#### 7.4 Factors influencing reactions of participants

Previous research found that some of the demographic factors define how likely a frame is to work on a recipient. Thus, those attacks that are of close proximity to the perceived “home” of people are likely to result in greater response of fear (Volkan 2004). Higher educational level allows for more explanations and frames to be taken by a person for consideration (Traugott and Brader 2003). Younger age of people and especially children are more vulnerable to the framing of terrorism (Maholms and Printz 2009).

This study attempted to draw parallel between some of the non-mediated factors explaining extent of emotions in public and Hofstede’s cultural dimensions. Thus, Kazakhstan being at the top end of long-term orientation dimension provides for participants’ responses being dependent on ‘situation, context and time’ of the attack. This can be seen as “**nature of an attack**” factor influencing people’s reaction to terrorism. For example, Yarchi et al (2013) proved that suicide attack is more likely to result in higher emotional response than a non-suicide attack. This study found that if an attack is perceived as a single occasion, the fear is much less than with a sequence of attacks. This derives from a judgement of the likelihood that another attack can happen. Another factor determining the degree of fear is the reasoning behind the attack. Higher fear is when the attack is due to a fundamental problem, such as the conflict on the basis of heritage nationality.

Considering **proximity of an attack** as a factor influencing people’s perceptions and Hofstede’s individualism dimension, the following connection was found. Namely, Kazakhstan being high on the collectivism scale could potentially result in proximity of an attack being considered in relation to the whole territory of the country, rather than within individual’s location within it. This found its support in this study in response of participant G1P2: ‘it is equally terrifying to hear about an attack happening in your city or in the neighboring city to yours. As for me, if that happened in my country then it



already affects me directly' (page 13). Proximity of the attack in this study is associated with the response of extreme fear, which supports the finding by Thornton (2015) and Volkan (2004) that domestic attacks result in higher response. In some cases the results suggested that when participants were emotionally concerned with an attack or the attack happens in relevant proximity to them, they were able to mention the particular name of the attack whereas when it's a distant attack, both emotionally and distance-wise, they were only able to mention the country it was in.

Regarding gender considerations of anger, no particular differences are shown. Once the weighted percentage was calculated for the 1 missing male participant in group 4, the result shows an equal amount of anger distributed for males and females. However, this was not the case for the fear reaction, for which females were nearly 10% more likely to express fear in the focus group discussions than males. It is believed that male are generally less likely to admit openly to feelings of fear, which could influence the results. Testing of gender differences in responses for each type of indifference reaction shows consistent prevalence of female suspicion over male. This is less so, however, in case of "denial of any problem" type.

From looking into appendix 11 it can be seen that the highest amount of explanations were offered by participants G2P6 (university), G4P1 (college), G4P4 (college), G4P5 (university) and G5P6 (university). Unlike in the research by Traugott and Brader (2003) there was no specific pattern identified in numbers of explanations given and educational level. However, one can notice that most of the participants belong to group 4.

Particular attention to the issue of Ukraine and role of Russia and the States was given by participant G4P4. This is explained by his heritage nationality being Ukrainian. Here the difference in emotional response to domestic and foreign attacks is particularly evident.

Overall, there was little reference to religion within the groups. One exception was participant G5P6 who on several occasions brought up subject of religion into explaining why the attacks happen. For example: It is worth noting that being a strong advocate of Islam the participant actually was of a strongly religious Orthodox background

Participant's emotional state was another influencing factor identified. Some of the fear can be partially explained by "unrelated" themes that influence anxiety level such as issue of land reform in Kazakhstan and economic situation. Thus, the bigger initial level of stress results in adding more to the panic in comparison to if people were relatively calm emotionally in the first place.

Media Consumption Habits played one of the main roles in explaining people's reactions of anger and suspicion. This has been outlined in the key finding section above.

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## 9 Appendices

### Appendix 1: Chronology and description of terrorist attacks in Kazakhstan

Sources: Tokayeva (2011), Yaskevich (2016)

<b>Date of the terrorist attack</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Brief description</b>
February 24, 2011	Aktobe	An explosion next to the town prison.
April 5, 2011	Pavlodar	Suspect of Hizb-at-tahrir terrorist group is sentenced to 2 years.
April 28, 2011	Temirtay	4 people are sentenced for the propaganda of religious terrorism.
May 17, 2011	Aktobe	Suicide bomber in the building of National security committee.
May 24, 2011	Astana	Detonation of a car next to the prison building. Two bodies inside the car are those of the citizens of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan.
June 30, 2011	Aktubinskaya region	2 policemen were shot to death.
July 2-3, 2011	Aktubinskaya region	Shooting. 2 policemen are killed, 3 are injured.
July 11, 2011	Aktubinskaya region	Shooting. 1 policemen and 9 members of the terrorist group dead.
July 26, 2011	Aktobe	Shooting at the arrest of terrorism suspects. 1 killed, 3 arrested.
July 29, 2011	Aktubinskaya region	Anti-terrorism operation. 1 policemen dead.
October 6, 2011	Aktobe	4 people are sentenced under terrorism

October 19, 2011	Almaty	9 religious workers are sentenced to jail under radical extremism
October 31, 2011	Atyrau	2 explosions, including a self-detonation of a terrorist
November 12, 2011	Taraz	8 people died, including 5 policemen. The terrorist was following jihad.
December 1, 2011	Aktubinskaya region	8 terrorists were sentenced on terrorism.
Dcember 3, 2011	Almatinskaya region	Anti-terrorist operation. Seven people died including 2 intelligence personnel.
July 11, 2012	Almatinskaya region	Explosion at the terrorists' base. According to the police this happened as one of their bombs exploded by mistake.
August 14, 2012	Almatinskaya region	12 people were killed as terrorist were escaping in the national park.
September 14, 2012	Atyrau	Unknown have shot a policemen in the town centre, and then threw Molotov at the police department.

## Appendix 2: Focus groups agenda

Hello everyone. Thank you very much for coming today. As you know, the topic of discussion is terrorism, so if you feel too uncomfortable because of the videos or discussion, you can leave the room. You can also stay at the end and discuss with me anything that worries you.

We are going to start and the first question is about the themes that are covered in media.

### **(Question group 1 – context setting):**

1. Please outline what topics are covered on TV, radio, and in media in general.
2. In your opinion, does terrorism play an important role?
3. Let's consider terrorist attacks and natural disasters, for example earthquakes. An earthquake can potentially kill more people. Do you think that such allocation of time in news programmes, where terrorist attacks would get more intensive coverage than natural disasters, is justifiable or not? Why?
4. What terrorist attack is the most disastrous in your opinion?
5. Do you remember where you were at the moment you heard the news about it and what was your source of information?
6. What terrorist attacks can you remember? Where were you when you first heard about the attacks you just named?

### **(Question group 2 – perception questions, knowledge is less important):**

1. How do terrorists plan their attacks?
2. How do terrorists choose where to perform an attack?
3. Why do terrorist attacks happen?
4. Who is to blame or by whose mistake do the terrorist attacks happen?
5. Where do terrorists get money and expertise?
6. How do you think people are lured into the army of terrorists?
7. How easy is it to radicalise a person?

8. Who is an easy target for the terrorists?
9. Please describe a typical terrorist.
10. In your opinion, what could prevent the attacks?

**(Question group 3 - censorship):**

1. In your opinion, are absolutely all terrorist attacks covered on the locally accessible television?
2. What could be the reasons for showing you one attack and not mentioning the other? Or in case the duration and intensity of the coverage of two terrorist attacks varies drastically?
3. Why do certain terrorist attacks get the priority in media?
4. What are the criteria for the disastrousness factor of an attack? (e.g. damage to the infrastructure, panic set on the public, number of victims)
5. Who decides what is to be shown on television?
6. How far should the censorship go?
7. What benefits and disadvantages of the censorship can you see? (e.g. security, evoked emotions, the right to know what is happening)
8. Are you satisfied with the amount of detail provided in the news programmes?
9. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the fact that terrorist attacks must be covered in the media?
10. Why do people watch the news about terrorism?

**(Question group 4 – children and the Youth as victims)**

Now we are going to watch the first pair of videos.

**NORWAY ATTACK VIDEO**

1. How does this terrorist attack video make you feel?
2. How likely is it that you would visit a place where a terrorist attack had happened recently? If you had planned a trip to Norway and saw this reporting, would you cancel the trip?

**BESLAN ATTACK VIDEO**

1. What feelings do you experience towards the victims of the terrorist attack? Please give more detail. What are your feelings guided by? (e.g. unfairness, the fact that the victims had no opportunity to fight for their lives, anger, the fact the families of those who were killed are now left with the grief, fear that you could be on their place).
2. The following question is being addressed to those who have children. Do you prevent them from watching terrorist attacks on television? Or did you prevent them when they were under 16?
3. **ACTIVITY:** In groups of three, please discuss what measures could be undertaken to minimise the negative influence from watching terrorist attacks on television. Please consider this regarding the viewers, the channel companies, and the reporters.

**(Question group 5 – domestic terrorism):**

**KAZAKH TERRORIST IN KYRGISTAN VIDEO**

1. Have you watched this reporting before?

**KYRGYS TERRORISTS AND KAZAKH BORDER VIDEO**

2. Have you seen this video material earlier?
3. How likely is it that the terrorists can cross the border?
4. Once you had been ensured by the police that all the necessary measures were being undertaken to guide the border, did you feel more secure?

**KAZAKH TERRORIST IN TARAZ VIDEO**

1. Have you seen this footage previously?
2. Please comment on the watched material. What was the most striking? What do you remember from it?
3. Which one of the last three videos was the most emotional for you?

**(Question group 6 – national security):**

1. In your opinion, how should people react to the news about terrorism?

2. If a terrorist attack happened in Kazakhstan, would you personally be prepared to fight terrorism?
3. Would a war be justified as a response to terrorism? (e.g. 9/11 in the USA)
4. How likely is it that you would leave the country in case it was unsafe to live here? What would stop you? (e.g. Syrian refugee crisis)
5. In your opinion, how likely would a terrorist attacks in Kazakhstan be? What about other cities of Kazakhstan?
6. Do you feel safe? What is your response based on? (e.g. the effectiveness of counter-terrorism measures, the application of censorship)
7. Do you consider it possible that terrorists could get hold of the nuclear weapon or find the expertise to make it?

**(Question group 7 – Belgian attack coverage in two types of sources):**

Now we are going to watch a recent Belgium terrorist attack footage. The first piece of reporting is taken from Russian television channel NTV.

**BELGIUM ATTACK RUSSIAN CHANNEL VIDEO**

The second piece of reporting is taken from Kazakh television channel Khabar.

**BELGIUM ATTACK KAZAKH CHANNEL VIDEO**

1. Have you noticed any peculiarities in the reporting of Russian NTV and Kazakh Khabar?
2. What differences and similarities can you name?
3. Who are the main political players in reacting to the attack?
4. Who kills? Who saves? Who are the victims?
5. In your opinion, does Kazakhstan have a potential threat from terrorism nowadays?

**(Question group 8 – trusting the information):**

1. On the scale of 1 to 10, where 10 is the absolute truth, how trustworthy do you find the information in the news programmes?



2. Is there anything that could make you consider the possibility of the information in the news programmes to be the absolute lie?
3. What is your judgement of the news trustworthiness based on?
4. How interested are you in the news?

**(Question group 9 – media development):**

1. Have you noticed any changed on the local television in the last 10-15 years?

### Appendix 3: Consent form

This form is to ensure that your participation in the focus group is voluntary as well as explain and protect your rights.

**Full title of project:** The influence of media coverage of terrorism on Kazakhstani people.

**Name, position and contact details of researcher:** Tatyana Khorokhorina, Bournemouth University student,  
tkhorokhorina@bournemouth.ac.uk

**Name, position and contact details of supervisor (if the researcher is a student):** Professor Barry Richards,  
brichards@bournemouth.ac.uk

**Please tick the following boxes if you agree with the statements:**

I have read and understood the participant information sheet for the above study.

I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research.

I understand that my participation is voluntary.

I understand that I may withdraw from participation without any negative consequences and without the need to specify a reason. This withdrawal can be made at any time, up until the point my data is anonymised.

- Should I not wish to answer any particular question(s) or watch a video I am free to decline.
- I agree to be filmed on camera and understand that the recording will only be used for the purpose of transcription and observation by the researcher. Participants will be assigned fake names in the transcribed data.
- I understand that my responses will become anonymous after the data procession and my personal details will not be disclosed.
- I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses.
- I understand that my identity cannot be determined by anybody other than the researcher.
- I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the outputs that result from the research.
- I agree to take part in the above research project.

**Data protection:** The information collected from the participant will be stored on a password protected hard drive. This information will be made anonymous and only be used for the purpose of the research. The recording will be deleted after 5 years.

**Legal requirements:** Referring to the Data Protection Act (1998) in the UK, the researcher has a legal duty to protect any information collected from the participants. Participants are also secured by the Law on Personal Data and Its Protection (2013) in the RK. Accordingly, the opinions you share in the focus group will be used solely in the context of the study.

Name of participant

\_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/2016

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Name of researcher

\_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/2016

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

#### **Appendix 4: Participant information sheet**

You are invited to take part in a research project as a participant in a focus group. The research deals with the effects of media coverage of terrorism on audiences in Kazakhstan. The aim of the research is to study the relationship between media and terrorism, and the impact of this media coverage on the general public.

The participants for this research are being recruited through informal networks. The only criteria in this process are to create groups which are gender balanced and have similar age profiles.

A participant in this study would take part in a discussion together with the five other members of their group. In the group you would look into how terrorist attacks are covered and what influence this coverage has on members of the public. This discussion is structured and facilitated by the researcher, but the wish to speak should come from the participants. You do not need to prepare for the activity. Knowledge of the subject is not required, it is your opinion and perceptions that matter.

Please be advised that you would be shown some coverage of terrorist attacks taken from TV news. This may make you feel uncomfortable. However, the video materials the participants will be exposed to will be taken from local news channels, and are within the parameters of normal media consumption.

In order to prevent any escalation of the stress levels of participants the following measures will take place. In addition to the withdrawal rights expressed below and in the consent form the researcher will advise participants at the very beginning of the activity that they can end their participation if uncomfortable with the content. The researcher will stay alert for any signs of such discomfort and be proactive in checking with the participants that they are OK to continue. After the discussion the

researcher will offer to talk about any concerns about being upset with the materials/ discussion examples, etc. used. There is a low possibility of participants needing further support in overcoming the stress caused from the discussion of sensitive materials in the group. The researcher will advise them of local online/ telephone counseling services available.

You have the right to withdraw from participation at any time, up until the point your data is anonymised. You do not need to specify a reason for a withdrawal.

The discussion will be recorded on camera. This will be used solely for the practicality of transcribing data. In the transcript each participant will be given a fake name and no personal data will be disclosed. The video recording will be deleted in five years. All the information that we collect about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. You will not be able to be identified in any reports or publications. All data relating to this study will be kept for 5 years on a BU password protected secure network

The location and time will be further specified by the researcher should you agree to become a participant. Drinks and biscuits are provided.

For more information please contact Tatyana at [tkhorokhorina@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:tkhorokhorina@bournemouth.ac.uk) or +77055100375. You can also contact my supervisor Professor Barry Richards, [brichards@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:brichards@bournemouth.ac.uk).

Should you wish to make a complaint, this can be dealt with the Deputy Dean for Research & Professional Practice, Professor Iain MacRury - [imacrury@bournemouth.ac.uk](mailto:imacrury@bournemouth.ac.uk).

## Appendix 5: Demographics questionnaire

1) Surname and name

\_\_\_\_\_

2) Age \_\_\_\_\_

*If you prefer not to specify the age, please tick what age group you belong to:*

- 18-25     
  26-39     
  40-54     
  55+

3) Education

- Secondary school or beginning professional (*school or profession specific school/lyceum*)  
 Secondary professional (*college or academy*)  
 Bachelor's or Master's degree  
 Doctoral degree

4) Occupation

<input type="checkbox"/>	Working	<i>What exactly is your occupation?</i> _____ _____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Studying full-time/part-time <i>(please underline the applicable)</i>	<i>What is your major?</i> _____ _____
<input type="checkbox"/>	Full time parent or carer	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Unemployed	

5a) What is your religious background?

- Islam
- Orthodox Christianity
- Other *(please, specify)*
- Mixed *(please, specify)*

5b) How religious are you?

- Not religious
- I have a religion, but I do not follow it strictly *(I rather have a religion than not)*
- Sometimes attend Church/Mosque, celebrate main religious holidays
- Regularly read prayers, attend Mosque/Church minimum once a week

6) What type of media is the main source of information for you?

- Printed editions
- Radio
- Television
- Internet

7) As a rule, how long do you watch the news *(most times)*?

- 5 minutes or less
- 6-10 minutes
- 11-20 minutes
- Watch in full *(from beginning till end of the coverage)*

8) How often do you watch news on TV?

- Once a week or less



- 2-3 times a week
- 4-6 times a week
- Watch every day and sometimes more than once

9) What TV channel is your main source of news information? *If to the same degree several, than write 2 of them.*

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**Appendix 6: Post-discussion form**

This page is offered to participants for writing any additional comments they may have, which were not expressed in the process of discussion. Everything that you will write here is anonymous. Please, DO NOT write your name.

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What is your reason for not expressing what you wrote above in the process of discussion?

- I did express what is written above generally in the discussion, but now would like to add more detail
- There was not enough time
- The subject quickly changed and my comment would have been no longer relevant
- My opinion was very different to the overall opinion of the group
- My opinion was already expressed by other members of the group, so it was unnecessary to repeat it
- I do not like to express my opinion for everybody
- Another explanation (*please specify*):


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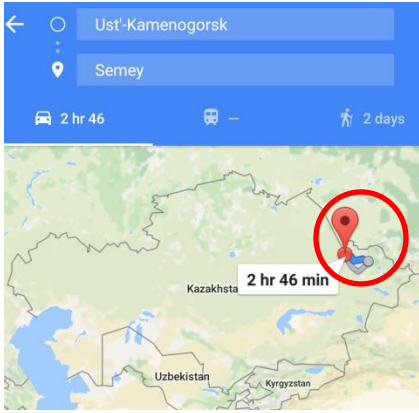
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## Appendix 7: Central Asia Monitor newspaper content and comments

Issue number and Date	Title	Content and initial analysis
No. 35, 2-8 September 2016	‘Our army’s silver success’	Kazakhstan’s army team took second place in the international Army Games hosted by Russia amongst 120 other teams from 19 countries. First came Russia and third were China. (page 1, 7-9) This news was covered on a few pages within the newspaper as well as appeared on the front page.
	‘The head of KNB gave explanations’	Vladimir Dgumakanov claimed that the captured a few days ago members of the radical groups are not connected to each other. This piece of information was put in the newspaper under the ‘anti-terror’ tag. The following information was given in direct quotation within the article: ‘ <b>Nobody is injured, all are Kazakhstan citizens and followers of the well-known religious course</b> ’ (page 2).
	‘More powerful than death’	Opening of the monument for the 10 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the closure of Semey city region’s nuclear testing site. The words on the monument say in the two languages the well-known citation by the president Navarbayev: “Nuclear tests on the land of Kazakhstan as well as anywhere else are the crime against humanity. Our people have been its victim for many years” (page 11). On the picture for the article one can see that the monument has a symbolic shape of a mother covering its child under a mushroom of nuclear explosion.
	‘Under one “umbrella” ’	<b>Astana hosted the 45<sup>th</sup> gathering of the Air-raid precaution committee of the Commonwealth countries. The article reported that the states of the Eurasian union are forming their defence systems</b>

		<p>together. This is confronted with countries of Moldavia, Ukraine and Georgia being oriented at the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. The article further refers to NATO as ‘potential opponent of Russian federation and surrounding it countries’ (p.14)</p>
<p>No. 34, 26<sup>th</sup> August-1<sup>st</sup> September</p>	<p>‘The land of worry’</p>	<p>After more than 3 months’ work of the Land committee its members are back to where it all started – the moratorium imposed on some of the positions of the new land law. <b>This issue was particularly dealing with selling of land, including selling it to foreign investors.</b> This law caused a big resonance in May, when people were organising riots and protests. <b>The article points out at activists from Almaty, Atyray and Uralsk regions and court cases opened on them. The article features a photo of one of the protestants holding a placard saying ‘Sale of land – selling the Motherland’ (page 3):</b></p> 
	<p>‘Internal pain of Kazakhstan’</p>	<p>The subheading explains: ‘25 years ago Semey nuclear site was closed’. This article was positioned around Medey Sarceke, author of books about ‘crippled lives of those who became involuntary sacrifice for death bringing experiments’. The article exposes the decision of Soviet leaders to place the nuclear testing site on the land of Kazakh villages. In his interview Medey says how he was initially glad to receive ‘damage pay’ which would help him support</p>

		<p>his big family but then witnessed throughout his life what effect 473 nuclear explosions did to people, kettle and nature. This article brings further impact on the readers with the picture of the site (page 12):</p>  <p>This story would be particularly close to people of Ust-Kamenogorsk due to its location proximity.</p> 
<p>No. 33, 19-25 August 2016</p>	<p>‘Kazakh people are ready to be solving the problem of extremism drastically’</p>	<p>Front page of the edition says: ‘After the tragic events in Almaty on July, 18<sup>th</sup> 2016 <b>Kazakh society has been having a heated discussion about the danger of religious extremism. Is the Kazakh society ready to state its position regarding salafists?’ (page 1). Interestingly, the word ‘salafists’ was used. According to the oxford dictionary, a salafist is: a member of a strictly orthodox Sunni Muslim sect advocating a return to the early Islam of the Koran and Sunna. And Salafis is ‘a global movement driven by desire for religious purification’. The use of such a complex term can be explained by the media establishing a clear differentiation between</b></p>

		<p>traditional Sunni Islam practiced by the majority of population and radical sect type. One could suggest that this differentiation is an important factor in not offending the Muslim readers.</p> <p>The article was presented in the form of interview with Kazakh expert, Aydos Sarym, which originally took place of the radio.</p> <p>The expert disagrees with the claims of ‘moderate salifists’. He sees the very fact of building a ‘caliphate’ as opposition to a secular society. The interviewee further argues that a person can stay in the ‘moderate’ category for 1, 2, or even 15-20 years but then in the situation of conflict react in a radical way of a terrorist. This can be seen as a passive terrorism sympathising and following which can take a form of active.</p>
<p>‘What experience and what exactly should we take from the recent events in Yerevan’</p>		<p>The article started cautiously by saying that the events in Armenia are not covered well in Kazakh media. However, some of those can directly and indirectly influence Kazakhstan – through Russia and Eurasian Union.</p> <p>One of the strong arguments expressed by the invited expert says: ‘Armenia is not Russia’s Ally. It is its hostage. Russia is threat number 1 for Armenian nationhood’ (p.9). The expert further reminds of the events of 2015 when one of the army personnel of the Russian base in Armenia killed 6 people including one toddler.</p> <p>Another interesting fact mentioned in the article is that Kazakhstan is on the 160<sup>th</sup> place for freedom of speech out of 180 countries. Whereas Armenia is positioned 74<sup>th</sup>.</p> <p>The article features a photo of people protesting in Armenia when Russia’s Sergei Lavrov made a visit.</p>

		
<p>No. 32, 12-18 August 2016</p>	<p>‘Sharia and contemporary law’</p>	<p>At the very front of the edition was raised a question:  ‘Is there a time now to reform Islam in the way of cutting its involvement in government matters and leave just the spiritual functions of it?’</p> <p>The article argues that the examples of Taliban group in Afghanistan, the use of Islam in the attempt to form a sharia state in Egypt and Turkey, Boko Haram in Nigeria, as well as recent ISIS all prove that the idea of Caliphate finds its followers.</p>
<p>No. 31, 5- 11 August 2016</p>	<p>‘Salafists rebranding’</p>	<p>This article was referred to on the front page of the edition. The sub-heading for it was the following:  ‘what clothes does the religious extremism dress in?’(page 1). The choice of words here, i.e. extremism as an object rather than extremists as people, suggests an interpretation of talking about religious extremism as a social class. The article claims to investigate causes and consequences of the extremist ideology. The article is based on the interview with Askar Sabdin, director of a rehabilitation centre.</p> <p>Speaking about the rebranding Askar refers to salafism being same as wahhabism. In the discussion about the leaders of the terrorist ideology, Askar brings the example of ISIS. In his opinion, after the Dessert storm operation by USA in Iraq, the Iraqi defence forces observed the raise of radicalism and ‘decided to lead the mafia from inside’ (page 8).</p>



		<p>In the experts' opinion the problem of salafism is blurred. On the example of the terrorist attack in Aktobe in June 5<sup>th</sup>, and personal interrogation of some of the terrorists, Askar concludes that the terrorists in Aktobe were not ISIS like claimed by many sources but followers of salafism.</p>
	<p>'Spell the way you hear it'</p>	<p>The title of the article is adapting a common saying in a new context. Normally this is used by teachers at schools to mock at students who do not follow the rules of spelling in their writing. Here this phrase can suggest the meaning of being unprofessional or even deceitful.</p> <p>The further subheading says 'Russian media interpret the events in Kazakhstan differently -to how we do'(p.5).</p> <p>The article points at the immense difference in the amount of coverage the countries give about each other. The author of the article suggests that Russian media have a list of themes they like to touch in relation to Kazakhstan. One of such was the 'unsuccessful overthrow of the government' (p.5) happening this summer. There is a further reference in the article to some of the examples from Russian media sources. Thus, Vzglad newspaper stated that the potential army threat is mainly aimed at Kazakhstan as a core Eurasian Union country as well as at the East of Ukraine. Here the author sees a clear theme of reporting the events in Kazakhstan by Russian media through 'opposition of Russia and the West frame'. Namely, by suggesting that Kazakhstan is developing under 'Ukraine scenario' with the intention of bringing instability to the countries surrounding Russia. Whereas Kazakh media, as claimed by the author, firstly, deny any possible repetition of the events leading to Ukraine type</p>

		<p>conflict. And secondly, deny the influence of foreign players in the conflict, neither the West nor Russia.</p>
<p>No. 30, 29 July – 4 August 2016</p>	<p>‘Shooting case. Versions and lessons’</p>	<p>Interestingly the frame of the article was “police”. Namely, there were a lot of negative comments positioning police as incompetent and even negligent in tackling the situation. Essentially, there was nothing bad said about the terrorist. For example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The man ‘humiliated’ local police (page 4);</li> <li>- Police were acting chaotically and made people hide at homes or work offices;</li> <li>- The explanations given after the attack further broke public’s trust in the police.</li> </ul> <p>The author makes a strong argument towards the need in reacting quickly, - informing people and bringing the city back to its normal flow.</p> <p>The journalist is critical of the ‘red alert’ put by the authorities in the city saying it ‘paralised the megapolis’. Localising the potential threat is seen as a solution. Further are given claims for businesses loosing profits due to being out of normal life.</p> <p>The article discussed possible political reasoning of the attacks:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- damaging the head of ministry of international affairs, as well as:</li> <li>- ‘Moscow’s instruments’ (Moscow’s reaching hand)</li> </ul> <p>The author further speculates about the police wearing the uniform with protective headgear and shields used normally for fighting public demonstrations. This is seen as the police hiding the information about the conflict escalating with the terrorist attacks giving start to planned riots.</p>

		<p>Regarding the root causes of terrorism, the following was said: ‘Firstly, terrorism must be cut off from its “food supply”, which is socio-economic problems ’ (Page 4).</p> <p>In the article the terrorist was compared to the Munich shooter from Germany, and further referred to as ‘Almaty shooter’.</p> <p>‘There is a strong feeling that a civil citizen Ruslan Kulikbayev (the terrorist) was acting much cleverer and more professional than the policemen’ (The Central Asia Monitor, edition 30, Page 4).</p>
	‘Switcher for Facebook’	<p>In the article Facebook is brought up as a threat and a tool delivering protests at the example of countries of the Middle East and North Africa. Particularly, were used the examples of Lybia and Egypt as well as “Maidan” in Ukraine. The author takes the position that complete cutting off of the Facebook is unnecessary and arrests of particular users practiced by the authorities is proving effective.</p> <p>‘National Certificate of Security’ (page 8) was released on the site of the main communications provider in December 2016 but further taken down. Apparently, the idea was that the certificate must be uploaded to one’s devices ‘otherwise problems with access to foreign sources may appear’ (page 8).</p>
No. 29, 22 – 28 July 2016	‘Black Monday’	<p>This is the main topic of the edition, being positioned as front page news as well as the very first article in the edition. The front page illustration puts the man in police uniform in the centre of the events pictured around him. This shows a clear accent in the frame of police involvement rather than humanitarian frame of</p>

reporting about the victims.



The article sums up four aspects of the attacks:

- 1) ‘The country has reached the critical point of its development. There can be seen the absence of working channels of communication between the people and the government – this is why the attack of 18<sup>th</sup> July in Almaty as well as the earlier attack in Aktobe happened’ (page
- 2) ‘It is impossible to keep the relationship between the authorities and the people as a one way talk coming from the former’ (page 2);
- 3) The government must be fully devoted to tackle the problem of ideological brainwashing. The times of ‘empty propaganda’ (page 2) are gone and those have changed with thoroughly thought through ideologies, which are backed up with principles common to normal people.
- 4) ‘The events of July 18<sup>th</sup> demand reconsideration of the work of finance and HR departments of the force organisations’ (page 2).

The article finishes by stating that it would be wrong to use the situation for dramatic effect, but putting heads in sand can be seen as ‘the peak of negligence’ (page 2) either.

<p>‘To share the grief and to help’</p>	<div data-bbox="787 157 1214 613" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>Even the piece devoted to the victims of the attack is following the theme of government’s response rather than talking about the victims as such or their families.</p> <p>This can be further seen in the title, which is about the actions of the authorities rather than something along the lines of ‘heroic deaths of our police’.</p> <p>From the illustration for this article there can be seen that the mayor of Almaty region, Amandyk Batayev, is giving a speech at the commemoration of policemen. Two of the victims’ families, those of Maksat Salimbayev and Timur Begasilov, were handed keys of their new flats in a prestigious living complex.</p> <p>Despite the framing of the story being government related, the actual actions and words of the authorities seemed to be concerned with the victims. For example:</p> <p>‘They are the heroes of our time. Thank you (addressing their parents) for raising such a person. Our duty now is to help you in any ways’ (page 2).</p>
<p>‘The story of the wife of the</p>	<p>The newspaper under the tag ‘direct speech’ discusses the terrorists’ partner’s Ayaulym</p>

	<p>“shooter” ’</p>	<p>Umbetkulova’s <b>interview to KTK channel.</b></p> <p><b>From her words, the terrorist was a good husband and father to their two children. He changed in behaviour after being convicted and serving a prison sentence, from which he returned radically religious. There is no mention of the nature of his sentence though in the article.</b></p> <p>He asked Ayaulym to wear hijab which she refused. She was staying at home all the time and was told not to open the door because the husband would be ‘jealous’ (page 2) of seeing her with others. The wife was thinking of the terrorist as of <b>a truly religious good person and was shocked at the news.</b> It was evident from her interrogation that she did not know exactly what was her husband’s occupation or seen any of his friends. At the end of the article the wife ‘asks forgiveness from the relatives of the deceased and begs not to curse her family’ (Page 2).</p>
	<p>‘The top ones are not able to, the bottom ones do not want to’ (Page 4, continued on page 9)</p>	<p>The article discusses the reasons and consequences of the July 18<sup>th</sup> attacks with a Kazakh expert Dastan Kadyrdganov. According to the expert, this type of events were expected and are going to happen more and more often. His position is as follows: <b>the country is undergoing a process of revolution developing as a ‘build-up phase’, followed by ‘active phase’, and finally ‘the change of social systems developed during the president Nazarbayev being at charge’ (page 4).</b> Here the expert sees the change of nation leader to be the start of major reforms. The events in Almaty and Aktobe are seen by the expert as ‘classic’ pattern of a state development.</p> <p><b>If to consider the ‘authority and society’ spectre, the</b></p>

		<p>society is undergoing the ‘self-reorganisation’ stage, which must be appreciated. During the stage the expert warns about extremely and radically positioned responses of the society. These are contrasted with the riots and demonstrations, which are signs of ‘high organisation’ (page 4).</p> <p>When asked about his opinion on the fact that one untrained person was able to destabilise the whole city, the expert said: ‘I would not be too sure about him being alone, neither of him being not trained’ (page 4).</p> <p>The expert further points at the fact that the gun was taken from an on-duty policeman who did not follow the basic instruction every man going to army duty (compulsory in Kazakhstan) knows.</p> <p>The fact that nobody was charged with a political crime is seen as “degradation” by the expert.</p> <p>There was further discussed the late reaction of the press releases of government structures. The expert stresses that by the time people were given information, all the versions were already discussed in Facebook, Whatsapp and “at homes in the kitchens”. There were even people on social media offering to volunteer and form ‘self-defence camps’ (page 4).</p> <p>In continuation on another page, the article further considers the reasons bringing the terrorist to shooting the policemen on duty. The expert suggests that with lack of opposition opportunity, going on a demonstration leading to a jail, and complaining leading to ‘humiliation’ (page 9) by the corrupt system – there is lack of choice left if you are ‘not an animal or a slave’ (page 9).</p> <p>The expert is finishing the conversation by saying</p>
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		<p>that the started process cannot be reversed, but it can now be helped by acting ‘reasonably’ rather than ‘spontaneously’ (page 9).</p>
	<p>‘GKChP in Turkish style’</p>	<p><b>GKChP is an abbreviation in Russian for State Committee on the State of Emergency. This was a self-declared organisation positioning itself for the formation of independent states union rather than Soviet Union in 1991.</b></p> <p>Sub-title to the article is as follows: ‘will the attempted overturn in the brotherhood country lead to the overturn in the minds of Kazakh people?’ (page 7)</p> <p><b>The article starts by emphasising the higher public resonance from the news in Turkey than from the statement of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Kazakhstan about the similar events being attempted to plan in Kazakhstan.</b></p> <p>The article point at the timing of the Ministry of International affairs of Kazakhstan to give out their statement of support for the current democratic government in Turkey, which is after it was clear that the attempt to overthrow has failed.</p> <p><b>One of the experts, Askar Kумыran, sees how Kazakh people reacted to the events in Turkey as a positive thing, saying ‘blood connects’ (page 7)</b></p> <p><b>The article continues to compare the two countries and whether the events in Turkey can take place in Kazakhstan. The following factors are pointed out:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Erdogan is pro Muslim-Turkey;</li> <li>- Despite the power of Turkey, it is Kazakhstan and</li> </ul>



		<p>Nazarbayev himself, who lead “the Turk world”;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The military in Turkey is historically a separate structure that ‘directly influences the politics of the country’ (page 7);</li> <li>- In Kazakhstan, it is the president who is the head of the army;</li> <li>- Another difference is in how the public treats the military people. If in Turkey the military is seen as freedom fighters and the force of progress, in Kazakhstan seeing tanks on the streets would cause right the opposite feelings.</li> </ul> <p>The following paragraph seemed very odd in the way of not naming in particular what is meant but implying a lot:</p> <p>‘We are not considering the “influence of the external factors” on the events in Turkey, although those did benefit some and Erdogan himself has named whom. Moreover, “the foreign” explanation in further adopted by a number of other countries, whose authorities cannot be defined as democratic’ (page7).</p> <p>At the end of the article there is another mention of social and economic problems being the root causes of revolution.</p>
	‘MPS or PMS?’	<p>MPS in the Russian language stands for ‘Local Police Corps’. The play on the words in the title and evident anti-police nature of the article is further supported by the subtitle of ‘Almaty: local police as a miscarriage of the reforms’ (page 9).</p>



The picture for the article shows police holding their hands by heart, most likely listening to the Kazakh anthem. Most of them are facing and looking down. One can suggest the meaning behind this picture is to show that the police are patriots of their country and they are deeply guilty of letting it down.

The article starts very dramatically by talking about the timing of the attack: '24 minutes. Is it a lot or is it short? In terms of universe it is hardly anything. But for Almaty people who survived the 'Black Monday' it was a spread in time and space period' (page 9).


The article goes further to use the symbolic nature of numbers: 'It took only 24 minutes for the "Almaty shooter" to take 6 lives and to injure another 10 people' (page 9).

Further on the author of the article advocates the head of MPS, Dgasylyan Baikenov, who is to stand and report about the events the following Wednesday. The article goes for about 3 columns talking about the "decency" of Baikenov as well as the good performance indicators of the structure until the attack.


Interesting comparison is made with the reaction of the police to the terrorist attack in Nice, France.


		<p>According to the article, the police in Nice were not able to make a single shot reaching the seat where the driver sat, with all of those missing the target. The author cites the given then explanation of ‘local police are trained to deal with drunk tourists, not terrorists’ (page 9). The article finishes on the dramatic ‘isn’t it true that those [about the events in Nice] resemble our reality?’ (page 9).</p>
	<p>‘One country – two Islam religions’</p>	<p>This article is positioned under the tag ‘Russia’ next to another article to the right on the page under the tag ‘Turkey’. The page itself is titled ‘neighbours’. Interestingly, if Russia is a border country, Turkey is not. Here the <b>social belonging theory</b> can be applied, with Turkey being a ‘brotherhood’ nation.</p> <p>At the example of Russia, two “religions” are considered: traditional moderate Islam and radical Islam in the form of Wahhabism or Salafism. If some of the Western media are separating Islam from the radical movements, here there can be seen a clear claim of the radical movement being associated with the division of a religion.</p> <p>There are given examples in the article of the conflicts between traditional and radical Islam. Especially of the terrorist attacks on public figures of the traditional Islam in Russia.</p> <p>This is referred to as ‘religious war’. This term is somewhat symbolic and resembling the one of ‘war on terror’ after the 9/11.</p> <p>Further on in the article there are mentioned the Chechen war, and the development of Islam in Russian region of Kavkaz. From this the discussion skews towards the public response to the situation in Syria. It is believed that Russia’s politics in Syria is</p>

		<p>raising the radically thinking Muslim people in Kavkaz. This is seen as the reasoning for continuation of the Russian intervention in Syria ‘as thousands of Kavkaz people have been joining ISIS there’ (Page 11).</p>
<p>No. 28, 15 – 21 July 2016</p>	<p>‘Islam in Kazakhstan and sufism: history and perspective’</p>	<p>Despite the attacks in Almaty taking place on 18<sup>th</sup> of July, this circulation of 15-21 July did not cover the attacks. The response and comments only started in No. 29. There have been, however, some of the indirectly referring to the attacks articles setting the context for the following week’s edition.</p> <p>The discussion about Islam and Sufism in Kazakhstan was with the expert of theology and religion studies, Marat Smagulov.</p> <p>At the beginning Marat clarifies that Kazakh people traditionally practice a moderate type of Islam attributed to Sunni type of Hanafi Madhhab division. Islam as a religion on the land of contemporary Kazakhstan started in IX century. The expert is stressing the need of revisiting the national rather than religious traditions and values. Sufism as a ‘science of morals’ (page 9) together with bringing religion to Kazakhstan is imbedded deeply into the traditions of Kazakhs. The article goes on to name a few rituals which are both religious and traditional to Kazakhs as a nation. The idea behind Sufism practice is to decline the material rewards, live an ascetic life of reaching for the spiritual heights.</p> <p>This historic background of Islam in Kazakhstan was further challenged in the article as means of not falling for the radical agitation:</p> <p>‘It is pointless to tackle the consequences rather than</p>

		<p>causes. Only by putting the ideology of Sufism to the ideology of Wahhabism can there be seen a positive result' (Page 9).</p> <p>The presence of politicised pro-sharia as opposed to secular society Islam started appearing in 1990.</p> <p>The expert further goes to educate about the differences between the radical salafists and spiritual sufists. Salafists divide people into only religious and non-religious, whereas for sufists it is important to remember their national roots, their traditions.</p>
	<p>'Shanyraknulo! 10 years after'</p>	 <p>10 years ago the events of 14 July 2006 near Almaty have 'disillusioned' from the 'myth of social and economic stability in Kazakhstan' (page 6).</p> <p>The conflict between the authorities and the people have been 'revealed' as well as the social differences of the society.</p> <p>According to the article, the events took place when the opposition was more active and numerous, as well as during the year when the prices for housing rocketed. There was a common tendency of rural people striving to move to big cities.</p> <p>The social movement 'Shanyrak', which appeared back in 1991 was fighting for the rights of people to choose where to live. On 14th of July the court order</p>

		<p>was brought of reclaiming the land from the illegally built Shanyrak settlement.</p> <p>There happened the conflict between police and law enforcement versus people living in the settlement.</p> <p>The journalist writing about the 10 years after was the one who was sent to the events for reporting back in 2006. The narrative of the events has been emphasising the means and weapons used by the people and the police. Some of the most shocking features reported by the journalist were the people taking a hostage and telling the author of the reporting back in 2006 to tell the authorities through media to stop the attack, otherwise the hostage's throat will be cut. The authority replied to him by saying 'let them cut'. This is further escalated by one of the local policemen, 24 year old Aset Baisenov being tied up, washed in petrol and burned by the people. Apparently, the very initiator of the Shanyrak counteraction to the law enforcement, Aron Atabek, tried to stop the flame and save the policeman. Aron was given 18 years of prison.</p> <p>Further the author is criticising the court judgement which was undergone with numerous violations, without thorough investigations and neglecting the unauthorised actions of the police.</p> <p>'July 14th is remembered as the day when the people and the authority could not find a common ground and started a conflict in which there were no winners'. (page 6)</p>
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<p>No. 27, 8 – 14 July 2016</p>	<p>‘Sultan is flirting with the Tsar’</p>	 <p>The article is dealing with Erdoğan’s letter from the previous Monday to Putin in which he expresses his ‘sadness about the liquidation of Russian plane in November last year’ (page 11).</p> <p>The article sees Erdoğan writing a letter as a stimuli for ISIS to perform a terrorist attack of the following day in Ataturk airport in Istanbul.</p> <p>The author compares Putin and Erdoğan as leaders. The common features are that they both ”inherited” the countries of either Tsar Empire or Osman Empire where the leader would be ‘absolute ruler’ (page 11).</p> <p>Another common feature attributed to the leaders is them often ‘despising human rights and freedom of press’ (page 11). They further see separatism as terrorism.</p> <p>According to the article, neither countries are interested in the conflict in Syria, but their views are the opposite. The article continues in saying that now there is a choice for Turkey to prioritise between fighting PKK terrorist group and ISIS, with the latter being targeted by Russia as well.</p> <p>There is a further mention that ‘Putin wants to work closer with the USA in fight of ISIS’ (page 11).</p>
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<p>No. 26, 1 – 7 July 2016</p>	<p>‘ZAPADnya’</p>	 <p>This article starts in the centre of front page and continues on page 5. Its title is the play on words, “zapad” is Russian means “the West”, and “zapadnya” means “a trap”. So there is an implication that the threat of terrorism is coming from the West. The subtitle to the story further specifies that it is the West of the country that is meant: ‘Why the threat of extremism is coming from the Western regions of the country’(page 1).</p> <p>The picture shows a symbolic fence between the obscure figures of terrorists and the four people in suits, presumably the four mayors of the Western Kazakhstan region.</p> <p>The article starts by criticising the choice and work of mayors of the Western Kazakhstan region and uses a dramatic phrase of ‘they would not match there neither from their front nor their side view’ (page 5). From the article it seems that most of mayors in the region have been either convicted with stealing of</p>



		<p>government money or acted in their own interests whilst on duty. This period of corruption and self-interest resulted in giving opportunity to the raise of extremism in the region.</p> <p>The following milestones of terrorism activity have been named:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In 2008, 14 people were convicted in terrorism;</li> <li>- In 2011, salafists violated Atyray cemetery;</li> <li>- On 31<sup>st</sup> October 2011 there were two explosions in the regional centre which were explained as terrorist attacks.</li> </ul> <p>During this period the approximate number of salafists in the region was 500 people.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In November 2013 a person living in the region was sentenced to 20 years of prison for founding a terrorist group and performing acts of terrorism;</li> <li>- In winter 2014 another person living in the region was convicted with financing terrorism;</li> <li>- In February 2015 two people were convicted for spreading the ideas of “jihadi war”</li> </ul> <p>Special attention in the article was given to Aslan Musin, previous mayor of Atyrau and Aktobe regions. The article points all the evidence that during his time at charge in particular, the religious extremism in the region rocketed. Namely, started appearing ‘ideological preachers’ (page 5) such as Saeed Buratskyi, emerged Wahhabi mosques, in At-Takua mosque were working the missionaries who talked to people and ‘messed with the minds of Kazakh people regarding what the Islam is’ (page 5). The author of the article stresses that it is hard to believe that Musin ‘did not know about the situation’ (page 5).</p>
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		The article finishes by saying that now the responsibility and hope is on the current mayor Nurlan Nogayev.
	‘Close to the front line position’	<p>The article is devoted to the situation in Turkmenistan as one of the close to Kazakhstan countries.</p> <p>The events in Afghanistan with the raise of ISIS and the Taliban declaring their fighting intentions both have been worrying the authorities of Turkmenistan for two years.</p> <p>The article refers to the opinion of experts, speaking of which in general without giving particular names, that Turkmenistan is ‘the weakest link in the architecture of security of countries in Central Asia’(Page 11).</p> <p>The raise of terrorist in Afghanistan is explained by the active war actions of the Syrian government troops in Syria, which forced ISIS fighters to leave the zone of conflict and come back home.</p> <p>As security measures, Turkmenistan has increased its sources to fight religious extremism and terrorism within the country. The article brings some examples of capturing terrorists, as well as the example of Turkmenistani citizens being radicalised in Turkey after going there to earn some money.</p>
	‘What would this mean?’ and ‘Khan Kuchum and his Khanate’	<p>The context to this number was the relationship between Kazakhstan and Russia.</p> <p>‘What would this mean?’ article was about the meeting and discussion of the Eurasian Union.</p> <p>During the meeting Putin put the responsibility for ‘obviously lagging in producing some progress’ (page 7) by the union on Nazarbayev. The article sees that as Russia’s message to the USA replying to the accusations of building another Soviet Union.</p>

		<p>Namely, the response was that it is Nazarbayev and Kazakhstan who stand at the top of the Eurasian Union and take most responsibility. The sub-title to the story said: ‘About the way Vladimir Putin set up Nursultan Nazarbayev’ (page 7).</p> <p>‘Khan Kuchum and his Khanate’ article was about the patriotism and historic events of 16-17<sup>th</sup> century when the khan ‘was the first to stand in the way of Russian Empire’s advance into the Kazakh steppe’ (page 10).</p>
<p>No. 25, 24 – 30 June 2016</p>	<p>‘A bullet to fly – and what?’</p>	<p>This article is about the leaders of the regions of Kazakhstan and their ability to face and react to the dangers of terrorism, such as the one on 5<sup>th</sup> of June in Aktobe.</p> <p>Mayors are blamed for working in offices with statistics and not knowing what the people are up to. After a few negative comments regarding Kazakh mayors in general, the mayor of Atyrau district is put as an example of how to work with people and how to react to the land reform protests.</p> <p>The mayor of Akmola district, Sergei Kulagin, is characterised as a person who does not tolerate much and is ready to ‘put his people in their places’ (page 3). The author of the article emphasises: ‘will this mayor monitor the socio-political patterns in his society truly and not just for a report? - doubtfully’ (page 3). The article further goes on in a mocking way to say that Kulagin did not even organise a meeting of anti-terrorism commission after the terrorist attack in Aktobe on June 5<sup>th</sup>. The situation in the region, however, is described as critical with less than a year ago a person from Kokshetay region being convicted of terrorism for terrorism propaganda and an attempt to cause social, national, and religious</p>

		<p>clashes in the society.</p> <p>As a means of working with people on the issue of land reform Kulagin met with the elderly men who concerned with using the land and promised them that ‘no land will be sold to foreigners’ (page 3). The journalist sees this step as extremely unproductive as the group of population the mayor chose to meet with were not of extreme views on the reform and neither would they participate in the demonstrations. This action is seen as purely for the sake of “ticking boxes” in a report.</p> <p>Krymbek Kysherbayev, the mayor of Kyzylorda region, is believed to characterise similar to Kulagin ‘minus provocative sayings in addressing the public’ (page 3). The antiterrorism commission in Kysylorda was described by the journalist as full of ‘pathos’ (page 3). There is given a direct quote of the mayor on the situation to ridicule his high-flown speech which did not analyse the situation and neither offered any measures:</p> <p>‘The actions of the group of people, in time of peace who armoured themselves and broke the peacefulness of the country are against humanity and political system. Tens of people died and were damaged from the hands of a terrorist group, which does not know the price to our independence, who was willing to break the foundations of our peaceful life’ (page 3).</p> <p>The talk about this mayor was finished by stating that last year within the region there were 16 cases of terrorism classed as administrative offence and 11 as criminal cases with “...” sign at the end of the text to add to the point made.</p> <p>The mayor of Dgambyl region, Karim Kokrekbayev,</p>
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		<p>has been avoiding talking about terrorism and extremism despite the situation in the region. In November 2011 the terrorist in Taraz has killed 5 people. Regarding the situation about the land reform, this district has scored highest for talking to people and dealing with problems. It can be noticed that the journalist is somewhat sceptical of this score.</p> <p>The mayor of South Kazakhstan region, Beibut Atamkulov, is also blamed for not reaching to the people. The author cites the words of the mayor from one of the seminars in the region called “Extremism and terrorism”:</p> <p>‘Every citizen of the Republic of Kazakhstan must realise the importance of their part in the life of the young state’ (page 3).</p> <p>This time there were no comments regarding the direct quote by the journalist, which probably meant “there is no need to criticise this even”.</p> <p>The conclusion to the article is that the problem is not in lack of ‘culture of political discussion’ (page 3) in the country but the fact that mayors are assigned by the head of the country, rather than voted by people. This is why the recent ‘chaotic’ changes in assigned mayors and their positions ‘are going to lead to even worse chaos’ (page 3).</p>
	<p>‘Is it easy to overthrow our government?’</p>	<p>The article starts by discussing two things with particular examples, firstly, the planned attacks on the president, and secondly, the attempts of the government overthrow. Among many examples were the following. In 2002, the representative of KNB, Nurtai Dutbayev, revealed to the public news about a failed assassination of the president soon before Dutbayev was promoting a new law project of fighting terrorism.</p>

		<p>The most striking example of government overthrow was ‘a certain plan’ (page 3) by ex-head of KNB, Alnur Musayev, and his deputy, Rakhat Aliev. This is further referred by the journalist as ‘secret case’ (page 3) and the article diverts into considering various explanations. <b>Rakhat Aliev was mentioned earlier in the media mapping.</b></p> <p>Aliev is described as a ‘power-seeking man’ (page 3) – a characteristic apparently well-known to the public and the authority even before his coming out.</p> <p>The journalist further gives consideration to the version that the president and his ex-son-in-law, Aliev, had argument where Aliev went too far so was punished.</p> <p>Further are discussed the versions of ‘where’ and ‘how’ the overthrow was planned to be – this information is not available to the media.</p> <p>The article then looks into the events of 1997-98 where another Kazakh citizen ‘met with a certain foreign informer’ who revealed about the overthrow of then a recently built country (page 3). The author uses a language here of obvious speculation with no specific information provided.</p> <p>Changes in the people at charge, definition of districts’ borders within the country as well as the shift of capital from Almaty to Astana (from the south to the North, where the attempted overthrow was evidently planned) – all are seen as government being well informed about the situation and reacting in time.</p> <p>The second part of the article on another page continues to talk about more recent events. <b>First is brought the example of Tokhtar Tuleshov. The author of the article seemed determined to challenge Tuleshov’s being an ‘anti-hero’ (page 4). The article</b></p>
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		<p>says the following: ‘Tuleshov, a millionaire from Shymkent, does not go for a government conspirator’ (page 4). This is continued by saying: ‘by what means was the court investigation hoping to convince the public in this version? As usual, just by referring to the secret nature of the investigation, and then take this as you want?’ (page 4)</p> <p>The article further attempts to discover some conspiracy about the people who were behind Tuleshov, those at charge in government structures and those that are indirect family relatives.</p> <p>Tuleshov is believed to sponsor the demonstrations regarding the land in the South of Kazakhstan from the money everybody was referring to as charity. This is an official version and is seen as the beginning of overthrow under the label of land reform demonstration.</p> <p>The author of the article further challenges this by saying that Tuleshov was in prison at that time and if this version is to take place, it further shows the inability of forces to stop the terrorists from working out of jail:</p> <p>‘With this they damaged themselves – it looks like even whilst in their hands, one can still organise something’ (page 4).</p> <p>The article goes further to claim that such attacks as in Aktobe and Almaty are beneficial to the government in gaining its electoral strengths among the majority of population who are ‘inert and doubtful’ (page 4). In authors’ opinion, ‘an average Kazakhstani person’ will not take notice of ‘the investigation making up a believable story with added people figures and facts’ (page 4). The article finishes by saying that ‘government overthrows are only possible in countries which are hard to class as</p>
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		democratic’ – but the majority of people, described as before, will ignore this statement. (page 4)
No. 24, 17 – 23 June 2016	‘The logic behind inevitability’	<p>The article starts by acknowledging the shocking effect that terrorist attack in Aktobe had on public. At the same time, the author sees getting used to the ‘chronic of terrorism’ (page 4) as a far worse scenario. At the front of the article, the journalist outlines three broad questions. These are to be answered by Rustam Burnashev, a politician, for the first part and by Eduard Poletayev, politician, in the second part of the article.</p> <p>The three questions the journalist asked the two politicians to prepare the answers to are:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) ‘Does Kazakhstan government have a strategy to fight terrorist attacks?’</li> <li>2) ‘If yes, then why does this not work well? What is the reasoning – the lack of understanding in the nature of radicalism or mere lack of practical experience in fighting it?’</li> </ol> <p>There can be seen a set response a journalist is looking for in this question, as well as an obvious suggestion that the anti-terrorism strategy works bed.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>3) The final question is regarding ‘help from outside’ (page 4). Here the journalist gives examples of countries such as Russia, Israel, Great Britain and Italy regarding their experience of fighting terrorism.</li> </ol> <p>Part A: Burnashev. The sub-title says: ‘It is necessary to form trust in the work of intelligence services’ (page 4).</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Kazakhstan has effective means of fighting terrorism. These are: the Law Countering Terrorism adopted in 1999 and edited since, government programme regarding counteraction of religious extremism and terrorism planned out for years 2013-</li> </ol>



		<p>2017, government structures such as MVD (the ministry of internal affairs) and KNB (the committee of national security). The politician further believes that the formulation of the journalist’s question is ‘incorrect’ (page 4). This is due to the opinion, that ‘if to answer the exact formulation of the question, then anybody would have to say that “Kazakhstan does not have effective strategy of fighting terrorism” ’ (page 4). The politician claims that the fight with terrorism should come from government efforts as well as people’s efforts united as opposed to considering just the work of authorities.</p> <p>2) Burnashev disagrees that the strategy works bad. He further claims that there were only <b>three terrorist stacks</b> characterised as such in court. Whereas all the rest is claimed terrorism acts by ‘the wider public’ (page 4).</p> <p>Those three attacks are: the two explosions in Atyrau in October 31, 2011, the events in Taraz in October 12, 2011, and the series of videos agitating towards political violence posted by ‘the soldiers of caliphate’ (page 4).</p> <p>3) In answering to the third question the politician noted that it is not ‘help’, which is a one-way action, but rather exchange of practices and knowledge that is needed and that is improving between Kazakhstan and its partner countries.</p> <p>Part B: Poletayev. The subtitle says: ‘Kazakhstan is countering terrorism by its own means’ (page 4). This politician is replying to the first question nearly word-for-word with the first one, except Politaev added some of the international anti-terrorism organisations Kazakhstan is part of as well. Poletayev then refers to the plan outlined by the president at the</p>
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		<p>national security meeting recent to the time of article.</p> <p>The politician stresses the strong position of Kazakhstan in fighting terrorism. This is despite the difficulties faced such as terrorists using economic crisis and social platforms access as means of radicalisation. He ends his reply by saying the following:</p> <p>‘people must trust their government and the common values of the nation, as opposed to listening to coming from <b>overseas preachers</b>’ (page 4).</p>
	<p>‘Threats – the real ones and the myths’</p>	<p>This article has a similar structure to the one above, with the journalist setting the context and then the opinions of experts put as separate parts.</p> <p>The journalist questions the list of people classified as terrorists in the Aktobe attack:</p> <p>‘In the run for high indicators of crime solution all means are good’ (page 7).</p> <p>The terrorists in Aktobe were briefly titled as <b>‘Freeing Kazakhstan Army’</b> but this term was not followed and later called ‘fake’ by the government representatives.</p> <p>Another version was that the terrorists came from Syria – here the journalist comments:</p> <p><b>‘It is strange that we tend to see foreign involvement in everything but there is no proof for this ever found’</b> (page 7).</p> <p>The author diverts to show similar non-clarity of the events and reasons on the example of attempted revolution on 21 May in Almaty. Here there were versions about Kazakh businessman Tuleshov and Ukrainian ‘right wing’ to be possible organisers.</p> <p>Part A. Daneel Bekturganov, the president of Civil Expertise public fund.</p>

		<p>The expert sees four scenarios regarding threats: internal and external threats, perceived threat whilst no actual one, and finally presence of actual threat but this being silenced. Bekturganov looks at the sequence of events and then compares the authorities' reaction to terrorists attacks in Paris and Orlando. Referring to the author, in both foreign attacks cases the reaction was asking the people to 'unite for the preservation of common values – freedom, democracy, and equality', whereas in Kazakhstan case this was 'uniting with the nation leader' (page 7). Here the expert sees the attacks as helping the government to use people's fear for the benefit of gaining their support.</p> <p>Part B. Asylbek Izbaïrov, the director of the institute of geopolitical investigations, sees the threat in the sphere of religious confessions and extremism. Firstly, there is a threat that people getting orders from ideologists Kazakhstani daesh may come open and start active fight against the government. Secondly, as a result of terrorist attacks in Aktobe, the gap between religious confessions deteriorated. The expert brings examples from the social media of the use of words 'beard-men', 'goat-bearded', 'hidjabi', etc. This was further escalated to some Kazakh people suggesting to refuse from Kazakh surnames, which have Arabic roots. This is despite the fact that '40% of words in the Kazakh language originate from Arabic' (page 7).</p> <p>Thirdly, there is a threat of certain religious circles to pull the government into their inter-religious clashes.</p> <p>Part C. Tolganai Umbetaliyeva, CEO of the Central Asia fund of democracy development, sees two</p>
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		<p>threats. Those are delayed informing of the public and playing with the information in the way of distorting it, manipulating it and misinforming. These all are believed to set panic on people more than the nature of the events. The expert also pays particular attention to the ‘character, tone and content’ of the information provided to the public (page 7).</p>
<p>No. 23, 10 – 16 June 2016</p>	<p>‘President of the country’s statement’</p>	<div data-bbox="685 512 1135 806" data-label="Image"> </div> <p>The article features a large photo of Nazarbayev at the length of three columns. This probably symbolises the significance and concern given to the events by the president.</p> <p>No commentary is given alongside apart from a brief three sentence introduction to the statement, which is all given as a quote.</p> <p>The statement touches the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Promise of decent investigation lead by the head attorney himself</li> <li>- The terrorists are ‘radical pseudo-religious’ (page 2) people who received their instructions from abroad</li> <li>- Condolences to families of victims</li> <li>- June, 9 is set as a day of national mourning</li> <li>- An acknowledgement of ‘professionalism, being true to the duty, decency and patriotism’ (page 2) of the force people who died stopping the terrorists</li> <li>- Reassurance that at the moment there is no ‘reason for worry’ but people should fight any ‘agitation to illegal actions’ and assist the police</li> </ul>

		<p>- ‘Certain somebody decided to check the authority for endurance’ but the government will stop this with means that are fully available</p> <p>- ‘Revolutions start with protests, killings, and aims of gaining the power’. Further is described the situation and the devastating conditions of poverty and terrorism in countries where these took place. The statement finishes on the action note for people to stand for the peace of the country.</p>
	<p>‘Help for the families of deceased’</p>	<p>This is a short 4 paragraphs piece of writing with only a few sentences in each paragraph. No author’s name is specified, but the source of information is referred to as ‘Aktobe Akparat’. Here akparat means information in Kazakh. Aktobe Akparat is an information centre.</p> <p>The main news reported is that there was made a decision to increase the material help for the families of Aktobe attacks victims. This is amounted to 5 million tenge (approximately 12 thousand GBP) as opposed to 1 million decided initially.</p> <p>The terrorists are referred to as a ‘group of unidentified people’ (page 2). They killed 7 people. The article names 4 out of 7:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 44 y.o. sales assistant of gun shop – Andrei Maksimenko;</li> <li>- 69 y.o. pensioner – Nekolai Oneschenko;</li> <li>- 35 y.o. who was a victim by chance together with Oneschenko – Mikhail Matrosov;</li> <li>- 33 y.o. who died whilst on duty at Kuzet security – Merkhan Tajibayev</li> </ul>
	<p>‘Bloody Sunday’</p>	<p>On the factual side, the article says that the attack in Aktobe happened on June, 5, 2016, and 38 people were victims. This is further diverted into exaggeration language:</p> <p>‘Is this a single shot or the beginning of bullet spray?’</p>

		<p>Partially the answer to this question depends on whether our authority will stop playing hide-and-seek with reality, by covering the civilians from potential threats with inflatable mattress titled “Kazakhstan – an Island of stability””(front page)</p> <p>The author of the article catches the government on their promise followed by attacks of 2011-2012 that those will not repeat. Adding to that is the mayor of Aktobe, Berdibek Saparbeyev, reporting less than half a year before the attack that the numbers of Salafists in the region reduced.</p> <p>The author of the article calls it ‘non-sense’ (front page) that the events in Aktobe were classified as terrorist attack in less than a day having passed since. Apparently, it took ‘much more time to admit the events from about 5 years ago were terrorist attacks’ (front page).</p> <p>Attacks are seen as crime.</p> <p>In continuation on page 3, the author further stresses how within only a few hours after the attack the responsibility for it was put on followers of untraditional Islam, despite the attack ‘not resembling the character of previous untraditional Islam followers’ attacks’ (page 3).</p> <p>The article then follows to analyse the responses given by the media and government representatives. The media reported terrorists to be Wahhabi. This was originated from Bakhytbek Smagul, member of parliament stating so. The author of the article refers to the lack of evidence for this to be true. The link the investigation established was mainly based on social media activity of terrorists and them following radical Islam pages:</p>
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		<p>‘There was no statement by the investigation of finding banned literature, leaflets or weapons during the search of terrorists’ homes’ (page 3).</p> <p>Further on the author challenges the reasoning for the attack and no information regarding this provided by the authority.</p> <p>From the point of view of Russian media, this was an attempt to destabilise the ground for neighbouring Russia. The journalist refers to Russian politician, Juryi Solozobov, who stated that the attack was ‘thoroughly planned and coordinated’ (page 3). The author of the article mocks this statement referring to terrorists not having their weapons or means of transport prepared and acting spontaneously.</p> <p>Further is discussed the appearance of terrorists. They were wearing ‘shorts and sandals’ – ‘what thorough planning can be talked about?’ (page 3). This is further reinforced by Kazakh expert and PR-consultant, Erlan Askarbekov, saying ‘as if they did not go to, practically, execute their lives but to buy ice-cream instead. This cannot be linked to ISIS or Al-Qaida, neither it can be connected to the West or Russia. The organisers are local criminals at most’ (page 3).</p> <p>The president’s message, distributed by Ak-Orda in their press-release, says ‘the terrorist attack was organised by followers of radical pseudo-religious course. Their instructions they received from abroad’ (page 3). This is seen as ‘axiom that doesn’t need proving’ since the head of government knows all the secret information (page 3).</p> <p>This is followed by public’s social media statements quoted in the article. Some include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ‘It must be Russian brothers-bandits working</li> </ul>
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		<p>together with our Kazakh criminals for the benefit of international drug-trafficking' ...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 'It must be the Westerners, they destroyed everything where they interfered' ...</li> <li>- 'This was all planned!!! No radical in our country would turn their head from keeping down otherwise'.</li> <li>- 'This is a staged performance by the authorities to distract people from the sharpest issue - land'.</li> </ul> <p>Natalya Kharitonova, the coordinator of United Eurasian Experts Network JEEN, is further suggested by the article's author as expert supporting the view that there is a link between land protests and events in Aktobe. The forces hit the rebels and now they revenge hitting the forces back.</p> <p>Aidar Abyov, the head of Religious Scholar Congress, as well as Iosif Linder, Russian expert on anti-terrorism security, both are given as an example of people following the explanation that Aktobe attack was a result of radical Islam movements and ISIS in particular.</p> <p>Dosym Satpayev, the director of Risk Assessment group, criticises government for convincing everybody in criminal side of attacks rather than referring to as acts of terrorism:</p> <p>'the authorities should not see Maidan in everything and tie protestants on the streets, but rather recognise the threat from radical movements' (page 3).</p> <p>Igor Tyshkevich, Ukrainian media, in response to the attack seems to see the 'illogical' behaviour of the terrorists (page 3). The main aim of the attack was to stress the inability of the government to respond by itself. 'This is where the offer from Kremlin would come. If the thesis "Islamic threat" will be put further forward, then we can confidently conclude: Vladimir</p>
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		<p>Vladimirovich, we recognised you’ (page 3).</p> <p>Keith Mallingson, the chief expert of Central Asia investigating agency GPW, in her interview to BBC Russia stated that the threat of Islamic extremism in Kazakhstan is exaggerated. Despite people do get radicalised within the country, only 400-500 Kazakh citizens joined ISIS in Syria. This is less than Belgians. Taking the size of land territory of Kazakhstan, the level of terrorism activity within the country is not high. ‘I would seek the explanations for Aktobe attacks within the inner political situation of the country. It is very likely that the sponsors were from Kazakhstan’ (page 3).</p> <p>The article finishes by the statement from Aleksandr Shirokov, lenta.ru observer:</p> <p>‘For some reason, the authorities cannot state who exactly is trying to break the set stability of the government. The main intelligence agency of the country stated that the events were an attempt of government overthrow, which was successfully prevented’ – this is seen by Shirokov as providing misleading information to both public and head of state, which can result in real threat being ignored (page 3).</p>
<p>No. 22, 3 – 9 June 2016</p>	<p>‘Invisible power’</p>	<p>The word ‘power’ used in original language in the title is a very old fashioned word literally meaning ‘right hand’ and used in old Church related scripts. It is used as an archaism meaning ‘power’ and most likely the word will not be immediately understood by most readers.</p> <p>The subtitle reads: ‘Who will benefit from the raise of protests movement in Kazakhstan?’ (page 4). Further the journalist proposes three answers and outlines them as follows:</p>

		<p>‘1) Russia – in order to prevent China from reinforcing its position in Kazakhstan?</p> <p>2) The West – so that to start tension (by analogy to the one in Ukraine) at the borders of Russia, as well as not to allow China’s expansion’?</p> <p>3) Are these tendencies connected with Nazarbayev’s visit to Moscow for the celebration of May, 9<sup>th</sup>?</p> <p>These are addressed to two Kazakhstani experts, Rasul Dgymaly, politician, and Marat Tolibayev, blogger. The text follows in two parts of responses, no further commentary by the journalist is given.</p> <p>Part A: Rasul Dgymaly.</p> <p>The politician sees three main regions of interest to Kazakhstan. Those being China, Russia, and the West. He further specifies that the West is referred to normally as the USA and in a wider meaning as countries of NATO.</p> <p>Further Dgumaly presents his reply in a form of attempted discussion but a clear position can be seen where China and the USA do not have any interest or opportunity of destabilising the situation in Kazakhstan. Whereas this is different with Russia: ‘What is happening in Kazakhstan, namely the issue of land and China-phobic movements, are very beneficial to Russia. You can notice that the promotion of such movements is delivered by pro-Kremlin media in Kazakhstan. You would not find such patterns in Kazakh-language press or internet sites’ (page 4).</p> <p>The author points out that only Russia has leverage in Kazakhstan, as China’s presence is limited to two of its embassies, and the Western world’s means are</p>
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		<p>presented by BBC office. Thus, the author concludes that Russia is the only out of three who has both interests and means.</p> <p>The politician looks into the scenario where in case of national security destabilisation Russia would offer to send its troops to Kazakhstan – ‘so to say for the reinforcement of constitutional way of life’... ‘something similar to this happened in Ukraine’ (page 4).</p> <p>Part B: Marat Tolibayev</p> <p>1) Tolibayev sees two conflicting interests of Russia – the benefit of anti-China movement in Kazakhstan and the possibility of revolution. Here it is specified that when talking about purchase of Kazakh land by foreigners (this is believed to be main reasons for protests) it is thought about Chinese people buying land. The possible revolution is compared to Arab Spring, where by analogy the revolutionary movement could spread to Russia.</p> <p>2) Answering further Tolibayev believes that the news about mass protests in Kazakhstan were received positively in the West due to these being able to change the power regime in Kazakhstan. The West ‘has a clear position for building a democratic regime’ (page 4).</p> <p>3) President Nazarbayev’s visit to Russia for the celebration of May, 9 , shows that ‘he is still practicing the multi-directional politics’ (page 4). This visit was ‘logical’ (page 4) after the short series of visits firstly to Washington to see John Kerry and Ukrainian president Poroshenko, later on he visited Iran, Turkey and took part in the summit of Islamic Cooperation.</p> <p>First the land protests took place on May, 21.</p>
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		<p>Tolibayev believes that the visit to Moscow was planned much earlier. He considers it possible, however, that Nazarbayev would use the visit to agree on Russia's help in case of emergency situation in Kazakhstan.</p>
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## Appendix 8: Focus groups transcripts

### GROUP 1

**Fg1** Hello everyone again. Thank you very much for coming in today. In the very beginning, I would like to remind that as you know today we are going to watch videos about terrorism, that is news programmes reporting. So in case you feel too uncomfortable about it you may leave the room. Also if anybody would like to stay after the discussion and talk about it then you can.

We are going to start from the following question. What topics are covered in media in your opinion? You can start answering one by one. \*calling participant by their name\*, you first.

(G1P6) What topics?

Yes.

(G1P4) crime.

(G1P5) Politics.

Good, anything else?

(G1P5) Sport.

In your opinion, is terrorism an important part of media coverage or not?

(G1P5) Because at the moment it is a global issue that terrorism is developing, it is getting out of control, they cannot influence terrorism. It is present in different parts of the world, it has globalised so to say. It holds large territories.

(G1P2) Generally speaking, terrorism is a very painful problem that concerns everybody, does not leave anybody indifferent to it. Terrorist attacks are happening everywhere in the world, and I am hoping that it is long until this may happen here with us. I hope this type of horrible things will not happen here with us. But anyway, we are willing to know more about this. It is an

essential part of our life. It is necessary for us to know about this and keep up-to-date with things happening.


If we look at terrorist attacks and natural disasters. As a rule, an earthquake could kill more people than a terrorist attack, but it would get a far less intensive and shorter coverage in the Media. Do you think this allocation of airing time, where a terrorist attack would get more time than an earthquake, is justified or not?

(G1P1) It is just that when a terrorist attack happens, there is an urge for reporting if anybody knows anything about it<sup>1</sup>. Some means of resisting that. But when an earthquake happens, you cannot do anything about nature<sup>2</sup>.

So in case of a terrorist attack there is somebody to blame for it.

Any additional comments? OK. What terrorist attack is the most shocking in your opinion?

(G1P2) Must be self detonation.

 Any particular example? So you think that a terrorist attack when it is, say, a shooting and terrorism when it is a self detonation differ. Does the self detonation get more attention than any other type of terrorism?

(G1P2) Self detonation, as a rule, carries in itself some religious or ideological ground. Whereas a shooting, as a rule, is related to psychic type of illnesses. It is not an ideological but elemental<sup>3</sup> phenomenon. It does not happen on purpose but as a result of one person's illness, his personal and personality problems. Whereas a terrorist attack in the form of self detonation, as a rule, is thoroughly planned. People go there with their full realisation, ideologically and morally prepared.

Thank you. We are going to watch videos of both the types you have just named shortly. Could you discuss in pairs or groups, whichever is more convenient, and say what terrorist attacks are the most shocking to you.

\*silence then laughing\*

(G1P4) You mean historically?

Yes.

(G1P2) September 11.

What about you?

(G1P4) The same.

\*Asking participant by name\*?

(G1P5) For us<sup>4</sup> must be that one... in Beslan... with the school.

Do you remember where you were and what was your source of information when you first heard about the terrorist attacks you have just named?

(G1P4) I was at home, was listening<sup>5</sup> to TV.

Do you remember what channel?

(G1P4) No, cannot remember that.

(G1P3) Take any channel<sup>6</sup> at all.

What was your source of information?


(G1P2) Television.

What about you?

(G1P5) Television as well.

Good. Maybe you remember any other terrorist attacks from the news?

(G1P3) The one is Moscow.

 (G1P2) Moscow.

(G1P4) Yeah, the one in the underground.

(G1P6) The one in Paris as well.

(G1P3) Oh yeah the Paris one as well.

(G1P5) In Iraq and Iran there happen explosions as well.

(G1P3) In Turkey.

(G1P5) In USA, in Turkey there were attacks.

(G1P3) Yes, in Turkey.

The next few questions go as a group. In this group are questions where I am interested purely in your opinion. Knowledge is not necessary. Please answer the way you perceive things, or the way you think about it referring to what the Media is saying.

The first question is: how do terrorists plan their attacks?

\*silence\*

What are your views on this? What does the Media say?

\*silence\*

Or if you do not have an opinion on this please say you have difficulty answering the question<sup>7</sup>.

(G1P2) Generally, a terrorist attack is a phenomenon that is planned thoroughly, is prepared locally<sup>8</sup>, especially thoroughly is thought through the timing. That is the presence of large masses of people, so that it was covered in media to a maximum. As a rule, it happens not in placed taken at random but specifically chosen. With the idea of carrying a certain message.

(G1P5) They have a certain aim. To frighten somebody.

(G1P3) When there are many people. Or it is a public holiday.

(G1P4) They do it in order to set their presence for everybody to see.

Good. How do you think terrorists choose on where to make an attack? Specify the place. Like you already started to talk about the place needing to be..



(G1P4) Crowded.

Yeah crowded.

(G1P2) Well here the place must be connected to the purpose of the attack. This is firstly. And secondly, big crowds of people and the opportunity for this to be covered in the Media. The opportunity to inform, for the information to go public.

**Pg4** In your opinion, why do terrorist attacks happen? You have mentioned that there is a certain message to carry the masses. Could you expand on the reasoning for the attacks to happen.

(G1P2) Political reasoning can be. In both cases<sup>9</sup>.

Can you outline some of the political reasons?

(G1P2) Well, for example, the terrorist attacks that have been happening until the year 2000. Those terrorist attacks happening in Russia in 1990s were mainly related to the first and the second Chechen war. Before 1995 there was the first Chechen war, then after 1995 it was followed by the second Chechen war. So they were establishing, trying to tell the whole world, that this type of things was happening inside the country. Of course, they were showing their intentions, they wanted independence. They were asking for the attention of the whole world. Same as with the more modern terrorist attack of the September 11.

Where do you think terrorists get expertise and money to be able to stage a terrorist attack?

\*silence\*

You can give a specific example or talk generally. Either is fine. If possible, could the two people in the middle contribute?

(G1P4) \*laughing\* Must be some kind of sponsoring... Actually, take September 11 as an example. There is an opinion that the terrorist attack was

performed in personal interest. That is “high-standing-somebody” not long before the terrorist attack had insured the two buildings for a vast sum of money. He must have funded the terrorists to get this vast sum of money. Well, I myself do know know<sup>10</sup>, it is just that there is an opinion.

Interesting opinion. Thank you. How do you think the recruitment into the army of terrorists is going?

(G1P4) I think they are being radicalised from their childhood. They are being fed the idea of that type of ideology and religion. It becomes their meaning of life.

(G1P1) It is possible that those are people who are not satisfied with where they are standing in life. Or even where their nation, their country is standing.

Good, thank you.

(G1P6) Some could be trapped into the wrong path<sup>11</sup>.

How easy do you think it is to lure a person into the army of terrorists? That is who is an easy target for them?

(G1P6) With money. \*laughing\*

**Pg5** (G1P1) Highly religious people maybe. Because they may say to the person that by doing this you can save your nation. I do not know...

(G1P5) You will obtain the right type of life. \*laughing\* You will get yourself on the right path.

So by deceiving people.

(G1P1) Get a person into their sect.

(G4P2) In this case there is already an ideological ground for that set in a person. Mentally they had been ready<sup>12</sup>.

OK. Next question. In your opinion, are absolutely all the terrorist attacks reported in the Media or not?

(G1P1) It must be that only those are reported that took most lives, or those that are being already covered by other Media. For example, when in Paris there was an attack, there was a lot of shooting for television going on there. Hence this attack was shown intensively on all the channels.

(G1P2) The coverage generally depends very much on the politics of a state where these all are happening. Some part of the terrorist attacks, especially those that were partially prevented, or did not get as much reaction from public, that is when the public mainly got to know about the attack through some informal sources of information – these attacks as a rule stay unseen. Moreover, there are some events, which most likely to some extent are hidden from us. The details of many terrorist attacks are hidden. For example, in order not to set the unwanted panic in people. Or so to say the unwanted clash between various layers of a society.

Good. What do you think could be a reason for choosing to show one terrorist attack to the public and not mentioning the other? What is your criteria for this choice? I know you have already partially answered this question when you talked about the influence of politics and so on. Maybe you have anything else to add?

\*asking participant by name\*

(G1P3) \*laughing\*


(G1P4) I don't even know.

Are you being shy or do not know what to reply?

(G1P3) Just do not know what to reply. \*laughing\*

No problem. Let's move on. In your opinion, what terrorist attack is the most disastrous? What are the criteria for this? Earlier we have been talking about self detonation and shooting. What terrorist attack is the most disastrous? Does an impact on public play a role here?

\*silence\*

 (G1P2) The scariest is of course explosion. For example, a self detonation. The scariest is when it is by the side, when the people are nearby. Because, as a rule, the explosives are filled with all sorts of dangerous elements. Generally, the fact that a person is able to blow oneself, able to make such a step – these already pressure the general public badly on psychological level. Hence from the emotional point of view I would say the most disastrous is a self detonation. But on the other hand, the most inhumane type of a terrorist attack is, for example, the one performed in a school. In Beslan it was children who suffered. When adult people suffer it is one thing, and completely another is when innocent children suffer<sup>13</sup> who practically only have just started their life.

Thank you for your opinion. Could anybody else please add to this?

\*silence\*

OK, let's consider such factors like damaging the infrastructure, setting panic, killing people. For example, if to compare the numbers of victims. Out of these factors, which would define a terrorist attack as the most catastrophic?

(G1P4) First of all of course the number of victims.

(G1P5) The number of victims. A human life stands highest of all. The most dreadful is how many people die. All the rest, infrastructure, economy of a state, it is not that important.

Do you agree?

(G1P4) Yes.

(G1P2) Of course, I do.

Who do you think decides on what to show on television? Who so to say makes the final decision on what is appropriate to show to the public?

(G1P4) A state leader. That is the leader of the state where it happened.

What about if it is a foreign state attack that is being shown? Would a state leader personally decide on this matter?

(G1P2) \*laughing\* There is a National Security Committee<sup>14</sup>, which in this case would decide on the information.


How far should the censorship go in your opinion?

(G1P2) It depends on what type of censorship you mean.

In relation to terrorism.

(G1P2) From the information point of view, there should not be any censorship. Whereas censoring certain images that are being shown on television – this could be.

What images do you mean?

 (G1P2) Well, those shocking images that not everybody can take watching. Moreover, children can be close to television and oversee. Whereas in relation to the information it must be covered fully, so that people knew about this. Because as a rule we form our understanding from too short pieces of information<sup>15</sup>. In addition, if a terrorist attack happened abroad, a lot of information is lost or distorted through the translation. In any case, it is very rare that any news programme would report raw information to the public, the way it initially is. The difficulty of translation has its impact.

Good. Thank you. What other advantages and disadvantages of censorship can you see?

\*silence\*

For example, censorship in relation to security and provoking certain emotions are some of the advantages of it. What could be the disadvantages?

(G1P2) Well, if the censorship is applied, so to say, only partially, it can set panic. Basically, censorship must be present in terms of timing. There must be a certain pause given to the public to absorb the news. The information must be given by portions, not to fall on you but be given out gradually.

What period of time? Hours? Days?

(G1P2) Well, if the attack is happening, the coverage of it must be from all angles and within, say, 24 hours. What is happening, the information about victims, about survivors, how the rescue operations are progressing, about the remediation<sup>16</sup>. All these must be given within 24 hours but not all at once so that not to shock people with the information overload.

OK. Now, in groups of three, could you discuss what could be done to reduce this negative effect. What could we do individually to control these and not let it to grow into panic or depression? So that we knew what is happening but at the same time were able to cope with this. What on the individual level could we do?

(G1P6) Stay at home.

\*Laughing\*

(G1P3) Not to watch television.

Please discuss in groups for a minute.


\*Background noise of groups discussion\*

(G1P2) Not to stress on one thing, watch various things on TV.

(G1P1) Better to read about it and not see that.

Could we have your answer<sup>17</sup>?

(G1P5) \*saying name of P4\* will answer.

 \*laughing\* Well, I personally do not have this problem. I can watch a lot of shocking news and not to get any psyche damage. But if to consider this, for that type of people, if they heard some shocking information from the news, then not to stress on it. Avoid thinking about it too often. You hear the information, you make a certain judgment about it, and then go get distracted with something else.

So to reduce the share of watching news in relation to other activities.

(G1P4) Yeah to some different type of activity.

Good. Thank you. What about you<sup>18</sup>?

(G1P1) Well, we came to the same conclusion. If a person is struggling badly when taking this information, for example, any way there are some shocking visuals shown on television, in that case, the person should read the news rather than watch it.

So to you use some printed editions as a source.

(G1P1) Yes.

(G1P5) Yeah.

Good. Thank you. In general, what would you say: should or should not the terrorist attacks be covered in the media?

(G1P1) They must...

(G1P3) They should.

(G1P5) They should.

(G1P1) ... because we need to know what is happening.

Please raise you hand who thinks that they should.

\*everybody instantly raised hands, P6 does so looking at others\*<sup>19</sup>

Anybody considering they should not?

\*nobody reacts\*

OK. Let's now watch the first two footages.

\*Norway video\*

Referring to what you have just watched, how does this attack make you feel?

(G1P1) One of the people in the reporting said: "we do not know how to react to this". That is to the fact that this can happen to them. As a result, one can

question oneself what if similar happened to us? How would we react? God forbid for this to happen, of course. But I am left with very perplexed feelings.

Thank you. Anybody else?

\*silence\*

What was the most memorable for you from this reporting?

(G1P2) That he killed so many people. That is horrible!

Imagine you had a planned trip to Norway and this happened. Would you cancel the trip?

(G1P3) Yes!

(G1P5) Yes.

(G1P4) If to a different town in Norway, then I would not.

\*laughing\*

OK. Now to the next video.

\*Beslan video\*

About this video... Do you feel empathy to the victims of the attack? Please share what was the most striking for you.

(G1P2) Compassion. Compassion because these people were misfortunate and this suffering fell to their share. They lost a lot, they had been through a lot. This is very hard. We can remember this events very clearly, because our generation was starting school at that time. This happened on September 1<sup>20</sup>, and when we came home from school we were watching the breaking news, the reporting. So the subject of this terrorist attack is very painful to us individually. This, so to say, touches us deeply. Because it happened relatively close to us<sup>21</sup>.

The next question I would like somebody else from the group to answer please. What was the main reason for your feelings? In other words, what caused you



to feel the way you did? The unfairness? That people could not fight back? Or the fact that those were children? In relation to the families of the children victims?

(G1P3) Of course it is unfair that the innocent people were killed.

(G1P5) This is the way this was, the first year pupils, the little ones, all the way to the year 11. In other words, the generation that only was starting their lives. And then at once their parents and relatives lost their generation that only recently was born. \*very emotional\* They only were starting their life journey. That is the worst that can happen – losing your children. And they didn't even have any opportunity.

Speaking about losing children. What about the girl from the video who survived herself but lost her mother and sister? What can you say about the people who survived and now are left with the emotional trauma?

\*Asking P6 by name\*

\*P6 covering mouth with hand and looking down\* \*laughing\*

**Pg10** Maybe you have anything to add?

(G1P4) No. \*laughing\*

What was the most striking from this reporting?

(G1P2) The most striking was obviously the interview with the young woman who was... how to say... we cannot even say was a witness... She must have suffered enormously from that terrorist attack. That out of a sudden she was forced to grow up from losing her relatives and to face with these horrible things. Of course her interview was part of the video that was the most touching.

(G1P5) If we look in to this, it is many years that were gone since, ten years<sup>22</sup>, but in her trembling voice from the interview one can feel like it would have happened yesterday. Same worrying, same feeling of a loss of your relatives. This is tough, very tough.

From the reporting point of view, how do you feel about this footage being made emotionally overwhelming? This 10 years' commemoration could be addressed differently. Without asking the young woman for an interview and hearing about it from her whilst she is crying. She was telling herself about her own experience of being captured for three days and losing her family.

(G1P5) To some extent I agree. Because not only the peaceful people like ourselves are watching the news. Terrorists themselves watch as well. In some maybe the feeling of guilt will awake. They might change their opinion and their outlook. Turn to a better life path.

They will know what it feels like, so to say.

(G1P5) Yes, they will understand. Open their eyes at last. \*laughing\*

Good. Thank you everybody for the input. Now to the next three short videos.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kyrgyzstan video\*

Have you seen this reporting of Astana Channel before today?

(G1P4) I read about this.

Good. Let's watch the next one.

\*Kyrgyz terrorists in Kazakhstan video\*

Have you already seen this reporting?

(G1P3) I did. Yeah, I did.

Can you tell more about it?

(G1P3) At first it was being said that they run to Kazakhstan, crossed the border. Of course, I was worried that terrorists, killers, were inside Kazakhstan. Then this was sorted out, they were either captured or killed, something like that.

**Pg11** The fact that at the end of the video the expert reassured that the border was reinforced. Has this calmed you down?

(G1P3) Yes, it did. Because before I was worrying about it.

Any additional comments?

(G1P5) No.

Next video.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kazakhstan\*

Regarding the latest video, has anybody seen this in local news?

(G1P2) Yes. This was very bad. They covered this very frequently. Especially about the police patrol officer who covered the grenade with his body. By the way this part of it was quite weakly<sup>23</sup> covered. Because the policer officer has a family, children who are now left alone. But the fact of the actual shooting from a machine gun at the Committee of National Security was reported on the radio straightaway. I remember because at that moment I was driving a car and it was radio where I heard the first news about this.

Any body else?

(G1P3) No.

What about the fact that they were not repentant in court? What are your thoughts on this?

(G1P2) This must be the most horrible.

Do you mostly feel anger about this or compassion for the people who died?  
Maybe some mixed feelings?

Of course, first of all the condolences to their relatives and people who suffered. But secondly, it is frustrating that the person was able to freely move around the city for a few hours. It was not one place where he had performed an act of terrorism, but he attacked a shop then moved on freely. Whilst nobody, somehow, noticed him wondering with a grenade gun. And eventually, shooting it at the National Security Committee, the people who are

supposed to provide our security but they cannot provide their own one.

\*laughing\* This is somewhat sad.

Now I would like to ask you some questions in relation to the latest videos and in general. What do you think should be a reaction to any terrorist attack?

What advice could you give? What is the best way of coping with these feelings?

(G1P6) Visit a psychologist.

Good. \*Asking P5\*? Please answer one by one continuing from P5 onwards.

(G1P5) Not to watch video and read more printed editions, newspapers.

**Pg12** Good. \*P4\*?

(G1P4) I do not know, some kind of emotional detox.

So to distract with something else.

(G1P3) Not to watch television. \*laughing\*

Stop watching it completely? Or just stop watching the news programmes?

(G1P3) Yes, the second.

(G1P2) Generally, we must filter all the information we are given, because every channel, every news agency, portray the information differently. Apart from what has happened, the “dry” facts about it, they as a rule give a very strong emotional “colouring”. That is why we need to match the given information from various channels. Take less of the emotional side of it and stress on the solid facts.

Good. P1?

(G1P1) Not to get into panic. \*making impression of being in panic\*

\*laughing\*

If some large scale terrorist attack happened in Kazakhstan, would you personally fight terrorism? And in this situation, would a war be justified?

(G1P2) The question about whether we would be fighting is out of question really. Because this is a duty of every single one of us – to stand on the guard of our motherland. Regarding the question of whether this could happen, we are hoping this won't happen anyway. And that won't be necessary. We are hoping that there won't be a war in our country. That there won't be events things that could trigger this. In any case, it is not granted that we are a one nation and united country. We are all going in the same direction, and I hope that we won't be ever going in the direction of war.

Thank you. Are you prepared to fight with terrorism?

(G1P4) I do not think that I can do anything about terrorism. Dealing with terrorism is out of our competency. But if that is a war, then yes, of course.

(G1P5) I am ready to protect my motherland. Like he previously said, it is our duty. In any case, I think our president is stressing on making our nation as safe as possible. And our intelligence forces are working on this. We are guarding \*laughing\*.

Next question. How likely is it that you would live the country if it was unsafe to live here? And if you would not leave then what would be stopping you?

G6?

(G1P6) can you repeat the question please?

\*repeating the question\*

**Pg13** (G1P6) That is some silly question, I do not know. \*laughing\*

Anybody can answer whilst G6 is thinking about it?

(G1P1) I cannot really address this question because you need to be actually put in the situation to see how you would react. Regarding this, at the moment there is a lot talked about in the news about the refugees, many of who go to

the Europe. France, Germany are accepting them. But sometimes I just do not understand this. You run away from your country where the events are happening, where there is a threat to your life. But at the same time, this type of people do absolutely nothing to change the situation. They run away, they are exploiting the rights<sup>24</sup> that they are provided. They have accommodation, they have benefits money, they have food, medical services. These all are available to them only because the other people who are truly in need of those benefits were cut down. The reduction was either in 50% or 60%, I do not remember exactly.

Good, thank you very much. Now one more question. In your opinion, how likely is it that a terrorist attack similar to the one in Taraz would happen in Ust-Kamenogorsk? What about other cities of Kazakhstan? Do you have anything to say on this?

\*silence\*

Do you think that was a single attack or is there some possibility of that being repeated?

(G1P2) I do not think here we are talking about a set place. Nobody can be reassured, neither our city nor any other. If we talk about our country in particular, it is equally terrifying to hear about an attack happening in your city or in the neighbor city to yours. As for me, if that happened in my country than it already affects me directly. That is already an event that touches to some extent the people who are close to me. Maybe some people I know and so on.

Good. In your opinion, is there a possibility that terrorists can steal the nuclear weapon? Or find the expertise to make it?

(G1P6) This is possible.

(G1P4) Yes.

(G1P6) If they can make electronic one, they will be able to do the nuclear.

(G1P2) \*laughing\* Them taking the nuclear weapon is not as scary as taking the carrier rocket module for it. Because the nuclear weapon on itself without

the carrier module is not scary. I am hoping this won't happen. Because for this to be able to happen, there must be terrorism of global scale.

OK. Now we are going to watch the next two videos.

\*NTV Belgium video\*

Now one more video. The one you have just seen was taken from NTV, which as you know is a Russian TV channel. And we are going to watch the one from Khabar.

**Pg14** \*Khabar Belgium video\*

Now regarding the two videos you have just watched, who is killing? Who is rescuing? And who are the victims?

(G1P2) As usual the victims are peaceful citizens. In this particular case the tourists. People from over 40 different countries. Obviously, the terrorist attack was aimed at creating resonance internationally. The terrorist attack has happened at the airport. And an airport is a means of connection between various countries. Especially the big ones like in Brussels. They are connected with the rest of the world. They clearly knew that within countable hours, terrorists can appear in any part of the planet and do this type of thing.

OK. Anybody else? For example, the victims were peaceful citizens. Then who was killing? Was there any specific terrorist group? What was the aim of the attack?

(G1P2) There were no aims named as such. There were given the people whom to blame, their names. But organisation they were part of and what their aims were – these were not said. That is they said about the actual fact of the terrorist attack to have happened. But why? The reasons were still being investigated.

So these were not reported.

(G1P3) No.

OK. Now to the general questions. On the scale from 1 to 10, where 10 is the absolute truth, how trustworthy do you find the information that is shown in Media?

\*silence\*

P1, let's start from you. \*Repeating the question\*

(G1P1) 5. In the middle. Because we cannot be 100% sure but at the same time we cannot say that that all is lies. That is why 50%.

Good.

(G1P2) Yes, I would also say 50%, because the reporters themselves sometimes say that "according to the assumptions", "it is assumed". They do not themselves acquire 100% of the information.

Good. P3?

(G1P3) I think same. 5.

P4?

(G1P4) 6.

Good.

(G1P5) 5 or 4. More like 4.

**Pg15** (G1P6) I think 5.

Do you consider the possibility of the information in the Media to be an absolute lie? Would you be ready to listen to the opposite view?

(G1P4) I am prepared.

Who else would consider the opposite view please raise your hands.

(G1P1) +

(G1P2) +



(G1P5) Can you repeat the question?

\*laughing\*

Say you got some information from the Media. And then somebody would come and argue that the opposite of what you had been told was true. Are you prepared to consider the opposite view or do you trust Media enough not to go into other versions of things?

(G1P5) I would listen to that. Maybe I would do some additional conclusions from that.

(G1P1) Knowledge of any subject involves putting together the information from various sources.

OK. Now the last question for today. Have you noticed any changes on local television, local channels in the last 10-15 years? Has the national television changed in any form or not?

(G1P6) No.

(G1P5) No.

(G1P2) Actually, the way in which the information is given has been changing.

So style of the reporting changed?

(G1P2) Firstly, the reporting very much depends on where it happened, how it happened. For example, the footage from the Brussels, I think it was the reporting from NTV channel, there was the general picture and the speech of some official, who deals with the consequences and investigation. Shortly speaking, we were given “dry”, weak information that the terrorist attack happened and the number of casualties. How the events unfold further we do not know. Whereas if we take the coverage of the same attack on our local channel, there was shown the photo, was provided the information about what prevent measures were undertaken in our country, was shown how our government reacted and so on.

More professionally.

**Pa16** (G1P2) Not more professionally but the way the information was given. On NTV the information was “dry” in order not to cause any resonance in a society. In case of our channel, it was the opposite, so that to cause the resonance. We started to pay attention to the picture we were being shown. Who the person was that hadn’t been found and so on. This information was carrying more emotion. Same with the interview on ORT, which showed the victim of the Beslan attack. There as well, it was directed not at passing on some information to us, but on passing on some emotional state. With the intention to show the feelings and worries of these people.

Thank you everybody very much.

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Notes:

<sup>1</sup> If anybody witnessed anything that could help investigation.

<sup>2</sup> What about humanitarian help?

<sup>3</sup> stihjnoye

<sup>4</sup> there was a couple among participants

<sup>5</sup> it seems common for participants in all groups in general to have TV as a background noise rather than watch it paying a lot of attention.

<sup>6</sup> meaning they all were reporting about it.

<sup>7</sup> Trying to keep participation. Also trying to establish whether they are not answering because shy or because truly have nothing to share.

<sup>8</sup> meaning at a set location, not locally in Kazakhstan

<sup>9</sup> referring to the earlier differentiation between psycho and ideological types.

<sup>10</sup> = do not know what to make of it.

<sup>11</sup> metaphor. The wrong path of terrorism.

<sup>12</sup> they are prepared to accept what they would be told. There wouldn’t be internal contradiction in their mind.

<sup>13</sup> =Adults suffer is bad, children suffer is worse

<sup>14</sup> KNB. (<http://knb.kz/en/structure.htm>): The National security committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan is directly subordinate and accountable to the President of the

Republic of Kazakhstan. It is a special state body, which is under their jurisdictional authority aimed secure human and society, constitutional system, state sovereignty, territorial integrity, economical and scientific-technical and defense potential of the country. The NSC of RK is headed by the Chairman, who is appointed by the President of the RK with consent of the Senate of the Parliament and is dismissed by the President of RK.

<sup>15</sup> meaning that more information should be given at once, so that people did not have to “put small pieces” of it together.

<sup>16</sup> working with and sorting out the damage done.

<sup>17</sup> asking subgroup 2

<sup>18</sup> addressed to subgroup 1

<sup>19</sup> Video 3, 11:35 min

<sup>20</sup> School year commences on September 1 in Kazakhstan as well as in Russia (where the attack happened). The academic year is always opened with pupils of years 1 to 11 standing in regiment according to their groups. This happens for a couple of hours and everybody faces the stage where the head of the school gives speech, and some of the pupils present their dancing, singing or poem reading. Everybody must hold flowers which at the end of the opening their give to teachers. Then they go to classrooms for the first lessons of the year. Normally parents of the younger children would be watching the opening with them standing at the back of the regiment. This was the same situation right before the school in Beslan was captured.

<sup>21</sup> geographically it is not. Thinking Russia as a whole vs Kazakhstan as a whole.

<sup>22</sup> the reporting taken for the focus group was about the 10 year’s commemoration of the attack of 2004.

<sup>23</sup> the participant did say that it was covered frequently in his opinion. By “weakly” must be meaning the speed of how quickly this was spoken about soon after the attack. Earlier in the discussion this participant was making a point of timing, i.e. how soon it should be reported that an attack has happened.

<sup>24</sup> jivut na ptychiah provah

**GROUP 2:**

**Pg1** Hello everyone again. Thank you very much for coming in. As you know today we are going to watch videos reporting about terrorist attacks. Hence if anybody feels too uncomfortable you may leave the room. You can also stay after the discussion to talk about it.

In your opinion, what topics are covered in the media?

(G2P1) At the moment these are riots, terrorist attacks.

(G2P5) Mainly terrorist attacks.

\*Calling participant by name\*?

(G2P6) Not only these topics. Also economics news. Other topics related to society as well.

Good. Do you consider terrorism as an important part of this?

(G2P4) Well, people must know what is happening in the world.

If we compare, for example, terrorist attacks and natural disasters. An earthquake, for example, can take more lives. But as a rule, a terrorist attack would be covered more in the media. In your opinion, is this justified?

(G2P5) In general I would say this is justified. A natural disaster is a phenomenon of the nature, whereas a terrorist attack can happen every day.

(G2P2) Actually I think that natural disasters as such do not influence people as much. The coverage of the terrorist attacks is more important, in a way, for people to follow security measures and prevent terrorist attacks.

(G2P6) In my opinion, natural disasters happen rarer than the terrorist attacks.

(G2P2) Of course. \*laughing, agreeing\*

(G2P6) And the public are more interested in the information about terrorist attacks. News channels are businesses after all.

Thank you. In your opinion, what terrorist attack is the most shocking? Out of all those you know which one is the most shocking? You can reply in any order.

(G2P2) The twin towers in America.

(G2P6) The school in Beslan.

(G2P2) Must be the twin towers actually.

Anybody else? OK, good. When you first found out about the attacks that you have just named, do you remember where were you and what was your course of information?

(G2P2) This was a very long time ago. On television.

(G2P5) Yes, from television, at home.

**Fig2** So you found out from television and not from somebody else telling you about this.

(G2P2) That is right.

Good. What terrorist attacks do you remember? Not the most shocking but the attacks in general. Which ones do you know? Which ones can you outline?

\*silence\*

Do not wait for me<sup>1</sup> just name them.

(G2P2) The terrorist attack in Istanbul. Then in the town on the border between Syria and Turkey. And Beslan of course.

(G2P5) The explosion in Moscow, in the underground.

(G2P3) Yes, in the underground. Also explosions of planes.

(G2P2) In Paris.

Good. Thank you. Now I would like to ask you a few questions that are aimed at your perception, not your knowledge. In your opinion, how do terrorists plan their attacks?

(G2P6) In my opinion, very good.

(G2P2) Yeah, to perfection.

\*laughing\*

What about the planning process?

(G2P6) Well, if it all was so easy they<sup>2</sup> would have been eliminated long ago. They have a good organisation, well structured. There is also an opinion that some of the terrorist organisations are supported by certain governments.

(G2P5) They have the courses.

(G2P6) Yes. They have a very good financing system in place. Some of the money comes from illegal businesses the rest elsewhere.

OK. How do you think terrorists choose on where exactly to perform an attack?

(G2P6) Where there would be more victims, more resonance. In Paris, for example, what was the name of that journal? \*trying to remember\*


(G2P5) In crowded places.

(G2P2) Charlie Hebdo<sup>3</sup>.

(G2P6) Yes! Charlie Hebdo.

(G2P2) Yeah, must be the places most visited by people.

(G2P3) They aim to destroy places of sightseeing.

 (G2P2) Yes and to set fear on people. So that they were then scared to leave houses.

Good. So to answer why they are doing that, is to set panic and fear. Can you name any other aims?

(G2P5) Generally, this is the essence of their purpose. To destroy the normal life of a population. Setting panic.

(G2P3) In my opinion there is even a religious side to it.

(G2P6) Terrorism can be of various types. It can be political. For example, the Basques<sup>4</sup> in Spain – they did not have a religious ground to it. They wanted independence. Same with the Irish. Take Russian Empire, what was happening there was same as terrorism, same terrorist attacks there.

Good. In your opinion, who is to blame or at whose fault do the terrorist attacks happen? Do you think this is a common tendency or every attack has its particular type of victims and people to blame? Or are these common for all the attacks?

\*silence\*

OK, I have said too much and nobody understands the question.

\*laughing\*

(G2P5) We've understood.

(G2P6) We do understand.

Who is to blame for the attacks?

(G2P4) People are to blame. In any situation.

(G2P6) Terrorist attacks happen for a reason. For example, in case of Islamic State, the others came to their territory to put in place their own way of life and their democracy. For the mentality of local<sup>5</sup> people that democratic way of life will never work. That is what they are fighting against.

(G2P5) In this case, for example, you can say that this was the government's fault. Because they provoked terrorism in their country.

(G2P2) There are certain interests and one country tries to establish its power. In this case by means of terrorist attacks and setting fear and panic probably in the attempt to break a certain way of life.

Where do terrorists get money and expertise to be able to perform the attacks?

(G2P6) There are certain camps of training people.

OK, training camps. Anything else?

(G2P6) There are also freaks who make a bomb on their own.

 So not an organisation but individuals.

(G2P6) Yes. Like anybody who has some knowledge of chemistry can make it. I can make it.

(G2P2) There is a lot of literature that is banned on our territory. There is a type of books for having which you will be prosecuted.

\*asking P1 by name\* do you have anything to add?

(G2P1) No.

That is OK. How do you think the terrorists are recruited? How easy is it to lure a person into such an organisation and who is the easy target?

(G2P2) Children. They have special methods of radicalisation.

(G2P3) They are trained.

(G2P5) There is no mass radicalisation as such because nobody agitates publicly. This would be too revealing. Maybe somewhere somehow through secondary courses. In the news, in social media they give this food for thought.

(G2P6) This happens in various ways. There are people who are easy to be manipulated. Otherwise, by using soldiers contractors for money. Or just crazy ones.

(G2P2) Yes, for money.



Good. In your opinion, what could prevent the attacks? How to influence on terrorism?

(G2P6) It is the reason that needs tackling and not the consequence. Why is this happening?

So it is the ideology that must be fought and not a terrorist group.

(G2P6) Yes, the core of it.

OK. Anything else?

(G2P2) No, the young man said it already.

In your opinion, are absolutely all terrorist attacks reported on local television or not?

(G2P5) Mainly the largest ones. They try to keep silent about the small ones.

Which ones do they try to keep silent about? Big or...

(G2P5) Those that are not significant.

Non significant ones.

(G2P5) Yes, in order not to broaden that too much.

(G2P1) \*trying to speak\*

 (G2P5) Not to set panic.

Sorry?

(G2P1) He just said that.

Anybody else? \*asking participant 3 by name\*?

\*P3 shrugs\*

That is OK. Let's move on. What do you think could be the reason for showing you one attack and not mentioning the other? Or say one attack was there for months and the other only shown for a week or a few days.

(G2P6) This depends on how interested the public is in it. For example, the terrorist attack in the office of Charlie Hebdo. This theme was for going for a long time, this theme was interesting for the viewers. And when some café was blown in some Turkish city and two or three people died, this was mentioned once and that is it.

So it depends on the resonance.

(G2P6) Yeah. Or for example... \*interrupted\*

(G2P4) Donbass.

(G2P6) Yeah, there. Or when the plane with Russian tourists was blown. Or when Russia located its troops in Syria. These are interesting.

(G2P2) Another thing that probably counts is the frequency of those attacks. For example, as we know, in the countries of northern Africa terrorist attacks happen very often. But these are not covered in news much, because the situation in those countries has been bad.

(G2P6) \*trying to interrupt, agreeing with participant 2\*

(G2P2) There people constantly die so the audience gets used to this news. Whereas in countries such as France, or even Turkey, these are closer to us, it is Europe.

What terrorist attack do you consider the most disastrous? What is your criteria for this choice? Does this depend on the victims? On the scale of destruction? Or as \*P2\* said about the frequency? What is the most disastrous attack defined by?

(G2P2) Background of the victims. The younger, the more defenseless and innocent they are. If one child dies or 10 children die in the kindergarten this would be much more devastating than the deaths of just soldiers... well not "just soldiers" but you know what I mean.

(G2P6) Because soldiers are soldiers.

(G2P2) Yes! Soldiers are soldiers and not any other people.

**P3** (G2P6) No, there is a difference. Because if you go to army on a contract, then you should understand that you can be killed, but you must serve your duty. But if it is a child, who went to school on 1<sup>st</sup> of September, and the school was captured.

(G2P5) If this was happening in some regions of open conflict this would not be as bad when they fight. But when this happens in some peaceful quiet town then it is frightening.

OK. Anything else to add?

\*silence\*

Who do you think decides on what to show on television?

(G2P5) Politicians.

(G2P6) Yes, first of all it is politicians.

How far do you think the censorship should go? What advantages and disadvantages of censorship can you see?

(G2P2) I think that censorship is actually a good aspect. On the one hand, there are a lot of vulnerable people, I myself relate to this type, and when they report about some instability happening in other countries, such as Russia and Turkey, then some panic starts to appear. Whereas we can not know about this and continue living like common people.

Good. \*P1\*?

\*P1 shakes head\*

\*P3\*?

(G2P2) It is better not to cover this in media but to take measures about it. And setting panic on public is of no use.

Should there be certain censorship to control what is being shown? Or do you think that this can be not covered at all? We cannot change anything so it is not necessary for us to know?


(G2P2) Covering this in media is, of course, needed but certain details, for example, should be hidden. Simply do not disclose those. Once again, it is better to take measures, reinforce the control, reinforce army structure, maybe teach students.

Are you satisfied with the amount of detail that is being shown? As I understood, \*P2\*, you would prefer to see less details.

(G2P2) Yeah. \*smiling\*

(G2P5) No, on the contrary, more.

You would like to see more details. Why?

 (G2P5) Because the more I know the better I will be prepared in case something happens.

(G2P1) Yes, it is better for you.

(G2P5) Won't fall in panic.

(G2P6) I would prefer to see more as well. But more not in the case of dead bodies, but in terms of, for example, I have never heard whether the attackers were found, nobody explains anything.

So not the initial information about the attack, but the following information about what happened and how.

(G2P4) Yes!

(G2P4) \*nodding\*

(G2P6) Yeah, "were found", "were captured". They say that the responsibility for the attack took a certain terrorist group. So what that they took the responsibility? It all stops there.

Good. Now I would like to ask you in groups of three to think about some measures that could be undertaken in order to somehow reduce this influence of terrorism on people. And, at the same time, to carry on the necessary information that people have the right to know. But in a way, that people were not overwhelmed, so that this was not interfering with their lives, so to say.

\*inaudible discussion noise, time on recording: 15.24\*

(G2P6) No, not to cover at all is also wrong.

Can group one share please?

(G2P2) Girls first? \*laughing\*

Yes.

(G2P2) OK. Maybe, I was misunderstood, I was not saying not to cover at all.

This was not a question relating to you, just out of the planned questions for today.

(G2P2) Yeah, I know, \*laughing\*. It is about the details. Maybe not to show certain photos or video materials, which are aimed at pressuring people on psychological level. Probably, the data about who that was, where they came from, their age, their way of life, where it would be possible to come across with them.

So the information related more to the actual terrorists, measures of preventing contact and guarding yourself,...

(G2P2) Yes, the information that is more effective.

...rather than the information about what happened to the victims.

 (G2P2) Yeah, those attempts to make people fear.

Good. Could group 2 now add to this?

(G2P6) I think, well... we think, that there must be more coverage. An easy example would be, say, Kazakhstan would decide to locate its troops on the

territory where the terrorists operate. And I, as a person fit for army duty<sup>6</sup>, would get a notification to go join the army the next day. And I would know nothing about what is happening. But in case I did know, I would be up-to-date with the events and would be more motivated to go there. Not like I was pushed to go there.

Good. Any other comments?

\*shaking heads\*

OK. Now I am going to show the first two videos.

\*Norway video\*

How do you feel from watching this reporting? What was the most striking in the reporting?

(G2P2) The number of victims. And their age.

(G2P1) Young girls were killed.

Anybody else?

\*silence\*

From the whole reporting you have just seen what was the most striking?

(G2P6) The character of the attack. It was a shooting. Not just an explosion or anything like that. He was walking and shooting.

(G2P2) He was shooting from close distance.

(G2P6) That was in Oslo, but it started in Utoya.

(G2P5) It was all planned step by step.

If you needed to go to Norway, or say, you had a planned trip, and you heard that there had been an attack, would you go anyway or cancel the trip?

(G2P3) Unlikely I think. \*laughing\*

(G2P2) Unlikely cancel? \*laughing\*

(G2P3) Unlikely will go, of course!

(G2P5) Depends on what type of meeting. Depends on the importance of it.

(G2P6) If we look into it, there was one attack, there was another attack. The whole police are tuned upside down. The third attack is very unlikely.

 (G2P3) It is also about the type of situation that would be there.

(G2P6) True, the situation there would be stressful.

(G2P2) The mood would be gone.

Thank you. Let's watch the next video.

\*Beslan video\*

Regarding this video, could you share your emotions and comment on this?

\*silence\*

Do you feel empathy towards the victims? What is this based on? Do you have a feeling of unfairness or anger or...

(G2P6) Yes, anger.

What about the families of those who were killed? Or those who survived and now have this trauma? Out of all these what touches you most?

(G2P2) First of all I feel pity. If in other terrorist attacks the death comes immediately, here children were tortured for three days. And some were killed after. This terrorist attack stays to be one of the most horrifying. And after all this many children were left to live with this horror.

(G2P5) It is very hard emotionally.

(G2P2) It is very hard and many children lost their families. And even those who haven't lost families. It is a horrible picture that will stay with them for life.

OK. Now regarding the way of reporting. Do you think it was needed to show this girl, of course with her consent, telling the story? Was it necessary for the public to see the person who went through this nightmare? Should this much emotionally provoking footages be allowed?

(G2P3) I think they should show in order for people to understand truly how serious that was. How many people suffered.

(G2P6) There is another aspect to it as well, that is many people from the defense structures were killed. We must understand that they did not just die but died for something.

So for the sake of saving others.

(G2P6) Yes! There are two sides to it. This should be shown.

Good, thank you. Now to the next group of three videos.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kyrgyzstan\*

Now question for everybody. Have you seen this reporting before?

**Pg10** (G2P6) No.

(G2P2) I've heard this being discussed somewhere.

OK. Next video.

\*Kyrgyz terrorists in Kazakhstan\*

Have you seen this footage before?

(G2P5) Yes.

It was said about terrorists crossing the border. Are you worried about this? When in the end you were told that they were undergoing all the measures to ensure that this won't happen, did that calm you down or not?

(G2P6) I think it is more likely that you can be run over by a car than that terrorists would do anything.



\*laughing\*

(G2P2) Five thousand army personnel against four people. \*laughing\*

(G2P5) No, they are not going to do anything now. They will disappear unnoticed. Why would they do a terrorist attack.

So move further from Kazakhstan..

(G2P5) Where would they? \*laughing\*

(G2P6) They won't get anywhere from Kazakhstan.

OK. No the next, the last video.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kazakhstan video\*

Have you seen this video before?

(G2P2) Six or seven years ago I would not be interested in such news.

(G2P6) Back then we were watching cartoons.

\*laughing\*

Now that you have seen the footage, what emotions do you have about it?

About the fact that in Taraz, in Kazakhstan, there was such an attack?

(G2P2) Now that some time has passed after that, we know for sure that nothing like that repeated.

What about the fact that this was not a terrorist group attack but one person working individually?

(G2P2) Where did the grenade gun appear?!

**Pg11** \*laughing\*

(G2P6) It was sold and resold. And not by a terrorist network but common people. And then he managed to kill 4... or even 7 police people. Was he a trained assassin? Or the police were that trained?

(G2P2) I did not like the fact that the sitting of the court was closed. Why closed? Why could they not cover this for the public?

(G2P5) So that they did not escape again. Because they organized an escape. That is how this all started.

What about the fact that the person who supplied the grenade gun was given five years in prison?

(G2P6) Was it the murder of people he was given five years?

(G2P5) Must be *\*inaudible\** that he was given only five years.

(G2P6) Maybe they have not proved it, so they only gave that much.

If a terrorist attack would happen in Kazakhstan, are you personally prepared to fight terrorism? Maybe not this type of attack, but something similar to 9/11. And if there would be a war as a response, do you think it would be justified?

(G2P6) Yes. This is stated in our constitution, if there will be a threat to the country then everybody will go fight, it is not a matter of whether you want or not.

Good. If it will become unsafe in the country, would you leave the country or stay? What is your decision based on?

(G2P5) First thing is to *run away*<sup>7</sup> from here *\*laughing\** to be honest. If the real war starts.

(G2P3) If I will have the opportunity I will leave.

For example, the current situation in Syria...

(G2P6) It is the young who run away. The women stay and the refugees are all young men. All those refugees are young men of 35 years of age and younger. They all want the benefits and none wants to work.

So this is something that is very wrong.

(G2P2) Yeah, of course.

(G2P6) They are just leaving their country. I mean I do not want to judge them, but that is not a solution. I have so many relatives they all wouldn't be able to leave. So what I would go there and wonder what is happening to them.

How likely do you think it is that there would be a terrorist attack in Ust-Kamenogorsk?

(G2P5) Very unlikely. Frankly speaking it is very unlikely.

**Pg12** (G2P2) Yes, very unlikely. Due to the fact that there were no precedents, and we have a slightly different level of crime activity.

(G2P5) We have also a lot of police patrol.

(G2P6) Yeah if we consider how many common citizens we have per member of police staff.

Do you feel safe?

(G2P6) Relatively yes.

(G2P5) In relative safety.

(G2P2) Yeah.

What is your answer based on?

(G2P6) We are more scared of the other ones, that is of the police.

(G2P5) We are more likely to be damaged by those who were appointed to keep us safe.

Interesting opinion.

\*laughing\*

What about censorship and some counterterrorism measures? Do they help you feel more in safety?

(G2P5) They do not exactly make feel more safe.

(G2P4) I do not think this works absolutely for everybody.

\*Belgium NTV video\*

OK, this was a footage from the Russian channel NTV and now the next one is from local channel Khabar.

\*Belgium Khabar video\*

Could you comment on what you have just seen? Have you seen any similarities or differences in the two pieces of reporting?

(G2P5) Generally speaking, both Russian channel and ours just showed the broad details.

So they were quite similar.

(G2P5) Yes.

(G2P4) It was about the suicide bombers.

(G2P6) On local there were more details.

**Pg13** (G2P2) Yeah, actually. There was more information about what happened after the terrorist attack.

At the very beginning it was reported about the Astana airport. That is what prevent measures were undertaken as a result.

Who do you think are the main political players in this terrorist attack? In other words, who was killing? Who were the victims?

\*silence\*

Referring to the reporting or maybe your own knowledge, what terrorist group was responsible for this? What were the aims for the terrorist attack in Belgium?

(G2P5) This is somehow connected to oil, because the explosion was close to the establishment dealing with oil supply. In case of the underground, they

must be some freaks. They picked the crowded place. To be honest, it is not clear why they are doing this. Go to their death.

So in this case the clear aims of the attack cannot be seen.

(G2P5) Actually, there were no aims as such.

(G2P2) They are fighting to break democracy.

So they tried to break the way of life.

(G2P5) To demoralise.

So to set the panic again.

Now back to the general questions, not related to the videos. On the scale of 1 to 10, where 10 is the absolute truth, do you consider the information that you get from Kazakh and Russian media, or foreign for those who watch it, to be trustworthy? Or do you doubt and think that certain things could be distorted?

(G2P5) 6.

6?

(G2P6) Yeah somewhere around it, 6 or 7.

(G2P1) 7-8.

(G2P2) 6-7.

If somebody told you that you see one thing in the news but actually something totally different is the truth, would you consider this idea? Or do you trust the media more than some person from the street?

(G2P1) If something got a lot of exposure in news that would be trustworthy information<sup>8</sup>.

**Fig 14** (G2P2) It is better to rely on the official sources or on people whom you know well.

(G2P5) The media of course is not the source of absolute truth but still.

(G2P6) The media take information from the government but a certain part of information they gather themselves, such as interviews with the witnesses. In the interest of investigation of course certain information is omitted. We take information not only from the media, there are also forums for communication and social media. If something is a different truth to what was reported in media, then it won't be only one person talking about it.

So you would be inclined to believe what the majority says.

(G2P6) Not exactly the majority. The majority would be talking about what is happening globally.

Good. Thank you. How interested are you in the news? How often do you watch the news?

(G2P5) Generally, we do have interest in it.

(G2P1) In social media.

(G2P4) Yes, we must know what is happening in the world.

So we must follow this.

(G2P4) Yes.

Do you watch the news?

(G1P6) Rarely, normally I read. Whilst at work.

\*laughing\*

(G2P2) I trust more what parents are talking about in relation to the news.

So you are discussing the news with other people.

(G2P2) Yeah those who have some authority. In this case the parents.

Now the last question for today. Have you noticed any changes on local television in the last 10-15 years? I know we watched cartoons 15 years ago..

\*laughing\*

but starting from the time you remember yourself watching television, have you noticed any changes since then?

(G2P2) Maybe that the news report less of day-to-day type of problems and more politics. This is my opinion, relating to the period of 5-6 years. Before it was impossible! Pg15 Somebody cut somebody to death, excuse me, or beaten. And nowadays the news are sort of OK.

(G2P5) More global.

(G2P2) More global and interesting.

(G2P6) They show political and local news. Not like it used to be that “everything is good” but things start to get revealed a bit. For example they are now talking about things like corruption. This way we believe to some extent that they are saying the truth. But when they say that everything is great and first-rate you do not believe that.

So when some problems are covered...

(G2P2) Yeah, mainly politics. The situation in our country as well.

Anybody would like to add the last few comments?

(G2P5) Actually we said everything I think.

In that case this is it. Thank you everybody.

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Notes:

1 participants waiting for the researcher to appoint who is to answer.

2 Terrorists, terrorist groups

3 Charlie Hebdo is a French satirical weekly magazine,[2] featuring cartoons,[3] reports, polemics, and jokes. Irreverent and stridently non-

conformist in tone, the publication describes itself as above all secular and atheist,[4] far-left-wing,[5][6] and anti-racist[7] publishing articles about the extreme right (especially the French nationalist National Front party),[8] religion (Catholicism, Islam, Judaism), politics and culture.

On 7 January 2015 at about 11:30 local time, two brothers, Saïd and Chérif Kouachi, forced their way into the offices of the French satirical weekly newspaper Charlie Hebdo in Paris. Armed with assault rifles and other weapons, they killed 12 people and injured 11 others. The gunmen identified themselves as belonging to the Islamist terrorist group Al-Qaeda's branch in Yemen, who took responsibility for the attack. Several related attacks followed in the Île-de-France region, where a further five were killed and 11 wounded.

The phrase Je suis Charlie became a common slogan of support at the rallies and in social media. The staff of Charlie Hebdo continued with the publication, and the following issue print ran 7.95 million copies in six languages, compared to its typical print run of 60,000 in only French.

4 Talking about ETA (“Basque country and freedom”) separatist group in Spain and France being active during 1959-2011.

5 Local people of ISIS territory.

6 Men in Kazakhstan undergo compulsory 1-year army training after school. Certain exclusions apply, such as if men decide to study at university and by the end of Bachelor’s, which is normally 4-5 years, they do not have to serve army duty. It is common, however, to serve the army duty before going to university. Either way, in case of war situation, they must join army to defend the interests of the country.

7 narezat’ ot syuda nado

8 Everybody wouldn’t be saying that if it wasn’t true. When the majority talks about something it is more likely to be true than if only a few were talking.



### GROUP 3:

Pe1 Hello everyone again. Thank you very much for coming in today. As you know today we are going to watch videos reporting about terrorism taken from television. Hence if anybody feels too uncomfortable you may leave the room. Also if you would like to stay after the discussion and talk about it then please do.

So we are going to start from the question about what topics are covered in media. Please outline what themes are being covered on television, in newspapers.

You can start in this order if you like.

(G3P1) What do you mean by what themes? I do not fully understand the question.

(G3P3) I think the question is not quite right.

Well for example, on television, what topics are mainly covered?

(G3P4) Well must be those of current interest.

(G3P3) You are wrong. Why “main” themes? All themes are being discussed.

(G3P4) Of course the critical<sup>1</sup> ones, those related to the events of the day, whether it be flooding, hail storm, or some kind of accident.

(G3P3) News are reported about all the spheres of our life. Not only main ones. How can it be main? Don’t you think so?

(G3P2) Everything that happens in the world.

Well, for example sport, economics... Can you continue naming any other topics?

(G3P6) Politics.

(G3P3) Mainly it is politics. Politics is paid much attention to.

(G3P6) Regions of conflict<sup>2</sup>.

(G3P5) Weather.

(G3P6) Sport as well of course, weather also.

(G3P3) Emergencies<sup>3</sup>.


Is terrorism an important part of this?

(G3P2) Of course. \*laughing\*

(G3P3) Yes, currently it is. Because it became...

(G3P6) Topical.

(G3P3) There is a present threat. If it is in Syria it can come to us as well. To our Kazakhstan. To anywhere at all. From over there to us. At the moment for example if they are being destroyed in Syria they will start raising in Afghanistan. That so called Islamic state. From there the threat can already be seen. So we need to fight with them.

 (G3P1) By the way I have recently heard from the news that they are already in Kazakhstan.

(G3P3) They are everywhere, everywhere!

(G3P4) Yeah it isn't recent, it's been like this for a long time already.

(G3P3) This propaganda is everywhere, they agitate!

(G3P5) Many are radicalised through the internet.

(G3P4) Yeah mainly the internet.

(G3P5) Especially the teenage.

If we look at terrorist attacks and natural disasters, which are able to take more lives than the terrorist attacks. In your opinion, such an allocation of news airing time where terrorist attacks get more coverage than natural disasters is justifiable or not? And why as well?

(G3P3) Well the question is not right really...

(G3P5) Here the influence of the news is present in the form of instilling panic. There is a benefit to keeping people in fear. This is my understanding.

Anybody else please?

(G3P3) Well at the same time not only the fear. It is far not the only one. Why fear? On the contrary we must keep and keep fighting this. But if we do nothing about it...

(G3P4) Well people take that differently.

(G3P6) Yeah true. It is scary.

(G3P3) Well for me...

(G3P4) That is for you. People may have different opinions.

(G3P3) The thing is...

(G3P6) They explain to people what happens when there is a terrorist attack. That is scary. \*breaking voice\*

(G3P3) Yes!

(G3P6) That is for everybody to see and decide whether they can take it or afford to be indifferent. \*very emotional\* Or you can choose to treat that news with understanding and be always alert. Maybe so that not to go past some facts, so that people understood them.

The information factor.

(G3P6) Yes!

**Fig 3** What terrorist act is the most shocking in your opinion? From the ones that you know which would you say is the most shocking?

(G3P6) As for me, I think that would be the one in America, what happened on the 11 of September.

(G3P3) Yeah! That was the most...

(G3P6) The most dreadful terrorist attack! Or maybe because back then it was only the beginning of all these terrorist attacks.

(G3P2) The Beslan one.

(G3P4) I think in Beslan it was actually more dreadful because there were children involved. They were innocent and not prepared for this. Well of course the 11<sup>th</sup> of September was also...

(G3P3) One must not choose which one was the worst from the worst!

(G3P4) Take every single attack even the smallest one, if your relatives or friends died, or even if just unknown to you people died or children, or even one child – it already is a tragedy. And to compare is just... For some for example Beslan was more of a tragedy than September 11<sup>th</sup>...

(G3P6) Of course, if it directly relates to them.

(G3P4) ...because it was somebody's child. But generally you cannot compare which is less, which is more. Regardless every single one is a tragedy.

What terrorist attacks in general do you remember?

(G3P4) Well Beslan, September 11<sup>th</sup>.

(G3P3) The Russian plane in Egypt.

(G3P6) Yeah the one that flew from the Egypt.

(G3P3) It flew and that happened out of nowhere.

(G3P5) In France. Moscow underground.


(G3P6) How many explosions were in the Russian cities! In living properties<sup>4</sup> and metro as well.

(G3P3) In theatre.

Do you remember what was your source of information when you first found out about all these terrorist attacks that you have been naming?

(G3P6) Television mainly.

(G3P3) The main source is television.

 (G3P6) Firstly, from television.

In the next group of questions it is your perception that matters as opposed to knowledge. So I would like to hear your opinion on how terrorists plan their attacks.

Or maybe you have heard something about this from the Media.

(G3P4) They must have special organisations that deal with this, that prepare the people who later perform these attacks. They radicalise them.

How do they choose where to perform an attack?

(G3P2) In the most crowded places.

(G3P4) In the most crowded places, places where they can hurt most.

(G3P1) Not only most crowded places but also those places where it is easiest for them to do that.

(G3P3) Where the believers go to that is where they are brainwashed. That is mainly where it emerges.

What is the aim of terrorists? Why do the terrorist attacks happen?

(G3P1) I do not think this falls into any type of explanation.

(G3P3) Their main aim is to set fear with terrorist attacks. This is their aim – to set fear.

So to instill panic on population.

(G3P3) Yes. The way they achieve this... Well, they came up with founding the Islamic State. And this fanaticism coming from the Youth, even children, girls, are rushing to join them.

(G3P6) They radicalise.

How easy do you think it is to lure a person into a terrorist group? Who is the easy target for them? Like you just mentioned girls are. Who else do you think?

(G3P2) They have a personalised approach to everybody.

(G3P5) Those psychologically ...

(G3P6) Pushed already to the limit people<sup>5</sup>!

(G3P5) ... Yes.

(G3P6) Maybe something happened. They do not start the conversation from asking to join them. They must be starting their talks with something heartwarming. They entice, try to be attractive with their talks. Same with young girls or lonely people. Maybe some are promised money. They read the emotions of people very well and understand who needs what. What vulnerable strains to pull. Who needs what to be lured.

**Fig 5** Can you describe a typical terrorist? That is what personal characteristics does a person who has already joined terrorists have?

\*silence\*

(G3P1) That is a difficult question.

\*laughing\*

(G3P3) From first sight nobody can recognise a terrorist, can they? That somebody is a terrorist.

So they are able to hide their nature.

(G3P3) Of course! That all is hidden.

(G3P1) Obviously they are not going to shout about this.

(G3P3) Yes.

So you think the agitation is directed not at masses but individuals.

(G3P4) The main thing is that if that person is brainwashed to the extent that he agrees to do that type of thing then he has no way back.

(G3P2) They become fanatics.

Who is to blame that terrorist attacks happen? Whose fault is it?

\*silence\*

It is obvious that it is terrorists' fault but why do you think they are able to do that?

(G3P6) Well maybe because people are negligent with their responsibilities. For example, at the airports. There are all sorts of equipment that...

(G3P3) You are a bit off topic...

This is ok please continue.

(G3P4) She is saying it right.

(G3P3) You are saying why attacks happen but you need to answer why they became terrorists.

(G3P6) Why they became terrorists? Well maybe some have committed a crime so they do not have a way back from this. It is all the same to them now.

(G3P3) Yes.

(G3P6) Maybe some kind of despair. Or they were lured with money or something else. Everybody, in my opinion, has their own way there.

(G3P1) Some go crazy on religion.

 (G3P6) True.

In your opinion, absolutely all terrorist attacks are reported on local television or not?

(G3P2) Most likely not all.

(G3P3) Most likely not all.

(G3P6) I also think so.

(G3P3) Some things are kept secret anyway.

(G3P4) Must be the largest ones that are shown. The ones which cannot be hidden.

(G3P6) Yes.

What could be the reason for you being shown one terrorist attacks and not shown another?

\*silence\*

For example, the scale of the attacks. What about the period and intensity? Why out of two terrorist attacks one could be shown for a longer time and more intensively than the other, which is not of a lesser scale?

\*silence\*

Let's say it is two similar attacks. Why one could be shown more intensively than the other?

(G3P2) Some political reasoning.

(G3P3) Must be the politics of a government.

You mean the politics of the government where the news is reported or the government where the attacks happened?

(G3P3) Definitely.

(G3P6) Well any state can show the attack not necessarily the one where the attack happened.

OK. What terrorist attack is the most disastrous in your opinion. That is not a specific example of an event but general criteria of what defines the most disastrous attack for you. For example, damage to the infrastructure, numbers




of victims, or the resonance in Media. What is the criterion of the most disastrous terrorist attack?

(G3P6) Must be the number of victims.

(G3P5) Yes, victims and the resonance. What is broken can be built again.

\*nervous laugh\*

Anybody else?

 \*silence\*

OK. Let's continue. Who decides on what is transmitted on television?

(G3P3) First of all, it is a government I think.

(G3P1) There must be certain organisations.

(G3P4) Yeah who deal with this.

(G3P3) Those are considered government organisations. What exactly are they called?

(G3P6) Must be the Media anyway.

(G3P3) The Media depends on the government.

(G3P6) Nowadays you can see lots of independent channels.

(G3P3) No, all the same the government.

(G3P4) In any case all those videos can be in the internet regardless of the government.

(G3P3) Of course those are unofficial.

(G3P6) Yes, but it does get covered and talked about.

(G3P3) Nowadays it became more...

(G3P2) Open.

(G3P3) Open, it cannot be hidden anymore.

(G3P4) It is nowadays the discussion is about anyway.

In that case, how far do you think the censorship should go?

(G3P3) It must be essentially present in all the aspects of our life.

(G3P2) Within the boundaries of rational<sup>6</sup>.

\*laughing\*

(G3P3) Yeah within the boundaries of rational.

Would you prefer to see more details or on the contrary for the censorship to take control?

(G3P3) It depends if the details are important. The details can also be secret. The government will be right to keep certain details due to their being a secret.

So there are certain details which disclosure could jeopardise security.

(G3P3) Yes, yes.

**Fig 8** What other advantages and disadvantages of censorship can you see? For example, you named security and the right to know what is happening. Are these advantages or disadvantages of censorship?

\*silence\*

(G3P2) Sometimes it is better not to know, isn't it? \*shy\*

\*laughing\*

(G3P1) Different situation and different so to say...

It depends on the situation.

(G3P1) Yes. Most likely.

Are you satisfied with the amount of details that you are shown on television in relation to terrorist attacks?

(G3P2) Well again depends who is showing. If take the Western media showing about the events regarding Russia they show one thing. Russia itself, for example, shows another picture.

(G3P1) Anyway we cannot know what details are hidden from us. It is difficult to tell.

(G3P3) The main thing is that we have the facts, numbers. “What” and “how” is reported.

If we take the information that you know about terrorist attacks from the Media. Do you consider this information to be enough or would like to know more?

(G3P3) Of course enough. Why would we need more? Why go too much into details?

Do the rest have same opinion?

(G3P6) Yes. \*laughing\* That would only dwell on all the negativity.

(G3P3) The point is to explain to us about who did that, the reasons for that and how to fight that.

What are the other reasons for people to watch news about terrorism?

(G3P3) \*laughing\* it is not like we are watching this type of news on purpose. \*laughing\* What they show us that is what we watch. Do you mean watching that on purpose?

Yeah. For example, you can always switch the channel...

(G3P3) The fact that there are exaggerations in the Media?

I mean when you are guided by your own interest in watching the news.

(G3P3) \*laughing\* I have ABSOLUTELY no interest in that. That<sup>7</sup> must not happen that often.

 Now we are going to watch the first couple of videos.

\*Norway video\*

Please express how this terrorist attack made you feel?

(G3P6) Of course the type of feelings that...

(G3P3) Fearful feelings.

(G3P6) Fear. Of course.

(G3P3) So many young people died. Very scary. Those who had their whole life still in front of them.

How likely is it that you would visit a place where there was a recent terrorist attack? For example, you had a planned trip to Norway. Having heard this type of news on television would you cancel the trip or not?

(G3P6) Yes, I would cancel.

(G3P3) Yes, me too.

(G3P1) Most likely yes. \*reluctant to say\*

(G3P3) There would be fear.

Thank you. Now to the next video.

\*Beslan video\*

What feelings do you experience towards the victims of the tragedy?

(G3P6) Pity.

(G3P4) Pity, tears. \*feel like crying, not actually\*

(G3P6) Fear.

(G3P5) Those are children, children are the future.

What is the main reasoning for this feelings? That is unfairness, or the fact that on their place could be you, or maybe the relatives of the victims who are now left with this to live. Please explain more on this.

(G3P6) Obviously you look even say at this girl<sup>8</sup> and think that all her life is broken now. Regarding those who died, their relatives who survived, do you think they will be able to ever forget this all. There whole life turned upside down and everything in it broke. She lost her relatives and thus lost herself, so to say. How can you live after this? Try forget that? Well, you won't be able to. That is impossible. She is now left without mother. If she had her mother, her life certainly would develop differently. Same if her other relatives survived.

**Pg10** Does anybody feel anger towards this tragedy? Not fear as the main reaction, but anger<sup>9</sup> because of the fact that people were treated like that.

(G3P5) \*trying to find words\* this type of feelings you ask about I do not think even should be revealed. \*laughing\* This type of negativity can turn into something very ... \*laughing\*

(G3P3) The anger is directed at terrorists.

(G3P5) Well, yeah... obviously.

Now a question for those who has children. Do you stop them from watching terrorist attacks on television? Or did you stop them from this when they were below 16 years old?

(G3P6) No. \*confident\*

(G3P3) Nowadays we have children who already know everything. They are eager to know more.

(G3P5) As for my children, my daughter is 6 and my son is 17. I myself do not watch television and advise them not to as well. Simply because of ... I do not understand why would you need to. Anyway it will get to you somehow<sup>10</sup> if something happened somewhere. In case it is passed through the Media, then every person absorbs that<sup>11</sup>. Why would a child need all those negative emotions? \*no anger, just explaining the opinion\*

Thank you. Now I would like you to have a discussion in groups of three. What measures could be undertaken to minimize the negative influence of this type of reporting? Please also give advice to people watching television, TV channel companies and reporters. Please refer to the yellow cards where you can see the question written for you as well.

\*silence\*

\*laughing\*

Please discuss in groups of three if you can.

(G3P6) I do not even know...

(G3P1) Hm what advice could be given here...

(G3P3) I do not understand either, if they show it what could be done about it?

(G3P4) For audience to watch less maybe? \*trying to guess "the right answer" rather than opinion\* For the TV channels to show less and for the reporters to do less coverage. But then we won't know anything at all.

(G3P5) They will not cover and we will not watch or know that.

(G3P3) It is just that one must make their own judgment, don't they?

**Pg11** (G3P6) How can there be less negativity? A terrorist attack by itself is already a negative thing. And you absorb that and go through it. You put it on yourself<sup>12</sup> and of course it becomes scary. What advice can be given here? I wouldn't give any advice. On the other hand they may be showing in order to...

(G3P4) They should not exaggerate because as a result...

(G3P5) There are two sides to it so to say. On the other hand it sets some kind of fear, doesn't it?

(G3P6) I agree.

(G3P5) If one wants to know he can look up in the internet.

(G3P3) It is terrible! Before they used to talk about education, what schools were like. Nowadays they report everything, how many people died.

(G3P5) They are showing in the most hurtful way so a person gets even more emotional. Maybe they should stage their reporting in a slightly different way.

(G3P4) Yeah here exaggeration is of no need.

(G3P6) How can you possibly simplify a terrorist attack? How can you say “please do not worried about the reporting”? \*anger\* I simply do not understand this. How can you make this look softer? The very nature of the attack is scary.

(G3P5) Yes!

(G3P6) The very fact that it happened. I wouldn't give any advice. A terrorist attack coverage cannot be made easy to take. What happened is already scary.

Group one, could you please share your opinion?

(G3P6) Well, we discussed and decided, that there is no way of making the news about a terrorist attack any easier because it is a scary picture. It is a horrible event, how can you make it any softer? The facts about how many people died, the way it happened – all of this is scary. And every person absorbs and goes through this news. Regarding the Media silencing this, how can they be silent when such a horrible thing happened? As for me, I wouldn't give any advice. The report it in the right way. But on the other hand, should we watch it this often? This is up to us whether to watch or not. Of course we can switch the TV off and not watch any of that. Or switch the channel. But they must not avoid covering that. They must necessarily tell about this. Even if for the sake of making every single person stay alert. Because at the moment terrorism has been developing very fast. Who can guarantee that tomorrow nothing of that kind happens with us? We have no guarantees, so I think that everybody must be alert and in case something is about to happen they must report, look into it, and maybe even choose to go a different route if need be. This is my opinion.

In that case, what are your views about being shown that girl<sup>13</sup>, the victim of tragedy? Obviously, she was interviewed with her consent. But do you think it was appropriate to **Pg 2** show the audience a victim of a terrorist attack telling about how it was? Maybe this reporting without including her could be no less informative but much less emotional and provocative for the audience.

(G3P5) Well, yes.

(G3P6) Yeah.

What about the images used during reporting? Such as blood and so on. Should this be blocked by censorship or should they be shown as they are? Or would you like to see more informative type of reporting with facts such as numbers of victims?

(G3P5) Yes, probably<sup>14</sup>.

(G3P6) This could be, yes.

(G3P3) Well, here I think they should show that compulsorily. So that a person could perceive that, threat that negatively.

(G3P4) In the news they tend to show that more subtly. That is they show blood but they do not show a torn apart child. I think that you need to show blood but you do not need to show the child, so to say. It is more than enough what they show, which is actually quite subtle. For example, the information that comes from the videos on the internet carries obviously scarier facts. In this case everybody decides for themselves...

(G3P6) They themselves decide!

(G3P4) ...Whether to open that video for viewing or not. As for me, I never watch this type of things because I know that after that I won't be able to eat or sleep for a while. I will cry. I feel pain if that would be a dog let alone a person. I personally cannot watch this. Some on the contrary desire to see that and all sorts.



Thank you. Now please the other group.

(G3P3) Well, everything depends on individual perception of every person. On the way one was brought up. The way one was taught to react to terrorism. So you cannot minimise that in any way. And they show that for everybody.

(G3P2) The reporters and TV channels must tell the facts. Many of them decide to exaggerate everything going with their personal view. Just show facts! That is this and this happened. And then a person will himself decide.

So you think they are showing their own perception and not pure facts.

(G3P2) It is how it is.

If we take an extreme case when a child, let's say of 6 years old, sees the tragedy on TV. Not the reporting I showed you about the attack, but other reporting. For example, there were a lot at that time showing about the children being evacuated from the captured school being bombed. What impact do you think this could cause? And whether that impact could be prevented?

**Pg 13** (G3P3) Regarding the influence, do not let children see that. It is too early.

(G3P6) Probably, at six it is a bit early to watch this type of emotionally challenging<sup>15</sup> coverages. Every child reacts in their own way. Some will watch and run away, whereas some...

(G3P3) Will cry.

(G3P5) Yes.

(G3P6) ... will take this close to heart. And then a child can have an emotional breakdown.

(G3P4) Yes.

(G3P3) It does influence the psyche a lot. So they should be guarded from this for a while.

How ethical do you find it to show these children being carried out of the bombed school? What about when they grow up and find out about the coverage?

(G3P3) \*interrupting\* This question is wrong. How ethical! This is such a deeply wrong question! It is not about ethics, it is about tragedy. It happened! And that is why they show.

Do you think censorship should have banned showing children being carried out of the bombing site? Of course they are being saved but is there a need to continuously show their faces? Do you believe this should be censored or on the contrary, reporters should show this?

(G3P3) I think that they must show! \*and there is nothing to discuss even\*

(G3P6) I also think so.

(G3P3) And then it is up to people watching whether they want to continue watching or not.

(G3P6) Those children who are being saved and taken out of there do not care at all<sup>16</sup>, sorry for my language, whether their faces will be shown or not. What matters for them is that somebody saves them. And later on I think it doesn't matter to them at all if they will be show on television in the moment of them being so petrified and wanting to leave that horrible place. When they are being saved I do not think at all they are thinking about that<sup>17</sup>. Or whether they will appear on television or not. \*outraged\*

OK, thank you. Now we are going to the next group of videos.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kyrgistan video\*

Now question for everybody. Have you seen this video before?

(G3P6) No.

**Pg14** (G3P3) This is first time for me.

What are your comments on the reporting? What is the most striking? What emotions have you experienced?

(G3P3) There is a need to fight terrorists. This is the meaning of it. So that it was quick. If he run away, then there would be help in finding him. This way he will be captured quicker. This would be the help in fighting terrorism.

Thank you. Now next video.

\*Kyrgis terrorists in Kazakhstan video\*

Have you seen this footage before?

(G3P1) Yes.

(G3P5) I think anyway we see their faces being show briefly somewhere but not to pay attention.

How likely was it, in your opinion, that the terrorist could cross the border with Kazakhstan?

(G3P2) Big possibility.

(G3P1) Very big.

After you have been reassured that the security of the border is under control, have you felt more secure?

(G3P3) Not completely of course. We have doubts<sup>18</sup> anyway.

(G3P4) If not these ones, then others will cross.

(G3P3) Terrorists cannot only be on another territory. The scariest thing is that they are already here.

(G3P2) Their documents<sup>19</sup> are in order \*sigh\*

\*laughing\*

(G3P2) Ours may be out of order, theirs will be fine. \*laughing\*

Now we are going to watch video about terrorists in Taraz.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kazakhstan video\*

Have you seen this footage before?

(G3P1) I did.

What are your comments on what you have just seen?

**Pg15** (G3P3) Well these are so to say local terrorists who developed in Kazakhstan. \*talking very casually\* They need to be destroyed.

(G3P5) They must not just be put in jail, but they must be shot.

What are your comments regarding the time in jail he was given?

(G3P5) What point is there in him being prosecuted and jailed for life? What is in it? How many has he destroyed lives!

(G3P4) I simply cannot understand why they are being put in jails. So that we provided for them for life?

(G3P5) Yes!

(G3P4) This money could have gone to orphanages to feed children. Why should we provide for these...

(G3P5) They are freaks<sup>20</sup>!

(G3P4) ... freaks with our own money. If they did prove that he had killed, and not one person, why keep him there, feed him, give him drinks and so on?

(G3P4) Yes!

(G3P4) He may be living there better than some elderly granddad<sup>21</sup> or a child in an orphanage.

(G3P5) Exactly! He may be even manage<sup>22</sup> from there.

(G3P4) Of course, this is very likely. Especially in our era of internet and mobile phones. He has all the needed conditions in there.

What was the most striking video for you out of the three? The most emotional to you?

(G3P2) The last one.

(G3P4) Must be the last one.

(G3P5) Yes, the last.

If a terrorist attack happened in Kazakhstan, are you personally prepared to fight terrorism?

(G3P6) Of course! \*confident\*

(G3P3) We are against terrorism.

(G3P1) And even if it doesn't happen we are prepared all the same!

\*laughing\*

At what level? That is how would you individually stand against terrorism specifically? Obviously, there are ways of fighting terrorism groups but what about the effects of **Fig16** terrorism? For example, somehow blocking the panic set on people so that this aim of terrorists was not accomplished.

(G3P3) This depends on the situation, of course.

(G3P6) Yes.

(G3P3) The situation which a person is found oneself.

(G3P6) Yes, everything depends on the situation.

(G3P3) This is a matter of your decency<sup>23</sup>. What you are made of.

How likely are you to leave the country if it would be unsafe to live?

(G3P6) It is possible.

(G3P5) Yes.

(G3P4) Yes.

(G3P1) The question is also whether there is anywhere to leave to.

(G3P2) The whole world is like this.

\*laughing\*

(G3P6) Depends on the situation.

Then what does your decision depend on?

(G3P6) What the decision depends on in different situations?

Yes.

(G3P6) For example, if something happened to the same extent like it happened in Ukraine, then I would take my family and go without having any second thoughts. \*laughing\*

(G3P4) If there was a single terrorist attack, then these things happen. We are probably prepared that it can happen here as well. Whereas if there will be some kind of escalation<sup>24</sup> on nationality ground somewhere in Kazakhstan or in our city, then obviously we<sup>25</sup> personally will leave. But if there happens a terrorist attack, that is like one of those terrorist attacks, god forbid<sup>26</sup> of course, this obviously does not give enough reason to move from the city. Because this can happen anywhere.

(G3P6) You are right actually.

(G3P4) Whereas if it would be a conflict between nationalities then of course.

(G3P6) Yeah when it is just a single occasion of this type.

So if there was a single attack you wouldn't leave, whereas if there was some war situation about to happen then you would.

**Pg17** (G3P4) Yes.

How likely is it, you think, that there can be a terrorist attack in Ust-kamenogorsk similar to the attack in Taraz, for example?

(G3P4) Well must be very likely. Because nowadays they are everywhere.

(G3P6) Not only in Ust-Kamenogorsk, it can happen not only in Ust-Kamenogorsk.

(G3P3) Because there is plenty of this freaks everywhere.

(G3P6) I think that terrorism is strengthening in such a fast pace at the moment that nobody is immune. Literally next minute there can happen an attack absolutely anywhere.

(G3P5) The whole world must be united against it. Not just individual states, but the whole world as a unity. The fact that at the moment there is a bad economic situation... the economics will fix itself, this should be at the priority and not economics.

Do you consider it possible that terrorists can get hold of the nuclear weapon or expertise who can make it?

(G3P6) Anything can happen.

(G3P5) In the 21<sup>st</sup> century anything is possible.

(G3P4) Especially considering the way we guard things here.

\*laughing\*

(G3P6) The type of negligence we have here is just...

(G3P4) Any<sup>27</sup> schoolboy can get into and block an information database. So it is very likely. Pupils at school have more knowledge of this than us. They can hack a database. So if you take a trained adult person then it goes without saying.

(G3P5) The thing is that nowadays you can easily find in the internet, for example, how to make an explosive devise. It is so easy! Google to your help and here you go.

Do you have anything else to add? OK. Now we are going to watch the recent terrorist attack in Belgium. First, the reporting from the Russian channel.

\*NTV Belgium video\*

Now to the second reporting, which was taken from the Kazakh TV channel Khabar.

\*Khabar Belgium video\*

Having watched both footages, have you noticed any peculiarities in reporting of Russian NTV and Kazakh Khabar? Any similarities or differences?

(G3P4) In our case<sup>28</sup> they said about reinforced security at airports. Whereas in the Russian footage I haven't heard anything like it. Kazakhstan is more...

**Pg18** (G3P3) It reacted immediately.

(G3P4) It reacted immediately in the way that...

(G3P3) The prevention measures.

(G3P4) Yes, our prevention measures are to a higher standard. I might have missed it<sup>29</sup> but if to compare then this is how it would be. That was what they said first, that our security was reinforced.

So you personally would prefer to see first the measures undertaken as a reaction to the attack and then about the actual attack.

(G3P4) I would like to hear about, at least hear, I cannot know whether that is true or not, but at least hear about our government taking care of its citizens and undertaking certain measures.

Anything else? OK. In that case let's talk about the actual attack. Please explain who was killing and who were the victims. From the information you have just received what do you remember?

(G3P3) Well that is that same state, the ISIS. The way it is over there in Belgium is that there is a state within a state. They<sup>30</sup> are living there. Even



police people do not go into the areas where these people operate. What safety can be talked about in this case? They did not even come from Syria or Iraq, there were brought up there<sup>31</sup>. Belgian people themselves raised their terrorists. They keep them by their side. This is where it all starts, all these terrorists.

In your opinion, who are the main political players is reacting to a terrorist attack, any terrorist attack that happens.

(G3P5) America.

(G3P2) Russia.

(G3P3) America, France, England.

(G3P6) America, France.

(G3P2) America talks about it more.

(G3P4) They are more interested in it so to say.

(G3P2) In making the situation worse.

(G3P3) They are trying to distabilise the situation everywhere.

(G3P2) When there was Saddam Hussein, he controlled them all.

(G3P3) When he stopped listening to America, they ended him. Same in Syria. Everywhere, everywhere it is America. The main evil if humanity is America. \*not joking, serious\* Because they seek power and control over the whole world.

**Pg19** (G3P6) They are getting themselves into the inner politics of countries everywhere.

(G3P3) They disturbed Ukraine, and in the same way they can disturb Kazakhstan. This all can happen in Kazakhstan.

(G3P2) There they have resources.

(G3P6) Please save us god.

(G3P3) Yeah if the government will not react to them then... \*did not finish the sentence\*

In that case what state do you see as a potential enemy for Kazakhstan?

(G3P3) You cannot talk about a state here. Unless ISIS.

\*laughing\*

(G3P3) The threat to Kazakhstan does not come from states but terrorist groups.

(G3P4) A terrorist group can be situated in any country. It can be America, it can be Russia. They can come from either way. It is just a united organisation that spread its tentacles<sup>32</sup> worldwide.

(G3P3) At the moment America must be looking into Kazakhstan.

(G3P4) We cannot say that somebody is interested in ...

(G3P2) It is trying out<sup>33</sup>.

(G3P3) Yeah, it is trying out and when the convenient timing comes, it will make a nudge. And after this the worst can happen.

Let's move to the next question. On the scale of 1 to 10, where 10 is absolute truth and 1 is absolute lie, how trustworthy would you mark the information in news programmes? So, 1 is absolute lie and 10 is absolute truth. What are your thoughts?

A fiver.

(G3P4) Must be 50/50.

(G3P6) Yeah.

(G3P1) Aha, we would like to believe that it is 50/50<sup>34</sup>.

\*laughing\*

What could make you consider that the information in the news is absolute lie?  
That is what factors could influence your decision making? What type of arguments are you prepared to listen to?

**Pg20** (G3P3) It depends on the perception of individual people. The way one understands and makes sense of politics. This is what it depends on.

If say you are challenged by a person on the street who is offering their version of the events. Would you consider their opposing view or would you stick to what the Media says? Is what the Media is saying persuading you enough not to consider any other view?

(G3P3) It is not a matter of trusting the Media. One must make sense of it themselves.

So you would listen to them but keep it up to your own judgment.

(G3P5) There is a theory which is about imposing doubt on everything. That is we must consider all the sides.

(G3P6) Yes, and make our own judgments.

How interested are you in the news?

(G3P3) It is an integrant of our life. You cannot go anywhere without it.

(G3P6) We are willing to be up-to-date with everything that is happening.

(G3P3) Otherwise we do not see anything. We do not go anywhere, just stay here on this same place and that is it. We do not travel. \*laughing\*

(G3P4) Why? Some do travel.

(G3P6) You can travel and still not know what is going on.

(G3P5) Exactly.

(G3P6) It could even be that something happened in the country where you were and you wouldn't know anything.

(G3P4) I think that watching news is more than normal and a necessary thing to do.

(G3P6) It is necessary for everybody!

(G3P) Yeah, at least once a day, for example, in the evening to watch the news that happened during the day and be up-to-date with what has happened.

(G3P5) Once a week! Only the highlights! \*laughing\*

(G3P2) We were in Kyrgyzstan when Akayev<sup>35</sup> was being overthrown. Exactly at that time. We were going shopping without having any idea.

Did you not know because it wasn't reported in the Media?

(G3P2) In local Media it wasn't reported. The internet was blocked. It mainly was happening at the square where all the government buildings were located. But at the suburbs people were shopping, shops were open, banks were open without knowing anything.

**Pg21** So you would prefer it being handled like for example in Norway<sup>36</sup>, when people were told on television to stay at home until the situation is cleared.

Now the last question for today. Have you noticed any changes on national television in the last 10-15 years?

(G3P3) As I think, there aren't any.

(G3P4) We do not really watch that local television.

\*laughing\*

(G3P3) We don't watch it enough.

(G3P4) Regarding national television in particular... those who watch it they must notice changes. But I myself, for example, do not watch it, so I can say absolutely nothing on this.

Did anybody see changes in numbers of channels?

(G3P5) They increased. The number of them increased.

Was that a significant increase or just a couple were added?

(G3P5) Who knows.

(G3P6) Some people are using satellite now. There you get a lot of channels. Some are using what is it called?

(G3P3) Digital.

(G3P6) Digital television has a lot of channels now as well.

So the access to channels improved.

(G3P6) Yeah, the access.

(G3P3) There is now a lot of information. It is up to you what to watch and what not to.

OK. Thank you very much. On your tables you have sheets of paper. Please turn them. These are blanks for additional comments so you can write anything you want to add on them. Or maybe if you want to comment on the topic of discussion.

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<sup>1</sup> Ostrye. 3.(Of a situation or problem) having the potential to become disastrous; at a point of crisis. =serious,

<sup>2</sup> [Goryachie toc'ki]

<sup>3</sup> [chrezvychaennye proeschestvya]

<sup>4</sup> Djilye doma

<sup>5</sup> Nadlomlennye

<sup>6</sup> v predelax razumnogo

<sup>7</sup> talking about the attacks.

<sup>8</sup> reference to the video

<sup>9</sup> making a point they do not have to choose between fear and anger, rather asking which one is their main response.

<sup>10</sup> uslyshesh kraem uha

- <sup>11</sup> propyskaet (information) cerez sebya
- <sup>12</sup> k sebye primeryaesh
- <sup>13</sup> referring to the video
- <sup>14</sup> agreeing to the last suggested statement
- <sup>15</sup> “sharp” coverage
- <sup>16</sup> gluboko plevat’
- <sup>17</sup> being filmed
- <sup>18</sup> opasenya
- <sup>19</sup> the documents which one shows at the customs. Talking about border check of documents.
- <sup>20</sup> otmorozki
- <sup>21</sup> polite way of referring to an unknown elderly man
- <sup>22</sup> gives orders to his people
- <sup>23</sup> delo tvoyei sovesti
- <sup>24</sup> obostreniye =BEING AGGREVATED
- <sup>25</sup> must be meaning her family by “we”. Other people seem to be replying for their families as well rather than individually, which makes sense when people are asked about leaving the country.
- <sup>26</sup> “god forbid” is a commonly used saying and is not necessarily related to religiousness. People say that after talking about something bad so not to attract that on them. Similar to “touch wood”.
- <sup>27</sup> exaggeration, “It is so easy a child can do”.
- <sup>28</sup> local channel Khabar
- <sup>29</sup> the prevention measures being reported in Russian TV channel
- <sup>30</sup> terrorists
- <sup>31</sup> in Belgium
- <sup>32</sup> metaphor.
- <sup>33</sup> proschypvayet
- <sup>34</sup> ...”but it is not”. Being sarcastic. “50/50 is optimistic”.
- <sup>35</sup> Askar Akayevich Akayev was president of Kyrgyzstan from 1990 until his overthrow in the March 2005 Tulip Revolution.
- <sup>36</sup> referring to the video used in the group earlier.

**GROUP 4:**

**Pg 1** Hello again. Thank you very much for coming today. As you know we are going to watch news reports about terrorism. If anybody feels too uncomfortable you can leave the room. After the discussion you can also come and talk to me about anything.

We are going to start from the question about the type of themes that are covered in media. Please outline the themes that are covered on TV, in newspapers and so on. You can start answering each in order. Or any order you want. What themes are covered in media?

(G4P4) Media?

Yes, on TV, radio, newspaper editions.

(G4P4) Do I need to write it down here?

No, do not write, just answer verbally.

(G4P4) Well, what themes, those of current interest. For example, the situation in Syria, Ukraine. Who and in what way attacks Russia. These are that bother me.

(G4P3) You are not asked what bothers you.

(G4P2) Terrorist attacks that happen, for example, in Volgograd a bus was blown. This also bothers us. And overall we are worried for our lives and lives of our children and grandchildren.

(G4P5) In Kazakhstan I am worried about the issue about land. That is the question that is to do with the land. At the moment there are a lot of talks going on about how this will develop, to whose benefit – ours or not ours. This is a serious problem right now, which is in our Kazakhstan and worries.


Thank you. So in your opinion terrorism is an important part of media reports and stands out from the overall topics discussed.

(G4P1) It is covered first<sup>1</sup>. As soon as a news programme starts, straightaway they show where the terrorist attacks happened, show Syria, Ukraine, and then goes the rest.

So it goes by the importance.

(G4P1) The Ukraine is important regardless (of the order of reporting). We used to live united and now what? They keep attacking Dombass. Of course this also worries us that people die there for nothing. Because of that Poroshenko who leads that type of politics and Obama helps him. That is it. And now Obama already does not know what to do with him, because all his troops went out of control.

If we look, for example, at terrorist attacks and natural disasters, then natural disasters can kill more people than terrorist attacks. In your opinion, this allocation of news time where terrorist attacks get more coverage than, for example, an earthquake that took more lives is justifiable or not?

 (G4P1) I think that the earthquakes as well as floods are covered good.

So you think both are equally covered.

(G4P1) Not equally, there also people died; there also somebody appears to be saved.

(G4P5) It is just that the natural disasters they happened, they were said about, reported for a week and sort of forgotten. Whereas the terrorist attacks for sure, for example, the investigation of the planes in Ukraine keeps going for how long? More than 2 years already and still they keep talking about it. And of course, when there was that large scale earthquake in Japan, which is to do with the energy block, with electricity, this is of course still covered to some extent. In regards to whether they are blocking or not in order to eliminate infection.

Do you think that it is right that terrorist attacks are reported for longer than earthquakes? Should it be different or it is justified?



(G4P3) Most likely it is justified. Because an earthquake is a natural phenomenon and a terrorist attack is to do with people.

(G4P4) One is nature and the other is human stupidity.

(G4P2) The purposely go to kill people, they know what they are going for. And the other one is done by nature. We, so to say, when the wind blows with enormous power cannot stand and counteract it, it is beyond our ability.

(G4P1) Same with the floods.

(G4P2) As well as the floods, the earthquakes, we cannot do anything about them. But when they shoot and kill on purpose here we need something.

(G4P1) Well, there are those who prevent terrorist attacks beforehand. Special people who do that.

(G4P4) And generally this terrorists what are they thinking at all? Why do not they destroy those whom they are angry with, for example, a government? Instead they come to a church, they blow mosques, busses where people have no idea and not related to the issue in any way. They just blow, this is savagery and stupidity! Outrageous!

(G4P2) And so many kids die. In planes, really, when a person flies who needs to be taken down, they blow the whole plane to get to that person. But how many of those on the plane die! Innocent people.

(G4P3) Maybe not because of one man. They just...

(G4P4) They just want to prove their power.

(G4P1) They want to show that they can. For example, the latest plane<sup>2</sup> which flied. They have not yet established whether that was a terrorist attack or not.

 (G4P4) They did establish.

(G4P3) Yes they said.

(G4P4) In the internet today it was said that the specialists investigating the remains concluded that was an explosion.

What terrorist attack in your opinion is the most shocking? Out of all those you know which one was most impactful for you?

(G4P3) They are all shocking. Maybe the plane, so many people died.

(G4P1) The plane was flying and they blew it.

(G4P3) Take any they report about, every single is shocking.

(G4P1) That one is shocking who blew, but Ukraine also. And what did they say? That it was Russia who attacked the plane. But in reality there were even shown where their launchers were located.

So it is disinformation?

(G4P1) Yes. This was shown in news and was also shown to America, but they lead their own policy over there.

What terrorist attack is the most shocking for you?

(G4P5) Well for me it is for example the explosion in Volgograd at the station. Not only in Volgograd, in Moscow when an explosion took place. I just do not understand how is it even possible that they brainwash our young people, not our but young people in general, so that they went and with the realisation of what they are doing put their lives as sacrifice. And what for? This shows that there is little measures taken to talk to and explain the new generation that Islam is not about exploding but is about something totally opposite. Hence this obviously shocked me, especially in Moscow, in Volgograd.

When you say Moscow terrorist attack, which one do you mean?

(G4P5) The Domodedovo one.

Thank you. What terrorist attacks do you know in general? And if you remember, please tell where you were when you heard the first news about the attacks you are going to outline. What was your source of information?


(G4P1) Most of the times we find out from the television or through newspapers.

What terrorist do you remember?

(G4P1) As I said earlier the one when they blew the Ukrainian plane.

(G4P3) The Beslan one.

(G4P5) In Beslan.

 (G4P3) It was horrible what happened there. So many people died, children.

(G4P4) Also In Moscow, the theatre.

(G4P5) These are the big ones. How many small ones do not we know of. There were also explosions in the trains.

(G4P3) In Saint Petersburg's there was something to do with the tramway as well.

(G4P5) There were not as many victims but the fact of that being a terrorists attack stays.

For the next group of questions that we are going to discuss it is your perception that matters as opposed to knowledge. Maybe be you heard something, or you do not know for sure but you tend to assume in a certain way. Maybe you remember how media explained certain things. The first question is as follows. How do terrorists plan their attacks?

(G4P4) How they plan?

(G4P2) How can we possibly know how they plan.

(G4P4) You have to be a terrorist to know. Obviously in such a way so that there were as many victims as possible. They may choose public places, bazaars<sup>3</sup>, supermarkets, cinemas.

### Crowded places?

(G4P4) Yeah, crowded places. For example bus stops so that there were lots of victims.

(G4P1) Same as in America they blew the towers with the planes which flew into, two of those. So many people died there!

(G4P5) On the 11<sup>th</sup> of September.

(G4P1) The main thing here is that they keep trying to involve as many people as possible. I just do not understand this. What have the people in a crowd to do with that?

Keeping to this point the next question is: why do you think the terrorist attacks happen? Maybe you heard of some explanations or share your own assumption.

(G4P1) To my personal view, there is no explanation.


(G4P4) Yes there is not any. They are idiots that is all!

(G4P1) That is how do they do that, what for?!

(G4P3) This is really unclear to me.

(G4P4) Idiots who have not a single connection to religion. Even if some say they are religious.

(G4P1) Young people are brainwashed – this is how I understand it.

 (G4P3) Fanatics, they need some special...

(G4P1) They even go like zombie – what they are told they follow.

(G4P2) This is the type of people you know. It also happens this way, well in my personal opinion. For example, there are some families where a person

works and works all the time, and has no ability to get out of this situation.

And he, let's say, has a family of ten relying on him. And he would say "I will go for anything". They may pay him well, he will leave this money to the family and say "may I die but my family will survive".

So he would do that for his kids.

(G4P2) Yes, he would. Because of, so to say, not seeing any future or anything good ahead<sup>4</sup>. "At least I will save my kids". I think rarely but still some people are bribed with this.

(G4P4) This may be or they can also say "we will destroy your family if you won't do certain things".

So by blackmail.

(G4P4) Blackmail yes.

(G4P3) In programmes, most of the time there will go people who are frustrated in life. Maybe somebody hurt them.

(G4P1) They just take this exact type of people and that is it.

(G4P3) Yeah this weak people are radicalised. For example, a young man was saying on TV that those from previous Soviet Union is for them "cannon fodder". They purposely send them to die. Those who are at command not so much.

(G4P2) You see the drug addiction plays an important role as well.


(G4P5) They do this for a dose.

So they are drugged?

(G4P2) Yes they do not have control over what they are doing. This is our opinion, I do not know how this is actually, but this is our opinion on it.

That is exactly what was needed, thank you. Who to blame or because of whose fault do terrorist attacks happen? In other words more details about terrorists...

(G4P4) Obama is to blame for all the sins. What a “nasty dog” he is! Take any place with terrorism, there would not be terrorism had Obama not come there first. No Obama – no terrorism. As soon as he appears with his democracy, why is he “going with his pig snout into bakery aisle”?<sup>5</sup> Why must everybody live by American standards? Why Iraq, for example, cannot live by their own rules – the way they like? Why are they going to Libya? They used to live there nearly in communism<sup>6</sup> and then those came and destroyed everything! Now they attack one another there like wild tribes.

 (G4P3) And so what? Obama to blame for this?

(G4P4) Who else you think? Do not go there! [literally, about going to another country] There is no need to ‘go to another person’s farm land’<sup>7</sup>.

(G4P1) He already started that in Poland, in Romania – that is it! He already started surrounding Russia<sup>8</sup>. What for?

(G4P4) And generally speaking, why is Russia bothering him?

(G4P5) They soon will be flooded that is why. They say soon whole America will be under water, this is why.

(G4P4) They are idiots, they do not understand Russians. You cannot tease! Even when you tease a rat in the corner and it has nowhere to go, it can attack a bigger animal than it is. By analogy it must not be done with Russia. It can burn out all that America and all that Europe. They will achieve that not a dry place<sup>9</sup> but a very hot place they will get.

(G4P3) You are asked about terrorism and you just keep talking about Obama!

(G4P4) That is exactly what I am answering to. There is no terrorism unless America interferes.

(G4P3) So what? Was it them who brought up terrorists you think?

(G4P4) They wind it all up. They fed ISIS.

(G4P1) Yes!

(G4P3) Well, on the one hand yes.

(G4P1) And then they themselves suffer from ISIS.


(G4P5) And generally, how must the national security organisations work in all countries that they allow the terrorist groups to exist? If the espionage<sup>10</sup> worked well there would not be any terrorists. They would be found at the early stages of development. So I think this service must be developed in all governments. That way let the terrorists only think about doing something, and they are disclosed straightaway. This is the reason why they feel free to get anything.

(G4P1) Because anything can be sold and bought.

(G4P5) Exactly.

Keeping to this point, the next question is: where do terrorists get money and means? For example, the explosives.

(G4P1) Well, where, as I said anything can be bought and sold. Same with the explosives. They are given money so they can buy from the storehouse.

 (G4P4) Terrorists supply Turkey with oil. And those buy for cheap, so mutual benefit for those in Turkey and terrorists. Here you go, now they have money and are funded. Why is that? That is their own fault. They bring up and feed the terrorists.

How do you think people are radicalised? Who is so to say an easy target for them?

(G4P5) The easy target is young people who are not engaged in anything but they have to do something. They do not have any direction in lives. Mainly this

happens via internet, of course. Lots and lots of information appears in internet. Of course they then block it. Mainly it is students and young people who go there. There are little older people there, because mature people already grasped their lives and they know what to go for. As for young people, they do not know how to set a direction to their energy. They cannot set that energy in the right way. From nothing to do. For example, take our country or Russia or the whole previous Soviet Union – these used to have children camp sites, playgrounds, physical education schools. And now they have closed all of that and opened new ones which are not free to attend.

(G4P4) And young people are told about how bad they communists were. They did not do that, they did not do this.

(G4P5) So the young people have nowhere to go and have to stick with the terrorist groups. And if the group is big and the head person is mature they will know that they can use young people for their own benefit. So they organise a group and people start joining them gradually. Take even Kiev as an example, how did it all start? Same happened at the maidan.

(G4P2) Had they not been given money, none of them would go there! This is my opinion.

(G4P4) And I think, that for 20 years media have been educating them. The young people grew up. Those who were one year old are now twenty years old. And they have not heard anything, absolutely nothing, good about Soviet Union or the other countries.

(G4P5) All they can understand is money!

(G4P5) Yeah, they judge from what was given them. And they brought up this type of people who cannot see the obvious. In their opinion Russia attacked them<sup>11</sup>. \*laughing\*

(G4P3) And there are a lot of even Russians in ISIS. What do you think? They all come from Europe?



(G4P4) And Europe is there. Remember when the Kazakhstan ex-patriot came back with someone from Ukraine? What a conversation did you have with her?

(G4P3) Yeah she was saying that everything was done right there. \*sad\*

(G4P4) “Everything was done right”!

**Fig 8** (G4P3) I said to her “are you a crazy person?” She thinks that over there Russia keeps attacking Donbass. We had an argument with her at the airport. We started so heated then turned away from each other.

(G4P1) Sure! If they say that the Russian troops were in Donbass, then in 2-3 days they would have already been in Kiev.

(G4P4) Whether were, whether we not... None are there! On a constant basis none are there.

(G4P1) Well they say that they are there.

(G4P4) The aid I think is there.

(G4P1) Obviously the aid is there.

(G4P4) Technical support, tangible support. They did not attack Kiev, Kiev attacked them. They live there. They want to live the way they want and not the way Khakhly<sup>12</sup> allow them.

(G4P1) They do not want to live the way Kiev wants them to.

In your opinion, what can prevent the attacks? In other words, by what means can the attacks be prevented?

(G4P4) Only by destroying these bad people.

(G4P1) Maybe if in America not Clinton but somebody different comes to power. In this case maybe something will change.

(G4P5) Nothing is going to change.

(G4P1) If somebody else instead of Clinton it might change.

(G4P5) No it will not. The attitude towards Russian may change but the rest will stay same. Terrorist attacks were and terrorist attacks will be.

(G4P4) I do not believe that a president influences much the politics of the government of America. They have who to lead. And that is just a doll put in front. They put a *black* one. You do not like *black*? OK we will put a *girlie*. No? Then we will put a white one or a *Jewish*<sup>13</sup>. It does not matter whom.

(G4P5) No it doesn't.

(G4P4) And he will do what he is paid for.

(G4P2) Change the power! But we are not able to do that. \*laughing\*

(G4P4) No we cannot do that. After all, must they understand Russia did not attack not that one, nor the other one, nor the third one. They surrounded Russia. Whom did it attack? Whom did it attack, hah? \*sad\*

(G4P3) You live in Kazakhstan, drop this Russia talk.

 (G4P4) I feel offended<sup>14</sup>. We are all previous Soviet Union.

(G4P3) I agree.

In your opinion, do all the terrorist attacks are reported on TV or some fail to show?

(G4P5) Some fail to show. We do not know everything.

What is the reason for failing to show? Not enough time? Or some security reasons?

(G4P3) I think so that people were not worried.

(G4P5) I also believe so. So that less attention was given.

(G4P4) Anyway the media of any country follows the point of view of its leadership. Any country. It does not matter whether it is democratic or not democratic – all the same the leadership hints as to which way to go.

(G4P5) It is only in those cases where you cannot hide...

(G4P4) Obviously we also do not see absolutely everything on TV. Something is covered over [=veiled] something is silenced. But nevertheless, at least we are shown something even if not much. OK, you may make up words but when a video is shown, you cannot help watching, and it cannot have a double meaning. If they kill, then you can see who is it who kills, who rapes. You can see all of this.

How far do you think should censorship go? Do you think you are shown enough details in media? Or would you rather see more details or information? Or on the contrary, this is too much for you, it maybe sets panic? Would you prefer to see less news?

(G4P4) \*sighs\* Very unlikely it sets panic. There is no panic.

(G4P1) They show all the truth. How is it actually. There are no exaggerations, only how it actually is. This way a person then decides what is happening in a country.

(G4P4) What way did it happen in Soviet Union? That is on a very single occasion, if there was a murder in Moscow, the whole police is moved upside down to stop the killers. And nowadays people die every day, people are killed every day. This a total savagery. Previously they were talking about growing corn and providing for the nation and not it is about terror. You turn the TV on and think damn it! How long can this go on for?

To what extent do you agree that the terrorist attacks must be shown on TV?

(G4P3) Of course they must be shown, why would be otherwise?

In other words, do you want this to be shown to a larger extent, to a lesser extent or as it is right now?

(G4P2) I am satisfied how it is now. Let them show the way they show at the moment. Otherwise they will start showing more of it and we won't leave

house. \*laughing\* You won't get a plane ticket, won't go anywhere. You will be afraid.

**Pg 10** (G4P1) The way they show it is OK.

(G4P3) It is fine. How much more can one need? It is already being shown the whole day, all we do is listening about Ukraine and terrorist attacks. Nothing else, a plane crash - that is it.

What terrorist attack is the most disastrous in your opinion? Not to name a particular example, but what determines the destructiveness of a terrorist attack. Maybe the number of victims, or the panic triggered in people, or the place.

(G4P4) As a matter of fact, whom are you working for?

I am a student.

(G4P4) What ISIS people no longer can think of something?

\*laughing\*

What is the disastrousness of an attack determined by?

(G4P4) Well I think by the number of victims.

(G4P1) Obviously, the more victims the more disastrous it is.

(G4P3) Yeah, you can build a new building but you cannot take a person back.

OK, now we are going to see the first pair of videos.

\*Norway video\*

How does this video make you feel now that you have watched it? What was the most striking? Could you comment on it?

(G4P3) There were a lot of people who died, 80 of them.

(G4P1) It was a camping site as I understood.

Yes.

(G4P1) Then why was there no guard? In our camping sites, I have just driven kids to the camping site, there are guards. As soon as you approach near to drop the kids there is the stop barrier. They keep the barrier and you won't get through. There is also fencing at the border of all the territory.

So they did not have enough prevent measures in place?

(G4P1) For sure! If they had guards he would not just go and shoot freely.

(G4P5) And he would not be able to get that many weapons through. That is exactly what I am saying and what I was saying before. All of this is our job. Those structures who are supposed to investigate terrorism do not work well. Not only in our country but in all countries. If they were checking everything would be fine. So here I think much depends on the actions of the force organisations. The force structures do not track this.

**Pg 11** Anything else?

(G4P2) No, they already said.

In case you had a planned trip to Norway and you hear on TV that the two terrorist attacks just happened there. Would you cancel this trip or went on it anyway?

(G4P2) I would not go.

(G4P1) \*laughing\* Of course not!

(G4P2) I have only one life.

(G4P3) Well it depends on the reason of going.

(G4P2) For a holiday?

If you have some important meeting, for example, would you still go?

(G4P2) That only happened at that particular camp.

(G4P5) Well, for a business meeting, for example or work related. But the rest is not.

(G4P2) Wait, if there are terrorist attacks going on it doesn't matter what type of meeting you have. You have only one life. I wouldn't go.

(G4P3) And I would go under bullets to attend anyway. \*laughing\*

(G4P2) Go on do that that then!

(G4P1) Over there everything is easily available so they got weapons.

(G4P4) And I think on the contrary, if weapons were freely sold then everybody could get a gun. In this case that shooting man would immediately get a hole in his head. It looks like those who want to attack or steal, they will get guns regardless it being banned by law. Whereas those following the law will stay insecure, rely on the police or on anything else. You can see here how they relied on it.

So there must be some means of self-defense?

(G4P4) I think there is a need in it. But governments must be dreading of its citizens, they won't let them steal, won't let them prosper.

Good, thank you. Now the next video.

\*Beslan video\*

What feelings do you have towards the victims of this terrorist attack?

(G4P1) In this one, children died.

(G4P2) I cannot even find any words to express this. How can you possibly shoot at children? What a heartless, infernal... they are the opposite of human.

**Pg 12** Do you feel the pity and unfairness or maybe the fact that they could not fight anyhow back?

(G4P1) What can they do? They are defenseless kids.

Then what about regarding the terrorists who did that?

(G4P1) They must be all hanged.

(G4P5) Without any court or investigation.

(G4P1) Exactly, without court and investigation. So that they were guided out of there and straight to the hanging for everybody to see.

(G4P5) As for me, it must be different. They must be forced to work with uranium [extracting uranium ores, this is common to Kazakhstan as it stands second worldwide for uranium extraction]. Otherwise they want to die well. Those who are normally shot must be forced to work in inhumane conditions. Then they would understand and consider and it would be shown on TV for those who do this. See he did that and now he has this type of work. But how do we do that instead? Making all the conditions for them at the jails, provide them with phones, television, reading rooms. And the fact that he killed so many people and made an explosion seems to mean nothing. I think this is too tolerant for them. Back to how it was previously, when people were made to extract uranium wearing shackles. So that they went bold, couldn't eat or drink and this all was shown. This way maybe some will reconsider next time whether to make this step or not. Otherwise what is it that he is killed? He is killed and what then? He used to be and now he doesn't exist anymore. So what? When it can actually make others to think twice about going for such a sacrifice<sup>15</sup>. What is their sacrifice for? I do not understand.

Those of you who have children at home or maybe grandchildren. Do you allow them to watch terrorist attacks on TV?

(G4P5) They know everything without us.

(G4P1) The watch that without us.

(G4P5) We only start thinking about something and they already tell that all to us. Nowadays internet works even faster. By the time we find something in the

internet they have already found that long ago. “Gran, have a look here or there”. Not we but they tell and explain us everything.

Do you think there should be certain measures taken to prevent children from watching the type of TV programmes which can influence them. Children do not have much life experience and their position in life is not very stable yet, their opinions are not very strong. What can be done regarding this influence? Maybe the news reporting should be broadcasted at a later time? Or without the victims and blood.

(G4P3) They do not get radicalized because of watching this. It is to do with the way they are brought up.

**Pg 13** (G4P4) It must be done in a way that at school and at home they were brought up in a patriotic way. And in order to get to this patriotic way of bringing people up they need to do something for people. So that they had a reason to love their motherland. I think this is what they need to start from. And then at school they need to strive to bring up people who are kind and understanding as opposed to some bandits. On TV you can see cats and dogs killed. Do not kill them. \*sad\*

(G4P3) This is where it all starts.

(G4P4) It all starts from there. A person who has a kitten or a puppy growing up in their house is able to love and will never do bad to another person as well as to a kitten or a puppy. And those who bring up in a bad way, for example people who have a fighting dog<sup>16</sup>. are people who do not like other people.

(G4P3) Neither do they like dogs.

(G4P4) It all is about bringing up when a dog is raised to be a killer. Exactly the same happens with a human.

The next question you have on your cards. This question is allocated a bit more time. You can answer by consulting with one another first. What measures can be undertaken for minimising the negative consequences of watching terrorist



attacks on television? In other words, what advice can you give to overly sensitive people? Or, maybe, some advice for the TV channels?

(G4P2) What can we do with the TV channels? It is their job. As for reporters, it is also their job.

(G4P4) I do not know what to write here for her.

You do not need to write anything, just think about an answer and share it verbally.

(G4P4) What can we advise to the audience? \*laughing\* Those who are sensitive a can advise not to watch that at all.

(G4P3) Let them take Karvolol<sup>17</sup>. \*laughing\*

(G4P4) As for TV channels, let them cover in the right way. As opposed to saying “he is mentally ill and destroyed a crowd of kids” and needs to be sent for psychological checks.

(G4P5) Where they will be trying to cure him.

(G4P4) Yeah, of course, you need to cure him. \*sarcastic\*

(G4P3) And then you need to kill him.

(G4P4) As for reporters, you do not need to seek “burning facts”<sup>18</sup> and pleasantly speak about them. Some of them need something that would leave everybody shaken and they report it with such a delight. Of course it would be better if they reported in a

**Pg 14** neutral way and left it for the audience to decide whether they need to be delighted or frustrated.

In that case, what is your opinion on how the information is presented? If we take the terrorist attack in Norway for example, they could have reported it without showing the blood. The person was bandaged and still bleeding. They

could report this with words only saying that people were wounded, without showing the image.

(G4P3) They need to show the reality.

(G4P4) Obviously, why would they hide that? If there is blood it is same for the White and for the Black. And all feel hurt. And all feel worried equally. Every single person wants to live in peace, sated, and without all these shocks. Anybody wants to live like that. So why do you need to hide anything? There is no need to hide, you just need to tell the truth and in a neutral way. Say that a certain thing happened and then people are to judge whether to be delighted or worried. There are some who say it like this \*making impression\* “look how wonderful, how many people were killed” all delighted. And then a young person will be watching and thinking “if I do the same they will be talking about me with the same delight”. This is my opinion. And what to write here I do not know.

(G4P3) You were already told you do not to need to write anything.

(G4P4) Don't I need to write?

No. What you have just said is enough, thank you very much.

\*laughing\*

(G4P3) You were recorded, will show in America. \*teasing\*

(G4P4) I “would spit” on America<sup>19</sup>. I have had enough of those Americans.

Maybe you have anything to say?<sup>20</sup>

(G4P5) No. \*laughing\*

In that case we are now moving to the next group of videos.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kyrgyzstan video\*

Have you seen this news report previously?

(G4P5) I did see it.

(G4P1) I didn't.

(G4P3) Neither did I.

(G4P5) I watched this on television. Do not remember exactly, maybe on Khabar or Astana<sup>21</sup>. They were saying that those two escaped. One was caught and the other one still hiding. And then the second one was found. These all I have already seen.

**Fig 13** (G4P3) Wow! How can you escape from a prison?

Now to the next video.

\*Kyrgyz terrorists video\*

Did you see this video reporting before?

(G4P1) I didn't.

(G4P2) No I did not.

(G4P5) I did. Well, because my husband puts this on. First he turns on Khabar at 5 o'clock, the Astana, then Ust-Kamenogorsk<sup>22</sup>.

How likely do you think it is that the terrorists could cross the border?

(G4P5) I would say 90 per cent.

(G4P1) They can cross it very easily.

(G4P3) If they can escape from the prison...

(G4P5) It does not take much to cross the border particularly in that region.

When at the end of the video you were told that there is being undertaken everything possible for the security of the border, did you become less worried from this?

(G4P1) No.

(G4P2) No.

(G4P5) It stays open for those who really want to cross and they can cross.

(G4P4) On the road they obviously can put many check points but you can very freely move from one village to another. Nobody will catch you.

(G4P5) You can go through a river as well, anywhere you can cross.

And the last video.

\*Kazakh terrorist in Kazakhstan\*

(G4P3) People with the beards.

(G4P4) I am under impression they are not terrorists.

(G4P3) Who are they then?

(G4P4) Well, look: KNB<sup>23</sup>, police rush to investigate them. They must have ruined his whole life so he decided to do that. \*laughing\*

Out of the last three watched videos which one you noticed most and why?  
Which one raised most emotions? Please comment.

**Pg 16** (G4P3) Those who escaped the prison.

(G4P1) The Beslan one. That one is the most.

(G4P3) The last three.

Out of the last three.

(G4P5) They have a weak control of the forces.

(G4P3) Yes! How did they escape from the prison?

(G4P5) Everywhere the forces work bad. There they escaped from the prison, here they crossed the border. Money means everything.

(G4P1) They paid so they could cross.

(G4P3) Yeah... guns are sold ready for them.

(G4P1) Everything can be sold and bought.

In your opinion, if some large scale terrorist attack happened in Kazakhstan, would a war be justified?

(G4P3) No.

(G4P5) What has war to do with terrorist attack? They are going to indoctrinate. Take even for example the land reforms, when they were planning the riots for the 22 of May. On television they even revealed that in Astana there was planned a revolution. They even found the burning liquid for Molotov, found equipment. And in Almaty so many weapons were prepared. And how was Ukraine destroyed? It started with the same revolution and it went on until they destroyed everything. And now they live well?

(G4P3) The presidents are weak. If it was up to Gorbachyov, take that same Ukraine, he would bring in his troops and they would strangle them all.

(G4P5) What would one Gorbachyov do? It needs national intelligence organisations to do that.

(G4P3) See who there in Russia right now? But it took Nazarbayev, no matter what good or bad people say about him, to bring in the troops and this is it. They are all ready to counteract. And they said they will do that in a very tough way.

(G4P2) As for the issue of the land, I personally work as a controller<sup>24</sup> for bin disposal payments. I get to enter nearly every single household. During that day, I was working on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, people were very worried, stressed. And many many for some reason were taking blame on our president. As they said: "OK, he gives away this land for a rent for 25 years. Now it is given away. What happens next? What if he dies? What will happen to us say a year from that? He gave away the land, he can use the money, we personally do not get any benefit from that". Not only this I came across but even the native Kazakh people<sup>25</sup> are very much against him.

**Fig. 17** (G4P1) It is outrageous what an agreement they made. According to it they can throw us away from our land at any time. Do you think what? It was him who assigned it?

In case it became unsafe to live in Kazakhstan, how likely is it that you would leave the country? For example, like it happened in Syria and refugees left the country but also some remained. What would you do in this type of situation?

(G4P2) \*sighs\* We do not really have anywhere to go.

(G4P1) Nowhere to run away.

(G4P4) During the Patriotic War<sup>26</sup> the Soviet people did not run away anywhere but stayed and defended their motherland. And those? They fled in all directions. Clearly, they did not come up with this solution themselves. They were led by somebody and somebody needed them to do that. And I think that mostly the West deserves those refugees. It was a mistake to destroy the lives in those countries.

(G4P1) Once again all of this is because of America!

(G4P5) Well not really... America... What about America?

(G4P1) Every single country, even our Kazakhstan, has the messengers from America. The purposely in every region teach them how to...

(G4P5) Exacerbate it there!

(G4P1) ... Gradually they start gathering around them a bunch of people who do not work, do not do anything, do not earn anything. And now he is given definite *money*<sup>27</sup> so that he did something. Then he goes and finds somebody else to bring in.

(G4P3) Take the Ukraine, do you think they themselves came up with those ideas?

(G4P1) Of course not!

(G4P5) Not for sure.

(G4P3) That needs organisation. There were organisers of that.

(G4P2) Yes.

(G4P5) Remember what American people we saying during the Soviet Union times? “There is no need to waste money on Russian people. All you need is deteriorate their nation to nation relationship and that is it done”.

(G4P3) Yeah and “they will destroy themselves without a war needed”.

(G4P4) Yeah, two brothers can start a fight for a meter of land. Then people of different nationalities will definitely be able to do that.

(G4P5) And you do not need any weapons or anything else; we would just fight each other ourselves.

**Fig 18** Do you feel secure?

(G4P5) No.

\*laughing\*

(G4P1) No.

(G4P3) What security can there be... \*sad\*

(G4P4) Relatively, yes. \*laughs\*

What are you answers based on?

(G4P4) Well, whilst our ‘dostyk’<sup>28</sup> is alive we will live.

(G4P5) And after... we cannot really know. Who will come? How they will come? What will they do?

(G4P1) We cannot even see what weapons we have as a country. During the parade in Russia on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May<sup>29</sup> we were shown, and what about our country? We did not have that parade. Maybe we do not have that at all? All those old tanks that Russia got

rid of and gave to us when they went back and that is all? We do not produce anything. We do not see anything.

(G4P4) And Kazakhstan is not that much of a rich country to be able to defend itself on its own. It is highly unlikely that it can do that. So we need to be closer to Russia.

(G4P1) Because Russia has the power and we do not have anything.

(G4P1) So we need to leave at peace with our neighbors.

(G4P4) If the Patriotic War was going on right now, and everybody would be standing separately... Hitler would easily come and TAKE EVERYTHING! \*raising voice\* Only because all the nations were as one, all of them were fighting for their united country, that is why they<sup>30</sup> “broke their teeth”<sup>31</sup> here.

(G4P5) As they say, “you cannot break a broom, unless you break it one piece at a time”<sup>32</sup>.

(G4P2) Let us hope for the best! Dgirinovsky<sup>33</sup> said: “I will not let the Ust-Kamenogorsk go down!”. Because he originates from here.

(G4P3) He is from Almaty actually.

(G4P2) He is Almatynian<sup>34</sup> but spent a lot of time living and working in Belousovka<sup>35</sup> at the plant. So he said \*making impression and laughing\* “I will not let the Ust-Kamenogorsk go down!”.

(G4P4) Dgirinovsky is the real clown!

(G4P2) Not sure about this but at the moment anyway the way he gives speeches, the way he talks – is in a very straight manner.

**Pg 19** (G4P3) Clown for sure!

(G4P2) I like him very much! Obviously this varies from person to person but I like him very much.



(G4P4) We call him clown but very often what he predicts for the future actually happens. \*laughing\*

(G4P2) In my opinion he leads the right type of politics.

(G4P3) Yeah and sometimes what he says is a total nonsense.

(G4P2) What nonsense?

(G4P3) Well for example he says that some nation needs to be destroyed altogether, shot.

(G4P1) I did not hear that!

(G4P3) And I did. Haven't you heard? He also says that all the people from Kavkaz need to be deported from Russia.

(G4P4) This yes, I heard this.

(G4P2) Well how to say, in general he knows history very thoroughly. So he still leads the right politics. He is very smart.

(G4P3) What is he smart about? About deporting Kavkaz people?

(G4P2) I do not know. I have not heard about this.

(G4P3) He did say that!

OK, and now, do you consider the possibility that terrorists can steal the nuclear weapon?

(G4P3) Hah, why not? They already did that. In Ukraine, for example, they have been stealing so much.

(G4P2) If they might not steal the nuclear weapon, they can definitely make the 'dirty bomb'.

(G4P3) They were stealing from those storehouses. What was it they were stealing I do not know for sure.

(G4P4) I think that Chernobyl is not guided that much. Go take it from there and here you go you have the 'dirty bomb'. And this is more than enough. \*sad\*

(G4P2) They may be getting all the explosives and making these bombs tight now, how can we know?

Now we are going to watch the next two videos. The first one is taken from the Russian news channel NTV and it is about the recent terrorist attack in Belgium.

 \*NTV Belgium video\*

Now I am going to show you a video from the local TV channel Khabar.

\*Khabar Belgium video\*

Have you noticed any peculiarities in the reporting of the Russian and Kazakhstani TV channels on the same terrorist attack? \*silence\* Maybe some common features or differences? \*silence\* What did you remember from it mostly?

(G4P4) What I remember mostly is that they had a terrorist attack. Well, yeah, people died there. Of course, many people. This is bad, this is hard, this is about them being attacked by terrorists. And the fact that Poroschenko keeps attacking Donbass and there are thousands of those killed and wounded and with distorted body parts, and people have nowhere to live – this is normal. And why does all of this happen? As I see it, if a person uses a gun against the selected government – they are already terrorists and bandits. And they have good terrorists and bad terrorists. The good terrorists is the type who are liked by Americans and the bad type is the one who is not liked by Americans. This is how it is. Actually, they have not stopped to be terrorists because they go loaded with guns against the elected government. Aren't I right?

OK \*keeping neutral \*

\*laughing\*

(G4P4) Here you go! People who are armed, regardless if they are liked or not. According to the constitution there is a way to change your government. You do not like it, you go and vote. You go and reelect, you assign somebody who you like. Why would you take a gun and attack and at the same time kill innocent people. What for? I do not understand this. They “digged all of this themselves”<sup>36</sup>.

In this particular attack, what terrorist group was operating? Who were the terrorists in the Belgian attack?

(G4P5) They let everybody in their country.

(G4P4) Same ISIS I think.

(G4P5) Yes, ISIS and the rest, all the illegal formations from all the countries. And they let them in. \*sad\* Let them take even more<sup>37</sup>.

Who are the main political players in reacting to any terrorist attack that happens in the world? Which countries react to that?

(G4P4) All of them react, nobody likes terrorist attacks. All the countries react against terrorist attacks, you cannot do them.

(G4P1) Everybody gives speeches.

(G4P4) Yes, give their condolences, express their thoughts, try to help somehow. Some think they do not need help, they can figure it out themselves. They even block all the [Pg 21](#) actions against those terrorists. Take even those Belgians and all that Western Europe. That is why those go and blow them.

(G4P5) They do not take enough counter measures.

(G4P4) Take a look at this, something was exploded at their place, which is frustrating, and it is considered as a grief. And the fact that a thousand of people died in Donetsk is *very normal*. *Poroschenko is a democrat, well done him, he defends his land* \*sarcastic\*. But it was not Lugansk who attacked Kiev but Kiev coming Lugansk, and to Donbass.

So...

(G4P1) You see, this topic about Ukraine is much closer to us than that Brussels. Of course, people died there.

So you think that...

(G4P4) There are asshole people among everybody who are provoking, take Ukraine, take Georgia who attacked Osetia, and what for? Who needs that? Who brings his all up? Why Arab people attacked from Kavkaz? Who needs this? This is VERY INTERESTING to me! Who needs this? I think America, hah? I do not think this could do without them.

(G4P3) \*trying to speak\*

(G4P4) No it most likely had to do with them, hah?

(G4P1) In Georgia for sure it had to do with America.

(G4P4) People themselves will not just start to fight each other.

(G4P2) Yes.

(G4P4) Because people need to be organised. And in order to organise people you need to finance them, correct? In order to interest him, you need to finance him, which means you need employment. And who can finance? The one who has money.

(G4P3) And who has money?

(G4P4) And who has money? \*laughing\* Americans have money!

(G4P3) You blame all the sins on Americans.

Going to the next question...

(G4P1) They left their trail everywhere. They may be not guilty but their trail is everywhere.

(G4P3) That is fine. I wish they helped Russia to destroy ISIS. Instead, they started differentiating into bad and good.

(G4P1) As soon as the Soviet Union fell apart they gave an award to Gorbachyov.

**Pg 22** (G4P4) And the Union fell apart not without their help.

(G4P1) This is obvious, we started talking about it straightaway.

(G4P4) It is just that all the Soviet Union was used to somebody thinking for it. If they did something like this nowadays their heads would be twisted off. Because we realize that maybe we were lied to about the communism, but what was said about capitalism is all truth.

\*sigh\*

And now the last couple of questions. On the scale from 1 to 10, how trustworthy do you find the information that you are given on television? Here 1 is the absolute lie and 10 the absolute truth.

(G4P4) Somewhere around 8 I would say.

(G4P3) Well, yeah.

(G4P4) I think that anyway they have certain ...

(G4P3) Exaggerations.

(G4P4) ... interests in every county. Sometimes they make themselves look better or others look worse than actually is. But generally yeah.

(G4P2) Generally they tell the truth. And regarding the exaggerations, they are in everything.

(G4P3) I think they diminish as opposed to exaggerating.

(G4P4) One they will exaggerate, the other diminish.

(G4P5) Depends what suits them better.

(G4P3) Yes. Everybody has their own interests.

How interested are you in watching the news on television?

(G4P4) Now we have internet so we do not really need TV.

So you personally interested in the news but not necessarily from television.


(G4P4) Why not television? News are told everywhere.

(G4P3) In the internet it is faster I think.

(G4P4) I have watched TV now I will read in the internet and between that I am thinking all that through.

(G4P2) Every time we are following what is said about each country. Even if not the whole hour of it but still trying to pay attention to it.

What about you?

 (G4P1) When I have time I will of course watch. This is interesting to me, I watch from beginning till end.

And the last question. Have you noticed any changed on the local television in the past 10-20 years?

(G4P4) Well, yeah, they talk less about farming and more about terrorist attacks.

\*laughing\*

(G4P2) Nowadays they only keep showing Ukraine.

(G4P1) That is on Russian channels.

(G4P2) Russian channels is all we watch.

(G4P5) Well, local channels also show everything about terrorists and every day.

(G4P4) During Soviet Union it was all about growing grains, how much was gathered and how much was threshed.

(G4P3) And now what?

(G4P4) They neither gather not thresh.

\*Laughing\*

(G4P2) Of course! The showed a farmer who went to deliver the wheat and was late and they did not accept it from him. Now he is in disadvantage. He cannot plant now or rent the field \*sad\*. There is no need now.

(G4P3) Disorder. \*sigh\*

(G4P4) In some ways there is disorder in some way improvement. After all I think there will be improvement.

(G4P5) Anyway, news changed but there are always news on television.

(G4P2) I try to watch news every day. I may miss my film series but I watch news. Very rare that I am not able to.

What about the amount of information you got 10 years ago in comparison to what you get now?

(G4P5) Less of course.

(G4P1) Yes we used to get less.

What about channels? Have you seen any new channels? Or maybe some channels closed down?

(G4P4) Not really, we watch 34 channels...

**Fig 24** (G4P5) There are news programmes for you television available for you whole day through.

(G4P4) ... and there they marry, there is "House 2"<sup>38</sup>.

(G4P3) House 2 stopped they do not show that anymore.

(G4P4) Then thanks god for that. They show everything without any selection.

(G4P3) If before I did not pay that much attention to the news programmes, for example, as soon as a news programme starts I switch to another channel, but now I anticipate to watch the news.

(G4P4) They bring up with television. Take films, they show business in them, so the young people think that is how you do it take all the money to yourself.

(G4P5) Yes, do not allow anybody else to get it.

(G4P4) If you take another channel, every film on it has a bed scene – this is the main thing.

(G4P1) This would not happen previously.

(G4P4) Previously they would show love and feelings and now straight to bed. And then he asks her for her name and she replies if we slept together it does not mean we need to get introduced.

\*laughing\*

(G4P3) Stop it.

(G4P4) I am saying it to make a point that we need to bring up children well.

(G4P1) Those advertisements as well!

(G4P2) Yes, advertisements are something! So many of them now.

(G4P1) Advertise your period pads and condoms at night, I do not need those!

\*laughing\*

If you do not have any other comments than this is it. Thank you very much.

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**Notes:**

<sup>1</sup> Priority.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the Egyptian plane being on the news then.



- <sup>3</sup> Kazakh market place.
- <sup>4</sup> No hope.
- <sup>5</sup> Russian idiom meaning basically “one does not mind his own business but should”.
- <sup>6</sup> Seen as positive here.
- <sup>7</sup> Another idiom, ‘mind others’ private business’.
- <sup>8</sup> By getting into countries of proximity to Russia.
- <sup>9</sup> Referring to dry land that “America is seeking”.
- <sup>10</sup> Intelligence service.
- <sup>11</sup> Probably referring to the Ukrainian young people here.
- <sup>12</sup> Russian slang for Ukrainian people.
- <sup>13</sup> The words in italics are used as Russian slang: черненького, девочку, еврейчика.
- <sup>14</sup> For Russia.
- <sup>15</sup> Meaning life sacrifice, e.g. blowing themselves with explosives.
- <sup>16</sup> Type of fight where dogs are put against each other and people have bets as to which one survives.
- <sup>17</sup> Very common tables for heart disease patients.
- <sup>18</sup> Sensation.
- <sup>19</sup> Idiom meaning ‘do not care about’.
- <sup>20</sup> Asking the person who has not replied to the question yet.
- <sup>21</sup> Names of TV channels.
- <sup>22</sup> Ust-Kamenogorsk’s channel of Oskemen.
- <sup>23</sup> National Security Committee of the Republic of Kazakhstan.
- <sup>24</sup> A person who works with taking payments and identifying debtors for household rubbish removal, usually by going from household to household and bringing receipts.
- <sup>25</sup> The origin population of Kazakhstan whose early generations always lived in Kazakhstan.
- <sup>26</sup> This is how Kazakhs refer to the World War II.
- <sup>27</sup> Used in slang.
- <sup>28</sup> Kazakh language word for ‘friendship’.
- <sup>29</sup> Big holiday for Kazakhstan and Russia, celebrating the victory in the World War II.
- <sup>30</sup> Nazi.
- <sup>31</sup> Another idiom.
- <sup>32</sup> Traditional broom is made out of many tree branches attached together, here it means breaking branch by branch.
- <sup>33</sup> Well known Russian politician, very controversial.
- <sup>34</sup> Slang for person from Almaty.
- <sup>35</sup> The village in close proximity to Ust-Kamenogorsk.
- <sup>36</sup> Reached the problems.
- <sup>37</sup> A way of saying “you need to stop that!”
- <sup>38</sup> Well known Russian reality show.

## GROUP 5:

1 Hello everyone. Thank you very much for coming today. As you know the topic of discussion is terrorism, so if you feel too uncomfortable because of the videos or discussion, you can leave the room. You can also stay at the end discuss with me anything that worries you. We are going to start and the first question is about the themes that are covered in media. Please outline what topics are covered on TV, radio, and in media in general.

(G5P3) Sport.

(G5P4) Terrorist attacks.

(G5P5) Sport, economics, finance.

In your opinion, does terrorism play an important role in the coverage?

(G5P5) Yes.

(G5P6) At the moment it is the most important subject. Any political news is down to this topic.

If we look at terrorist attacks and natural disasters, for example earthquakes, which can kill more people. Do you think that such allocation of time in news programs where terrorist attacks get more intensive coverage than natural disasters is justifiable or not? Why?

(G5P6) In my opinion natural disasters are the integral part of nature's reactions. From the psychological point, it takes lives of people but it has a totally different psychological background than terrorism. So if natural disasters happen not so often, then terrorism can happen on purpose and in any part of the world. Out of our control.

(G5P4) Yeah, independently.

(G5P6) For example, in Kazakhstan, you may never experience an earthquake, or flooding, or typhoon [Pacific tropical cyclone; speaking very figuratively

here as there were at least 2 earthquakes and 1 flooding and Kazakhstan is a landlocked country] but the fact of terrorism...

(G5P4) Cannot be excluded.

(G5P6) Intensifying of some army stuff is very likely.

Anybody else please? Please give your opinion on the coverage in media of natural disasters and terrorism in comparison. Is it justifiable that terrorism is given more attention as a rule? What is your view on this?

(G5P4) Then again, even if it<sup>1</sup> is wrong, it is only what we are saying. They are not going to be confirming with us.

(G5P5) Yeah our opinion is just...

(G5P4) Nobody is going to be interested in our opinion.

 Now please...

(G5P6) Maybe also, as I see it, because there is the coverage, this influences the emotional state of people, spreads panic among people. For example, one person will understand it in one way and another in a different way, the third would say: "Why do I need this negative information about some explosions in Belgium?" But this can become relative to anybody. Maybe from a certain point of view you can even see a positive effect in a way of guarding social masses. So that they were alert and did not get involved in some ambiguous contacts. So that before undertaking any steps they give more thought to it.

So to show the consequences.

(G5P6) The consequences, yes. All this that is going on with religiousness, it is absolutely not Islam. The Islam as it is never provides for a murder of a person. And what is happening at the moment, "Allah Akbar!" – this is absolutely different.

So there is disinformation...

(G5P6) It is totally different, it is not Islam. Because there is real Islam and people who are following it are pure<sup>2</sup>, they are kind hearted, they would never hurt anybody. It is just that I have communicated with a true Muslim man who is very kind. They are the kindest and purest people. And what happens over there is...

(G5P3) Wahhabism<sup>3</sup>.

Now please could you think about terrorist attacks and tell me which one was the most memorable for you? The most shocking?

(G5P2) The one in America.

(G5P3) September 11<sup>th</sup> of course.

The twin towers.

(G5P4) The twins. But then, some say they did that themselves on purpose. And that there was no terrorist attack.

Could please give more detail on this?

(G5P4) Hm.

There were lots of explanations considered.

(G5P4) A lot of explanations. Because there was hardly any fuel, they say there was no way for it to flare up. In other words they just bluntly exploded and that is it. But then they still have not proved this. \*whilst struggling to find words to explain\*

(G5P6) Not the explosion from flying into alone. Again it is not our personal opinion but we were listening to the opinion of Americans themselves, their experts, and not only Americans there were English as well. I mean we watched a programme and not on

**Fig 3** Pervyi<sup>4</sup> channel but on Eurovision, Euronews and so on. They said that if they<sup>5</sup> only flew into the towers, a tower would not collapse in that way. That was a deliberate detonation from the basement.

(G5P4) That is exactly what I meant.

(G5P6) That is people who are builders, engineers, they understand that from a plane flying into alone, a tower will never be folded down in the way it was. That is it would start from the top floors but instead it was just destroyed. Same like when buildings are demolished. You know when you need to demolish an old building.

Demolishing it from the bottom.

(G5P6) Yes.

Good, thank you. Now not the most shocking but what terrorist attacks in general do you remember?

(G5P2) Well most of the terrorists attacks are where? Iraq.

(G5P3) The France one as well.

(G5P2) In Iraq, the main ones are in Iraq, aren't they? Remember Bagdad and Saddam Hussein? That is where it all started, don't you think? That is why the war started and Americans started intruding in Iraq. That is what caused that terrorist attack in America, and those terrorist attacks in Iraq almost every day either here or there, nearly in every city of Iraq. That is where the first attacks happened and then they came to Afghanistan. And now there are lots of them there<sup>6,7</sup>. You can keep and keep naming them, every month, every week even.

Anybody else? Please share what terrorist attacks you remember from the media? Not only recent ones but any at all, say for the last ten years or more. Of course there were a lot of attacks, please name just a few.

(G5P6) You see we are not politicised people.


\*laughing\*

(G6P6) And I think maybe this is for the best. Because the less we..., well I do understand that we need to know this and we need to stay alert, but we are this type of people, like all other decent people, unless it relates to us then why would we need that?

(G6P4) Exactly.

(G6P6) You do not need to think about it more than is enough to you. And all the truth is not given to us anyway.

(G6P1) Yes.

 (G5P6) And then about the information, all we see is the actual fact and the consequences of the terrorist attack, the ‘what, why, and who is responsible’...

(G5P1) Yeah the reasoning.

(G5P6) ...But as a matter of fact maybe we do not even need to see into it because we live in our country. We think that “please, god, not us” and not our Kazakhstan.

(G5P3) We wish they did not touch us.

(G5P6) Yeah so that they did not touch us. Or, god forbid, what happened in Ukraine, all that provocation. We, thank god, still are living in peace and friendship regardless of the nationality<sup>8</sup>. Because if a war or a terrorist attack happens, suffers everyone absolutely. So thank god. Or maybe we just do know or see it all. “The least you know the better you sleep”. \*laughing\*

(G5P2) And it doesn’t even feel like we want to know it all. As a matter of fact, all this terrorist attacks must be dealt with by law enforcement authorities. They must be undertaking the work on explaining, don’t you think? For example, in schools and everywhere they must be giving training. For example, if you see a bag or something else placed somewhere, from the very first year of school they must be taught how to react to it. Or if they see a strange person, especially those with the beards. The ones with the beards, the

Wahhabis, are the most dangerous. If see that some people are gathering, then you call a certain number. That way the prevention measures would work better.

So people must know how to respond.

(G5P1) Yes. Any person.

(G5P6) Also, I think, the terrorist attacks, as a rule, are performed by people who are uneducated. They are brainwashed with certain information, who do not differentiate any political affairs. Not only they are brainwashed, they also take psychotropic substances, such as drugs, various smoking blends...

(G5P3) It must be like a sect.

(G5P6) ... Yes. Hence, if only our schools, our teachers instead of doing their documentation (they say all they do is filling in papers) if only they paid more attention to ethics at schools, more attention to family aspects and what a family is, and maybe gave some lessons about psychotropic substances! Because sometimes our young people, bribed with that, with these *pills*<sup>9</sup>, go to that type of training. There they are subject to *changing*. And that is it, a young man can go. How many times was it here, well not here, but from what we read and watch we see how Russian young girls were recruited who went there...

(G5P3) To make some money.

(G5P6) ...So what does it mean? Has she completely lost control of her mind<sup>10</sup>?

**Fig 5** Keeping to the point the next question I was to ask is the following. Who is an easy target for terrorist?

(G5P6) Young people.

(G5P4) Those aged under 18.

(G5P2) Of course young people.

(G5P6) Unstable psyche, not enough educated.

(G5P4) They can be easily influenced and brainwashed.

(G5P2) You can approach them with many means...

(G5P1) With money.

(G5P2) ...Yes, money. You just tell him you will buy him the most recent iPhone and he will go and...

(G5P1) Place the bag.

(G5P2) ... yeah, do that for that iPhone. It is just that, how to explain it to you, there are some kids for whom that is not available at all. Whereas, for example, his peer has an iPhone in his hands. But he has got only some basic *phone*<sup>11</sup>. So jealousy takes him over. This is another way too bribe where he will go for it.

So the terrorist know whom and what to offer so to say.

(G5P2) Of course.

(G5P6) Women are offered good pay and employment. You will be provided with clothes, you will be provided with footwear, you will not be in need of anything. Just get us some information about you know what. This happens as well<sup>12</sup>.

The next question: how do terrorists plan their attacks? That is how is this reported in media? How do they choose where to perform a terrorist attack? Not necessarily your personal opinion here but what they say in media channels.

(G5P2) Well, for example, what they showed about Almaty...

(G5P1) They plan it all.


(G5P2) ...They showed some bridge and how under that bridge everything was hidden. Some man saw that. All the weapons and all that was there ready for



them. And following on this they caught them nearby. Somebody just noticed that, it is just all about how alert our people stay...

(G5P1) Yes, our people.

(G5P2) ...Would it be another person, he would look at it and think "why \*swearing\* would I need this". Please excuse me.

 (G5P4) Once again the gathering of people, they know specific days...

(G5P2) All the market places, bazaars, stations these are where.

(G5P4) ...All you need to know is when it is most crowded. Take for example church or mosque gathering, here you go, any time. Just take a note of when it is most crowded.

Where do terrorists get expertise and money?

(G5P2) I think...

(G5P3) There are certain sponsors.

(G5P2) ...From abroad in my opinion. Because it is unlikely that somewhere from where we are.

(G5P6) 20% of all global.. let's say money possession, are in hands of people whom we do not know. So in order to prevent it we cannot even know where the resources come from. And the basic people are just executors. Who makes the order we do not know, it is out of our sphere of things where we need to go into.

So you see two types of terrorists.

(G5P6) The terrorists themselves are just executors. And the orders are coming down from much and much far above. And this people may not even be in government, but they just have the large build-up of supplies, power and money. That is where the dictation comes from. And the terrorists themselves are hitmen, just trained people who comply with all the orders.

(G5P4) \*laughing\* Just sitting somewhere in the middle of the steppe with a satellite phone, “have you done it?” “yes”.

\*laughing\*

(G5P2) Yeah whilst grazing.

(G5P5) This is how it actually happens.

(G5P6) All these question should not be addressed to us...

(G5P4) Yes.


(G5P6) ...These questions are not for us.

(G5P2) Let the intelligence agencies sort this out.

(G5P1) What is scary is that assassins can now be women and children.

(G5P4) So true! From the early age they are being brainwashed.

(G4P2) Because, how to explain, they pick a family and say “if you will not do that all your family will ...”

 (G5P1) Get hurt.

(G5P2) “... yeah, get hurt”. That is why he goes for it.

**Being blackmailed?**

(G5P2) Yes. Same as kamikaze<sup>13</sup>. They will do that in order to provide money for their family.

(G5P5) In that case they choose a family who are in need.

(G5P2) Yes, that is exactly how they choose a family in my opinion.

(G5P5) No intelligence, no nothing. \*judging\*

**So they have nothing to lose and do that for their family.**

(G5P5) Well, obviously.

The next group of questions. Do you think that absolutely all terrorist attacks are covered in media or not?

(G5P5) Definitely not.

(G5P2) Must be not<sup>14</sup>.

(G5P3) Well, they also keep some undisclosed.

(G5P1) There is much that we do not know.

(G5P5) We are only given a certain per cent of the whole information.

(G5P3) Russian people, Putin said that he wants to blow up all the terrorists, where their leader is...

(G5P4) All in a crowd.

(G5P3) ...And America knows this information but they do not want to give away this information to Russia. It was more than on one occasion that Putin asked them.


(G5P2) They have their own politics, don't they? And we do not know anything about this politics. Maybe they are doing this on purpose so that to confuse people, in order to prevent them from thinking about this too much.

So all the information that people have is coming from media.

(G5P2) Yes and it is unreliable in my opinion.

What could be a reason for showing one terrorist attack and not showing the other? Or say that one attack is shown for a period of three month and the other was only mentioned several times and soon forgotten?

(G5P2) They show what they...

 (G5P1) What they benefit from.

(G5P2) ... well they must say that a certain terrorist group took responsibility for a certain terrorist attack. So they keep showing the ones where somebody

took responsibility. And in those where nobody took responsibility they stop showing because they do not know who did it.

So the terrorist attacks which they have more information on are reported for longer.

(G5P2) Yes they say that this and this terrorist groups took the responsibility, that and that Wahhabis.

(G5P5) If they show all of them we may go crazy. \*laughing\*

So the information should be also filtered according to the numbers of terrorist attacks shown.

(G5P4) Well there are most definitely some people...

(G5P5) Psychologically, psychologically<sup>15</sup> it is very difficult for people.

(G5P4) ... who are interested in holding some part of information from going public.

Maybe for some security reasons or something else.

(G5P4) Yeah true.

In your opinion, how far should the censorship, which prevents from more detail, go? Are you satisfied with the amount of detail that you get about terrorist attacks from television? Would you like to see less detail or more detail? Please share your opinion.

(G5P4) Let them stop showing it altogether.

So stop showing completely?

(G5P4) Let them show mainly about love.

\*laughing\*

(G5P4) I wish they showed it for the sake of educating people and not to draw fear.

(G5P3) Yeah show what to do and what not to do.

(G5P6) I think it would be good to have one channel about politics. So for a person who thinks it is his business, let him mind it and watch...<sup>16</sup>

(G5P3) Everything is on YouTube now.

(G5P6) ... Or you have internet to look up what happened where. And the fact that all the channels show if something happened, Pervyi channel and RTR and NTV and Vesti<sup>17</sup>. All the channels are showing the same thing and not just once a day. A question emerges: does a grand mum<sup>18</sup> or a young man need this? Well yes, something happened somewhere. And what will he<sup>19</sup> have to respond? “Damn it they **Pg9** killed people again”? And that person will not go into why and who did that. Especially the young people nowadays, they will say “if doesn’t matter, without this sick of everything”. Isn’t this true? And for people who are interested, let them be allocated certain channels. For people considering the “why and what”. And to show this on all the channels is in my opinion absolutely unnecessary, to drop all that negativity<sup>20</sup>. For a normal down to earth person this is not needed at all. Even more so if that person is far from politics. It is not granted that the orthodox, well, all the religious people and in a good way, doesn’t matter whether it is a Muslim or a Christian, have always kept away from politics. Because they believe that there isn’t anybody decent apart from Allah or god. And all the rest is that politics. Everywhere people are killed and it is impossible to find the truth. One are right in this place and another are right in that place...

(G5P4) They say we cannot know why this is.

(G5P6) ... Like in that Brat 2<sup>21</sup> movie, he says “the truth is with the one who is more powerful and has money”...

(G5P4) Yeah, yeah.

(G5P6) ... So in this case you cannot find which ones are right. I think that this type of considerations is absolutely unnecessary. Because the politics can find neither right nor wrong. If you take the Great Patriotic War<sup>22</sup>, same there. They killed from this side as well, there were many occasions of going too far, and

also from our side and from the side of fascism. We were going for the right cause but how many wrong actions happened on the way? Because it was a war.

(G5P4) Nobody is immune<sup>23</sup>.

(G5P1) Well in any way, some part of it must be public. For example, you need to know that something is happening somewhere. It is not like if this is happening to somebody else then it does not matter to us. To some extent yes<sup>24</sup>, but not like on all the channels.

Keeping to the point, the next question is about some people who are overly sensitive or a child who can watch this. I would like you in groups of three people to come up with some advice for those who are overly sensitive. Please refer to yellow cards on the table for this question. For example, you have already come up with a good idea of making a separate channel especially for people who would like to see this type of news. So that a sensitive person when wanting to see some news on TV is not shown terrorist attacks.

(G5P6) Do we need to do this individually or in a group?

Please discuss in a group and then share with everybody.

Part 1<sup>25</sup>

(G5P5) Well like the woman came up with the idea of having a separate channel.

(G5P3) Not only the channel, even cartoons are not the same, American ones for example, English. For example our “Nu,Pogodi”<sup>26</sup> is a very good cartoon for children. **Pg10** But if you take American Tom and Jerry, they always blow things up and have conflicts. And our cartoon are the opposite of this, you can watch them. Children of above three years can easily be allowed to. Otherwise, a little boy will not understand that Tom and Jerry or those robots and that is where they take this all from.

So for very little children who cannot yet differentiate for sure what is a joke and what is not, the cartoons with any type of violence or explosions should not be shown.

(G5P4) Yeah, yeah. You do not need to go far, take “Masha y medved”<sup>27</sup> ...

(G5P6) It is horrible.

(G5P4) ...At the moment all the kids are crazy about it...

(G5P5) They are fans of it.

(G5P4) ... Being crazy about is one thing, but they “get out of hands”<sup>28</sup>

(G5P6) I have an anecdote. It is about the person I know. We went with her to Almaty and when came back her son was waiting for her at the station. And he had taken Bagdan from a kinder garden. He<sup>29</sup> is just slightly older than 2, but he is so smart it is something! She says: “Bagdasha, Bagdasha, I brought you a cartoon from Almaty!”. And he seats in the front seat<sup>30</sup> with his father and with an important look says: “Which one is it grandma?”. “Masha y medved”.

\*making angry voice impression\* “I do not want that, she is so *dirty*”<sup>31</sup>.

\*laughing\*

(G5P6) And then all this glimpse, a child cannot even.. Now they wonder why do children have unstable psyche, that is because of the flashing and constantly moving images. If before they had “kiss”<sup>32</sup>, “meow”, “you are good”...

(G5P4) Yeah, yeah exactly!

(G5P6) ... for those under 3, so they saw what is a rabbit, what is a hedgehog. It is not granted that in America they banned<sup>33</sup> the Simpsons. Because this is highly not a kids series. It is just a constant nightmare what they show in it.

So it is an animation but not for children.

(G5P6) It is not for children it is an animation for adults. I agree with the man who said about Tom and Jerry. All that is a constant murdering!

(G5P4) So true.

(G5P6) ... Somebody kills someone, someone burns...

(G5P3) Yeah then he blows him up! And children watch this all.

(G5P6) ... Yes, and they think that this is a norm. Why do they force this Tom and Jerry on us? ...

**Fig 11** So there maybe should be some censorship...

(G5P6) Absolutely!

...with certain age restrictions.

(G5P6) This won't have any influence at all. They just must be banned to show that on TV channels. They write 18+ but all the kids are still sitting and watching...

(G5P3) Yes they do write 16+.

(G5P6) ...And then parents they cannot keep track of this. For example, a mum went to the kitchen and turned TV for him and that is it!

(G5P4) As a rule they are all quite independent so can just use remote control themselves.

(G5P3) I like the Kazakh "Balapai"<sup>34</sup> they recently came up with. It is a local channel for kids and they do not have any robots which is a great advantage.

(G5P4) My daughter herself can find my spouse's mobile phone and can use internet in it herself. This is enough for it, you do not need anything more. We used to have "Kotyonok po imeni Gav"<sup>35</sup>, where he gives a bunch of lowers as a present.

(G5P6) Yes, and also "Buratino"<sup>36</sup>. "Nu pogodi" by the way needs to be banned as well.

(G5P4) Yeah because the rabbit is in constant conflict with the wolf, isn't he?



(G5P6) Yes and the wolf drinks alcohol and smokes, it is something!

(G5P3) It is all about business. Let them know about it just hopefully they won't find a way of actually get involved in it. \*laughing\*

## Part 2

I see you've been having your own conversation going on could you please share?<sup>37</sup>

(G5P1) Sure, we think that this is the politics led by American people to teach our children in such a way.

(G5P2) It all at first seems innocent but then actually is not. For example that sponge, like Moidodyr<sup>38</sup> or what I do not know how to explain.

You mean SpongeBob?

(G5P2) Yes that! How children take it we cannot know. Especially in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Nowadays children are of a different character and way of life, aren't they? We are from the 20<sup>th</sup> century and relate to "Nu pogody", "Cheburashka"...

(G5P1) The ones that had a meaning, which you could learn from.

**Fig 12** (G5P2) ... yeah, and those ones I cannot see anything meaningful. Especially when they translate that into Russian and its meaning is just unclear.

The meaning is being lost through translation.

(G5P2) Yes.

(G5P1) Regarding this American cartoons and films, sometimes at school they already write notes for parents asking to let their children see less of them.

(G5P2) American people lead a very strong politics.

\*end of part 2 back to whole focus group discussion\*

OK, and now to the next question. In your opinion, what terrorist attack is the most disastrous? What does this depend on? Not an example of a certain event, but what determines the damage in general? Does it depend on whether it is a self-detonation or shooting at people? Or the number of victims? Or the panic set on people?

(G5P4) From the extent to which the destruction was done.

(G5P5) Destruction but also people suffer there.

(G5P3) From how many victims there were.

(G5P2) At the moment they are talking about uranium, nuclear production. So that it was conserved. For example South Korea<sup>39</sup> they may have the nuclear complex but they do not want to disclose and let everybody know that they have it. This looks like their strategy.

So they keep it in secret.

(G5P2) Yes, keep in secret. This can be already seen as a threat for the world. They conduct summits about this. This is what is the most disastrous. The nuclear war.

One of the questions that I was going to ask is as follows. Do you consider the possibility that terrorists can get hold of the nuclear weapon?

(G5P4) Obviously god forbid, but... \*serious\*

(G5P2) They keep fighting with terrorists everywhere. But I think that anything can happen.

(G5P6) This is the most dreadful thing one can think of. Because this is the same thing as a monkey getting hold of the grenade...

(G5P2) Yes.

(G5P6) ... Because the people who are driven by fanaticism, who understand that they have nothing to lose.. The only thing that can stop this is the fact that

the people with big money who let this happen, they may understand that in this type of war nobody survives. This will most certainly impact not only ecology and politics! But the planet **Fig 13** overall. The god will say to us: “That is it guys, enough of scoffing of the Earth”. He will say: “*You will all die*<sup>40</sup>. I will not leave anyone of you alive”. This is what is going to happen.

Then what can prevent the attacks?

(G5P4) I do not think that at this late stage anything is able to really. \*sad\*

(G5P6) What?

What can prevent the attacks? For example, as you said, the nuclear war is prevented by the fact that those leading terrorists understand it cannot be done in isolation and absolutely everybody would die.

(G5P4) If this one understands then there will be another one who doesn't.

(G5P6) Only if they get with their soul to the understanding of universe. They are not going to grow rich, then for what sake are they doing it? This nuclear, why are you making it? So that to destroy a part of the planet or population? What is the benefit from it and to whom? Nobody. The sphere of economics will stop developing. A part of population will die there. Chaos will begin. People movement from one part of the world to another. The current situation with refugees is only a tiny part of what can be. And then the natural disasters will start. Even without the nuclear explosions we are already experiencing global warming. And if the world waters raise just a bit, the whole America is going to be flooded. And chaos will start. You do not even need any nuclear bomb. Global warming is all you need. If the regions of America close to the shores will be flooded just with 2 metres of water they will already start moving out. But where to?

(G5P2) Where, where...

(G5P4) To the mountain regions, that is towards us.

(G5P6) That is it. And it is all clear. And the person who came up with this, would he benefit in any way from it you think? You may have a hundred of airplanes, even two hundred, what is the use to you from it? Where are you going to fly on it? Where are you going to go for a holiday?

(G5P2) They already start showing how the water is on its way to America.

(G5P4) The only thing that can prevent is “if the floor will go down from under the feet”<sup>41</sup> as Russians say.

(G5P1) A certain miracle must happen.

(G5P6) I do not know how you can prevent unless all the people realise the purpose of our living on this planet. And that in fact a person needs very little to be happy, for love and for life. And the universal love and kindness will come, which are sent down to us from the god, regardless of which religion. But unless one will understand this, all this political chaos will remain. AN in the end the planet will come to everything being burnt out and no survivors left.

**Fig 14** To sum it up one of the measures would be to expose children to kindness.

(G5P6) Absolutely right, look at what schools teach nowadays.

**So this should start from school.**

(G5P6) Absolutely! If we do a statistics on schools regarding how many lessons they give on family, about the true value of family and so on. About kindness. Maybe they give some lessons but those are definitely not enough. Whereas everything important roots from the family, it determines a child. If there is chaos in the family, there exists evil, jealousy and so on, then the child will also grow up in this way. He will have money as main factor and obviously will be predisposed to various influences from different people, doesn't matter whom.

Do you agree with the statement that terrorist attacks must be covered in media? That is do they need to be covered at all? And if yes, then to what extent?

(G5P4) They must.

(G5P2) Of course they must. How can you do without them?...

(G5P1) Yes, 21<sup>st</sup> century.

(G5P2) ... If we do not have the information than what do we prepare for? The media is one thing but nowadays everybody has internet on mobile phones. You just press on the recent news and there you get everything. Why do you need to go and turn the TV on? Watch something there? Don't you think?...

(G5P1) If a person is interested he will further look into that theme.

(G5P2) ... he will look further and see *sects*<sup>42</sup> or whatever he wants there.

So there are numerous means of getting information.

(G5P2) Don't even say, just one search word is enough for the internet.

And now I am going to show you the first two videos.

\*Norway video\*

(G5P4) He is obviously a psycho!

Now that you have watched the video, what feelings do you have? Or maybe comments?

(G5P1) I would not want to get stuck over there.

(G5P4) That person is not conscious of his own actions.

(G5P5) He must be an ill person. How can you shoot at children? They are still only children.

**Pa15** (G5P6) I do not know. After this type of viewings, even the blessed and peaceful countries like Norway, which did not know wars or what a war is, and

when you see these things happening there... Maybe they want to show that this is possible in any part of the world...

So it is where they purposely chose to perform.

(G5P2) Yes themselves.

(G5P6) ...If not the terrorists then the people who lead them. You see, he was not alone, he has many behind his back. Because the preparation costs a lot in general. I do not know maybe it is just me and people like me, but I get a feeling of being insecure. Maybe even panic. What if I go there and it can happen even there? Obviously, the feeling of fear. After this type of viewings I get a feeling of fear and insecurity. We cannot be assured that if that happened in Norway then it cannot happen here with us...

(G5P4) Yes, what stops it from happening here?

(G5P6) ...Especially when over here we lost the alertness. Take for example the border security, well may be it is now reinforced but we still do not have confidence in it.

So it can anywhere.

(G5P2) Yes, anywhere.

(G5P6) Absolutely!

(G5P5) It can easily happen here with us.

Let's say you had planned a trip to Norway. And you have just seen this news about terrorist attack that happened there. Would you cancel the trip or go anyway?

(G5P4) Obviously I would cancel.

(G5P6) I would definitely cancel. Nowadays you are best of sitting at home all the time.

\*laughing\*

(G5P4) “They don’t feed us bad here at all”<sup>43</sup> \*laughing\*

The next video.

(G5P6) It is not for granted that all those tourist programmes, all those tourist tours... Where can you go to? There are so many places to visit in our Kazakhstan, why would you need to go somewhere back and forth all the time? Going to all the wrong places for a visit.

(G5P4) Even take our Ulba<sup>44</sup> to have a rest there. Make a fire there, cook some shashlyk<sup>45</sup> over it...

\*laughing\*

**Pg16** (G5P6) Let them develop tourism in Kazakhstan, clear and prepare the places for it.

\*the Beslan video starts\*

What do you feel in relation to the victims of the tragedy?

(G5P6) Obviously compassion.

(G5P4) Yes compassion. Once again, they did not know that this would happen.

(G5P6) ...Compassion, pain for the mothers, for the killed children. Their families.

So for their families who stayed alive as well.

(G5P6) Yes because this are just normal people who went to school, who could not prepare for anything like this to happen. Just because of somebody’s wrong mind this people suffered.

(G5P4) Even right this moment we are sitting here and do not know what is happening somewhere else.

(G5P1) Every day you send your children to school and look forward impatiently to meet them back.

(G5P4) Even take a car parked on the road, you cannot know whether it is mined or not.

(G5P2) Sometimes there are video cameras installed.

By the way, after the Beslan attack I remember that schools started having security person which they never used to.

(G4P2) Here you go. Even before the terrorist attack they could have prevented that. They could have installed video cameras. So that the security service was watching it 24/7.

(G5P5) \*annoyed\* What security? Our child goes to school number 34 and their security is just for the show.

So there must be some prevention measures in place.

(G5P2) Of course.

(G5P6) What they did in our schools does not really change anything. Totally different case if they did like in Israel, where people have experience with all this attacks. A fly won't go into a building without permission! And still! Even there attacks happen. I have seen a documentary about this. Even our special forces took a lot from their experience. And the fact that there is security put in our schools, well, let him sit there...

(G5P5) It is usually either a young man of 20-25 years old or a retired man.

(G5P6) ... Just instigate a child, the pupil from that school, about anything and he will bring anything you want to the classroom. What can a security person do about it? I can [Pg 17](#) understand if there were some metal detectors so that everybody could be scanned. But then again, how will this influence the psyche of children?

(G5P5) He will just stop going to school altogether.

\*laughing\*



(G5P1) You cannot predict everything anyway.

(G5P2) But you cannot do without the security either.

(G5P6) Now the world has come to the point where everybody is not calm and is scared. And nobody knows how to get out of this state. Because people themselves do not decide anything. They only think about it, consider. But all the same everybody gained the inner restlessness and fear. How to live next? Not only there is this economic situation, which is not exactly stable. Now we have this on top of it.

Now the question to those who has children. Have you forbidden them to watch terrorists attacks under the age of 16?

(G5P5) Well again, how can you forbid? Like the woman said, I agree with this, you go to the kitchen and you child herself takes remote and watches what she want. It is not a case of being able to forbid. If you enter the room and at that moment she is watching something like that then obviously we forbid. We would take it from her and switch to another channels or turn the TV off. But controlling it all the time is just...

Impossible?

(G5P5) ...Impossible.

(G5P4) My daughter is herself like a terrorist when you come home after work and have not yet given her something sweet like a lolly. \*proud?\*

(G5P6) For example, you turn the TV on and there is some harmless news programme on. Sometimes people do this just for some background noise. There is a news programme with the interval of every thirty minutes. And most of the times the information is on a rotation including all the other channels. Be this Euronews or any other. You turn the TV on and whether you want it or not. If your child is in the lounge, even if he is occupied with his iPhone this information still reaches his ears. And his mum at the same time is washing clothes and cooking borsch<sup>46</sup>. She is absolutely not interested in what is

actually shown on TV. And this is the case in any family. So rushing into the room screaming ‘son, you are not allowed to watch this’ is just impossible.

(G5P1) If they just wish for it that in some way or the other they will get this information.

(G4P4) As for me, when I was brought up by my parents, if we were watching a series and people would kiss each other in there I was told to look away. And then I looked away and after a bit asked “May I look now?” “Now you can”.

\*laughing\*

**Pg18** (G5P5) Yeah you would make it look like you are looking away but actually still watching it.

(G5P4) No I would rather just watch that later without them in a re-play.

\*laughing\*

Now we are moving to the next group of videos.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kyrgyzstan video\*

Have you seen this reporting before?

(G5P1) Nope.

(G5P2) I did.

You did. What channel was it that you saw this before on?

(G5P2) KTK. Some channel was showing this, either KTK or Khabar.

Did you follow on how this investigation developed or just watched it once?

(G5P2) They showed this 2 or 3 times. It was then shown that they actually crossed the border with Kazakhstan. One of them was caught and the other one now stays somewhere in Kazakhstan. I even heard that he is hiding in the Eastern part of Kazakhstan<sup>47</sup>. So yes, I have heard about this.

OK, next video.

\*Kyrgyz terrorists in Kazakhstan video\*

How likely do you think it is that the terrorists will cross the border?

(G5P6) Into Kazakhstan?

Yeah for example those that are by the border with Kyrgyzstan<sup>48</sup>.

(G5P2) It can happen.

(G5P6) Everything is possible.

(G5P2) It is mountains that are there, it is a mountain region.

(G5P1) If he decided to do it than he must know how.

(G5P2) Yes same as how we used to cross border with Kyrgyzstan...

(G5P1) Everything must be stipulated by him.

(G5P2) ...Yes, if we used to even relocate the cattle from Kazakhstan to Kyrgyzstan and back for grazing without any trouble at all.

**Pg19** At the end of video you were told that all efforts are being made in order to catch the terrorists. When you were reassured that...

(G5P4) He is not here?

...yes. Did you feel a relief when you heard that?

(G5P4) Not a fact.

(G5P5) It can be a lie.

(G5P6) Considering that we are all people and there is a personality factor and we know that a lot of things in this world are done for money, what is why we cannot be sure in anything in this world.

(G5P4) Once again, at the very end they said that officially his terrorist group is not in the list of illegal groups in Kazakhstan. So this must be of profit to

somebody. Somebody wants him not to be in the list. And now you try and figure out whether he should be in that list or not.

Thank you everybody, now the next video.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kazakhstan video\*

Have you seen this reporting before?

(G5P4) No.

(G5P6) No.

(G5P3) Frankly speaking, no.

Then what from this reporting was the most memorable for you? Any comments you may have?

(G5P2) The fact that they could not disarm him. The whole region could not disarm him. They had not been able to get enough information to react quickly or get help. What is this indicating to? That there was negligence among law enforcement authorities.

(G5P6) Not being ready for this. Before that they had been living “in pink light” and did not know what fear is. And now this is happening everywhere in the world. But we do not have the expertise to deal with it.

As opposed to Israel that you mentioned earlier.

(G5P6) Yes, in Israel, there they...

(G5P4) They already went through with the system.

(G5P6) ... yes and we are “not wizards yet, only learning”<sup>49</sup>.

(G5P2) Nowadays if you just leave the peels from eating the sunflower seeds<sup>50</sup> by the bus stop, they<sup>51</sup> will quickly come and get you.

**Pg20** (G5P6) Yeah, this we have learnt how to do quickly. \*sarcastic\* Or if you cross the road in a wrong way. This is so easy for us! We'd rather pay attention to something else instead.

Which video, from the last three that were shown, was the most memorable for you? Or the most emotional?

(G5P4) The largest number of victims was when they blew up the school.

(G5P5) Yeah.

I mean from the very last three, only the ones that were taken from the Kazakh news channels.

(G5P5) I think the last one...

(G5P2) Yeah the last.

(G5P5) ...Once again all this negligence.

(G5P2) So what? They can just kill everybody on the street, can't they? ...

\*getting angry\*

(G5P5) Of course and people are just walking.

(G5P2) ... So you just walk along the street and that is it, they appear with the machine guns.

As you know there is such a situation in Syria at the moment that the refugees are leaving the country. If a similar situation happened in Kazakhstan and it was unsafe to live here, would you leave the country?

(G5P4) I do not think so. We would fight till the end \*laughing\*.

(G5P6) Every single one cannot run away. And if a person is already settled down here, he does not really have anywhere to run away to. Where would you go? To your relatives? Let's even say you go from one city in Kazakhstan to another. Many will not be simply able to run away because they do not have any savings to go.

(G5P3) And where to anyway?

(G5P2) To the mountains!

\*laughing\*

(G5P2) Yeah set up a tent there and live.

(G5P6) Yeah they will take the sticks, pitchforks and machine guns and will go fight. \*laughing loud\*

Then the next question is whether you feel in security here and what is the reasoning for your answer? Maybe evaluate the work of counterterrorism measures?

**Pg21** (G5P4) “My house is my fortress” \*laughing\*

(G5P6) The security must be guaranteed to us by our government and the related forces. So that we were sure in it. So that it was not just words.

(G5P4) Do you even believe in what you are saying?

(G5P6) No I myself do not believe that. Because how would we believe them? They will tell us on TV that yeah all the efforts are being made.

(G5P4) Sleep peacefully!

(G5P1) They can say anything so that is most likely down to our alertness.

(G5P4) You do not need to go far. When I was in army, I was serving next to the border with China. This did not happen to me directly but at the time we had people talking about it in the company. The whole company was *killed*<sup>52</sup> and that is it. Because those on guard fell asleep. Chinese people came and using the needles killed everyone. There was the battalion and now all dead.

(G5P5) And do not have immunity from anything. What happens - happens.

(G5P6) And who was ever told about this in media?

(G5P5) In any case, even if something happens we are powerless.

(G5P2) We just need to believe.

(G5P1) Yes in yourself, in god.

(G5P6) I believe in the almighty so that he tried and somehow did hat planet where live on, our children and us lived in peace. And I do not know how to say, those who trigger all this they were blessed maybe. The only hope I have is in god.

The next group of videos is about Belgium. And the first video is from Russian NTV and then Kazakh Khabar and then we will compare together.


\*NTV Belgium video\*

And now I will show you the video taken from Khabar.

\*Khabar Belgium video\*

Now that you have watched both reporting, have you noticed any common features or contradictions? Can you comment on these? What feelings did these prove in you? And have you seen this terrorist attack in Belgium before in news?

(G5P6) On TV of course, we have been shown in the news programmes for about two days I think. Common features? Well the common information, that there was a tragedy, that people died, that there was panic.

 (G5P4) But again all this is what after. And nothing in prevention. Say “this and that persona re running free, stay at home and be alert”. That is there is no warning information.

Only the consequences?

(G5P4) Yeah, here they only show consequences.

What are your thoughts on the fact that there were measures undertaken in the airport of Astana in reaction to this?

\*sighing\*

(G5P6) It is just the consequences that we are always given. But as a rule, people, doesn't matter in Belgium or Astana or Beslan, they were not warned. They did not know. What does this say? That on our, well not just our, territory, take for example the Commonwealth countries, that we are absolutely not prepared for the war on terror. This is my opinion. Because our people have this fear deep inside and are worried for security, we just try not to think about it.

(G5P4) We all calm ourselves that it "might happen" but then for how many years is this going for?

So you need to openly discuss this problem and consider that can be done. Instead of keeping it quiet and then just reporting the consequences.

(G5P6) Obviously, because statistics of terrorist attacks is growing year to year. And obviously they find out that the numbers of victims grow as well.

And now literally the last couple of questions. On the scale of 1 to 10, how trustworthy do you find the information about terrorism? 10 is the absolute truth and 1 is the absolute lie. How would you place on the scale the trustworthiness of the information?

(G5P4) In general, somewhere up until 8.

(G5P5) 50 I think.

(G5P2) Whether you want it or not you will be watching it.

Well regarding the information that you see, do you think it is lie or truth?

(G5P6) I think seven.

(G5P4) Well I think seven or eight.

(G5P6) Well it is not like they made it all up, they are not doing statistics there. All what was shown about the panic in that city and those dead people, it was not just a story that they filmed for us, was it? Whereas the political reasoning for all this is different. They may themselves not know that.



**Fig.23** What does your opinion about the trustworthiness of information depend on? The source of information? Or from personal knowledge on the matter? How do you judge whether information is trustworthy or not? What are the criteria?

(G5P4) Once again, they are not just going to show a made up story.

(G5P5) Must be from the source.

(G5P2) From the source you can see the information and if it is wrong then why are you even showing it to us? If you do not believe something you can look it up in the internet.

So you can check in various sources of information.

(G5P5) Anyway the truth will come out sooner or later.

Good. And now the last question. Have you noticed any changed on the local television in the last 10-20 years? In the numbers of channels? in the information shown?

(G5P3) To me, KTK gives good quality information that is trustworthy. And the other channels do not even show.

(G5P2) They must be hiding.

(G5P6) I can observe the nowadays the channels became more politicised. If you watch Pervyi channel, then it is constant political debate. Foreign politics, domestic politics, talking about Syria and ISIS all the time. Politics, politics and again politics. Only Pozdner<sup>53</sup> raises that a doctor must cure not the effect but cause. We are only shown the consequences but not the reasons. Only Kultura channel shows some good stuff, and I also like very much Pozdner, who interviews very interesting people. And for some reason his takes are always shoved to 1 am at night. What we actually need to stress and listen to, the reasoning of why things happen, we do not see that but only all that empty talking, all that politics.

(G5P4) Yeah. Useless tongue exercise<sup>54</sup>.

(G5P6) I would like some programmes which would give you the right understanding. This type of programmes is very rear. What are they showing on TV now? Assassins, 'Menty', 'Ulitsa rezbityh fonarei', murders, murders, blood.

(G5P1) But in any case, if you judge for the last 10-20 years there appeared some politicians who want, they want to do programmes and they want to explain to people.

(G5P4) Well, yeah, "Chernyi kvadrat" for example.

(G5P6) Sometimes it is even interesting to the debates. You start to figure it out what is what. What are there and so on. Do this "in the name of god"<sup>55</sup> but there is so much of this on all the channels. And for example "Pust' govoruat" – sometimes they just artificially add SO much negativity into it. And that "Usad'ba" programme where they showed Stridgenova. Poor woman!  
\*sarcastic\* She lived well before and now she lives even better. The programme about enhancing<sup>56</sup> her house for her. Did you forget the veterans? Show a veteran what you can do with his house. Repair his house!

**Pg24** So to reflect on the values.

(G5P6) Yes, the values. Otherwise what is the point? She is already "all covered in chocolate"<sup>57</sup> and now they enhance it for her. And she just sits there all important. Who needs that PR? What for? Without this eyes are tied of all the same faces appearing.

Good. Let's finish our discussion now. Thank you everyone very much for coming.

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## Notes:

<sup>1</sup>The allocation of time.

<sup>2</sup> Saint.

<sup>3</sup> "ultraconservative Islamic reform movement to restore pure monotheistic worship" or "extremist pseudo-Sunni movement"

- <sup>4</sup> Well known Russian TV channel.
- <sup>5</sup> Planes.
- <sup>6</sup> The Taliban is a predominantly Pashtun, Islamic fundamentalist group that ruled Afghanistan from 1996 until 2001, when a U.S.-led invasion toppled the regime for providing refuge to al-Qaeda and Osama bin Laden.
- <sup>7</sup> The Iraq War was a protracted armed conflict that began with the 2003 invasion of Iraq by a United States-led coalition. The invasion regime toppled the government of Saddam Hussein.
- <sup>8</sup> Meaning historical family origin or heritage.
- <sup>9</sup> Таблеточки.
- <sup>10</sup> Мозги съехали.
- <sup>11</sup> Сотка.
- <sup>12</sup> Saying aggressively obviously trying to imply something.
- <sup>13</sup> The term "kamikaze" usually refers to the aerial strikes, it has also been applied to various other suicide attacks. The Japanese military (Pacific campaign of World War II) also used or made plans for non-aerial Japanese Special Attack Units, including those involving submarines, human torpedoes, speedboats and divers.
- <sup>14</sup> not all terrorist attacks.
- <sup>15</sup> Emotionally.
- <sup>16</sup> Кому надо влезть, ну пусть он влезает и смотрит.
- <sup>17</sup> News programme on Russia-24 channel.
- <sup>18</sup> A way of calling elderly women, even when not knowing her personally.
- <sup>19</sup> The young man.
- <sup>20</sup> to drop it on people.
- <sup>21</sup> Brother 2.
- <sup>22</sup> The World War II.
- <sup>23</sup> Can happen to anybody.
- <sup>24</sup> Yes to showing.
- <sup>25</sup> Part 1 and 2 happening at the same time.
- <sup>26</sup> Soviet cartoon about a rabbit playing tricks on a wolf and the wolf trying to catch the rabbit for that.
- <sup>27</sup> Masha and the bear, Russian cartoon from year 2009.
- <sup>28</sup> Out of parent's control.
- <sup>29</sup> Вагдан.
- <sup>30</sup> The front seat of a car.
- <sup>31</sup> Пакостная.
- <sup>32</sup> Kiss/ кис – Russian word for calling a cat to come to you.
- <sup>33</sup> For showing to young children?

<sup>34</sup> Meaning “Balapan” instead of “Balapai”(“child”). Balapan is a Kazakh word for ‘chicken’, a soft/caring way of calling a child. Local TV channel for children broadcasted in the Kazakh language. It was established in 2010.

<sup>35</sup> ‘The kitten named Gav’.

<sup>36</sup> Russian Pinocchio.

<sup>37</sup> Moving to another group and asking whilst the first one keeps talking.

<sup>38</sup> Soviet cartoon about alive ‘sink and tap’ character who washed the person who works as chimney cleaner.

<sup>39</sup> Must be meaning North Korea instead.

<sup>40</sup> Хана вам всем.

<sup>41</sup> One will be shaken enough to realise something needs being done urgently.

<sup>42</sup> Секты-мекты.

<sup>43</sup> Why change a place if it is good enough here.

<sup>44</sup> Local river.

<sup>45</sup> Meat grilled on skewers over coal.

<sup>46</sup> Russian soup.

<sup>47</sup> The Eastern Kazakhstan Region (VKO) is where the interview takes place.

<sup>48</sup> Referring to the video.

<sup>49</sup> A quote from some kids book.

<sup>50</sup> Popular snack.

<sup>51</sup> Police.

<sup>52</sup> Зачикали.

<sup>53</sup> Vladimir Vladimirovich Posner is a Russian/French/American best known in the West for appearing on television to represent and explain the views of the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

<sup>54</sup> Просто языком лишь бы потрепать.

<sup>55</sup> As much as you want.

<sup>56</sup> For free.

<sup>57</sup> Rich.

**GROUP 6:**

Hello everyone. Thank you very much for coming in today for the discussion. As you know we are going to watch videos reporting about terrorism. Hence if anybody feels too uncomfortable you may leave the room. Also if you would like to stay after<sup>1</sup> and talk about anything then please do.

So we are going to start from the question about what topics are covered in media. Please outline what themes are being covered on television, radio, in newspapers.

(G6P2) The situation in Ukraine. The attitude of Europe towards Russia. What is happening in the Middle East, in Syria.

Good. Anything else?

(G6P6) Well any current issues that are happening...

Yeah but what general themes, for example "war"<sup>2</sup>.

(G6P2) Also day to day issues.

What day to day issues can you name? What are you watching on TV in general?

(G6P4) Generally speaking I would say that would mainly be news programmes. Obviously in our age this is very relevant to us. Not all those soap operas but what is vital. And also what actually relates to Kazakhstan. We were watching when she, what is her name<sup>3</sup>? came visit us.

(G6P3) Someone from the authority.

(G6P4) Yeah, yeah, the last one who visited. We were watching her also. Because she does not just manage all the finance for granted.

Is terrorism an important part of the news programmes on television?

(G6P6) Not always. It is not every day they talk about terrorism in news, is it? Politics of Nazarbayev. What is going on in the country. But mainly Syria, practically every day news is about it.


Good. If we look at natural disasters and terrorism, then natural disasters, earthquakes for example, are able to take more lives than a terrorist attack. If take a terrorist attack that killed similar number of people we can see that it is covered for a longer time than a natural disaster. Do you think that this allocation of broadcasting time in news is justified or not?

(G6P2) For some it is justified.

In that case what does it depend on?

(G6P2) Well a terrorist attack in general is needed to some [somebody is interested in it]. And wars are needed to some. Well we know who needs that, America needs. Because all that is shown is for a purpose and for our feelings.

(G6P1) Yeah, yeah that is on purpose.

 (G6P2) Whereas it would be better if people knew more about natural disasters. This is my opinion obviously.

(G6P6) Well they show about natural disasters and you watch and obviously worry about it but a human can be powerless towards it. Whereas in that case people are themselves to blame that is why it is spoken about. We must fight against it.

(G6P3) There is a human factor in terrorism.

(G6P6) Yes.

(G6P3) Whereas natural disaster is about nature, it depends on the God.

(G6P6) Yeah. That is people. And with the nature you cannot negotiate as they say.

Good. Out of all the terrorist attacks that you know which one was the most shocking for you?

(G6P2) Well it must be...

(G6P6) For me that is people who died in Beslan. \*sad\* Because that must be one of the first ones when we did not know much about it.

(G6P5) Yes

(G6P6) So many children were on purpose held hostage and destroyed. All of them are very tough.

(G6P1) In America when the two towers were exploded. There many people died.

(G6P3) Yes, yes.

(G6P6) Well they did not tell much about it here. How many or how. Whereas they were showing everything about Beslan. How they were holding those children and taking out of the building. So many children! For me it was really... very hard.

What about you? What terrorist attack is the most memorable for you?

(G6P5) I do not know. We watch news all the time. Even watching them is very hard.


(G6P3) In Russia there was a terrorist attack.

(G6P1) They are everywhere now. \*annoyed\*

(G6P6) For me the most difficult, the hardest ones are the terrorist attacks in which children die.

(G6P1) Planes are blown up.

Then what terrorist attacks can you remember in general? And maybe you also could name where you were at the moment of hearing the news about it and from what source of information.

 (G6P1) In Ukraine they blew up the plane. You know, so many people died there. Approximately 300.

Any other?

(G6P1) Well recently there was a terrorist attack. Another 60 people died.

What was your source of information for this terrorist attack?

(G6P1) Mainly we get to know about it from television. Sometimes when you are driving a car you listen to the radio. They announce and we are listening.

In the next group of questions your perception is important and not the knowledge. Please express your opinion or maybe say it the way you heard somewhere. The first question: how do terrorists plan their attacks?

\*silence\*

How do they choose where to organise an attack?

(G6P6) I do not know really...

(G6P1) They 'hit to the most painful<sup>4</sup> spot'. Where there are a lot of people.

So they choose public places.

(G6P2) Crowded places.

Any other comments?

(G6P2) The executors themselves do not get to decide on anything.

So there are some other people who decide for them and they just execute orders.

(G6P3) Exactly. Those martyrs are just executors. They do not decide anything.

Question for you. How do you think terrorists plan their attacks and how do they choose a place where to execute an attack?

(G6P4) Well... how they plan... I think actually they know the psyche of people when they plan...



Do you mean they use the psychological grounds of where they can do most damage emotionally?

(G6P4) Of course. It is absolutely obvious that they choose particularly crowded places. Those ones where there are a lot of people and they can also be there with children. Everywhere, not only stations but also for example underground.

Good, thank you. Why do terrorist attacks happen? Who is to blame and because of whose fault do terrorist attacks happen?

(G6P4) Whose fault? It is not fault it is more like...

**Pg 4** (G6P6) Purposely! What fault can there be? It is just there is a war going on. And “during a war any means are good”<sup>5</sup>.

Then where do terrorist get expertise and money?

(G6P2) They are trained by western experts.

(G6P3) And using western money.

(G6P2) They in their turn are also trainers and they know what they are doing. They know whom they are training and what for.

Maybe anybody else would like to express their opinion as well.

(G6P6) That is where they get the means?

Yes.

(G6P6) Regarding getting the means it is obvious that they are supplied. But then also through some of their terrorism activities they steal anyway.

(G6P1) Same as Turkey buys oil from Syria. They showed this. They make money on it and then just pay out with the weapons. And here you go you have a terrorist attack.

(G6P3) Barter.

(G6P6) Some may be fooled into this. When they send money electronically the person sending cannot truly know where that money goes to<sup>6</sup>.

So some fraudulent operations with money.

(G6P5) Yes, yes. This is possible.

How easy is it to lure a person into the rank of a terrorist?<sup>7</sup> Who is an easy target for them?

(G6P3) Mainly young people.

(G6P1) Yeah the young. They promise money and that is all.

(G6P3) They promise 'a sweet life' for them.


So you think young people are the main source.

(G6P1) Generally yes.

(G6P4) Well that is how it mostly is.

(G6P1) It is all because of money! Lack of money and that is why when they are offered they fall for anything.

Could you describe a typical terrorist? What personal characteristics can a person who joined a terrorist group have?

 (G6P4) That must be some *hopeless*<sup>8</sup> person.

(G6P2) They are the people whose soul is not filled fully<sup>9</sup>.

(G6P6) Or maybe some psychological illness.

(G6P1) They have been already prepared for this. He would not be afraid of anything; it does not matter to him.

(G6P6) They do not feel pity for anybody, neither their native people nor relatives and as for those who are strangers to them goes without saying. Maybe they are psychopaths or maybe they all are under the influence of tablets and drugs.

(G6P3) They hoped for the sweet life when they went there and go trapped.

So they were lured.

(G6P3) Yes! This happens, doesn't it?

(G6P1) Yes it does.

(G6P6) And some go with the realisation.

(G6P1) They do not have a way back.

(G6P3) They are in a foreign state, like when you go abroad for work.

What do you think could prevent terrorist attacks? And can anything prevent them or not at all?

(G6P2) Well yes in case there will be peace in the whole world, but otherwise no<sup>10</sup>.

(G6P1) And control.

(G6P4) Control and maybe need to start from the kindergarten.

(G6P6) And intensively teach.

(G6P3) People must be taught.

So this must start from an early age.

(G6P3) Education.


(G6P1) That is the most important. So that from the childhood he was told that you cannot do such a thing. They show in Ukraine and they all go against.

(G6P5) Yes.

(G6P1) They are taught from very childhood in schools.

(G6P3) Yes.

In your opinion, are absolutely all terrorist attacks are shown on TV?

 (G6P4) Of course not.

In that case what is the reason for that?

(G6P4) They may show something that is not that much...<sup>11</sup> but all the information is not given anyway.

You mean absolutely everything is not possible to show?

(G6P4) Maybe in some cases they even *spare*<sup>12</sup>.

So that not to cause panic?

(G6P4) Yes.

(G6P6) Not all the information gets to us, this is without doubt. We do not know, they show but maybe even more happens. Previously during the Soviet Union time they did not show. There were also the cases of accidents and disasters but they did not show anything, did they? And we lived more peacefully: “everything is good, everything is excellent”. \*making impression. But nowadays more of course, much more<sup>13</sup>. Nowadays it is scary.

Would you rather see more of the details on TV or less details about terrorism or as the terrorism is depicted right now?

(G6P4) Well maybe, because we do not really know the whole volume<sup>14</sup> of it.

When you see the news about terrorism, would you like to see more of it or less or you are satisfied with the way it is reported at the moment? Here we look at the proportion of terrorist attack news to other programmes on TV.

(G6P4) I do not really know.

(G6P1) They should show about the world.


(G6P6) Of course we would not like any more. I wish there were none at all. None of those terrorist attacks. When they show a lot of them that is too much. You watch news and it happens somewhere far from here but you get afraid that this will happen here with us.

What terrorist attack is in your opinion the most disastrous? Not a particular example, but rather the criteria and the type of cause of a terrorist attack that are the most disastrous to you. Does it depend on the numbers of victims or the generated public among the population? Or maybe on the place of a terrorist attack?

(G6P1) A bomb explosion. This is the most unexpected as it can just explode and that is it.

So something that you cannot expect.

(G6P1) Yes unexpected.

 (G6P3) Sometimes the whole city is destroyed.

(G6P6) Well and also when a lot of people die. This is very hard. There is a person and then it just ceases to exist at once. So many people are killed at once.

To what extent do you agree or disagree that terrorist attacks must be shown at all?

\*silence\*

Who thinks that the terrorist attacks must be shown?

(G6P4) They must.

(G6P6) They must show.

(G6P1) People must know everything.

(G6P6) Even from the point of view for people to be more alert and not that careless.

So there needs to be some information for people to stay alert.

(G6P4) Of course, of course.

Who thinks that the terrorist attacks should not be shown on television?

(G6P4) No, they should of course. And they must educate. Like they carry out everywhere now in stations, in airports. If there is a left bag by itself – at once, immediately! And nobody plays with it, children are taught not to come close and not to touch it. Uncle it was previously when a child could run towards it and grab like a toy and that is it - explosion.

(G6P6) Remember how the mobile phones were spread in the 90s. Or a kids toy. You get interested in it and it explodes.

(G6P4) Yes that is exactly what I am saying about. This all must be shown, people must be informed and taught.

(G6P6) Yes, this must be spoken about, it is natural.

Good, thank you. Now we are going to watch the first video.

\*Norway video\*


Now that you watched this reporting, how has it made you feel?

(G6P6) Very worrying.

(G6P4) Worrying.

(G6P6) And feeling very offended and feeling pity for people being powerless in preventing terrorist attacks.

Anybody else? Any comments ? Or maybe what was the most striking for you?

 (G6P4) You see it is everywhere unexpected.

So the factor of unexpectedness.

(G6P1) He just shot everyone and that is it. \*unfairness\*

(G6P4) Yes!

(G6P1) Nobody could neither think of this nor foresee. He arrived, shot and that is it.

(G6P6) And the young people once again.

(G6P4) So what? You think he is mentally adequate?<sup>15</sup>

(G6P6) The young were killed by the young.

(G6P4) Yes! A young man was shooting.

(G6P6) He was getting<sup>16</sup> pleasure from all that.

Let's assume you had planned a trip to Norway. Would you cancel it after hearing this news on TV?

(G6P2) No, I guess.

(G6P1) Most likely so.

So you would go anyway.

(G6P1) \*laughing\* I do not know really. If you need to go then you have to go. Same as other people go, don't they?

(G6P4) Yes they go. Look what is happening in Turkey and people go all the same.

(G6P1) Yes they go anyway. With the money, without money, both<sup>17</sup> go.

If such a terrorist attack happened and you would hear about it on the news and you had planned a trip to Norway, would you go anyway?

(G6P5) No. \*uncomfortable\*

Ok. Now the next video...

(G6P6) Who knows where they are going to perform the next terrorist attack.


So nobody is insured?<sup>18</sup>

(G6P6) Nobody is insured.

\*Beslan video\*

What are your feelings towards the victims of the tragedy?

(G6P4) Of course pity! It is terrifying!

 (G6P5) Yeah... terrifying. \*deep in thoughts\*

(G6P4) The emotions are overwhelming.

Please somebody else comment. Maybe some things that were most striking for you from the reporting. What was the most emotional for you?

(G6P1) It is just that they went for kids. Don't they know what else<sup>19</sup> to do with their lives?

(G6P2) Well in the previous case<sup>20</sup> that was some psycho and here you can see the clash of different worlds.

So here were certain interests.

(G6P1) Yes that is interests.

Now a question for those who has children. When they are or were under 16, do you allow them to watch terrorist attacks on TV?

(G6P2) Under 16?

Yeah.

(G6P4) Of course!

(G6P1) I think that young people under 16 should not be shown this type of videos. Previously, during the Soviet Union, this type of videos were not shown, were they? Children were not allowed at all to go to watch this type of films, about war or terrorism, at film clubs<sup>21</sup>. And nowadays that is the only thing that is being shown.

So this can somehow influence children?

(G6P1) Yes obviously! \*annoyed\* All one does is sitting in front of a PC and watching that.

(G6P3) Yeah...



(G6P4) And I think that this topic must be somehow followed from the kindergarten. The must be taught something about it! So that they knew and understood that.

You mean some safety measures?

(G6P4) Yes!

Good. Ok, now a little task for you to do in groups of three. In case a person is very emotionally sensitive or say, a small child, who can get some trauma from watching news on TV. In particular, things like the images of blood. In your opinion, what prevention measures could be undertaken so that to minimize the negative influence from watching the terrorist attacks on TV? This question is also written on the cards in front of you. Please turn them over for the reference. Now you have several minutes for a discussion in groups.

**Pg 10** (G6P6) How to react after we watch it?

(G6P4) No, no, in case somebody for example gets scared of blood images.

For sensitive people, for those whom that type of news can incur some sort of damage. For example if a person watches this type of news in the morning and then that negatively interferes with his working day because he is still under the impression of what happened. Or maybe for a little child.

(G6P4) Well in this case somehow a child should not be shown that.

(G6P6) Little kids should be maybe protected from it. As for those who are sensitive they themselves normally know it and do not watch. They try to avoid because they know they feel bad from it.

What about the case when those people do want to watch ordinary day-to-day news but then this type of news is shown as breaking news? Maybe there is a way of separating the two types of news somehow? Or something to do with time allocation?

(G6P4) Must be to do with time.

Or maybe you think that this should not be shown on TV at all?

(G6P1) It is best if they will not show at all. \*laughing\* This would be good. Previously there was no television and nobody new anything...

(G6P4) Yeah and nobody was afraid of anything.

(G6P1) ...There was silence.

(G6P4) And I still think it should be managed by time of showing.

(G6P6) And nowadays say even you do not know about it so what? You go outside 'boom!' and that is it.

(G6P5) Yes.

(G6P3) Take those films, you watch them...

(G6P1) Yes we do watch

(G6P3) The action films. They have an impact on children as well.

(G6P1) Of course!

You mean there should be some age restriction for action movies?

(G6P3) Yes, yes.

(G6P1) They show there how people kill, cut open with knife, rip off body parts. All these are also influencing the psyche of young children.

**Pg 11** (G6P2) Well actually this is in the introduction to the movie, they say, for example, that it is for those aged over 12. So yeah, television is getting there. For example, also the executions where they cut heads off are prohibited.

So there must be some censorship performed on this type of visuals, for example, pixelating them.

(G6P6) As for TV channels, American action films I would ban from being shown and bought altogether.

(G6P1) It is American ones that are mainly shown.

(G6P6) That is a total mess, and young people are very much into these films.

Now we are going to the next group of videos.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kyrgystan video\*

Have you seen this video before?

(G6P4) No.

(G6P6) Yes.

Yeah? What channel was it on?

(G6P6) Well, some Kazakh channel, must be Pervyi or KTK. Actually, most likely it was Eurasia<sup>22</sup>.

Now to the next video.

\*Kyrgyz terrorists near Kazakh border video\*

Have you seen this reporting earlier?

(G6P6) I do not remember<sup>23</sup>.

(G6P1) Well they all long ago run away abroad. \*skeptical\*

In that case, how likely do you think that the terrorists can cross the border with Kazakhstan.

(G6P2) Easy.

(G6P1) Just like that!

You have been reassured by an expert by the end of the video that all the possible measures were being undertaken on reinforcing the border. Did you feel more relieved after hearing that? Or are you uncertain?

(G6P1) No, no, they won't be able to cover it all. The border, its territory, is big. They cannot put it everywhere. They will get away through hills, through

mountains. They will go to mountains and wait it out there until enough time passes.

**Fig 12** Did you feel relieved from the fact that you were told that the border was under control?

(G6P6) To some extent we are willing to believe that. \*hopeful\*

(G6P2) But we do not really. \*laughing\*

(G6P6) Well still we believe a bit.

(G6P4) Yeah we want something good.

(G6P3) Yes we do want the good.

(G6P1) Here is where the border control goes, and here he just goes around it. That is all. Who will stop him? It does not go everywhere<sup>24</sup>.

Now to the next video, which is last in this group.

\*Kazakh terrorists in Kazakhstan video\*

Have you seen this reporting before?

(G6P6) I most likely have not. I must have missed it. What year was it?

(G6P2) 2011.

(G6P6) Yeah it is just that it was too long ago. Some things get forgotten<sup>25</sup>.

(G6P1) Yeah we could have just forgotten that. It is 5 years that have passed.

What was the most memorable from the reporting? What did you drive your attention to?

(G6P2) The only thing that I remember is that there was no sense in accusing them in preparation to terrorist attacks. For example, he attacked them and took away their guns and started killing straightaway. There is no connection.

So a terrorist himself could take that gun by force and those were the people who just happened to meet him.

(G6P2) They could have hidden and performed a terrorist attack. Whereas here it is a murder of some kind.

(G6P1) Well it must be because of the follow up investigation. Because of what they did in relation to what happened.

Because they were seen with the terrorist.

(G6P1) Yes, yes. Either they will be killed or they will go to die of their own free will.

Which one of the last shown three videos was the most emotional to you?

(G6P6) Of course the school.

**Fig 13** (G6P3) That would obviously be the school in Beslan.

What about the last group of...

(G6P1) About Kazakhstan?

Yes about Kazakhstan.

(G6P3) Oh you mean about Kazakhstan. The Taraz one<sup>26</sup>.

(G6P6) The main thing that we know is how the guys at the top of it all were arrested. But how they actually performed the attack we do not know. So this goes so to say as normal news.

(G6P3) He had the supporters.

(G6P1) I think they themselves were selling the guns.

(G6P3) Yes, yes.

(G6P1) They can be *prosecuted unfairly*<sup>27</sup> for anything.

(G6P4) 18 to 25 years, and we are going to provide<sup>28</sup> for them.

(G6P3) Yes. 25 years, means for the rest of their life. This will be taken out of the budget.

(G6P4) And we pay! We pay taxes.

Then what could be an alternative do you think?

(G6P4) Let them earn their own piece of bread there.

OK. In your opinion, how should people react to terrorist attacks? How should they react to news reporting of terrorism on television?

(G6P3) Well, how? You cannot know. You are walking outside and how can you know?

(G6P6) To news reporting? Well, of course everybody has their own opinion on it. Some do not want to watch and say better not to show them. Some say that we do need to know...

(G6P4) They do need to show!

(G6P6) A person still needs<sup>29</sup> to feel compassion and feel what they feel as opposed to just sitting and...

(G6P2) We need to try and understand the reason of that all. It is best to relate to what has already happened and seek the reason of it.

(G6P1) You cannot understand people. Everybody has something of their own going in their heads.

(G6P4) Yes, yes.

 (G6P5) Yes, yes.

(G6P1) Nobody can understand that.

(G6P2) And if somebody does understand maybe he will explain that to everybody.

(G6P1) I think this all is useless though. The one who decided to do that will find a way of doing that.

To what extent is it possible that there can be a terrorist attack in Kazakhstan?

(G6P6) This is exactly what we are scared of. But we are hoping for the best. We are hoping that...

(G6P2) Kazakhstan is no different to all other countries.

So it can happen in any part of the world.

(G6P2) Even right now.

(G6P1) Somebody will not like their share in something, take money for example, and they will start to revenge each other.

(G6P6) We can already see them being arrested. It is not the first year that those terrorist groups are discovered.

Do you feel safe? And what is your answer based on?

(G6P2) What was the last thing you asked?

What is your answer based on? Is it to do with counterterrorism measures? Do you generally feel safe?

(G6P1) Generally, yes. It is all good here where we are.

(G6P4) If compare to the all the rest then yes.

(G6P1) Police are checking everybody everywhere. In our Ustkaman<sup>30</sup> it is good.

(G6P6) Whereas in the South the situation is of course more difficult.

So it depends on the location within the country?

(G6P6) It depends on the mentality of people, on their perception of the surrounding world.

Yeah and also previously you mentioned police as a counter measure.

(G6P2) Or you could also say that “you cannot run away from your destiny”.

OK, good. As you know there has been a war in Syria and many refugees are leaving the country. What is your opinion in this? If in your country it became unsafe to live, would you leave or stay?

**Pg 15** (G6P1) Well, I think that they are running away not from the good life. There is a war, there is nothing to eat, so they run somewhere. Merkel<sup>31</sup> promised them that she will settle everybody. \*laughing\*

(G6P4) Yeah she will feed everybody.

(G6P1) Now they all run to Germany and to the rest of Europe.

(G6P2) There are millions of them! And us are how many? \*joking\* We can just plant some potatoes<sup>32</sup>

\*laughing\*

(G6P1) For us it is nothing scary. \*laughing\*

(G6P4) And even we do not need them.

(G6P1) And who needs them? Nobody needs.

(G6P6) And even here people would start running any direction they face, of course they will try going where is safer.

Do you consider a possibility of terrorists getting hold of the nuclear weapon?

(G6P1) No way.

(G6P3) Nope.

(G6P1) Its guard is not that easy.

What about the expertise who can make it?

(G6P1) There are many betrayers everywhere.

So this is more likely.



(G6P1) Of course. They are bribed.

(G6P2) Well it is the terrorists' hands that the nuclear weapon is in. But the at charge type of terrorists. That main bunch of elite that lives offshore. But if we speak about the *beard type*<sup>33</sup> then of course they will not be let to it.

(G6P1) No that is pointless; they do not have that type of weapon there. If look at Syria, they use the very old type of weapons there to fight, same is the one in Soviet Union.

When you are using the term “terrorist”, do you see it in general or in relation to certain groups? Like you mentioned offshore terrorists and local terrorists. Do you talk about terrorist groups or people as such?

(G6P2) They are all the same. What unites them all is that their minds work only in one direction that is one goal. And it does not matter what terrorist attacks they do and for what reasons.

**Pg 16** So they have some common...

(G6P1) Money, everything is done for money!

(G6P5) Yeah, everything is for money.

(G6P1) Like they say, if he does a terrorist attack, then his family is supported for the rest of their lives. Just he is not there for them.

So he would go there for his family.

(G6P1) Yes they would go for anything.

(G6P6) I doubt their family is provided for. Those who are able to destroy themselves can destroy all their family as well. A person who can blow up himself is like a zombie when he goes there...

(G6P1) Yeah, yeah, they teach them.

(G6P6) ...He is not able to do anything else.

Now let's go to the next section about the recent terrorist attack in Belgium. I am going to show you two pieces of reporting. One is from the Russian NTV channel, and another one is from the local Khabar channel. OK let's watch Khabar first<sup>34</sup>.

\*Khabar Belgium video\*

What are your comments on the video material you have just watched? What was the most striking? Have you seen this reporting before?

(G6P1) Yeah, they showed on TV. I have seen it. The caught that third one as well.

(G6P6) Yeah, we saw that.

What about this particular reporting? What was the most notable?

(G6P6) Well this reporting you put was from KTK<sup>35</sup>. But I watched it on Eurasia<sup>36</sup> where it was more succinct, less details.

What about you?

(G6P2) What about us? The fact that her<sup>37</sup> last phrase was 'had been found'<sup>38</sup>.

\*laughing\* Yeah that is what we remember. Apart from that it was short, condensed.


What about the fact that in the very beginning they contacted an employee from the Astana airport to talk about the measures of reinforcing security? Do you think that...

(G6P6) Was it Astana or Almaty?

Astana.

(G6P6) I think they said Almaty.

(G6P1) That was a right thing to do.

 (G6P6) Of course!

Did you feel more relieved that there were such measures undertaken?

(G6P4) Of course. In any case, you get calmer from the very fact that something at all is being done about it. That it did not just go by, but people already have reacted to it.

So there must be some counteraction towards it.

(G6P4) Of course, of course.

(G6P6) We are really hoping that not that kind of *negligence*<sup>39</sup> like over there.

(G6P1) Of course. They are using it, as soon as it all settles down, goes another one!

(G6P6) Because we do not have those refugees and they are accepting everybody from the East there without checks. They have weapons so they can organise a terrorist attack. Maybe we have them as well but not to the same extent. We do not know this. But at least we are hoping that our intelligence services are working good enough and professionally.

Good. Now I am going to show you one more from the Russia's NTV channel.

(G6P6) Same?

Yeah but from a different TV channel. Same terrorist attack.

\*NTV Belgium video\*

Have you noticed any similarities or differences between the last two videos?

(G6P2) They covered in both cases that Belgium authorities are giving confident speeches to calm their nation. So to say "do not be afraid, this will not happen again".

Maybe any differences? Or any other comments?

(G6P2) There were not special differences.

(G6P6) It is just that here it was a broader...

(G6P4) Yeah wider.

(G6P6) ... way of covering it. Also in relation to other countries as well.

Then what countries are the main players in reacting to any terrorist attack that happened in the world?

(G6P6) Reacting in what way? Bad or good?

In a good way, such as giving condolences or...

(G6P6) Giving aid and so on?

Yeah this type.

**Pg 18** (G6P6) Must be Russia.

(G6P1) Mainly Russia.

Any other countries?

(G6P6) Well for the time that we have been watching news, in terms of help and condolences, and terrorist attack prevention measures it was Russia solely.

(G6P1) All those terrorist attacks are mainly directed to England, France, Germany.

So terrorists have their goals directed at them.

(G6P1) Yeah. European Union.

(G6P6) Yes they want to conquer Europe. \*laughing\* they have already conquered it hundred times over again.

(G6P1) Those refugees still keep and keep going there.

(G6P6) Yes they have conquered now they are going to adapt there. No matter how difficult it is there thousands are staying and dying. And look how many young men are out of those leaving?

(G6P1) Because there is nothing to eat there!

(G6P4) Then defend your own Syria, why don't you?

(G6P6) Young men who could have protected their families. All those people who cannot fight and counteract terrorism are the ones running. “They don’t feed us here, look in what state we are, we are not provided with any women” and so on. So they come there. Not to work or anything, just so that they were not just supported and fed there but supported well. That is how they are going to conquer Europe and it will become Muslim Europe.

Just a few more questions...

(G6P6) There will also be a terrorism threat going from there.

On the scale of 1 to 10 how trustworthy do you see the information in the news? That is 1 refers to information being absolute lie and 10 being absolute truth.

(G6P1) That is all the truth, what doubt can be? They would not be showing something that is not true.

OK.

(G6P3) There was a terrorist attack – that is truth.

(G6P2) Television is controlling the news. In any country. So, for example, they give as much as allowed.

So the volume of information is limited but the information that is given is true.

**Pg 19** (G6P2) Yes, yes. This is how it is mostly.

(G6P6) May be they do not cover everything and do not tell everything but they do give the essence of it.

How interested are you in the news?

(G6P1) I don’t know... I watch all the time! First thing when I get home for me is to watch news to see what is happening in the world.

(G6P6) Yes same for me, when I come back from work I watch the news.

(G6P4) Everybody does that.

Are you interested in the news or not?

(G6P2) If there happens to be news on then I will watch, but not on purpose.

So not on purpose?

(G6P2) No, I prefer internet for that.

Good. Now the last question for today. Have you noticed any differences on local television in the last 10-15 years? Maybe in relation to information, more or less of it? Or channels, more or less of those? Or any differences at all?

(G6P1) There became more channels.

(G6P3) Information is more now as well.

(G6P4) There are so many of those channels now. \*laughing\*

(G6P2) Well the country is young<sup>40</sup>. It only has started developing. Obviously the television has started to develop as well.

So you can see a development for the last 10 or so years.

(G6P5) Yes.

What do you think? Have you noticed any changes on local television in the last 10 years?

(G6P6) There must be. I cannot really say because I watch far not every channel because we have a satellite television. But I must say that previously the presenters of Pervyi channel Eurasia were more professional than now. They correct themselves, they stutter.

(G6P4) Yes that distracts.

(G6P6) That distracts and annoys. Previously there were professional presenters.

(G6P4) Yes, there were pronouncing everything distinctly.

**Fig 20** (G6P6) Even on the Eurasian channel there were more professional presenters than the one that are now.

(G6P4) That is it. But of course there lots of those channels.

Good. Then let's finish our main discussion on this. Now just a few more minutes. Could you please fill in one more form<sup>41</sup>?

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### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> After the discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the previous replies of participants.

<sup>3</sup> Trying to remember some women's name.

<sup>4</sup> Vulnerable spot, i.e. "use one's weakness".

<sup>5</sup> A saying meaning any means can be justified.

<sup>6</sup> Most purchases in Kazakhstan are made with cash; people are sometimes lacking trust in debit/credit cards or bank transfers. This is something relatively new and people tend to think the details can be compromised.

<sup>7</sup> Meaning "to radicalise".

<sup>8</sup> Slang: конченный, used in a very negative sense here; meaning a person who has reached the very bottom and degradation.

<sup>9</sup> Similar to soulless/heartless? Not a common way of saying. Being somewhat poetic here.

<sup>10</sup> Terrorist attacks will be prevented if there is peace in the world? The dependence of one on another does not make much sense, very obscure way of expressing opinion.

<sup>11</sup> The person did not find words to finish.

<sup>12</sup> Щадят, here meaning do not tell for your own sake.

<sup>13</sup> Much more information.

<sup>14</sup> Size.

<sup>15</sup> Meaning he is not.

<sup>16</sup> Not "he must be getting pleasure". Expressed as if known for sure, not assumed.

<sup>17</sup> People of different financial situations.

<sup>18</sup> This can happen to anybody.

<sup>19</sup> Apart from attacking children.

<sup>20</sup> The person shooting in Norway.

<sup>21</sup> Small cinemas.

<sup>22</sup> Referring to Pervyi channel Eurasia, which is a locally adapted version of Russia's Pervyi channel.

<sup>23</sup> Seeing this before.

<sup>24</sup> The border with Kyrgyzstan is 1050 km (652.44 m) long <http://keden.kz/ru/granicy.php>.

- <sup>25</sup> Even things like a terrorist attack that happened 5 years ago in your country? Speaking very unattached/ carelessly here. Generally this type of event would be likely to be remembered if seen.
- <sup>26</sup> Kazakh terrorist in Kazakhstan video.
- <sup>27</sup> Slang: пришить.
- <sup>28</sup> With tax payers' money used to run prisons.
- <sup>29</sup> Refer to the popular article about raising children on VK. This opinion is very common on social platforms. The participant's response could be partially influenced by reading this type of posts on social media.
- <sup>30</sup> Slang word combining Ust-Kamenogorsk (Russian) and Oskemen (Kazakh) names of the city.
- <sup>31</sup> Chancellor of Germany.
- <sup>32</sup> Very common farming activity among Kazakh people, not connected to their job.
- <sup>33</sup> Slang: бородачи.
- <sup>34</sup> The opposite order of showing the last two videos was planned. Technical issue whilst finding the needed video.
- <sup>35</sup> It was actually from Khabar.
- <sup>36</sup> Pervyi channel Eurasia.
- <sup>37</sup> Reporter's.
- <sup>38</sup> Said with a grammar mistake: Была обнаружено.
- <sup>39</sup> Безалаберность – harsh way of saying “negligence”.
- <sup>40</sup> Existing for 25 years.
- <sup>41</sup> Additional post-discussion comments.



## Appendix 9: Group information

### Group 1

Illustration 1: Group 1. Age group: 18-29.

\* Photo of participants has been removed

	Assigned participant number					
	G1P1	G1P2	G1P3	G1P4	G1P5	G1P6
Heritage nationality	Russian	Ukrainian	Kazakh	Kazakh	Kazakh	Kazakh
Gender	Female	Male	Female	Male	Male	Female
Age	21	23	21	21	21	22
Education	University Bachelors or Masters	University Bachelors or Masters	University Bachelors or Masters	University Bachelors or Masters	University Bachelors or Masters	University Bachelors or Masters
Occupation	Full time IT student	Energy engineer, full time electric power engineering student	Full time mechanism construction student	Full time building materials production student	Student of building materials and constructions production	Full time Technical physics student
Religious background	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	Islam	“Atheist”	Islam	Islam
Degree of	Not	Strongly	Non-	Non-	Not	Not

religiousness	strongly religious	religious	religious	religious	strongly religious	strongly religious
Main media as information source	Internet	Printed editions	Internet	Internet	Internet	TV, Internet
The duration of watching news per day	6-10 min	5 min and less	5 min and less	5 min and less	6-10 min	6-10 min
The frequency of watching news per week	2-3 times a week	Once a week or less	2-3 times a week	Once a week or less	Once a week or less	2-3 times a week
Name of the TV channel being the main source of information	Euronews	Euronews	Kazakhstan channel, 31-Channel	"I do not watch TV"	KTK, 24KZ	KTK, 24KZ

## Group 2

Illustration 2: Group 2. Age group: 18-29.

*\* Photo of participants has been removed*

	Assigned participant number					
	G2P1	G2P2	G2P3	G2P4	G2P5	G2P6
Heritage nationality	Kazakh and Russian	Kazakh	Russian	Russian	Russian	Russian
Gender	Female	Female	Female	Male	Male	Male
Age	20	21	18-25	20	20	22
Education	University Bachelors or Masters	University Bachelors or Masters	College	College	College	University Bachelors or Masters
Occupation	Cashier, full time Russian language and literature student	Teacher of the English language	Full time interior design student	Electrician, part time engineering student	Electrician	Technician physicist
Religious background	Mixed	Islam	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian
Degree of religiousness	Not strongly religious	Not strongly religious	Strongly religious	Strongly religious	Not strongly religious	Non-religious

Main media as information source	Internet	TV	Internet	TV, Internet	Internet	TV, Internet
The duration of watching news per day	5 min and less	11-20 min	5 min and less	6-10 min	Watching in full from beginning till end	5 min and less
The frequency of watching news per week	2-3 times a week	4-6 times a week	Once a week or less	4-6 times a week	4-6 times a week	2-3 times a week
Name of the TV channel being the main source of information	Pervyi channel Eurasia	KTK, Pervyi channel Russia, CNN	Pervyi channel, Russia channel, NTV	Pervyi channel	-	Kazakhstan channel

## Group 3

Illustration 3: Group 3. Age group: 30-56.

*\* Photo of participants has been removed*

	Assigned participant number					
	G3P1	G3P2	G3P3	G3P4	G3P5	G3P6
Heritage nationality	Russian	Other	Russian	Russian	Russian	Russian
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female
Age	44	46	56	45	37	58
Education	College	College	College	College	University Bachelors or Masters	College
Occupation	Car mechanic	Car repairs	Tramway driver	Sales assistant	Entrepreneur	Hairdresser
Religious background	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian
Degree of religiousness	Strongly religious	Not strongly religious	Non-religious	Strongly religious	Strongly religious	Strongly religious
Main media as information source	Radio, TV, Internet	TV	TV, Internet	Internet	Internet	Radio, TV, Internet
The duration of watching news per day	5 min and less	11-20 min	Watching in full from	11-20 min	5 min and less	11-20 min

			beginning till end			
The frequency of watching news per week	Once a week or less	4-6 times a week	Once or more every day	Once or more every day	Once a week or less	Once or more every day
Name of the TV channel being the main source of information	-	Russia-2, ORT (previous name of the Pervyi channel)	RTR, Pervyi channel	RTR, Russia channel	Russia channel	Russia channel

## Group 4

Illustration 4: Group 4. Age group: 56+

*\* Photo of participants has been removed*

	Assigned participant number					
	G4P1	G4P2	G4P3	G4P4	G4P5	None
Heritage nationality	Russian	Russian	Ukrainian	Ukrainian	Russian	
Gender	Male	Female	Female	Male	Female	
Age	59	57	61	64	64	
Education	College	College	College	College	University Bachelors or Masters	
Occupation	Driver	Controller, cashier	Retired	Retired	Retired	
Religious background	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian	
Degree of religiousness	Not strongly religious	Not strongly religious	Not strongly religious	Not strongly religious	Not strongly religious	
Main media as information source	Printed, Radio, TV	TV	TV	TV, Internet	TV	
The duration of watching	Watching in full	11-20 min	Watching in full	Watching in full	11-20 min	

news per day	from beginning till end		from beginning till end	from beginning till end		
The frequency of watching news per week	2-3 times a week	Once or more every day	2-3 times a week	4-6 times a week	Once or more every day	
Name of the TV channel being the main source of information	NTV, Russia-1	Russia-1	Mir-24	Mir-24, Pervyi channel Eurasia, Russia channel	RenTV, Khabar	-



## Group 5

Illustration 5: Group 5. Age group: 30-56.

*\* Photo of participants has been removed*

	Assigned participant number					
	G5P1	G5P2	G5P3	G5P4	G5P5	G5P6
Heritage nationality	Russian	Kazakh	Kazakh	Kazakh	Other	Russian
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female
Age	37	49	26-39	31	36	50
Education	University Bachelors or Masters	School	School	College	College	University Bachelors or Masters
Occupation	Unemployed	Carpenter	Trucks loader	Logistics manager	Sales assistant	Entrepreneur
Religious background	Orthodox Christian	Islam	Islam and Orthodox Christian	Islam	Orthodox Christian	Orthodox Christian
Degree of religiousness	Strongly religious	Not strongly religious	Non-religious	Not strongly religious	Strongly religious	Strongly religious
Main media as information source	Radio, Internet	TV	TV, Internet	Internet	TV	TV, internet
The duration	5 min and	-	Watching	6-10 min	Watching	11-20 min

of watching news per day	less		in full from beginning till end		in full from beginning till end	
The frequency of watching news per week	Once a week or less	Once or more every day	Once a week or less	2-3 times a week	2-3 times a week	4-6 times a week
Name of the TV channel being the main source of information	KTK	NTK	NTK, KTK	KTK, Kazakhstani channels	Eurasia, local channels	Pervyi channel, RTR

## Group 6

Illustration 6: Group 6. Age group: 56+.

*\* Photo of participants has been removed*

	Assigned participant number					
	G6P1	G6P2	G6P3	G6P4	G6P5	G6P6
Heritage nationality	Russian	Kazakh	Kazakh	Russian	Kazakh	Russian
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female
Age	63	57	61	58	58	59
Education	College	School	College	College	-	College
Occupation	Driver	Workman	Driver	Machine operator at plant	Chef	Retired
Religious background	Orthodox Christian	Islam	Islam	Orthodox Christian	Islam	-
Degree of religiousness	Non-religious	Not strongly religious	Strongly religious	Strongly religious	Very strongly religious	Non-religious
Main media as information source	TV	Internet	Printed, Radio, TV, Internet	Printed, Radio, TV, Internet	Printed, Radio, TV, Internet	Printed, TV, Internet
The duration of watching news per day	Watching in full from beginning	6-10 min	Watching in full from beginning	Watching in full from beginning	Watching in full from beginning	Watching in full from beginning

	till end		till end	till end	till end	till end
The frequency of watching news per week	Once or more every day	2-3 times a week	Once or more every day	Once or more every day	Once or more every day	Once or more every day
Name of the TV channel being the main source of information	NTV	Khabar, Russian channels	Khabar	KTK, NTK	Khabar, KTK	NTV, TVC

## Appendix 10: Thematic analysis tables

### Sub-themes key (applicable for all groups):

#### Column 1:

☐ - moderate fear; ☐ - proximity; ☐ - unexpectedness; ☐ - extreme fear; ☐

#### Column 2:

☐ - anger towards terrorists directly; ☐ - anger that terrorism is able to happen; ☐ - political anger; ☐ - consequences of terrorism

#### Column 3:

☐ - towards focus group activity; ☐ - towards politics of other countries; ☐ - towards home government; ☐ - suspicion in general ☐ - arguments for no suspicion

#### Column 4:

☐ - it cannot be changed; ☐ - we are not the ones to change; ☐ denial of any problem;

#### Column 5:

☐ - assessment of what the media does; ☐ - background knowledge/ opinion of terrorism; ☐ - sadness/ empathy; ☐ - uncertainty or mixed emotions; ☐ - unfairness or powerlessness; ☐ - hopeful and positive

#### Column 6:

☐ - particular countries/ cities; ☐ - types of events; ☐ - particular attacks;

#### Column 7:

☐ - terrorists' recourses; ☐ - ways of radicalisation; ☐ - other causes; ☐ - terrorists' personality; ☐ - politics & high resonance intentions

#### Column 8:

☐ - own habits; ☐ - opinions about media consumption; ☐ - particular examples of channels, newspapers, etc.; ☐ - other in relation to the attacks; ☐ - changes observed

Group 1

	1) Fear	2) Anger	3) Suspicion	4) Indifference	5) Ways of reacting to terrorism	6) Events of concern	7) Why attacks happen	8) Ways of media consumption
Group, participant, Page and line(s) number	G1P2pg 6ln1-6	G1P2pg 9ln3	G1P4pg 4ln19-24	G1P1pg 1ln30-31	G1P2pg 1ln19-24	G1P4pg 1ln11	G1P5pg 1ln16-18	G1P4pg 2ln23
	G1P2pg 6ln1-6	G1P2pg 9ln3	G1P2pg 7ln4-7	G1P4pg 12ln25-26	G1P2pg 1ln19-24	G1P5pg 1ln12	G1P5pg 1ln16-18	G1P4pg 2ln25
	G1P6pg 7ln27	G1P1pg 13ln6-13	G1P1pg 14ln23-24		G1P2pg 1ln19-24	G1P5pg 1ln14	G1P2pg 2ln4-9	G1P3pg 2ln26
	G1P3pg 7ln29	G1P1pg 13ln6-13	G1P2pg 14ln26-28		G1P1pg 1ln29-30	G1P2pg 1ln35	G1P2pg 2ln4-9	G1P2pg 2ln28
	G1P3pg 9ln6		G1P3pg 14ln30		G1P1pg 5ln11-14	G1P2pg 2ln16	G1P2pg 3ln18-22	G1P5pg 2ln30
	G1P5pg 9ln7		G1P4pg 14ln32		G1P2pg 5ln15-22	G1P4pg 2ln18	G1P5pg 3ln23	G1P2pg 7ln32
	G1P3pg 10ln32-34		G1P5pg 14ln34		G1P2pg 5ln15-22	G1P5pg 2ln20	G1P3pg 3ln24	G1P1pg 7ln33
	G1P3pg 10ln32-34		G1P6pg 15ln1		G1P4pg 6ln24	G1P3pg 2ln32	G1P4pg 3ln25	G1P4pg 8ln1-5
	G1P3pg 11ln3		G1P4pg 15ln4		G1P2pg 6ln27-28	G1P2pg 3ln1	G1P4pg 3ln28	G1P4pg 8ln1-5
	G1P2pg 13ln19-24		G1P1pg 15ln6		G1P2pg 6ln30	G1P4pg 3ln2	G1P2pg 3ln30-32	G1P4pg 8ln7
	G1P2pg 13ln19-24		G1P2pg 15ln7		G1P2pg 6ln32-33	G1P6pg 3ln3	G1P2pg 4ln4	G1P1pg 8ln9-11
	G1P6pg 13ln27		G1P5pg 15ln14		G1P2pg 7ln1-4	G1P3pg 3ln4	G1P2pg 4ln6-13	G1P1pg 8ln13

G1P4pg 13ln28		G1P1pg 15ln15- 16		G1P2pg 7ln13-16	G1P5pg 3ln5	G1P2pg 4ln6-13	G1P5pg 8ln14
G1P6pg 13ln29				G1P2pg 7ln18-22	G1P3pg 3ln6	G1P4pg 4ln27-28	G1P4pg 10ln26
				G1P1pg 8ln9-11	G1P5pg 3ln7	G1P1pg 4ln29-30	G1P3pg 10ln30
				G1P1pg 8ln17	G1P3pg 3ln8	G1P6pg 4ln32	G1P2pg 11ln9-14
				G1P3pg 8ln18	G1P2pg 6ln6-9	G1P6pg 4ln35	G1P6pg 11ln32
				G1P5pg 8ln19	G1P4pg 6ln15	G1P1pg 5ln1-2	G1P5pg 11ln34
				G1P1pg 8ln20	G1P5pg 6ln16-18	G1P1pg 5ln1-2	G1P4pg 12ln2
				G1P1pg 8ln28-31	G1P4pg 6ln20	G1P5pg 5ln3-4	G1P3pg 12ln4
				G1P4pg 9ln8	G1P2pg 6ln21	G1P1pg 5ln6	G1P3pg 12ln6
				G1P2pg 9ln14-20		G1P2pg 5ln7-8	G1P2pg 12ln7-11
				G1P3pg 9ln25		G1P2pg 11ln23- 28	G1P1pg 12ln13
				G1P5pg 9ln26-30		G1P2pg 13ln30- 33	G1P6pg 15ln20
				G1P5pg 9ln26-30		G1P2pg 14ln4-10	G1P5pg 15ln21
				G1P2pg 10ln4-8			G1P2pg 15ln22
				G1P5pg 10ln9-11			G1P2pg 15ln24- 32
				G1P5pg 10ln17- 20			G1P2pg 16ln1-8

				G1P5pg 10ln22			
				G1P2pg 11ln9-14			
				G1P2pg 11ln19			
				G1P2pg 11ln22			
				G1P2pg 12ln7-11			
				<b>G1P2pg</b> <b>12ln17-</b> <b>23</b>			
				<b>G1P2pg</b> <b>12ln17-</b> <b>23</b>			
				G1P4pg 12ln26			
				<b>G1P5pg</b> <b>12ln27-</b> <b>29</b>			
				<b>G1P5pg</b> <b>12ln27-</b> <b>29</b>			
				G1P6pg 13ln1			
				G1P1pg 13ln3-6			
				G1P2pg 14ln13- 16			
				G1P3pg 14ln18			
				G1P2pg 15ln24- 32			
				G1P2pg 16ln1-8			



Group 2

	1) Fear	2) Anger	3) Suspicion	4) Indifference	5) Other ways of reacting to terrorism	6) Events of concern	7) Why attacks happen	8) Ways of media consumption
Group, participant, Page and line(s) number	G2P2pg3 ln1	G2P6pg7 ln12-14	G2P6pg2 ln19-20	G2P5pg4 ln28	G2P5pg1 ln16-17	G2P1pg1 ln6	G2P6pg2 ln18-19	G2P4pg1 ln12
	G2P5pg3 ln5	G2P6pg9 ln10	G2P6pg3 ln21-22	G2P2pg5 ln20-21	G2P2pg ln18-20	G2P5pg1 ln7	G2P5pg2 ln21	G2P2pg1 ln32
	G2P5pg 6ln5-6	G2P6pg1 1ln25-27	G2P5pg3 ln25-26	G2P2pg5 ln23	G2P2pg 1ln18-20	G2P6pg1 ln9-10	G2P6pg2 ln22-23	G2P5pg1 ln33
	G2P5pg 6ln5-6	G2P2pg1 1ln29	G2P5pg1 0ln17	G2P2pg5 ln30-31	G2P6pg1 ln21	G2P2pg1 ln27	G2P6pg2 ln25-26	G2P2pg2 ln2
	G2P2pg 6ln16-17		G2P6pg1 0ln18	G2P6pg5 ln32	G2P2pg1 ln22	G2P6pg1 ln28	G2P5pg2 ln27	G2P6pg8 ln23
	G2P2pg 6ln16-17		G2P2pg1 1ln5-6	G2P2pg5 ln33	G2P6pg1 ln23-24	G2P2pg1 ln29	G2P2pg2 ln28	G2P6pg1 0ln1
	G2P3pg8 ln29		G2P6pg1 2ln11	G2P5pg6 ln4-5	G2P6pg2 ln14	G2P2pg 2ln7-8	G2P6pg2 ln29	G2P2pg1 0ln2
	G2P5pg1 1ln21-22		G2P5pg1 2ln12-13	G2P2pg6 ln17-18	G2P2pg2 ln15	G2P2pg 2ln7-8	G2P2pg2 ln30	G2P5pg1 0ln6
	G2P3pg1 1ln23		G2P5pg1 3ln24	G2P2pg9 ln3	G2P6pg3 ln7-10	G2P5pg2 ln9	G2P3pg2 ln31	G2P2pg1 0ln22
			G2P6pg1 3ln26		G2P6pg4 ln19-20	G2P3pg2 ln10	G2P5pg3 ln4-5	G2P6pg1 0ln23
			G2P2pg1 3ln28		G2P6pg4 ln22	G2P2pg2 ln11	G2P3pg3 ln6	G2P6pg1 1ln11
			G2P1pg1 3ln32-33		G2P5pg4 ln26	G2P6pg5 ln10	G2P4pg3 ln20	G2P5pg1 1ln12
			G2P6pg1 4ln6-8		G2P5pg4 ln30	G2P6pg5 ln11	G2P6pg3 ln21-24	G2P5pg1 2ln26-27
			G2P6pg1 5ln5-6		G2P5pg5 ln1	G2P4pg5 ln15	G2P2pg 3ln27-29	G2P5pg1 2ln29
					G2P1pg5 ln3	G2P6pg 5ln16-17	G2P2pg 3ln27-29	G2P4pg1 2ln30

				G2P6pg5 ln9-12	G2P6pg 5ln16-17	G2P6pg3 ln31	G2P6pg1 2ln31
				G2P2pg5 ln18-19	G2P2pg5 ln24	G2P6pg3 ln33	G2P2pg1 3ln1-2
				G2P2pg5 ln28-29	G2P2pg6 ln16	G2P6pg4 ln2-3	G2P6pg1 4ln5-7
				G2P6pg6 ln1-3	G2P6pg8 ln4	G2P2pg4 ln4-5	G2P5pg1 4ln14
				G2P6pg6 ln1-3		G2P2pg4 ln10	G2P1pg1 4ln15
				G2P5pg6 ln10		G2P3pg4 ln11	G2P4pg1 4ln16
				G2P6pg6 ln11		G2P5pg4 ln12-14	G2P4pg1 4ln18
				G2P2pg 6ln14-16		G2P6pg4 ln15-16	G2P6pg1 4ln20
				G2P2pg 6ln14-16		G2P2pg4 ln17	G2P2pg1 4ln22
				G2P2pg6 ln22-23		G2P6pg 11ln2-4	G2P2pg1 4ln24
				G2P2pg 6ln27-29		G2P6pg 11ln2-4	G2P2pg1 4ln30-33
				G2P2pg 6ln27-29		G2P5pg 13ln10-13	G2P5pg1 5ln1
				G2P2pg6 ln32		G2P5pg 13ln10-13	G2P2pg1 5ln2
				G2P5pg6 ln33		G2P5pg1 3ln15	G2P6pg1 5ln3-4
				G2P5pg7 ln1-2		G2P2pg 13ln16	G2P2pg1 5ln8
				G2P1pg7 ln3		G2P2pg 13ln16	
				G2P5pg7 ln4		G2P5pg1 3ln18	
				G2P6pg7 ln5-7			

					G2P4pg7 ln10			
					G2P6pg7 ln21			
					G2P2pg7 ln25			
					G2P2pg 7ln27-30			
					G2P2pg 7ln27-30			
					G2P2pg7 ln33			
					G2P2pg8 ln1			
					G2P6pg 8ln3-8			
					G2P6pg 8ln3-8			
					G2P2pg 8ln15			
					G2P2pg 8ln15			
					G2P1pg8 ln16			
					G2P6pg8 ln20-21			
					G2P2pg8 ln22			
					G2P5pg8 ln24			
					G2P5pg8 ln30			
					G2P6pg8 ln31-32			
					G2P3pg9 ln1			
					G2P6pg9 ln2			

				<b>G2P2pg</b> <b>9ln13-16</b>			
				<b>G2P2pg</b> <b>9ln13-16</b>			
				<b>G2P5pg9</b> <b>ln17</b>			
				<b>G2P2pg9</b> <b>ln18-19</b>			
				<b>G2P3pg</b> <b>9ln24-25</b>			
				<b>G2P3pg</b> <b>9ln24-25</b>			
				<b>G2P6pg</b> <b>9ln26-28</b>			
				<b>G2P6pg</b> <b>9ln26-28</b>			
				<b>G2P6pg9</b> <b>ln30</b>			
				<b>G2P6pg1</b> <b>0ln10-11</b>			
				<b>G2P2pg1</b> <b>0ln13</b>			
				<b>G2P5pg1</b> <b>0ln14-15</b>			
				<b>G2P2pg1</b> <b>0ln27-28</b>			
				<b>G2P2pg1</b> <b>0ln31</b>			
				<b>G2P5pg1</b> <b>1ln7-8</b>			
				<b>G2P6pg1</b> <b>1ln13</b>			
				<b>G2P6pg1</b> <b>1ln17-18</b>			
				<b>G2P6pg1</b> <b>1ln30-32</b>			
				<b>G2P5pg1</b> <b>1ln34</b>			

				G2P2pg 12ln1-2			
				G2P2pg 12ln1-2			
				G2P5pg1 2ln3			
				G2P6pg1 2ln4-5			
				G2P6pg1 2ln7			
				G2P5pg1 2ln8			
				G2P2pg1 2ln9			
				G2P5pg1 2ln18			
				G2P4pg1 2ln20			
				G2P1pg1 3ln27			
				G2P2pg1 4ln1			
				G2P5pg1 4ln2			
				G2P6pg1 4ln3-5			
				G2P6pg1 4ln10-11			

Group 3

	1) Fear	2) Anger	3) Suspicion	4) Indifference	5) Ways of reacting to terrorism	6) Events of concern	7) Why attacks happen	8) Ways of media consumption
Group, participant, Page and line(s) number	G3P3pg1 ln29-32	G3P3pg2 ln5	G3P5pg2 ln14-15	G3P4pg7 ln11	G3P1pg1 ln9	G3P4pg1 ln11	G3P5pg2 ln6	G3P3pg 7ln14
	G3P3pg1 ln29-32	G3P6pg2 ln27-28	G3P3pg6 ln6	G3P6pg1 0ln11	G3P3pg1 ln32	G3P3pg1 ln12	G3P4pg2 ln7	G3P2pg 7ln15
	G3P3pg2 ln3	G3P3pg3 ln12	G3P4pg6 ln7	G3P3pg1 0ln12-13	G3P3pg2 ln13	G3P4pg1 ln13-14	G3P5pg2 ln8	G3P3pg 7ln19
	G3P6pg2 ln20	G3P6pg1 1ln1-2	G3P6pg6 ln8	G3P1pg1 0ln29	G3P3pg2 ln17-18	G3P3pg1 ln15-16	G3P4pg4 ln5-6	G3P2pg 7ln20
	G3P6pg2 ln24-25	G3P3pg1 1ln10-11	G3P3pg7 ln16	G3P3pg1 0ln30	G3P4pg2 ln19	G3P2pg1 ln17	G3P4pg4 ln5-6	G3P3pg 7ln22
	G3P3pg2 ln26	G3P6pg1 1ln15-17	G3P3pg8 ln31-32	G3P6pg1 1ln3-4	G3P6pg2 ln28-30	G3P6pg1 ln19	G3P2pg4 ln8	G3P3pg 8ln26-27
	G3P2pg8 ln5	G3P6pg1 1ln23-27	G3P3pg1 0ln6	G3P5pg1 1ln9	G3P6pg3 ln6-7	G3P3pg1 ln20	G3P4pg4 ln9	G3P5pg 10ln14-19
	G3P2pg8 ln5	G3P3pg1 3ln14-16	G3P2pg1 4ln23	G3P6pg1 1ln19-20	G3P4pg 3ln9-11	G3P6pg1 ln21	G3P1pg4 ln10-11	G3P5pg 10ln14-19
	G3P6pg9 ln4	G3P3pg1 3ln21	G3P2pg1 4ln25	G3P6pg1 1ln22-23	G3P4pg 3ln9-11	G3P5pg1 ln22	G3P3pg4 ln12-13	G3P3pg 10ln35
	G3P3pg9 ln5	G3P6pg1 3ln22	G3P3pg1 5ln28	G3P4pg1 4ln20	G3P4pg3 ln13-16	G3P6pg1 ln23	G3P3pg4 ln16	G3P6pg 11ln27-32
	G3P6pg9 ln6	G3P6pg 13ln25-30	G3P4pg1 8ln9-10	G3P1pg1 6ln12	G3P6pg3 ln17	G3P3pg1 ln24	G3P3pg 4ln18-20	G3P4pg 12ln13-17
	G3P3pg9 ln7	G3P6pg 13ln25-30	G3P4pg1 8ln28	G3P2pg1 6ln13	G3P4pg3 ln18-19	G3P2pg1 ln26	G3P3pg 4ln18-20	G3P6pg 12ln18

G3P6pg9 1n12	G3P5pg1 5n3	G3P2pg1 8n29	G3P6pg2 0n16	G3P3pg3 1n24	G3P3pg1 1n27	G3P6pg4 1n21	G3P4pg 12n19- 22
G3P3pg9 1n13	G3P5pg1 5n5-6	G3P3pg1 8n30	G3P5pg2 0n17	G3P6pg3 1n31	G3P6pg1 1n28	G3P2pg4 1n24	G3P3pg 12n24- 26
G3P1pg9 1n14	<b>G3P4pg</b> <b>15n7-8</b>	G3P2pg1 8n31		G3P3pg3 1n32	G3P1pg2 1n1-2	<b>G3P5pg4</b> <b>1n25</b>	G3P3pg 13n1
G3P3pg9 1n15	<b>G3P4pg</b> <b>15n7-8</b>	G3P3pg1 8n32-34		G3P6pg4 1n1	G3P4pg2 1n4	<b>G3P6pg4</b> <b>1n26</b>	G3P6pg 13n2-4
<b>G3P4pg9</b> <b>1n20</b>	<b>G3P5pg1</b> <b>5n9</b>	G3P6pg1 9n1		<b>G3P1pg4</b> <b>1n15</b>	G3P6pg3 1n3-4	<b>G3P5pg4</b> <b>1n27</b>	G3P3pg 13n5
G3P6pg9 1n21	<b>G3P4pg1</b> <b>5n10-11</b>	G3P2pg1 9n4		<b>G3P1pg5</b> <b>1n4</b>	G3P3pg3 1n5	<b>G3P6pg</b> <b>4n28-32</b>	G3P5pg 13n6
<b>G3P5pg1</b> <b>0n3-5</b>	G3P5pg1 5n12	G3P3pg1 9n12-14		G3P2pg6 1n3	G3P2pg3 1n8	<b>G3P6pg</b> <b>4n28-32</b>	G3P6pg 13n7-8
G3P6pg1 1n3	<b>G3P4pg</b> <b>15n13-14</b>	G3P3pg1 9n15		G3P3pg6 1n4	G3P4pg3 1n21	G3P3pg5 1n6-7	G3P4pg 13n9
G3P5pg1 1n6-7	<b>G3P4pg</b> <b>15n13-14</b>	G3P2pg1 9n17		G3P6pg6 1n5	G3P3pg3 1n22	G3P3pg5 1n9	G3P3pg 13n10- 11
G3P6pg1 1n8	<b>G3P4pg1</b> <b>5n15</b>	G3P3pg1 9n18-19		G3P2pg6 1n18	G3P6pg3 1n23	G3P1pg5 1n10	G3P3pg 13n23- 24
G3P6pg1 1n17	<b>G3P4pg1</b> <b>5n16-17</b>	<b>G3P4pg1</b> 9n24		G3P3pg6 1n19	G3P5pg3 1n25	G3P3pg5 1n11	<b>G3P6pg</b> 13n34
G3P5pg1 1n18	<b>G3P3pg</b> <b>17n6</b>	<b>G3P6pg1</b> 9n25		G3P6pg6 1n23-24	G3P6pg3 1n26-27	G3P4pg5 1n13-14	G3P3pg 14n1
G3P6pg1 1n20	<b>G3P3pg</b> <b>17n6</b>	G3P1pg1 9n26		G3P3pg7 1n3	G3P3pg3 1n28	G3P6pg5 1n19-20	G3P1pg 14n10
G3P6pg1 1n23	<b>G3P3pg</b> <b>18n15-20</b>	<b>G3P3pg2</b> 0n5		G3P1pg7 1n4	G3P6pg6 1n29	G3P6pg5 1n26-27	G3P5pg 14n11- 12
<b>G3P6pg1</b> <b>1n32-35</b>	<b>G3P3pg</b> <b>18n15-20</b>	<b>G3P5pg2</b> 0n7-8		G3P4pg7 1n5	G3P5pg6 1n30-31	G3P3pg5 1n28	G3P1pg 14n29

G3P6pg1 11n32-35		G3P6pg2 01n9		G3P3pg7 1n6		G3P6pg5 1n29-30	G3P4pg 171n32-33
G3P2pg1 41n15		G3P6pg2 01n18-19		G3P6pg7 1n7		G3P6pg5 1n29-30	G3P3pg 181n1
G3P1pg1 41n16				G3P3pg7 1n8		G3P1pg5 1n31	G3P4pg 181n2
G3P3pg1 41n19				G3P6pg7 1n9		G3P6pg6 1n1	G3P3pg 181n3
G3P3pg1 41n21-22				G3P3pg7 1n10		G3P5pg1 51n18	G3P4pg 181n4-6
G3P6pg1 61n9				G3P3pg7 1n12		G3P4pg1 51n19-20	G3P3pg 191n31-32
G3P5pg1 61n10				G3P6pg7 1n13		G3P5pg1 71n10-12	G3P3pg 201n11
G3P4pg1 61n11				G3P3pg7 1n25-26		G3P4pg1 71n17	G3P6pg 201n12
G3P6pg1 61n19-21				G3P3pg7 1n28		G3P6pg1 71n19	G3P3pg 201n13-14
G3P4pg1 71n4				G3P1pg8 1n7		G3P4pg1 71n20-22	G3P4pg 201n20
G3P6pg1 71n5				G3P1pg8 1n9		G3P5pg1 71n23-24	G3P6pg 201n21
G3P6pg1 71n7-9				G3P2pg8 1n12-14		G3P4pg1 91n12-14	G3P_pg 201n22-23
G3P6pg1 71n15				G3P1pg8 1n15			G3P3pg 211n3
G3P5pg1 71n16				G3P3pg8 1n16-17			G3P4pg 211n4
G3P3pg1 91n2-3				G3P3pg8 1n20			G3P3pg 211n6
G3P3pg1 91n2-3				G3P6pg8 1n22			G3P4pg 211n7-9
G3P6pg1 91n5				G3P3pg8 1n23-24			G3P5pg 211n11



G3P3pg1 9ln6-7				G3P3pg8 ln26-27			G3P5pg 21ln13
G3P3pg1 9ln9				G3P1pg9 ln7-8			G3P6pg 21ln14- 15
G3P3pg1 9ln11				G3P6pg9 ln19			G3P3pg 21ln16
G3P4pg1 9ln16				G3P5pg9 ln22			G3P6pg 21ln17
G3P3pg1 9ln19				G3P6pg 9ln26-32			G3P6pg 21ln19
G3P5pg2 0ln24				G3P6pg 9ln26-32			
G3P2pg2 0ln25-26				G3P4pg1 0ln31-33			
G3P2pg2 0ln25-26				G3P5pg1 0ln34			
G3P2pg2 0ln28-31				G3P4pg1 1ln5			
G3P2pg2 0ln28-31				G3P5pg1 1ln6			
				G3P5pg1 1ln12-13			
				G3P4pg1 1ln14			
				G3P6pg1 1ln27-32			
				G3P5pg1 2ln4			
				G3P5pg1 2ln5			
				G3P5pg1 2ln9			
				G3P6pg1 2ln10			
				G3P3pg1 2ln11-12			

				G3P4pg1 2ln13-17			
				G3P4pg1 2ln19-22			
				G3P3pg1 2ln24-26			
				G3P2pg1 2ln27-29			
				G3P3pg1 4ln4-6			
				G3P3pg1 4ln21			
				G3P3pg1 5ln1-2			
				G3P2pg1 5ln22			
				G3P4pg1 5ln23			
				G3P5pg1 5ln24			
				G3P6pg1 5ln27			
				G3P1pg1 5ln29			
				G3P3pg1 6ln3			
				G3P6pg1 6ln4			
				G3P3pg1 6ln5			
				G3P6pg1 6ln6			
				G3P3pg1 6ln7			
				G3P6pg1 6ln15			
				G3P4pg1 6ln22-27			

				G3P6pg1 6ln28			
				G3P4pg1 6ln29			
				G3P6pg1 6ln30			
				G3P4pg1 8ln10-11			
				G3P5pg1 8ln23			
				G3P2pg1 8ln24			
				G3P3pg1 8ln25			
				G3P6pg1 8ln26			
				G3P2pg1 8ln27			
				G3P3pg2 1ln20			

Group 4

	1) Fear	2) Anger	3) Suspicion	4) Indifference	5) Ways of reacting to terrorism	6) Events of concern	7) Why attacks happen	8) Ways of Media consumption
Group, participant, Page and line(s) number	G4P2pg1 ln16-17	G4P1pg ln28-30	G4P1pg2 ln35	G4P2pg4 ln14	G4P1pg1 ln24-26	G4P4pg1 ln12-13	G4P1pg1 ln30-32	G4P4pg1 3ln24-25
	G4P3pg4 ln1	G4P1pg ln28-30	G4P1pg3 ln10-14	G4P4pg4 ln15	G4P3pg2 ln11-14	G4P2pg1 ln15	G4P3pg2 ln32	G4P3pg1 3ln26
	G4P2pg9 ln34-35	G4P4pg2 ln15	G4P5pg4 ln3	G4P2pg8 ln30	G4P2pg 2ln20-21	G4P2pg1 ln16-17	G4P4pg2 ln33	G4P5pg1 4ln29
	G4P2pg1 ln5	G4P2pg2 ln16-17	G4P3pg5 ln19-21	G4P4pg8 ln31	G4P2pg 2ln20-21	G4P5pg1 ln18	G4P1pg2 ln34	G4P1pg1 4ln30
	G4P1pg1 ln6	G4P4pg2 ln24-25	G4P4pg5 ln29	G4P3pg1 ln15	G4P1pg2 ln22-23	G4P1pg1 ln28	G4P5pg3 ln21-23	G4P3pg1 4ln31
	G4P2pg1 ln7	G4P4pg2 ln27-28	G4P4pg5 ln29-31	G4P5pg1 2ln25	G4P4pg2 ln25-27	G4P5pg2 ln4-9	G4P4pg4 ln15-19	G4P5pg1 4ln32-34
	G4P2pg1 ln13-14	G4P1pg3 ln14-15	G4P3pg6 ln1	G4P1pg1 2ln26	G4P2pg2 ln29-31	G4P2pg2 ln29	G4P1pg4 ln23-24	G4P1pg1 5ln5
	G4P5pg1 5ln10	G4P5pg3 ln18-21	G4P4pg6 ln2	G4P5pg 12ln27-30	G4P3pg3 ln7	G4P1pg2 ln34	G4P1pg4 ln33	G4P2pg1 5ln6
	G4P1pg1 5ln11	G4P4pg4 ln28	G4P1pg6 ln4-5	G4P5pg 12ln27-30	G4P1pg3 ln8	G4P3pg3 ln7	G4P3pg5 ln1	G4P5pg1 5ln7-8
	G4P3pg1 5ln12	G4P1pg4 ln29	G4P4pg6 ln6	G4P2pg1 3ln20-21	G4P3pg3 ln9	G4P1pg 3ln10	G4P1pg5 ln2	G4P4pg2 2ln27-28
	G4P1pg1 5ln14-16	G4P4pg4 ln31-32	G4P5pg6 ln7-8	G4P5pg1 5ln18	G4P1pg3 ln29	G4P1pg 3ln10	G4P2pg 5ln3-11	G4P2pg2 2ln29-30
	G4P2pg1 5ln17	G4P2pg5 ln29	G4P3pg6 ln14		G4P1pg4 ln27	G4P5pg3 ln17-18	G4P2pg 5ln3-11	G4P1pg2 3ln1-2
	G4P3pg1 5ln24	G4P4pg5 ln31-34	G4P3pg6 ln17		G4P3pg4 ln30	G4P5pg3 ln23-25	G4P4pg5 ln12-15	G4P2pg 23ln9
	G4P5pg1 6ln15-20	G4P4pg6 ln2-3	G4P4pg7 ln1-3		G4P1pg4 ln24	G4P1pg3 ln31	G4P3pg5 ln16-17	G4P2pg 23ln9
	G4P5pg1 6ln15-20	G4P4pg6 ln9-13	G4P4pg7 ln15-16		G4P3pg8 ln2-3	G4P3pg3 ln32	G4P1pg5 ln18	G4P5pg2 3ln10

<b>G4P2pg</b> <b>16ln32-33</b>	G4P4pg6 ln15-16	G4P4pg7 ln24-26		G4P4pg8 ln9	G4P5pg3 ln33	G4P3pg5 ln19	G4P4pg2 3ln11-12
<b>G4P2pg</b> <b>16ln32-33</b>	<b>G4P1pg</b> <b>6ln21</b>	<b>G4P5pg</b> <b>7ln28-29</b>		G4P4pg8 ln11	G4P4pg4 ln2	G4P2pg5 ln22	G4P3pg2 3ln13
G4P2pg1 7ln6	<b>G4P1pg</b> <b>6ln21</b>	<b>G4P5pg</b> <b>7ln28-29</b>		G4P4pg8 ln17	G4P5pg4 ln3-4	G4P5pg5 ln23	G4P4pg2 3ln14
G4P1pg1 7ln7	G4P5pg6 ln22-23	G4P3pg7 ln30-31		G4P3pg9 ln6	G4P3pg4 ln5	G4P2pg5 ln25	G4P4pg2 3ln20-21
G4P4pg1 7ln30-31	G4P4pg7 ln32-33	G4P3pg7 ln34		G4P5pg9 ln7	G4P5pg4 ln6-7	G4P4pg5 ln34-35	G4P5pg2 3ln22
G4P5pg1 7ln32-33	G4P4pg7 ln35	G4P3pg8 ln1-2		G4P4pg9 ln8-10	G4P1pg4 ln20-21	G4P4pg6 ln18	G4P2pg2 3ln23-24
G4P5pg1 7- 18ln34-1	G4P3pg8 ln1	G4P1pg8 ln4-5		G4P4pg9 ln20	G4P5pg4 ln22	G4P1pg6 ln19	G4P5pg2 3ln27
G4P1pg1 8ln3	G4P4pg8 ln6-7	G4P1pg8 ln8		G4P1pg9 ln21-22	G4P5pg7 ln20	G4P3pg6 ln20	G4P1pg2 3ln28
G4P3pg1 8ln4	G4P1pg8 ln10	G4P4pg8 ln11-13		G4P3pg9 ln30	G4P3pg8 ln34	G4P5pg6 ln23-27	<b>G4P4pg</b> <b>23ln31</b>
<b>G4P5pg</b> <b>18ln8-9</b>	G4P4pg8 ln25-27	G4P1pg8 ln14		G4P2pg9 ln33	G4P4pg1 0ln13	G4P1pg6 ln28	<b>G4P4pg</b> <b>23ln31</b>
<b>G4P5pg</b> <b>18ln8-9</b>	G4P5pg8 ln28	G4P1pg8 ln18-19		G4P1pg1 0ln1	G4P1pg1 0ln14	G4P5pg6 ln29	G4P3pg2 4ln6-8
<b>G4P4pg</b> <b>18ln15-16</b>	G4P4pg8 ln29	G4P5pg8 ln20		G4P3pg1 0ln2-4	G4P3pg1 0ln15	G4P1pg6 ln32-33	
<b>G4P4pg</b> <b>18ln15-16</b>	G4P4pg9 ln23-28	G4P1pg8 ln21		G4P3pg1 0ln20	G4P1pg2 2ln1	<b>G4P5pg</b> <b>7ln5-14</b>	
G4P1pg1 8ln17	G4P1pg1 0ln28	G4P5pg8 ln22-23		G4P3pg1 1ln8		<b>G4P5pg</b> <b>7ln5-14</b>	
G4P2pg1 9ln29-30	G4P5pg1 0ln29-30	G4P4pg8 ln24-25		G4P2pg1 1ln11		G4P5pg7 ln17-21	
	G4P2pg1 1ln16	G4P4pg8 ln31-33		G4P5pg1 1ln12		G4P2pg7 ln22-23	

	G4P4pg1 1ln19-22	G4P4pg9 ln1		G4P1pg1 1ln29		G4P5pg7 ln27	
	G4P2pg1 1ln30-31	G4P3pg9 ln2		G4P1pg1 2ln3		G4P2pg8 ln30	
	G4P1pg1 2ln5	G4P5pg9 ln4		G4P4pg1 3ln8-10		G4P1pg1 0ln23-26	
	G4P5pg1 2ln6	G4P5pg9 ln11		G4P4pg1 3ln27-29		G4P5pg1 0ln30-33	
	G4P1pg1 2ln7-8	<del>G4P4pg</del> <del>9ln12-16</del>		G4P4pg1 3- 14ln35-2		G4P1pg1 1ln17	
	<del>G4P5pg</del> <del>12ln9-22</del>	<del>G4P4pg</del> <del>9ln12-16</del>		G4P3pg1 4ln7		G4P4pg1 1ln18-19	
	<del>G4P5pg</del> <del>12ln9-22</del>	G4P4pg1 0ln8-10		<del>G4P4pg</del> <del>14ln8-17</del>		<del>G4P3pg</del> <del>12ln36-37</del>	
	G4P5pg1 3ln30	G4P4pg1 1ln24-25		<del>G4P4pg</del> <del>14ln8-17</del>		<del>G4P3pg</del> <del>12ln36-37</del>	
	G4P4pg1 3ln31	G4P4pg1 5ln25		G4P3pg1 5ln1		G4P4pg1 3ln1-6	
	G4P3pg1 3ln32	G4P3pg1 5ln26		G4P3pg1 6ln1		G4P3pg1 3ln7	
	G4P4pg1 3ln33-35	G4P4pg1 5ln27-28		G4P1pg1 6ln2		G4P4pg1 3ln10-11	
	G4P3pg1 6ln6	G4P4pg1 7ln9-12		G4P3pg1 6ln3		G4P3pg1 3ln12	
	G4P3pg1 6ln10	G4P5pg1 7ln14		G4P3pg1 6ln12-14		G4P4pg1 3ln13-14	
	G4P4pg1 7ln8-9	G4P1pg1 7ln15-16		G4P5pg1 6ln15		G4P5pg1 5ln13	
	G4P1pg1 7ln13	G4P1pg1 7ln18-20		G4P3pg1 6ln25-27		G4P4pg1 5ln19-20	
	G4P5pg1 7ln17	G4P3pg1 7ln21		G4P4pg1 8ln5		G4P5pg1 5ln21	
	G4P5pg1 7ln26-28	G4P1pg1 7ln22		G4P4pg1 8ln7		G4P5pg1 6ln5	

	G4P3pg1 7ln29	G4P5pg1 7ln23		G4P1pg1 8ln18		G4P5pg1 6ln7-8	
	G4P1pg1 8ln10-14	G4P3pg1 7ln24		G4P5pg1 8ln23-24		G4P1pg1 6ln9	
	G4P4pg 18ln19- 22	G4P2pg1 7ln25		G4P2pg 18ln25- 26		G4P1pg1 6ln11	
	G4P4pg 18ln19- 22	G4P3pg1 9ln25-26		G4P2pg 18ln25- 26		G4P3pg1 6ln21-22	
	G4P3pg1 9ln16	G4P4pg2 1ln17		G4P2pg1 8ln29-30		G4P5pg1 6ln23-24	
	G4P4pg2 0ln6-15	G4P1pg2 1ln18		G4P4pg1 8ln31		G4P4pg1 9ln27-28	
	G4P4pg2 0ln18-22	G4P4pg2 1ln19		G4P2pg1 8ln32-33		G4P5pg2 0ln25	
	G4P4pg2 1ln2-6	G4P2pg2 1ln20		G4P3pg1 8ln34		G4P4pg2 0ln26	
	G4P4pg 21ln11- 15	G4P3pg2 1ln24		G4P4pg1 9ln3-4		G4P5pg2 0ln27-28	
	G4P4pg 21ln11- 15	G4P4pg2 1ln25		G4P2pg1 9ln5		G4P4pg2 0ln35-37	
		G4P3pg2 1ln26		G4P3pg1 9ln6		G4P5pg2 1ln1	
		G4P1pg2 1ln28-29		G4P3pg1 9ln8-9		G4P4pg 21ln21- 23	
		G4P3pg2 1ln30-31		G4P3pg1 9ln11-12		G4P4pg 21ln21- 23	
		G4P1pg2 1ln32		G4P2pg1 9ln14-15		G4P4pg2 2ln2-3	
		G4P4pg2 1ln33		G4P3pg1 9ln21-22		G4P4pg2 4ln9-10	
		G4P4pg2 2ln3-5		G4P2pg1 9ln23-24		G4P5pg2 4ln11	

		G4P4pg2 2ln10		G4P4pg2 0ln31-32		G4P5pg2 4ln12-13	
		G4P3pg2 2ln11		G4P1pg2 0ln33		G4P4pg2 4ln15-17	
		G4P4pg2 2ln12		G4P4pg2 0ln34-35			
		G4P4pg2 2ln14-15		G4P1pg2 1ln8-9			
		G4P5pg2 2ln20		G4P3pg2 2ln13			
		G4P3pg2 2ln21		G4P2pg2 2ln16-17			
				G4P3pg2 2ln18			
				G4P4pg2 2ln19			
				G4P4pg2 2ln23			
				G4P4pg2 2ln25			
				G4P3pg2 2ln26			
				G4P4pg2 3ln5			
				G4P2pg2 3ln7			
				G4P1pg2 3ln8			
				G4P5pg2 4ln1-2			
				G4P4pg2 4ln20			



Group 5

	1) Fear	2) Anger	3) Suspicion	4) Indifference	5) Ways of reacting to terrorism	6) Events of concern	7) Why attacks happen	8) Ways of media consumption
Group, participant, Page and line(s) number	G5P6pg 1ln23-26	G5P6pg4 ln37	G5P6pg2 ln11-18	G5P4pg1 ln32-33	G5P6pg1 ln12-13	G5P3pg1 ln7	G5P2pg4 ln12-15	G5P6pg 17ln23-27
	G5P6pg 1ln23-26	G5P5pg7 ln8-10	G5P4pg2 ln25-26	G5P5pg1 ln34	G5P6pg 1ln18-21	G5P4pg1 ln8	G5P6pg 4ln23-26	G5P6pg 17ln23-27
	G5P4pg1 ln27	G5P3pg7 ln21-22	G5P4pg2 ln30-32	G5P4pg1 ln35	G5P6pg 1ln18-21	G5P5pg1 ln9	G5P6pg 4ln23-26	G5P4pg1 7ln34-36
	G5P6pg1 ln28	G5P2pg7 ln23	G5P6pg2 -3ln33-3	G5P6pg2 ln4-6	G5P6pg2 ln3-4	G5P2pg2 ln22	G5P3pg4 ln27	G5P5pg1 8ln1-2
	G5P6pg2 ln2-3	G5P1pg8 ln1	G5P4pg3 ln4	G5P6pg3 ln25	G5P6pg2 ln6-9	G5P3pg2 ln23	G5P6pg4 ln28-35	G5P4pg1 8ln3
	G5P6pg 4ln5	G5P4pg8 ln24	G5P6pg3 ln5-8	G5P6pg3 ln27-30	G5P3pg2 ln19	G5P4pg2 ln25	G5P6pg4 ln28-35	G5P2pg1 8ln11
	G5P6pg 4ln5	G5P6pg1 3ln11-14	G5P2pg3 ln15-21	G5P4pg3 ln31	G5P6pg4 ln9-10	G5P2pg3 ln13	G5P3pg4 ln36	G5P2pg1 8ln13-16
	G5P3pg 4ln6	G5P6pg1 3ln24-27	G5P6pg4 ln1-2	G5P6pg 3ln32-33	G5P1pg4 ln21-22	G5P3pg3 ln14	G5P6pg5 ln3	G5P6pg2 3ln19-20
	G5P3pg 4ln6	G5P4pg1 4ln26	G5P1pg4 ln3	G5P6pg 3ln32-33	G5P2pg5 ln28-30	G5P2pg3 ln15	G5P4pg5 ln4	G5P1pg2 3ln28-29
	G5P6pg4 ln7	G5P5pg 14ln31-32	G5P6pg 4ln7-10	G5P1pg3 ln34	G5P1pg5 ln31	G5P2pg5 ln25	G5P2pg5 ln5	G5P4pg2 3ln30
	G5P1pg5 ln12	G5P5pg 14ln31-32	G5P6pg 4ln7-10	G5P6pg4 ln4-5	G5P4pg6 ln20-22	G5P4pg1 2ln13	G5P6pg5 ln6	G5P6pg2 3ln31-32
	G5P1pg 6ln29	G5P6pg1 6ln8-10	G5P2pg4 ln15-20	G5P6pg4 ln10-11	G5P2pg6 ln23	G5P5pg1 2ln14	G5P4pg5 ln7	
	G5P1pg 6ln29	G5P5pg1 6ln22-23	G5P6pg5 ln20-21	G5P2pg4 ln12	G5P5pg6 ln24	G5P3pg1 2ln15	G5P2pg5 ln8	
G5P4pg6 ln30	G5P6pg1 6ln30	G5P3pg6 ln7	G5P2pg5 ln32-33	G5P3pg7 ln18-19	G5P2pg1 2ln16-17	G5P1pg5 ln9		

G5P2pg6 ln31-32	G5P6pg2 0ln1-3	G5P2pg6 ln8-9	G5P6pg6 ln12-13	G5P4pg7 ln20	G5P4pg2 0ln6	G5P2pg5 ln10-11	
G5P1pg7 ln1	G5P5pg2 0ln12	G5P6pg6 ln10-11	G5P6pg6 ln25	G5P2pg8 ln2-8	G5P5pg2 0ln7	G5P2pg5 ln13-18	
G5P2pg7 ln2	G5P2pg 20ln13- 14	G5P6pg6 ln16-17	G5P4pg6 ln26	G5P5pg8 ln9	G5P5pg2 0ln10	G5P2pg5 ln13-18	
G5P4pg9 ln22	G5P2pg 20ln13- 14	G5P5pg7 ln11-13	G5P6pg6 ln27	G5P5pg8 ln13	G5P2pg2 0ln11	G5P6pg5 ln19-20	
G5P2pg1 2ln21-22	G5P2pg2 0ln16-17	G5P2pg7 ln14	G5P2pg6 ln28	G5P4pg8 ln20-23		G5P1pg5 ln26	
G5P4pg1 2ln25	G5P6pg2 1ln15	G5P3pg1 ln15	G5P6pg8 ln26-27	G5P3pg8 ln25		G5P2pg5 ln27-28	
G5P2pg1 2ln26-27	G5P4pg2 2ln15-16	G5P1pg7 ln16	G5P6pg 8-9ln31- 3	G5P6pg8 ln26		G5P4pg6 ln1	
G5P6pg1 2ln28-29	G5P6pg2 2ln19-20	G5P5pg7 ln17	G5P6pg 8-9ln31- 3	G5P3pg8 ln28		G5P2pg6 ln2	
G5P2pg1 2ln30	G5P6pg 23ln21- 23	G5P2pg7 ln23-27	G5P6pg9 ln5-10	G5P6pg8 ln29-31		G5P4pg6 ln3-4	
G5P6pg1 2- 13ln34-3	G5P6pg 23ln21- 23	G5P4pg8 ln12-16	G5P6pg9 ln16-18	G5P6pg9 ln3-4		G5P6pg6 ln11-12	
G5P6pg1 3ln14-20	G5P4pg2 3ln24	G5P6pg9 ln10-11	G5P1pg9 ln23-25	G5P6pg9 ln18-21		G5P6pg6 ln11-12	
G5P2pg1 3ln28	G5P6pg2 3ln26-27	G5P4pg9 ln12	G5P6pg1 1ln4-5	G5P1pg9 ln23		G5P6pg6 ln15-16	
G5P6pg1 3ln35-37	G5P6pg2 3ln32-37	G5P6pg9 ln13-14	G5P6pg1 1ln7-8	G5P5pg9 ln35		G5P6pg6 ln17-19	
G5P1pg1 4ln29	G5P6pg2 4ln2-4	G5P6pg9 ln15	G5P4pg1 1ln9-10	G5P6pg1 1ln1-2		G5P2pg7 ln4-5	
G5P6pg 15ln1-3		G5P6pg1 0ln33-34	G5P4pg1 1ln13-14	G5P6pg1 1ln4-5		G5P5pg 7ln6	
G5P6pg 15ln1-3		G5P1pg1 1ln22-23	G5P4pg1 3ln5	G5P3pg1 1ln6		G5P5pg 7ln6	

G5P6pg 15ln8-13		G5P2pg1 1ln24-25	G5P4pg1 3ln10	G5P4pg1 3ln29-30		G5P2pg7 ln7
G5P6pg 15ln8-13		G5P2pg1 2ln7	G5P6pg1 6ln26	G5P1pg1 3ln31		G5P3pg9 -10ln36- 4
G5P4pg 15ln14		G5P2pg1 2ln17-19	G5P6pg1 6ln33	G5P6pg1 3ln32-35		G5P4pg1 0ln7
G5P4pg 15ln14		G5P6pg1 2ln32-34	G5P1pg1 7ln5	G5P4pg1 4ln13		G5P6pg1 0ln8
G5P2pg1 5ln17-18		G5P6pg1 3ln20-21	G5P5pg1 7ln14-16	G5P2pg1 4ln14		G5P4pg1 0ln9
G5P6pg1 5ln19		G5P2pg1 3ln22	G5P5pg1 7ln18-20	G5P1pg1 4ln15		G5P5pg1 0ln10
G5P5pg 15ln20		G5P4pg1 3ln23	G5P6pg1 7ln27-32	G5P2pg1 4ln16-19		G5P4pg1 0ln11
G5P5pg 15ln20		G5P6pg1 5ln7-8	G5P1pg1 7ln33	G5P1pg1 4ln20		G5P6pg1 0ln20-22
G5P4pg1 5ln23		G5P6pg1 7ln8-9	G5P5pg2 1ln14	G5P2pg1 4ln21		G5P4pg1 0ln23
G5P6pg1 5ln24-25		G5P4pg1 9ln3-5	G5P5pg2 1ln16	G5P2pg1 4ln23		G5P6pg1 0ln24-26
G5P4pg1 5ln26		G5P5pg1 9ln6	G5P2pg2 2ln26	G5P6pg1 6ln1		G5P6pg1 0ln28-29
G5P6pg 15ln28- 31		G5P6pg1 9ln7-9		G5P6pg1 6ln4		G5P4pg1 0ln30
G5P4pg 15ln26		G5P4pg1 9ln10-13		G5P4pg 16ln5		G5P6pg1 0ln31
G5P4pg1 5ln32-34		G5P6pg2 1ln2-3		G5P4pg 16ln5		G5P3pg1 0ln32
G5P4pg1 6ln11-12		G5P4pg2 1ln4		G5P6pg1 6ln6		G5P6pg1 0ln33
G5P4pg1 6ln11-12		G5P6pg2 1ln5-6		G5P2pg1 6ln16		G5P3pg1 1ln12
G5P1pg1 6ln13-14		G5P4pg2 1ln7		G5P2pg1 6ln24-25		G5P6pg1 1ln16

G5P4pg1 6ln15		G5P1pg2 1ln8		G5P6pg 16ln26- 29		G5P4pg1 1ln17	
G5P6pg1 7ln7-8		G5P4pg2 2ln24		G5P6pg 16ln26- 29		G5P6pg1 1ln18	
G5P6pg1 7ln9-11		G5P5pg2 2ln25		G5P6pg1 6- 17ln33-2		G5P3pg1 1ln19-20	
G5P2pg1 8ln22		G5P6pg2 2ln28		G5P6pg1 6- 17ln33-2		G5P2pg1 1ln27-29	
G5P6pg1 8ln23		G5P4pg2 2ln29		G5P5pg1 7ln3-4		G5P1pg1 1ln30	
G5P5pg 20ln15		G5P6pg 22ln30- 33		G5P2pg1 7ln6		G5P2pg1 2ln1-2	
G5P5pg 20ln15		G5P6pg 22ln30- 33		G5P5pg1 7ln16-18		G5P2pg1 2ln4	
G5P6pg 20ln22- 25		G5P4pg2 3ln4		G5P4pg1 7ln21-22		G5P1pg1 2ln5-6	
G5P6pg 20ln22- 25		G5P5pg2 3ln5		G5P6pg1 7ln23-27		G5P6pg1 2ln31-32	
G5P3pg2 0ln26		G5P2pg 23ln6-7		G5P6pg1 9ln31		G5P6pg1 4ln2	
G5P4pg 21ln9-13		G5P2pg 23ln6-7		G5P2pg1 9ln32-33		G5P6pg 14ln4-10	
G5P4pg 21ln9-13		G5P5pg2 3ln9		G5P4pg2 0ln21		G5P6pg 14ln4-10	
G5P6pg2 2ln13-14		G5P3pg2 3ln12-13		G5P2pg2 0ln27-28		G5P4pg1 4ln30	
		G5P2pg2 3ln14		G5P2pg2 0ln29		G5P5pg1 4ln31	
		G5P6pg2 3ln20-21		G5P6pg2 0ln30-31		G5P6pg1 5ln3-4	

				G5P4pg2 1ln1		G5P2pg1 5ln5-6	
				G5P2pg2 1ln17		G5P6pg1 5ln15-16	
				G5P1pg2 1ln18		G5P2pg1 6ln19-21	
				G5P6pg2 1ln19-21		G5P5pg1 6ln31	
				G5P6pg 21ln30- 32		G5P6pg1 6ln32-33	
				G5P6pg 21ln30- 32		G5P2pg1 8ln24	
				G5P4pg2 2ln1-3		G5P1pg1 8ln25	
				G5P6pg2 3ln15-17		G5P2pg1 8ln26	
				G5P6pg2 3ln25-26		G5P1pg1 8ln27	
						G5P2pg1 8ln28-29	
						G5P2pg1 9ln22-24	
						G5P6pg1 9ln25-27	
						G5P6pg1 9ln29	
						G5P4pg1 9ln30	
						G5P4pg2 2ln1	
						G5P4pg2 2ln5	
						G5P6pg2 2ln9-13	
						G5P6pg2 3ln17-19	

Group 6

	1) Fear	2) Anger	3) Suspicion	4) Indifference	5) Ways of reacting to terrorism	6) Events of concern	7) Why attacks happen	8) Ways of media consumption
Group, participant, Page and line(s) number	G6P6pg6 ln13-14	G6P1pg1 ln35	G6P2pg1 ln32-34	G6P2pg8 ln13	G6P2pg1 ln28-30	G6P2pg1 ln7-8	G6P6pg4 ln11-12	G6P5pg2 ln24
	G6P6pg 6ln24-26	G6P6pg2 ln3-5	G6P2pg4 ln4	G6P4pg8 ln18	G6P2pg2 ln1-2	G6P6pg1 ln10	G6P6pg4 ln16-17	G6P1pg3 ln6-7
	G6P6pg 6ln24-26	G6P1pg2 ln26	G6P3pg4 ln5	G6P1pg8 ln19	G6P3pg2 ln6	G6P2pg1 ln12	G6P5pg4 ln18-19	G6P4pg9 ln15
	G6P1pg 6ln31-32	G6P1pg3 ln14	G6P1pg4 ln13-14	G6P1pg1 0ln16-17	G6P6pg2 ln7	G6P4pg1 ln14-17	G6P3pg4 ln20-22	G6P1pg9 ln21-22
	G6P1pg 6ln31-32	G6P6pg4 ln1	G6P3pg4 ln15	G6P4pg1 0ln18	G6P3pg2 ln8	G6P3pg1 ln18	G6P1pg4 ln23	G6P3pg9 ln23
	G6P3pg7 ln1	G6P4pg5 ln1	G6P4pg6 ln1	G6P1pg1 0ln19	G6P6pg2 ln9	G6P4pg1 ln19-20	G6P3pg4 ln24	G6P4pg1 0ln7
	G6P6pg 7ln2-3	G6P6pg5 ln6-7	G6P4pg6 ln3-4	G6P6pg1 0ln21-22	G6P6pg2 ln16-17	G6P6pg1 ln22-24	G6P1pg4 ln26	G6P6pg1 0ln8-10
	G6P6pg 7ln2-3	G6P4pg8 ln7	G6P6pg6 ln9-13	G6P5pg1 0ln23	G6P6pg2 ln20-21	G6P6pg2 ln13-14	G6P4pg4 ln27	G6P6pg1 1ln16-17
	G6P4pg7 ln15-18	G6P4pg8 ln9	G6P6pg1 2ln2	G6P1pg1 1ln22	G6P6pg2 ln21-22	G6P5pg2 ln15	G6P1pg4 ln28-29	G6P6pg1 3ln21-23
	G6P6pg 7ln19-20	G6P6pg8 ln10	G6P2pg1 2ln3	G6P1pg1 2ln7-8	G6P5pg2 ln24	G6P1pg2 ln18	G6P2pg5 ln2	G6P1pg1 6ln19
	G6P6pg 7ln19-20	G6P1pg9 ln5-6	G6P6pg1 2ln4	G6P6pg1 2ln12	G6P6pg3 ln13	G6P3pg2 ln19	G6P6pg5 ln3	G6P6pg1 6ln20
	G6P6pg7 ln27	G6P4pg 13ln12	G6P1pg1 3ln11	G6P2pg1 2ln13	G6P2pg3 ln16	G6P3pg2 ln25	G6P1pg5 ln4-5	G6P1pg1 9ln5-6
	G6P4pg7 ln28	G6P4pg 13ln12	G6P1pg1 5ln19	G6P6pg1 2ln14	G6P2pg3 ln18	G6P6pg2 ln27-28	G6P6pg5 ln7-8	G6P6pg1 9ln7
	G6P1pg 8ln5	G6P3pg 13ln13-14	G6P1pg1 5ln21	G6P1pg1 2ln15	G6P3pg3 ln20	G6P1pg2 ln29	G6P3pg5 ln9	G6P4pg1 9ln8
	G6P1pg 8ln5	G6P3pg 13ln13-14	G6P2pg1 5ln22-24	G6P3pg1 3ln20	G6P4pg3 ln23-24	G6P1pg3 ln1-2	G6P3pg5 ln10-11	G6P2pg1 9ln10

G6P1pg8 1n14	G6P4pg1 3n15	G6P1pg1 8n27-28	G6P1pg1 3n29-30	G6P4pg3 1n27-29	G6P1pg3 1n4	G6P1pg5 1n12	G6P2pg1 9n12
G6P5pg8 1n22	G6P4pg1 3n17	G6P3pg1 8n30	G6P4pg1 3n31	G6P4pg3 1n32		G6P6pg5 1n13	G6P1pg1 9n16
G6P6pg 8n24	G6P4pg1 8n16		G6P5pg1 3n32	G6P6pg4 1n1-2		G6P1pg5 1n14	G6P4pg1 9n18
G6P6pg 8n24			G6P1pg1 4n1	G6P2pg4 1n6-7		G6P3pg5 1n15	G6P2pg1 9n19-20
G6P6pg8 1n26			G6P1pg1 4n3-4	G6P2pg5 1n18		G6P6pg8 1n6	G6P5pg1 9n22
G6P4pg8 1n29			G6P2pg1 4n8	G6P1pg5 1n19		G6P6pg8 1n8	G6P6pg1 9n25-26
G6P5pg9 1n1			G6P2pg1 4n27	G6P4pg5 1n20		G6P2pg9 1n7-8	G6P6pg1 9n26-28
G6P6pg 14n5-6			G6P4pg1 5n10	G6P6pg5 1n21		G6P2pg9 1n7-8	G6P4pg1 9n29
G6P6pg 14n5-6			G6P1pg1 5n11	G6P3pg5 1n22		G6P1pg9 1n10	G6P6pg 19n30
G6P2pg1 4n10			G6P2pg1 6n25-26	G6P3pg5 1n24		G6P3pg1 0n24	G6P6pg 19n30
G6P1pg1 4n11-12				G6P1pg5 1n25-25		G6P1pg1 0n25	G6P4pg1 9n31
G6P6pg1 4n13-14				G6P5pg5 1n27		G6P3pg1 0n26	G6P6pg2 0n1-2
G6P6pg1 5n12-13				G6P1pg5 1n28		G6P1pg1 0n27	G6P4pg2 0n3
				G6P3pg5 1n29		G6P1pg1 0n30-31	
				G6P4pg6 1n6		G6P6pg1 1n6-7	
				G6P4pg6 1n17		G6P1pg1 1n8	
				G6P4pg6 1n21		G6P6pg1 1n9	
				G6P1pg6 1n22		G6P3pg1 3n8	
				G6P6pg6 1n23-24		G6P1pg1 3n9	

				G6P4pg7 ln6-7		G6P3pg1 3ln10	
				G6P6pg7 ln8		G6P6pg1 4ln22-25	
				G6P1pg7 ln9		G6P2pg1 5ln30-32	
				G6P6pg7 ln10		G6P1pg1 6ln2	
				G6P4pg7 ln11-12		G6P5pg1 6ln3	
				G6P4pg7 ln13-15		G6P1pg1 6ln4-5	
				G6P4pg7 ln21-22		G6P1pg1 6ln7	
				G6P6pg7 ln23		G6P6pg1 6ln8-10	
				G6P6pg7 ln29-30		G6P1pg1 6ln11	
				G6P4pg8 ln1		G6P6pg1 6ln12	
				G6P1pg8 ln3		G6P6pg1 7ln7	
				G6P4pg8 ln4		G6P1pg1 7ln8	
				G6P1pg8 ln16-17		G6P6pg1 7ln9-11	
				G6P4pg9 ln2		G6P1pg1 8ln6-8	
				G6P1pg9 ln16-19		G6P6pg1 8ln9-10	
				G6P4pg9 ln24-25		G6P1pg1 8ln11	
				G6P4pg9 ln27		G6P6pg1 8ln12-14	
				G6P4pg1 0ln20		G6P1pg1 8ln15	
				G6P3pg1 0ln28-29		G6P6pg1 8ln17-22	



				G6P2pg1 1ln1-3		G6P6pg1 8ln24	
				G6P2pg1 1ln25			
				G6P1pg1 1ln26			
				G6P1pg1 1ln30-32			
				G6P4pg1 2ln5			
				G6P3pg1 2ln6			
				G6P2pg1 2ln18-20			
				G6P2pg1 2ln23-24			
				G6P1pg1 2ln25-26			
				G6P1pg1 2ln28			
				G6P6pg1 2ln30			
				G6P3pg1 2ln31			
				G6P3pg1 3ln4			
				G6P6pg1 3ln5-7			
				G6P4pg1 3ln24			
				G6P6pg1 3ln25-26			
				G6P2pg1 3ln27-28			
				G6P2pg1 4ln2			
				G6P6pg1 4ln6-7			

				G6P1pg1 4ln19			
				G6P4pg1 4ln20			
				G6P1pg1 4ln21			
				G6P1pg1 5ln1-2			
				G6P1pg1 5ln2-3			
				G6P4pg1 5ln4			
				G6P1pg1 5ln5			
				G6P2pg1 5ln6-7			
				G6P1pg1 5ln9			
				G6P1pg1 5ln15			
				G6P3pg1 5ln16			
				G6P1pg1 5ln17			
				G6P1pg1 5ln25-26			
				G6P6pg1 6ln22-23			
				G6P2pg1 6ln26			
				G6P1pg1 6ln32			
				G6P6pg1 7ln1			
				G6P4pg1 7ln3-4			
				G6P4pg1 7ln6			

				G6P6pg1 7ln12-13			
				G6P2pg1 7ln19-20			
				G6P2pg1 7ln22			
				G6P6pg1 7ln23			
				G6P4pg1 7ln24			
				G6P6pg1 7ln25			
				G6P6pg1 7- 18ln29-1			
				G6P1pg1 8ln2			
				G6P6pg1 8ln4-5			
				G6P2pg 18ln31- 32			
				G6P2pg 18ln31- 32			
				G6P2pg1 8- 19ln33-1			
				G6P6pg1 9ln2-3			
				G6P3pg1 9ln17			

## Appendix 11: Educational level and number of explanations given to the attacks

Educational level and number of explanations given to the attacks	
Participant No.	Explanations to the attacks
G1P1	Unhappy with life people Religion Being fooled or trapped Terrorism sect Escaping the events as opposed to fighting
G1P2	Religion Ideology Illness Thorough planning Crowded places (larger media coverage) Sending a message Political Mentally they had been ready The ability to perform an attack (nobody stopped) Poor training of the forces Nuclear terrorism is unlikely unless global scale threat
G1P3	Crowded places Illegally getting into Kazakhstan through the border
G1P4	Establishing presence Being raised that way
G1P5	Difficult to influence due to global scale of terrorism To frighten somebody Getting in the right path
G1P6	Trapped with money
G2P1	
G2P2	Perfect planning Crowded places To set fear Political

	<p>Terrorism related books illegal for possession</p> <p>Vulnerability of children to radicalisation</p> <p>Money</p> <p>‘defenceless and innocent’ children as victims (as opposed to soldiers)</p> <p>To torture as opposed to just kill</p> <p>Inadequate response in reacting/capturing terrorists</p> <p>Ability to acquire grenade gun</p> <p>High crime activity leads to high threat of terrorism</p> <p>Political</p>
G2P3	<p>to destroy the places of sightseeing</p> <p>religious side</p> <p>They are trained</p>
G2P4	<p>People are to blame. In any situation</p>
G2P5	<p>They have resources</p> <p>Crowded places</p> <p>Setting panic</p> <p>Political</p> <p>nobody agitates publicly. This would be too revealing. Maybe somewhere somehow through secondary sources. In the news, in social media they give this food for thought’</p> <p>Normal to region of open conflict, whereas frightening when happens in peaceful place</p> <p>Thorough planning</p> <p>To trigger emotions</p> <p>Ability to escape</p> <p>Not enough provision of police staff for patrol</p> <p>Those assigned to keep people safe exploiting their power for the worse</p> <p>Oil supply</p> <p>Ill minded people</p> <p>Crowded place</p> <p>To demoralise</p>
G2P6	<p>News channels are businesses and public are interested in terrorism news</p> <p>Thorough planning</p> <p>Good organisation and structure</p> <p>Some organisations are supported by certain governments</p> <p>Financial support such as from illegal businesses</p> <p>Crowded places</p> <p>Attacks aimed at creating most resonance e.g. Charlie Hebdo</p>

	<p>Political terrorism (wanting independence)</p> <p>In case of Islamic State, the others came to their territory to put in place their own way of life and their democracy. For the mentality of local people that democratic way of life will never work. That is what they are fighting against</p> <p>camps of training people</p> <p>psychotic people who make a bomb on their own</p> <p>it is easy to make a bomb with just basic knowledge of chemistry</p> <p>people who are easy to be manipulated</p> <p>Using soldiers contractors for money</p> <p>“Just crazy ones”</p> <p>The happening of a next attack is unlikely once there was an attack already and the police are reinforced in the area</p> <p>Common people selling weapons to terrorists</p> <p>Police failing to efficiently stop terrorists – either poor training of police or terrorists being well trained assassins</p> <p>Being only given 5 years imprisonment for a murder</p> <p>Young men escaping the country as opposed to fighting terrorism activity</p> <p>Undersupply of police</p> <p>Those assigned to keep people safe exploiting their power</p>
G3P1	<p>Terrorists are already in Kazakhstan</p> <p>Not only in the most crowded places, but also those places where it is easiest for them to do that</p> <p>religion</p>
G3P2	<p>crowded places</p> <p>personalised approach to everybody</p> <p>They become fanatics</p> <p>terrorists’ documents are in order. Ours may be out of order, theirs will be fine</p> <p>When there was Saddam Hussein, he controlled them all</p> <p>they have resources</p> <p>terrorists from America “test the waters” before attacking Kazakhstan</p> <p>People are not informed about happening terrorism activity and thus put in danger when they go out</p>
G3P3	<p>There is a present threat that comes from Syria to Kazakhstan</p> <p>If terrorists destroyed in Syria they can start raising in Afghanistan</p> <p>Terrorists are everywhere and they agitate</p> <p>Where the believers go that is where they are brainwashed. That is mainly where it emerges</p> <p>to set fear with terrorist attacks</p>

	<p>They came up with founding the Islamic State. And this fanaticism coming from the Youth, even children, girls, are rushing to join them</p> <p>From first sight nobody can recognise a terrorist</p> <p>Terrorists cannot only be in another territory, they are already here</p> <p>local terrorists who developed in Kazakhstan</p> <p>in Belgium there is a state (ISIS) within a state. They did not even come from Syria or Iraq, they were bought up there. Belgian people themselves raised their terrorists.</p> <p>When Saddam Hussein stopped listening to America, they ended him. Same in Syria.</p> <p>Because America seek power and control over the whole world</p> <p>America disturbed Ukraine, and in the same way they can disturb Kazakhstan</p> <p>ISIS</p>
G3P4	<p>the internet</p> <p>special organisations that deal with this, that prepare the people who later perform these attacks</p> <p>crowded places, places where they can hurt most</p> <p>if that person is brainwashed to the extent that he agrees to do that type of thing then he has no way back</p> <p>If not these terrorists then others will cross the border</p> <p>terrorists organising an attack by communicating from prison using internet and mobile phones</p> <p>a single attack can happen anywhere</p> <p>escalation of conflict on heritage nationality would cause people leave</p> <p>nowadays attacks happen everywhere</p> <p>Poor guard of weapon supplies</p> <p>Pupils at school can hack a database. So if you take a trained adult person then it goes without saying</p> <p>A terrorist group can be situated in any country. It can be America, it can be Russia.</p> <p>They can come from either way. It is just a united organisation that spread its tentacles worldwide</p>
G3P5	<p>radicalised through the internet</p> <p>the teenage are most vulnerable to radicalisation</p> <p>the news is instilling panic. There is a benefit to keeping people in fear.</p> <p>Psychologically ill people</p> <p>Terrorists are being put in jails instead of being shot</p> <p>Terrorists can send orders out of prison</p> <p>The world must unite against terrorist as opposed to work of individual states</p> <p>It is easy to search in the internet e.g. how to make an explosive device</p>
G3P6	<p>They radicalise</p>

	<p>Pushed already to the limit people, young girls or lonely people</p> <p>They read the emotions of people very well and understand who needs what to be lured</p> <p>people are negligent with their responsibilities. For example, at the airports. some have committed a crime so they do not have a way back from this.</p> <p>Despair</p> <p>lured with money</p> <p>terrorism is strengthening in such a fast pace that can happen anywhere</p> <p>negligence in prevent measures</p> <p>America are getting themselves into inner politics of countries everywhere</p>
G4P1	<p>Politics (attacks in Donbas are because of Poroshenko and Obama helps him)</p> <p>terrorists just want to prove their power</p> <p>Russia being wrongly accused of attacking the plane</p> <p>They said that it was Russia who attacked the plane. But in reality there were even shown where their launchers were located.</p> <p>crowded place</p> <p>Young people are brainwashed</p> <p>They go like zombie – what they are told they follow</p> <p>Terrorists know the exact type of people to radicalise</p> <p>Obama surrounding Russia from Poland and Romania</p> <p>America brought up terrorists. And then they themselves suffer from ISIS</p> <p>anything can be sold and bought. Same with the explosives.</p> <p>Russia troops falsely accused of being in Donbas</p> <p>They do not want to live the way Kiev wants them to</p> <p>Maybe if in America not Clinton but somebody different comes to power. In this case something will change</p> <p>No guard at the camping site in Norway so he could shoot freely</p> <p>Over there everything is easily available so they got weapons</p> <p>Terrorists must be executed without court and investigation for everybody to see</p> <p>They paid so they could cross. Everything can be sold and bought</p> <p>“messengers” from America approach unemployed youth in Kazakhstan offering money for terrorism</p> <p>Kazakhstan did not demonstrate army power unlike Russia during a parade so people see no evidence of the ability to counteract in case something happened</p> <p>In Georgia for sure it had to do with America. They left their trail everywhere. They may be not guilty but their trail is everywhere</p>
G4P2	<p>Going to kill with full realisation</p> <p>When terrorist target a person of interest, those surrounding at the time get killed as</p>



	<p>well</p> <p>Poverty and last resort to provide for a family</p> <p>drug addiction</p> <p>no control over what they are doing</p> <p>money</p> <p>heartless, infernal... they are the opposite of human</p> <p>they might not steal the nuclear weapon, they can definitely make the 'dirty bomb'</p>
G4P3	<p>Fanatics</p> <p>there will go people who are frustrated in life. Maybe somebody hurt them</p> <p>weak people are radicalised.</p> <p>It was said on TV that those from previous Soviet Union are for them 'cannon fodder'. Those at command are not sent to die</p> <p>there are a lot of even Russians in ISIS</p> <p>I said to her 'are you a crazy person?' She thinks that over there Russia keeps attacking Donbas.</p> <p>They don't get radicalised because of watching this. It is to do with the way they are brought up</p> <p>Trying to cure psychologically ill terrorists when need to kill them</p> <p>guns are sold ready for them</p> <p>The presidents are weak. If it was up to Gorbachyov, take that same Ukraine, he would bring in his troops and they would strangle them all</p> <p>Terrorism needs organisation people in Ukraine did not came up themselves with these ideas</p> <p>Poor security</p> <p>Ability for terrorists to steal from storehouses</p> <p>America differentiates between good and bad terrorists but needs to cooperate with Russia</p>
G4P4	<p>human stupidity</p> <p>Why do not they destroy those whom they are angry with? For example, a government? Instead they come to a Church, they blow mosques, busses where people have no idea and not related to the issue in any way. They just blow, this is savagery and stupidity</p> <p>They just want to prove their power</p> <p>Crowded places</p> <p>'Idiots who have not a single connection to religion'</p> <p>Blackmailed by killing their family if not become a terrorist</p> <p>No Obama – no terrorism. Forcing democracy on Iraq and Libya</p> <p>Political (Russia bothering America, Americans not understanding Russians)</p>

	<p>America winds it all up. They fed ISIS</p> <p>Terrorists supply Turkey with oil. And those buy for cheap, so mutual benefit for those in Turkey and terrorists</p> <p>for 20 years media have been educating young people and they grew up hearing nothing good about Soviet Union and now think Russia attacked Kiev attacked to force their way of living</p> <p>Political (President of America not having a decision in where the country goes)</p> <p>Russia did not attack it is being surrounded</p> <p>In Soviet union police would counteract terrorism and crime and today people die everyday</p> <p>Weapons need to be allowed so that everybody can get a gun, because a terrorist will always find a gun, and normal people remain unprotected to that</p> <p>Lack of patriotic bringing up, loss of moral values such as being kind</p> <p>Trying to cure mentally ill terrorists</p> <p>need to tell the truth and in a neutral way. a young person will be watching and thinking 'if I do the same they will be talking about me with the same delight'</p> <p>weak border control</p> <p>going against the government for personal reasons</p> <p>Escaping region of conflict as opposed to fighting terrorism</p> <p>Having a leader organising people</p> <p>the West destroyed lives in countries of refugees</p> <p>Countries must be united to resist terrorism (Kazakhstan needs Russia's support)</p> <p>Lack of guard where terrorists could get their supply</p> <p>Political (if going armed against an elected government then a terrorist, as opposed to good and bad terrorists)</p> <p>p.20; (28) 'Some think they do not need help, they can figure it out themselves. They even block all the actions against those terrorists.</p> <p>Political (Kiev attacked Donbas and Lugansk)</p> <p>There are bad people who provoke everywhere. America has means to finance and organise provocation</p> <p>Loss of moral values and promotion of business on television</p>
G4P5	<p>In Kazakhstan the issue of land</p> <p>Young people brainwashed to the extent that they are doing put their lives as sacrifice there is little measures taken to talk to and explain the new generation that Islam is not about exploding but is about something totally opposite</p> <p>They do this for a dose</p> <p>They say soon whole America will be under water, that is why</p> <p>Poor work of national security organisations in finding terrorism at early stages</p>

	<p>information appears in internet</p> <p>Mainly it is students and young people who go there. There are little older people there, because mature people already gasped their lives and they know what to go for. As for young people, they do not know how to set a direction to their energy.</p> <p>Unengaged young people due to lack of camp sites and physical education schools that used to be free for everybody in Soviet Union</p> <p>Terrorist group leader knowing how to take advantage of young people</p> <p>All young people can understand is money</p> <p>Terrorist attacks were and terrorist attacks will be</p> <p>Terrorists able to get weapons through as forces do not take enough checks</p> <p>Punishment for terrorism must be working in inhumane conditions for everybody to see and know the consequences of becoming a terrorist</p> <p>Poor border control</p> <p>There they escaped from the prison, here they crossed the border. Money means everything</p> <p>It started with revolution and it went on until they destroyed everything</p> <p>What would one Gorbachyov do? It needs national intelligence organisations to do that</p> <p>Political (American people not wasting money on Soviet Union but deteriorating nation to nation relationship so that it collapsed by itself)</p> <p>Instability with change of a president</p> <p>Not enough checks on who is entering a country, ISIS use that</p> <p>not enough counter measures</p>
G4P6	
G5P1	<p>Money</p> <p>Thorough planning</p> <p>Women and children becoming assassins as well</p> <p>Conspiracy theory against America regarding them purposely designing violent cartoons</p> <p>Watching too many American cartoons</p> <p>Those who decided on an attack will find a way</p> <p>People need to stay alert despite being assured in security</p>
G5P2	<p>Remember Baghdad and Saddam Hussein? That is where it all started</p> <p>Americans started intruding in Iraq and this caused that terrorist attack in America</p> <p>That is where the first attacks happened and then they came to Afghanistan</p> <p>There must be a training from early ages at school to deal with suspicious items such as a placed bag with explosives or suspicious people such as the ones with beards or some gathering</p>

	<p>Jealousy among young children can make them do anything just to get a better phone than others</p> <p>By staying alert an ordinary person in Kazakhstan prevented the attack by reporting hidden weapons under the bridge</p> <p>Crowded places</p> <p>Terrorism is sponsored from abroad</p> <p>Becoming a terrorist to provide for a family</p> <p>Being blackmailed about their family getting hurt if not join</p> <p>Wahhabis</p> <p>The influence of violence in cartoons on children</p> <p>Politics of American people</p> <p>The threat of nuclear war from North Korea</p> <p>they could have prevented that. They could have installed video cameras.</p> <p>Difficulty of border control in a mountain region</p> <p>negligence among law enforcement authorities who could not disarm a terrorist in time p</p>
G5P3	<p>Wahhabism</p> <p>a sect</p> <p>to earn money</p> <p>certain sponsors</p> <p>conspiracy theory against America not cooperating in fighting terrorism</p> <p>Violence in foreign cartoons</p> <p>Loss of moral values and focusing on business</p>
G5P4	<p>Conspiracy theory about 9/11 twin towers</p> <p>The Young are easiest to be brainwashed</p> <p>Crowded places</p> <p>Being raised that way</p> <p>Even children and women become terrorists</p> <p>Children cartoons influencing their psyche</p> <p>Lack of parental control over what children watch</p> <p>Loss of moral values in modern cartoons</p> <p>Psychotic and not conscious of his own actions people</p> <p>Can happen anywhere as no one is guaranteed security</p> <p>A car on the road could be mined</p> <p>Not including a group on the list of terrorist groups in Kazakhstan must be of profit to somebody</p> <p>Countries with terrorism history are better prepared</p> <p>Lack of prevention and warning to the public</p>

G5P5	<p>they choose a family who are in need</p> <p>Poor intelligence, uneducated</p> <p>an ill person</p> <p>security at schools is just for the show. It is usually either a young man of 20-25 years old or a retired man</p>
G5P6	<p>terrorism can happen on purpose and in any part of the world.</p> <p>Intensifying of some army stuff is very likely</p> <p>All this that is going on with religiousness, it is absolutely not Islam. The Islam as it is never provides for a murder of a person</p> <p>Conspiracy theory regarding 9/11 saying the towers were detonated and staged as an attack</p> <p>In Ukraine it was provocation on nationality basis</p> <p>Uneducated people who cannot analyse the information given to them and thus easily radicalised</p> <p>they also take psychotropic substances, such as drugs, various smoking blends</p> <p>At school they don't pay enough attention to ethics and concept of family, the damage drugs cause</p> <p>family aspects, and what a family is, and maybe gave some lessons about psychotropic</p> <p>Young people. Unstable psyche, not enough educated</p> <p>Women are offered good pay and employment for getting information</p> <p>the basic people are just executors. Who makes the order we do not know.</p> <p>it is impossible to find the truth. One is right in this place and another is right in that place.</p> <p>children have unstable psyche because of the flashing and constantly moving images, murdering in cartoons</p> <p>18+ guidelines are for parents but they cannot always monitor what children watch</p> <p>Some Soviet cartoons promoting drinking alcohol and smoking</p> <p>People driven by fanaticism, who have nothing to lose</p> <p>the only thing that can stop this is if the people with big money who let this happen will understand that in this type of war [nuclear] nobody survives</p> <p>sphere of economics will stop developing, part of population will die there, Chaos will begin, people movement from one part of the world to another, then the natural disasters will start. Even without the nuclear explosions we are already experiencing global warming</p> <p>the person who came up with this, would he benefit in any way from it you think?</p> <p>You may have a hundred of airplanes, even two hundred, what is the use to you from it?</p>

	<p>I do not know how you can prevent unless all the people realise the purpose of our living on this planet. And that in fact a person needs very little to be happy, for love and for life. And the universal love and kindness will come, which are sent down to us from the god, regardless of which religion.</p> <p>Not enough lessons at school on family and promotion of moral values like being kind</p> <p>Seeing money as main factor of success in life as children will make them predisposed to bad influences as adults</p> <p>Family plays a crucial role in forming a person to stand against evil and jealousy</p> <p>Terrorists attack peaceful areas to show it can happen anywhere</p> <p>he was not alone, he has many behind his back. Because the preparation costs a lot in general</p> <p>loss of alertness</p> <p>poor border security</p> <p>somebody's wrong mind</p> <p>Countries with history of terrorism prevent future attacks better</p> <p>Just instigate a pupil from that school, about anything and he will bring anything you want to the classroom. What can a security person do about it?</p> <p>there is a personality factor and we know that a lot of things in this world are done for money</p> <p>we did not know what fear is. And now all this is happening everywhere in the world. But we do not have the expertise to deal with it</p> <p>negligence in prevent</p> <p>the security must be guaranteed to us by our government and the related forces. So that it was not just words</p> <p>just the consequences that we are always given, people were not warned</p> <p>the Commonwealth countries, we are absolutely not prepared for the war on terror</p>
G6P1	<p>Crowded place</p> <p>Oil supply in exchange to weapons (political)</p> <p>Vulnerability of young people to being trapped with money</p> <p>They have been already prepared for this. He would not be afraid of anything; it does not matter to him</p> <p>no way back from terrorism</p> <p>the way people are raised and explained what is bad</p> <p>It is just that they went for kids. Don't they know what else to do with their lives?</p> <p>young people under 16 being exposed to films about war or terrorism(this was banned in Soviet Union), videos online</p> <p>Young children being exposed to violent visuals on television</p>

	<p>Ability to escape out of the country</p> <p>Inadequate border control into the country</p> <p>No choice</p> <p>Sale of guns</p> <p>You cannot understand people. Everybody has something of their own going in their heads'</p> <p>There are betrayers everywhere</p> <p>Money, poverty in family</p> <p>Provision of training</p> <p>Using unexpectedness factor to perform an attack</p> <p>Political</p> <p>Coming refugees as terrorism threat</p>
G6P2	<p>America needs wars and terrorist attacks to show those for our feelings</p> <p>Crowded places</p> <p>The executors themselves do not get to decide on anything</p> <p>They are trained by Western experts</p> <p>people whose soul is not filled fully</p> <p>psychotic person</p> <p>clash of different worlds</p> <p>False accusation of helping a terrorist attack when people could have been threatened to give their guns to the terrorist.</p> <p>They could hide and plan a terrorist attack, otherwise it is a murder of some kind.</p> <p>Kazakhstan is no different to all other countries</p> <p>you cannot run away from your destiny</p> <p>it is the terrorists' hands that the nuclear weapon is in. But the at charge type of terrorists that lives offshore. But if we speak about the beard type then of course they will not be let to it</p> <p>What unites them all is that their minds work only in one direction regardless of the reasons for their attack.</p>
G6P3	<p>human factor in terrorism</p> <p>martyrs are just executors. They do not decide anything</p> <p>using Western money</p> <p>exchange, barter</p> <p>Mainly young people. They promise 'a sweet life' for them</p> <p>Lack of education</p> <p>Being tricked into a foreign state by work</p> <p>Action films having impact on children</p> <p>Terrorists have supporters</p>

G6P4	<p>they know the psyche of people when they plan crowded places</p> <p>that must be some hopeless person</p> <p>the topic of terrorism needs to be brought into education from kindergarten level</p> <p>there must be announcements made at airports to alert people at noticing anything suspicious</p> <p>mentally inadequate</p> <p>A young man was shooting</p> <p>Escaping from Syria instead of fighting terrorism there</p>
G6P5	money
G6P6	<p>People are themselves to blame</p> <p>There is a war going on. And during a war any means are good</p> <p>Terrorists steal money to finance what they do, e.g. banking fraud</p> <p>some psychological illness. They do not feel pity for anybody.</p> <p>under the influence of tablets and drugs</p> <p>some go with the realisation</p> <p>Must be lessons on terrorism starting from kindergarten</p> <p>Lack of alertness, people carelessness</p> <p>Mobile phones used as detonation devices in 90s</p> <p>The young were killed by the young</p> <p>He was getting pleasure from all that</p> <p>Can happen anywhere, security cannot be guaranteed</p> <p>The influence of American action films on the Youth</p> <p>Despite arresting the main terrorists it is not revealed who helped them</p> <p>The amount of previous attacks, terrorism being established</p> <p>mentality of people, their perception of the surrounding world</p> <p>Those who are able to destroy themselves can destroy all their family as well. A person who can blow up himself is like a zombie when he goes there. He is not able to do anything else</p> <p>Accepting refugees without checks</p> <p>Young men are becoming refugees instead of fighting terrorism in their countries</p> <p>they are going to conquer Europe and it will become Muslim Europe</p>

Colour key for educational levels:

■ - school only

■ - college

■ - university