Representing the Danish Cartoon Crisis:

An Identity-Focused Analysis in Turkish Islamic Newspapers

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ABSTRACT

This research is an identity-focus analysis of the Danish cartoon crisis in Turkish Islamic newspapers. Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten published twelve cartoons visually depicting Islam Prophet Mohammed on 30 September 2005. In a few months, mass protests began and spread to many countries. The newspapers gave wide coverage to the cartoon crisis. I have analyzed the cartoon crisis news in Turkish Islamic newspapers by appealing Critical Discourse Analysis. In this study, the critical approaches to concepts of identity and discourse were used. The results showed that all Islamic newspapers have common 14 discursive themes and similar narratives during the crisis. Although the newspapers have a consensus on some features of the identity representations, there are also conflicts between them. I explored the main two approaches in Islamic newspapers; traditionalists and reformists. Nevertheless, each newspaper appealed to specific schemes, grammatical and semantic structures. As a result, they structured various self/other nexus inside and outside of Turkey.

Keywords: *Danish Cartoon Crisis—Critical Discourse Analysis—Islamic Identity—Turkish Politics—Islamic Discourse*

PREFACE

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my grandmother, Filiz Peyruze Kars, who influenced my personality profoundly with her wise soul and pure heart.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP   JUSTICE AND DEVELOPMENT PARTY

CDA   CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

CDT   CRITICAL DISCOURSE THEORY

CHP   REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY

DİB   DIRECTORATE OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

DP   DEMOCRAT PARTY

EC   EUROPEAN COMMISSION

ECHR   EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

EU   EUROPEAN UNION

MGH   NATIONAL VISION MOVEMENTS

MNP   NATIONAL ORDER PARTY

ANAP   MOTHERLAND PARTY

MSP   NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY

NATO   NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION

OIC   ORGANIZATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION

RP   WELFARE PARTY

SP   FELICITY PARTY

UN   UNITED NATIONS

US   UNITED STATES

USA   UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

YÖK   COUNCIL OF HIGHER EDUCATION

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1. INTRODUCTION

> ''All people on the earth had one language and the same words. When they traveled east, they found a valley in the land of Shinar and settled there. They said, 'Come, let's build for ourselves a city and a tower… that way we will make a name for ourselves, so that we won't be dispersed over all the earth.' Then the Lord came down to see the city and the tower that the humans built. And he said: 'Let's go down and confuse them by mixing up their language, then they won't be able to understand each other.' …That is the place where the Lord confused the language of the whole world. That is why it is called Babel.''(Common English Bible, Genesis 11:1-9)
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> ''In the beginning, humankind was but one community following one single way but later they differed (among themselves) and began to have different views. Had it not been for a decree already issued by your Lord, it would indeed have been judged between them in respect of all that they differ on.''(Holy Qur'an, Yunus 10:19)

The holy books make an assumption about the genesis of humankind. At first, primitives began their life in peace, and later they found themselves in a conflict. The Bible and Qur'an attribute these conflicts to arising differences. Yet, the Lord does not interfere in humankind to extinguish these diversities. On the contrary, (s)he encourages this heterogeneity sometimes. The Bible marks the beginning of these differences by mixing up their languages. The Qur'an delays judgment on these differences. The Lord emerges by leaving people to their -foreknown- fates; differentiation, and its possible results. In this respect, today's world has already turned into a place of Babel. In other words, we live in an unstable and ever changing world that consists of many conflictual relations, as much as consensus between different people, groups, powers, and countries. These relations are structured by the compromises and disagreements on the symbols, (re)interpretations, values, and their reconstructed versions in time.

Language itself is essential to construct these relations by producing and exchanging the concepts, ideas, and meanings (Hall, 1997, p.1). Discourses are a group of statements that enable a language to represent or tell about a particular topic or subject at a specific historical moment (Foucault, 1972). Social identities, on the other hand, are (re)shaped through discursive practices (Foucault, 1980, p.115). In brief, constructions of the identities are based

on the relations between produced and exchanged concepts, ideas, and meanings in a particular subject within a specific time frame.

This research is an attempt to understand Islamic identities in a historical movement; the Denmark cartoon crisis. How were Islamic identities represented in Turkish Islamic newspapers during the crisis? What do these representations tell us about the relationship between the self and the other? Which themes were applied to the crisis news? What kind of stories/narratives were structured by the newspapers to describe the crisis? Were there any consensus or conflict between the Islamic newspapers?

Regarding these questions, I will examine the representations of the constructed identities in Turkish Islamic newspapers during the Danish cartoon crisis. The data-set consists of six different Islamic newspapers and all their news about the Danish cartoon crisis which were published between January and February 2006. This time range indicates when the crisis reached the peak and the selected newspapers published most news related to the controversy.

Islamic identities are contingent upon a similar process; therefore, they can be analysed through discourses in a certain time frame. As the media is a tool to compose certain discourses, searching out these discourses in a specific time range offers us an insight into Islamic identities.

Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten published twelve cartoons visually depicting Islam Prophet Mohammed on 30 September 2005. One of the drawings represents Mohammed clearly as a terrorist by drawing a bomb in the turban. Afterwards, the mass protests began in many different countries; Danish products were boycotted, the protesters fired Danish embassies, and even some protesters were killed (Douai, 2007, p.4). Eventually, the Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen called the cartoon crisis 'Denmark's worst international crisis since World War II' (Hervik, 2012, p.37). Consequently, the crisis was brought to the international agenda, and political actors sought a solution.

But what made the cartoons more than ordinary drawings that resulted in such an international crisis? Primarily, the cartoons were an inaccurate and offensive representation of the Prophet and they were perceived as such, which created an identity conflict. In connection with this, the reactions against the cartoons were also one of the ways to perform and (re)construct identities on both sides. Moreover, the historical and contextual circumstances and relations enabled the emergence of the crisis. After 9/11 attacks, Afghanistan and Iraq were occupied

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by the US and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Following that, Islamophobia raised in the West, and terrorist Islamic groups increased their actions. However, the Denmark cartoon crisis was not the first nor the last conflict which mobilised Muslims on allegations of insulting Islam and the Prophet.

For instance, before the Denmark crisis, the book named *The Satanic Verses* was published in 1989 which caused a controversy in the Islamic world. Ayatollah Khomeini, who was the spiritual leader of Iran, gave a fatwa for the death of the writer, Salman Rushdi. After the Denmark cartoon crisis, an Islamaphobic film *Innocence of Muslims* was uploaded on YouTube. The video ignited protests, and this time Bashir Ahmad Bilour, the minister of Pakistan, gave a fatwa for the killing of Rushdi. Similarly, Charlie Hebdo Magazine (re)published the Danish cartoons and added their depictions of the Prophet in 2006. Afterwards, the magazine published more cartoons, some of which were depicting Prophet Mohammed as nude. Unfortunately, two people attacked the magazine's office and killed 12 people, including the director of the magazine in 2015. These examples constitute a historical context for the Danish cartoon crisis; and also indicate the significance of investigating these repeated patterns of actions and reactions.

Exploring the cartoons are also important in a broader sense. As a beginning, this crisis turned into a global issue and politicians, legists, religious leaders, bureaucrats and the media got involved in this discussion. Second, the cartoons sparked extensive discussions that go beyond depictions. They revealed ongoing debates such as conflicts between the West and the East or freedom of speech vs blasphemy in the political arena. These debates show us that the event was related to current problems. However, the role of the media was crucial in the crisis. Because everyone, whether protesting or not, got updates on the crisis from the media. Especially developments related to international protests and political agendas were followed by domestic media sources.

Also, the media has specific features that make it more important in terms of social and political sciences. The media, especially the political news, offer a certain perspective to its audiences. In this sense, it is not a neutral tool that represents reality. First, the process of the news begins with deciding which news is worth giving place. Then, the discourse is constructed by choosing the tone of the language and words. Besides, the newspapers are in relation with the political powers. These relations construct the represented identity in the

news. How the identities are constructed can be understood by analysing the discourses of the news. At this point, the newspapers become essential to investigate these issues.

The newspapers did not only cover updates on the cartoon crisis, but also they revealed their attitudes in a way that brings out particular themes which can be found out by reading between the lines. Indeed, these topics date back to the particular consensus and the conflicts between diverse identities. In other words, the discourses of the newspapers (re)presented the historical relations between Islamic identities and other identities and (re)constructed those. Moreover, the newspapers give a chance to observe the various conflicts in Islamic identities. Exploring Islamic identities in Turkey is essential in many aspects.

Soon after the protests spread all over the world, Turkey got involved in the process. The ruling party, Justice and Development Party (AKP), which identifies itself as a conservative-democrat party, preferred to take a middle-of-the-road approach. In other words, during the ongoing European Union (EU) membership process, AKP undertook a bridge mission between the West and the East. Accordingly, Islamic newspapers published lots of news emphasising the attitude of the ruling party during the cartoon crisis.

Turkey was accepted as a bridge between Islamic and Western countries during the Denmark cartoon crisis and took an active role. Even though Turkey has a Muslim majority, the country was founded on a modern political system by its interpretation of modernism, which comes with secular features. During the Danish cartoon crisis, the demonstrations in Turkey did not contain violence in contrast with many Islamic countries. Because of that, it is important to analyze how this peaceful atmosphere was ensured, and how the mediator role was assigned to a country which is under the hegemony of Islamic discourse. At this point, finding an answer might help us understand the standpoint of each different identity encapsulated in Islam during a time of crisis. It should be noted that the identities (re)presented in the past could give us an idea about the transformation of the political systems. However, this topic is not within the limits of this research. Above all, analyzing Islamic identities in Turkey goes beyond exploring (re)presentations only in one country.

The newspapers have an important role in Turkey. They have always been a significant tool to construct identities in Turkey, and people tend to describe different identities by referring to the newspapers of their choice. Moreover, they have a historical position in the country as

constructing and disseminating discourses on Islamic identities through the decades, which I will touch later.

1.1 Methodology

In this study, I analyzed various discourses on Islamic identities constructed by the Turkish Islamic newspapers, by implementing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is an interdisciplinary method formed by Teun A. Van Dijk, which denotes a theoretical and methodological approach to language by focusing on the discourse within contextual and historical conditions (Dijk, 2013a, pp.17-24).

Besides the fundamental principles of CDA, Van Dijk analyses different news by different implementations in his studies. Moreover, even though CDA has a distinct theoretical background, using it as a method provides a better understanding on the contextual consideration for the chosen concepts, themes and topics (Manchin and Mayr, 2012; Dijk, 2011, pp. 185-216; Dijk, 2013a, pp. 9-15, Dijk, 2013b, p.29). It also allows for integration of other theoretical perspectives. This flexibility brings more independence to the researcher in terms of selection of the theory. This is one of the essential reasons why I selected CDA as a methodology.

Furthermore, CDA gives a possibility to explore the bonds between linguistic features (for instance, wording) social and historical context, and the power(s). As Van Dijk (2013b) demonstrates, the method is also adaptable to the international news and the religious issues. Moreover, it gives a critical approach to the discussions on power(s). In this way, it lays a bridge between identity and discourse, as the identity has a direct relation to the other social subjects. I will mention CDA in more detail, together with its practical tools in the methodology chapter.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

 Similar to my methodology, I also benefit from CDA for the theoretical framework, as it also suggests that. Because, CDA has its origins of having critical views against the power(s) and language relations. Moreover, it accepts that the social subjects are constructed, and the representations in the news play a significant role in this process. Hence, the theories of CDA can be chosen in line with these fundamental principles.

Accordingly, I separated CDA into two dimensions: social and linguistic sides. Thereafter, I denominated the social part of the CDA as Critical Discourse Theory (CDT) in this research authentically, and also I addressed different studies. Those studies all take a monist position in their theories, which means that the reality and the discourse can not be separated.

Together with CDA for the theoretical framework of this study, I used the works of Waltz, Hall (1997) and Van Dijk (2013a, 2013b), which highlight the bond between power(s) and discourses. I also used various critical approaches on the identity issue, to point out the tension between *the self and the other,* while constructing the identity. For that purpose, I applied the approaches of Campbell (1992) and Hansen (2013). Also, I discussed the historical reactions of Islamic identities, together with the works of Yavuz (2003, 2005) on the historical background of Islamic identities.

Overall, I explored the newspapers during the Denmark cartoon crisis, together with the concepts of context, discourse and identity, which are used as a theoretical background for the study. I would like to mention some key points of these concepts, especially the works on identity, before I discuss it more detailed in the theory chapter.

Campbell (1993) who has a significant effect on the identity literature, claims that constructing the identity of us is radically dependent on *the other*. His main argument corresponds to the core of my study; accordingly; "otherness is not originated from outside; it should be considered as a part of its meaning and ontological construction". I will use this argument, when I analyze the newspapers in terms of *self versus other*.

The other well-known study of Campbell (1992) remarks that through security politics. According to him, the "competing identities" can be eliminated by the state, and particular differences between the identities would be extinguished (pp. 195-223). In my study, I will use the concept of power beyond the state, because the elimination of the features of identities can be observed during the Danish crisis in Islamic discourses. For instance, the newspapers having a consensus on using specific themes and words to describe the crisis means that there is an elimination of certain features of different identities.

I would also like to base my study's approach on Western-centrism. Edward Said, a very famous writer with his book *Orientalism* (1978), defines Orientalism as "a way of coming to terms with the Orient which is based on the Orient's special place in European" (p.1). Orientalist perspectives also perceive the other ways of progress, which are not in line with

"the material European civilisation and culture" as *the other* (Said, 1978, p.2). Therefore, their reflections are also shaped by the Orientalist discourse.

In my research, Turkish Islamic newspapers disagree with this orientalist views. It is because, Turkey is a country which has a significant number of Muslim population, but at the same time has a secular system. On the other hand, Turkey does not have a Western-type of feudalistic background. Instead, the country has a different historical background with a unique identity. Nevertheless, the way Islamic identities adapted themselves to the new republican administration of Turkey, led the country to a position where it challenges Orientalist perspectives. The Western understanding of the secularism opposes the secularism of religion, and does not assess Islam holistically. However, in contrast, religion plays a significant role in the modernization of Turkey. In this study, I will take Turkish Islamic discourses in the chosen newspapers as an example, and I will discuss how these Islamic discourses are shaped by the identity that challenges the Orientalist perspectives of the West. To analyse this, I will reconsider Islamic thoughts and their possible diversifications.

Another theoretician Ahmed (2017) has a similar approach, as he has a challenging argument against orientalist Bernard Lewis (1965, 1968, 1997). Ahmed (2017) focuses on the diversity of Islamic practices and perspectives. He claims that the theoretical models for analysing Islamic thoughts are not adequate, as they do not consider Islamic practices as historical phenomenons (2017, p.42). Ahmed underlines the differences between Islamic practices by addressing a branch of Sufism philosophy, which attributes drinking wine a positive value (p.58). However, he takes Islam as not a religion, but rather a culture and a group of civilizations which can not be separated. Therefore, the historical and geographical backgrounds are essential (pp. 157-164). In this regard, similar to Ahmed (2017), my research accepts Islamic identities as historical, dynamic and unstable subjects, which also carry a potential to create conflicts and oppositions against each other. Moreover, my research contradicts with the general assumptions of well-known orientalist researcher Lewis who assessed the Islamic countries by using Western concepts, and measured how "democratic" they were in his studies (1968; 1995, p. 8,9; 1997).

Yavuz (2003) focuses on Turkey in his books. He analyzes Islamic political identities in Turkey with its historical background, and emphasizes the transformation of Islamic identities by modern political tools and discourses. Accordingly, Islamic identities were (re)constructed by the national-state relations (pp.47-50). On the other hand, he claims that the media -

especially radio and newspapers- have helped the transformation of Islamic identities and "the creation of a new genre of Muslim intellectuals" which caused internal differentiation and pluralism among Islamic groups at the beginning of the nation-state (pp. 103-105). He encourages researchers to analyze Islamic discourses in the media to highlight the reactions and suggested-solutions to the social events (pp.107-108). I will base my research according to this approach, and analyze discourses in Islamic media to discover internal differences, consensus and transformations of Islamic identities.

1.3 Literature Review

While there are many studies on the Denmark crisis in social sciences, only a few works focus on the (re)presentations of the Denmark crisis in Turkish newspapers (Parlak, 2009; Özmen, 2012; Hakam, 2009; Hervik, 2012, 2018; Eko and Helmueller, 2018; Battaglia, 2006), and these works do not focus on the Islamic identities specifically. In this study, I am to analyze the (re)presentations of Islamic identities in chosen Turkish newspapers. First, I would like to present the arguments in other works in order to show how my research parts its way from the others.

Parlak (2009) has the most extensive research among all, in terms of (re)presentation of Denmark crisis in the Turkish newspapers. His study highlights the constructions of the truth in the media. He argues, by citing from Louis Althusser, that the media carries the ideologies in a way that transforms the individuals into subjects (p.223). The study separates newspapers as right-wing, left-wing and the mainstream media. However, the criteria of this separation are not clearly stated in the research, and the author underestimates the differences between them. For instance, he says that the selected words are similar, but the frequency of their use in different papers is uneven (pp.190-191). In my study, I analyzed two of the newspapers he chose -Zaman and Türkiye- and I found many differences between them in terms of language. Moreover, Parlak (2009) states the significance of the subject constructions in the newspapers; yet he mentions the (re)presentations briefly, and does not argue about how identities were constructed and by which features.

Özmen(2012) explores the (re)presentations in three Turkish newspapers by grouping them as secular, right-wing and left-wing, and by focusing on the concepts which were used in the newspapers. She brings out keywords which were used in the newspapers; but she does not explain what these words mean in terms of identity, nor which context they were used in

(p.56). However, the study discusses about the concepts in selected newspapers, such as freedom of speech, Xenophobia and the (re)presentation of Prophet Muhammad.

Hervik (2012) has a comprehensive book on Denmark cartoon crisis, in which he focuses on the historical circumstances, including Denmark's right-wing populist political tendencies that inflamed the crisis (p.10). The study gives detailed information on how the Danish newspapers evoked nationalistic rhetoric by connecting the crisis with immigrants and the refugees (p.21). The book also provides information on the (re)presentation of other parties. Moreover, the research shows that the discourses on identity are constructed sharply when the national identity seems to be under threat, which I argue about this in my study as well.

In another work, Hervik (2018) argues about the importance of the media in Danish cartoon crisis. The main argument is, violent crimes committed by visible minorities are mainly associated to Islam by a dominant part of "European understanding of terror" (p.2). More importantly, he states that Muslim protests during the crisis were not seen as a form of democratic expression; but rather irrational reactions (p.4). On the other hand, the West was acknowledged as a rational, logical subject (Hervik, 2018, p. 4). This argument shows us that the West also marginalises the other, and the others are the Muslims. The research also reveals that the tendencies of the civilizations regarding the media discourses are similar both in Western countries and Turkey.

Eko and Hellmueller (2018) have very original research on the journalistic practices in France during the Denmark cartoon crisis. They claim that deciding to (re)publish the cartoons or not is related to journalistic paradigms which were constituted by different countries (p.210). The research argues that the connection between French journalistic practices and (re)publishing the cartoons can be understood by analyzing the historical background. Accordingly, (re)publishing the cartoons was perceived as a way of practicing free speech (pp.212-216). The study shows that journalistic practices are essential when making decisions during times of crisis. Nevertheless, the study does not go further to question the discourse of free speech.

In this respect, Battaglia (2006) focuses on the function of "freedom of speech" discourse. She explores the discourse of free speech during the Danish cartoon crisis. She claims that setting forth free speech discourse during the crisis estranges us from "the real relations of power and victimizes a religious minority" (p.21). Moreover, she comes to the conclusion that

free speech became a hegemonic device to control strategy, and this concept dominated most of the debates (Battaglia, 2006, p.21).

1.4 Thesis Outline

In my thesis, I discuss different issues under different chapters. In the second chapter, I discuss my theoretical approach by referencing the works of Campbell (1992, 1993), Hansen (2013), Hall (1997), Foucault (1972, 1980), Van Dijk (2011, 2013a, 2013b), Yavuz (2003, 2005) and more on identity, (re)presentation and discourse. I describe the bond between reality and discourse, discourse and identity, and the features and potentials of the Islamic identities concerning its origins. In the third chapter, I provide background information for the Denmark cartoon crisis by categorizing the event into periods. In this periodisation, I take into account the international decisions, and how severely the protests against the cartoons escalated and re-domesticated between 1 January and 1 March 2006. The fourth chapter is the methodology chapter, which includes how I implement CDA to my research. In the next chapter, I present and analyze the discursive themes in the chosen Islamic newspapers. My analyses mostly base on the varying discourses in the chosen newspapers, which reveal the conflicts between *the self and the other*. Finally, in the last chapter, I share my evaluations and finalize my work with the conclusion.

2. THEORY

CDA is a holistic approach which consists of theory and methodology in discourse analysis, even though it includes different positions within. In my study, I would like to separate CDA into two different levels: linguistic dimension and the social dimension. While the linguistic dimension is based on the grammatical structure and the usage of the words; the social dimension underlines the concepts and historicity, which can be interpreted as the external world surrounding the linguistic.

On the practical level, these two dimensions shape each other, and therefore, Van Dijk does not prefer to separate them from his analyses. However, in my study, I use the linguistic aspect as an analytical tool to do discourse analyses of the chosen Islamic newspapers.

2.1 Ontic Assumptions: Theories of the Reality and the 'Real World' over There

Ontic discussions on the science focus on the fundamental question; whether the reality and the knowledge about the reality are separated sharply in the broadest sense or not. This question corresponds to the unit of analysis in this study: discourse. Accordingly, can the discourses express reality objectively or does it construct reality in the first place? To answer this question, we should first take a look at the ontic concepts: monism vs. dualism.

Monism is the position of avoiding the dichotomy of things and thoughts and arguing that things can not be independent from the thoughts, and vice versa (Jackson, 2016, p.133). From this point of view, we construct dichotomy between concepts, such as; the West/East, power/resistance, micro/macro. In other words, we create these contrasts in our thoughts. On the other hand, the dualist position suggests that these contrasts are independent of the representation of observers. Therefore, the thoughts are not more than "the representations of these things" (Jackson, 2016, p.132).

However, in this study, I acknowledge the monist position of claiming that thoughts do not reflect reality, are (re)shaped with reality. Therefore, analyzing created a contrast between the concepts give us insight into relations between reality and the observer.

In this regard, I take an approach similar to Waltz, who "does not appeal the real but undetectable causal powers of objects". I will appeal contrasts instrumentally "without making an ontological commitment to the reality of such deep dispositions and essential

properties" (Jackson, 2016, p.114). Therefore, I will refer to contrasts as analytical tools/descriptions in this study, whenever it is necessary.

Nevertheless, I believe that in reality, there are unequal powers, both discursive, and therefore, on a practical level, the relational process between the things are not accidental; but rather dependent on the taken-over historical process. Moreover, I believe that the constructed-dichotomies, even they do not exist in the real-life, can be understood as an effort to shape history in the desired direction. Hence, I will point out these directions by detecting relational transformations between and within the agencies, groups, political parties or organizations, the countries, media, or any power (attempts). Besides, I will try to share a brief version of the history of *abstracted*-Islamic identities in Turkey and explore continuities vs. stabilities. By doing this, I will sometimes (re)locate the discourse of the Islamic newspapers on a theoretical level analytically.

It is vital to remind that, alongside the unit of analysis- discourse- the basic concepts, such as identity, ideology or power, are also needed to be addressed and discussed according to this ground philosophical theory. By following these broadest ontic assumptions in the study, I will (re)locate my theory and make descriptions of these concepts.

2.2 The Concepts and the Theory of Concepts
2.2.1 Discourse

The discourse is the unit of the analyses of CDA and can be defined as stretching of language "that may be longer than one sentence" (Salkie, 2006, p. Introduction IX). However, this description, although it is prevalent, falls short in many aspects as it does not explain how the discourse is (re)shaped and why it is different from any other form of the language.

At this point, Van Dijk (2013) points out that the structure of the discourse is based on the social context, including participants, which makes it communicative, and has a production process (p.2). Hence, Dijk locates the discourse in the middle of the social, economic, relational systems. However, he does not prefer to go deeper into the philosophical ontic side of his arguments, except sharing a brief view on the structure and the importance of the cognitive process (Dijk, 1997; 2011; 2013). As he does not base his studies on micro-level descriptions and the theories, he rather groups his empirical data under major headlines, such as "Racism and the Press", in which he shifts between the macro-theories easily. Despite that,

it is obvious he separates discourse from the real world; but builds a relational connection between them. Because, he understands discourse as a relational unit.

In other words, CDA has a specific insight on the relations between language and reality, and it is fair to claim that the method basically finds a balance between language and the social world; it is accepted that there is a dialectic bond between them. Moreover, discourse is not limited to the language. It also includes non-verbal elements, such as the symbols in the pictures. Nevertheless, in this study, I will deal with the verbal language of the news.

Language is defined as a system that "interprets, organizes, and classifies" the world (Conboy, 2013, pp.2-4). It is used for (re)presenting feelings, meanings, ideas, or other people through signs and symbols. By using it, we give meaning to things (Hall, 1997, pp.1-17). Therefore, while analyzing the discourses of the news, I will examine them with this premise: they are used for (re)presenting meanings, ideas, or feelings. Representation is one of the key concepts here, as it explains the biased structure of the discourse including social elements.

The representation is described as "the production of meaning of the concepts in our minds through the language" (Hall, 1997, p.16, 17). When we think about this description, together with the definition of the language, then the representation becomes a concept that produces meanings in our minds through interpretation, organization, and classification. Representation does not reflect the meanings directly, but produces them. The production of meanings can not be independent of our minds. Therefore, it cannot be independent of our understandings, either. As the interpretation, organization, and classification depend on the social meanings that we live in, the production of the representation is a social element. In other words, if the language has a relational character, based on our ground theory, then the representation contains social relations. At this point, discourse, as a social element, has a biased structure.

When we face the discourse, all the background affects our understanding of it. Because, the discourse does not directly reflect the real world, but it (re)presents it. Moreover, conversely, discourse (re)shapes our view of the real world. To clarify this, I will try to show relationships between discourse, social facts, and the language with a graph:
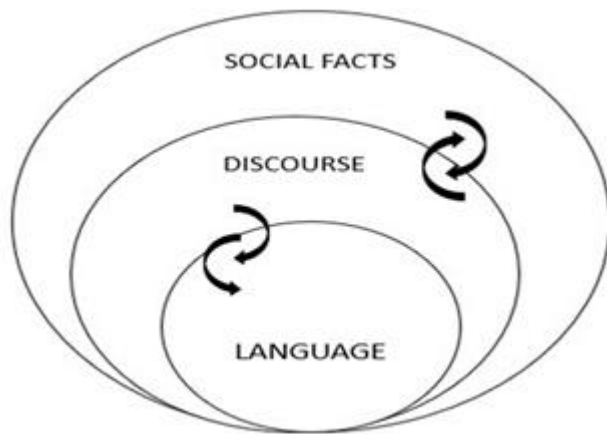
Figure 2.1: Relations between language, discourse and reality (Inspired by J.R Martin and David Rose, 2003, p.4)

In the graph, we can see that the discourse is not only made up of the language and does not include all social facts. Also, the discourse and the language have a connection in given social conditions. Therefore, while the discourse includes the language, it also combines it with the given social context. At this point, CDA aims to reveal "complex relationships between *text* and *context* in the news*"* through analyses (Van Dijk, 2013, p.2). Thus, the analysis requires an "extended and socially integrated view of text" (Conboy, 2013, p.117).

Another feature of the discourse is that it is a living creature; once it is produced, it includes various elements as it covers all the dimensions of the communication such as; sender(s), receiver(s), and target of the message (Güllüoğlu, 2012, p.227). Furthermore, the *medium* carrying the message and the *feedback* given by the audiences come along with the discourse. As all these social elements and the subjects are not stable, the representation is also produced in these relations. Therefore, it changes over time depending on the assigned meaning of the words or the symbols in the society, values, or the other elements.

In my study, I take into account these dimensions while doing my analyses. For instance, I analyze the texts concerning the demands and possible implications by the readers, as much as the presumed goal of the writer. Nevertheless, I do not include economy and ownership related questions such as who are the owners of the newspapers as a part of my thesis. Instead, I discuss the given arguments on discourse and analyze the news through social context.

2.2.2 Identity

> ''Who are we as a collectivity? What are we for one another? Where and in what are we? What do we want; what do we desire; what are we lacking? Society must define its 'identity', its articulation, the world, its relations to the world and to the objects it contains, its needs and its desires'' (Castoriadis, 1997, p.147, 148)

In this chapter, I would like to discuss the relations between the discourse(s) and the identity as these relations constitute the most crucial part of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

In the previous headline, I explored what kind of purposes the discourse can serve, and I will locate these missions in the discourse theory. However, discourses are one of the most vital elements to construct identity. Indeed, it contains a description in itself for specific identity/identities.

Identity is an expression about ourselves, which is "actively, ongoingly, dynamically constituted in discourse" (Santhakumaran, 2007, p.4). Therefore, identity is formed within the discourse. The connection between identity and discourse stems from their constructions and the process of existence as identity is a discursive element. Moreover, they complement and influence each other in a given context. Because, they are both historical set of structures (Santhakumaran, 2007, p.29).

Many researchers point out that the discourses are unstable forms, which are never fixed and their meanings are in permanent slow change (Nelson and Grossberg, 1988, pp.249-258; Barker and Galansinski, 2002, p.2; Gregoria, 2010, p.83; Campell, 1992). Laclau argues that the discourse is "a structure in which meaning is constantly negotiated and constructed" (Nelson and Grossberg, 1988, pp.249-258). So, if the discourses are not fixed and bound to change, then how do we explain the ever-repeating elements in them?

At this point, Barker and Galasinski (2001) argue that although the meanings are "formally undecided", the social context and the practices regulate and fix them "into pragmatic narratives or discourses" (p.2). On the other hand, Foucault (2019) says that the discourses are shaped within historical conditions. In other words, unstable meanings get fixed within historical conditions and social contexts. However, it is still not clear how some discourses still carry almost the same meaning or develop similar attitudes towards the other discourses, such as; nationalism or the dominant interpretation of the religion and tendencies towards the

other discourses about them. Laclau and Mouffe (2001), while discussing the fixed and unstable features of discourses by referring to the Kantian concept of *antagonism,* they underline a crucial point; ''Any discourse is constituted as an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a center'' (p.112).

This domination is about the effort in dominating the meaning of construction in favor of power. In the scope of the research, I do not use the power as only the government mechanism or institutions. By referring power, I instead focus on its relational side.

Foucault (1972, 1980) tends to handle power as a phenomenon based on persuasion, consensus, and complicit cooperation. Therefore, power does not correspond to oppression mechanisms all the time. Althusser (2012) uses the concepts of repressive and ideological state apparatuses. Accordingly, the state performs its power through ideology as well, such as media, which produces discourse. In this point, Carpentier and Spinoy (2008) use Gramsci's concept of hegemony to underline the ideology and counter-hegemony to show the possibility of resistance as the counter-hegemonic practices "attempt to disarticulate the existing order" to build its domination (Carpentier and Spinoy, 2008, p.9). Hence, the implementation and maintenance of the power become possible through ideological apparatus. As the biased-nature of the discourse, that I mentioned, power should fix the meaning in favor of its implementation.

It is not to say; that power can control all the meanings; in that case, different (re)presentations can conflict with power in any case. Nevertheless, as a result of reproductions of the particular discourses, they can become a hegemonic form and, therefore, partially fixed. These partially fixed discourses are called nodal points, *point de caption*, which is a consequence of practices (Carpentier and Spinoy, 2008, pp.112-113).

By now, there are four essential features of the discourse. First, the discourse is not a stable element and, therefore, it can change in time. Second, the meaning is contained in the discourse which is also based on constant negotiation. Third, the historical context and power are among the most significant determinants factors to (un)stabilize discourse. Last, the dominant power, through production and repetition, can fix discourse partially.

Identities are, as the elements represented through discourse, subject to a similar process. However, regarding monist theory, they have a relational bond. In other words, the fixation

process of the discourse affects the identities and vice versa. I would like to give more details about how discourses are located in the identities.

2.3 Discursive Identity

Identity and the discourse have common features and our literature suggests that the discourse does not reflect the identity; instead, identity is constructed in the discourse permanently (Santhakumaran, 2007, p.4; Barker and Galasinski, 2001, p.28). Accordingly, identity is acknowledged as a concept that none of its essences is independent of the discourse. In contrast, identities are discursive practices, and they produce, enact, name the ideas "through citation and reiteration of norms or conventions" (Barker and Galasinski, 2001, p.28).

From this point of view, identities are an active, dynamic, ongoing process (Godeo, 2010, p.83; Hansen, 2013). These features of identity serve two vital arguments for this study. First, it is possible to (re)produce identities and second, and this forming process is related to the social practices. In order to produce identity, while Foucault highlights the significance of the historical and material conditions, Wittgenstein stresses a cultural view on producing (Barker and Galasinski, 2001, p.21). Thus, it is fair to say that, when the conditions and norms change, the components of the identity tend to transform. However, the broader question remains; what components does identity include?

However, alongside the historicity of the identity, in a monist manner, the identity of the self can not be separated from the identity of *the other*. Therefore, one of the most crucial characteristics of the identity is being dependent on *the other.* In other words, one of the most important components of identities is its structure that holding the self and the other together.

I would like to remind that the discourses (through representations) provide meanings, categorizations, and even structure hierarchies between *things*. The person, people, the groups, even the institutions construct their identities by selecting or assigning meanings and symbols, by identifying themselves with specific values, and by making categorizations consciously or unconsciously. In other words, they position themselves in society, as much as they are positioned (Duveen, 2013). This process includes both positioning the self and the other (Andreouli, 2010, p.145). The description of the self keeps out the other. Hence, the other is, first of all, is an external subject to the self. Accordingly, Laclau underlines that the identity is realized when the other "denies that identity" (Laclau from Carpentier and Spinoy, p.8).

On the other hand, although there is significant literature that locates the self on the exact opposite to the others; Hansen (2013) and Campell (2012) argue that not all the differences become a part of the identity. Accordingly, some researchers also underline the ''degree of the otherness''. Hansen (2013) highlights an essential point; ''Self constitutes 'the Other' through degrees of difference, ranging from the radically different to the familiar'' (p.10)

Regarding self/other nexus, I would like to mention Campbell's (1992)'s work, as he highlights the practical production of the identity through the US policy. He, briefly, claims that the boundaries between the self and the other are produced as a political performance inside and outside of the state; especially through construction of discourses of the 'danger,' 'fear' or 'threats' (p.69).

It should be noted that, although the power(s) try to dominate the boundaries of the identities to sustain existing order and produce self-image with different methods; struggles on the meanings in all relations permanently exist. Regarding this matter, the degree of otherness is shaped and (re)produced in the historical context. Laclau states; ''the identification never reaches the point of full identity'' so that the expressed or appropriated elements are never safe (Carpenter and Spinoy, 2008, p.7).

I would like to clarify my general arguments on identity. The identity is a unifying force for the in-groups and the divisive force for the out-groups, especially in more firmed discourses, such as religion or territorial integrity (Aydın-Düzgit, 2005, p.163; Joseph, 2004, p.173). In this point, by following Hansen (2013), I would like to claim that the identity strengthens itself when it is under threat by 'the other.' Besides, the external other is 'intimately linked with the delineation of an internal Other' (Hansen, 2013, p.30). Nevertheless, in crisis times, in-groups differentiation of the identity are often attempted to eliminate to some extent.

Last, above all, when I am analyzing the identities, on the one hand, I will (re)trace its step in history, on the other hand, due to the same reason, focus on the date when newspapers made the news. As the identity is never complete, "it represents a cut of unfolding meanings, a strategic positioning" (Hall from Barker and Galasinski, 2001, p.30).

Summarizing Identity and Discourse

Before starting to explore Islamic identities, I would like to (re)clarify how the elements of the identities and the discourse can be located in this research. First of all, the newspapers are

one of the media in which the discourses are structured. Secondly, as the newspapers are Islamic[1], they point out the identities, and this means referring to the specific group(s) that have similar and divergent approaches to the events. Some of these approaches can be related to hegemonic meaning or interpretation within society in line with the dominant-power at times.

As the identity is constructed through the discourse, analyzing newspapers gives us a specific idea about these identities. In addition, this research also reveals who are the other(s) and how they are characterized in these identities.

On the other hand, this analysis does not only give a perspective about Islamic identities; but also, it provides knowledge about how the particular values are vital for shaping discourses. Furthermore, it shows the efforts on stabilizing and shifting the components of the identity, which brings us to the historical relations and conflicts inside and outside of the country.

2. Narrative

''People are always the tellers of tales.
They live surrounded by their stories and
The stories of others; they see everything
That happens to them through those stories
And they try to live their lives as if they were recounting them.''

(Sartre, 1981)

Narratives are the records of the human experience through the construction and reconstruction of personal stories (Webster and Mertova, 2007, p.1). However, also, narratives should be realized in a specific period, because they a beginning and an ending (Baker from Ping, 2018, p.2). These descriptions are the broadest definitions of the narrative.

In line with our study, narratives are related to the discourses, as they are structured through language and within society (Souto-Manning, 2014, p.3). Therefore, the narrative analysis goes beyond telling the stories; and requires considering social and historical background. The newspapers, likewise the people, construct the narratives in the text within the given society and the context.

Dyson and Genishi (1994) explore the narrative together with its connection with the real world. Accordingly, the narratives include the past and the future at the same time by

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[1] I will explain what does Islamic mean in this research in classification of the data in methodology chapter.

including experiences and expectations (pp.242-243). Moreover, as they tell the relations of us with the outside, they represent how we understand *others* (Dyson and Genishi, 1994, pp. 242-243). In other words, narratives shape the perception of the world, and therefore, the relationship between identities. Therefore they construct the reality based on the assumptions and interpretations. At this point, assumptions and (re)presentations of the relations also originate from the values. Therefore, the narratives are also a part of the newspapers which makes it possible to find out the values of the identities.

Furthermore, CDA also focuses on power relations and finds that out within the discourse. As power relations are also an effort to fix the meaning and construct hegemony, the fixed narratives also reveal power relations. If we look closely, newspapers stick to very similar stories by mentioning similar subjects. Hence, by deconstructing narratives, we can find the repeated elements. There can be cause-effect relations that construct stories persistently. For instance, the subjects might become those who ask for justice when they are victimized in the stories. Therefore, *the other* here becomes those who are unfair and even evil.

This example shows us, when we (de)construct the news, we can reveal the hidden narratives. I will give information about how I realize this narrative analysis in a practical level in the methodology chapter.

3. Media and Islamic Identities

The mass media in Turkey provided the transformation of religious identity into a modern political identity (Yavuz, 2003, p.103). Before the mass printing, Islamic identities were being shaped through dervish lodges (*tekke*) (Yavuz, 2003, p.103). Although these face to face relations provided a medium to construct identities, divergent religious views were dependant on the Islamic sects. These relations were traditional, and therefore systemizing and circulating the thoughts to the mass were hardly possible. Hence, through mass media, especially printed media, Islamic identities became modern political identities.

First of all, the media created "the new autonomous class of Muslim intellectuals", and this helped reveal new doctrines and critics of the state and the society (Yavuz, 2003, p.104). Producing principles and transformations of the leadership gave the possibility to construct different Islamic identities and to keep similar identities together. Yavuz (2003) explains this paradoxical situation stating that;

> Literacy and printing opportunities brought diverse Muslim groups together as a part of overreaching Islamic identity and discourse that, also promoted further internal differentiation and pluralism among Islamic groups[…]. The newly defined Muslim identities struggle to exist and adapt to modern conditions. (p.105, 106)

At this point, the media also shaped the Muslim identities and created consensus and conflicts through these identities, which made the identities suitable to the modern state. By modern, I mean, the sufficient conditions that allow the construction of systematic knowledge and its spread, and therefore providing an environment for self-differentiations.

Moreover, as the 'self' is based on shaping *others*, the media found suitable conditions to create systematic *others*, which has been in a relationship with *the self* for a long time and affected it. I will discuss the issue of "creating others in Islamic societies" in the next chapter more detailed. But the essential point here is the role of the media which is to construct identities and relations with the different identities through mass discourses.

The media structure and its results, which I mention below, are also present for Islamic media. In other words, Islamic media is not independent of the power relations or hegemonic discourses. They also (re)present social relations and produce them. They are subject to the news-making process consciously or unconsciously.

In this headline, I highlighted the role of the media in Islamic identity. In the following headline, I will explore the Islamic identity within the historical background in a nutshell to understand the sore points of the values and the actions, conflicts among the powers, reflexes in the face of events, and therefore constructed identities, self/other nexus.

4. Islamic Identities: conflicts and consensus

In this headline, I will examine the Islamic identities in Turkey. I would like to remind that, like the other identities, Islamic identities do not include non-conflicting elements. Even in one specific group, differences might appear. Moreover, identity can shift over time and shape other identities.

However, while I am exploring the identities, I will follow a specific path by combing the identities through historical conflicts and reactions. At this point, historical breaking points are crucial, as these turning points affect the diversification of identities. On the other hand,

the recent conflicts and consensus with the power(s) inside and outside Islamic groups can be traced back to past issues.

I identified some breaking points in the past, which caused shifting or shaping the identities. However, they were not a total disengagement from the previous identity. Instead, after these turning points, there are observable changes and identity-shifts; thus, creating new groups or alteration of reactions.

There is an ongoing debate, including desires and fears in the society about whether Turkey is transforming back to the Ottoman Empire or not. The conventional idea that lies behind it is that Turkey has its origins in the Ottoman Empire. Both sides, whether full of fears or desires have an image of the Ottoman Empire as an Islamic system. I believe this constructed image is the core point in the Islamic identity of Turkey, and have the potential to explain the conflicts and compromises between both sides in Turkey.

Although the Ottoman Empire was founded in 1299, the identity of the empire was not recognized as "Islamic" until the 1870s (Kara and Öz, 2013, pp.47-56). Moreover, Islam was not named as a modern, holistic idea until the collapsing process of the empire (Kara and Öz, 2013, pp.20-24). Islamic identities got on to the stage to save the state. Then, what do people mean by "Turkey is transforming to the Ottoman Empire"?

Just like other identities, Islamic identity has never been completed. But there have always been practices to fixate it through the discourse. The discourse about the Ottoman Empire has become a common reference point for most of the Islamic identities. Although the interpretation of the Ottoman Empire depends on different groups or time, this *golden age* is reminded in the discourses as it has an operational mission. Most of the times, hegemonic or counter-hegemonic discourses referred to the past to grow stronger and to realize the future aims. The golden age or "era of bliss" (*asr-ı saadet*) in Islam has been reminded and tried to be recalled for this purpose.

 The discourses on the Ottoman Empire, from both sides, are used as a border to mark the differences between *us* and *the other*. On the other hand, as it is not possible to go back to the time when the Ottoman Empire reigned, the gap between us and the other can not be closed. But, *we* can (re)establish a mutual ground again in the *future*. In other words, the Ottoman Empire discourse is used to unify the *in*-group and separate it from the *other*-group. The past can always be reinterpreted within limits and it is operable to other discursive themes.

Nevertheless, there are some reasons for using the Ottoman Empire as a reference point. As I previously mentioned, identity is also a historical element.

In the late 19th century, the steam of nationalism was rising; the masses were transforming into people who demand their civil rights and democracy; and the multinational Ottoman Empire was subject to these conditions, as well. Islamism, as a modern-holistic political term, has been started to use during this period to hold the nations together. However, I do not claim that the thoughts about political-Islam never appeared; in contrast, there were many scriptures about it. But they were not modern, holistic, and massified ideas.

After the 1870s, a growing number of intellectuals educated in modern schools and, although there were philosophical critics on it, they accepted *dünyevilik* as an aspect of human and social life (Karpat, 2001, p.328). However, Islamic thoughts appeared as a struggling method with a pragmatic aim starting in the 19th century. As a result, the borders of the empire could not be saved with the Ottomanism. Nevertheless, the political elites integrated Islamism with nationalistic ideas later.

On the other hand, there were many political intellectuals in bureaucracy, believing that Pan-Islamism was an applicable idea to the structure of a new republic. Because the newly-established Turkish Republic did not only consist of Turkish people, and there were other "minorities" as well (Kara and Öz, 2013, pp.20-24). However, this debate was stood over, as the military had to fight against the Western countries, *external forces*. It was the time when the territorial integrity was at stake, and the internal differences and conflicts were abandoned to some extend.

After independence and therefore, the establishment of the Turkish Republic was guaranteed, the country was founded on a secular system and the religion was individualized. The Islamic idea experienced its breaking point/point of failure at that time. Discussions appeared between different domestic groups.

The two conflicting identities (Islamic and Kemalist identities) came to the stage when the religion was excluded from the public sphere and a form of political remark has been grounded in the newly-established Republic.

At this point, I would like to point out that Kemalism as a term comes from Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who is the founder of the Republic of Turkey. Kemalism is not a holistic ideology,

but it is a term that is used for legitimizing the political actions in Turkey. *Atatürkçülük* is, on the other hand, appealed as to refer right-wing interpretation of Kemalism.

However, the Kemalist state referred to the religion in its discourses as well. The conflict between Islamic identities and *the other* appeared in the discussions on; individualization of the religion vs religion in the public sphere. As a result, organized religious groups marginalized until 1945s. In other words, the exclusion of religious practices was used to differentiate the structure to a *fixed* identity by power.

The Islamic identities responded to this process with two different reactions. First, and the most common one, is the inward-oriented position. This position is a passive one, including conservation of Islamic practices at home, at the domestic level (Subaşı, 2004, pp.218-222; Yavuz, 2005, pp.72-84). The underlined moral values (*ahlak*), spirituality (*maneviyat*), protecting human soul (*nefsini korumak*) are among this group (Subaşı, 2004; Yavuz, 2005, pp.72-84). On the other hand, the second group was the reflexive one; they did not avoid being in conflict with the Kemalist state (Yavuz, 2005, pp.72-84). Some members of the second group were mentioned under Kurdish nationalism by the Kemalist state. For instance, a Kurdish Sheikh Said rebellion was related to Islamic identities (Kara and Öz, 2013, p.26).

Until the 1945s, the Islamic groups were under pressure by the state, and their organizations or limited publications were banned (Subaşı, 2004, pp.220-222). However, the state did not penetrate with its repressive apparatus forever. Therefore, the Directorate of Religious Affairs (DİB) was established to structure a new national religion that separated religion from superstitions (*hurafe*) (Subaşı, 2004, pp.221-222). The main task of DİB was described as "to create good citizens with civic responsibility toward the state" (Yavuz, 2003, p.49).

Nevertheless, implementations in this process created trauma for Islamic identities. Sense of victimization located firmly as a feature of the Islamic identity, and Kemalism was pointed out as a sort of enemy to Islamic identities. Furthermore, the discourse of "golden past before Kemalism" gained strength in Islamic identities.

On the other hand, Kemalist state, with its ideological apparatus, through DİB and the other institutions such as the education, successfully structured a new urban citizen who does not separate Islam and the Turkish nation. In other words, nationalism also located in some sort of Islamic identities.

By this point, we have seen that Islamic identities reacted differently to historical events, and they did not constitute a holistic form, even these identities are in conflict, such as; Turkish nationalism vs Kurdish reflections, patience vs rebellion.

On the other hand, some Islamic identities, later on, (re)presented themselves as a supporter of Kemalism, or rather *Atatürkçü*. Indeed, most of the time, they did not announce themselves anti-Kemalists publicly.

In short, until the 1945s, the Republican People's Party (CHP) stayed in power during the one-party regime. In this process, the links between the Turkish Republic and the Ottoman Empire were eliminated by writing a new history through public institutions (Subaşı, 2004, pp. 225-227). On the other hand, in 1945, the Islamic movement could find a chance to rise under weakened pressure.

In the 1950s Democrat Party (DP) came to power. DP was composed of different Islamic groups, and it was the first opportunity for operating Islamic ideology in the "modern" Turkey (Türk, 2015, p.101). DP combined Islamic ideology with capitalism successfully. The urbanization process accelerated, and as a result of migration from rural to urban areas, the political party gained new members (Kara and Öz, 2013, p.83).

In the DP process, alongside its pressure to the opposition, Islam became a part of the daily references (Kara and Öz, 2013, p.519). In this period, traditional Islam turned into an ideology that involves anti-Westernization, right-conservative politics and having international bonds with Islamic movements in the world, such as Muslim Brothers (Subaşı, 2004; Kara and Öz, 2013, p.83). This process transmitted Islamic identities new features, such as anti-Westernization, Islamic brotherhood, capital- Islam articulation, and state ownership.

However, the rising of the Islamic movements, and implementations of DP, disturbed the military, and the first coup was realized in Turkey in 1960. I would like to digress here to mention the role of the military in Turkish political life. Because of its unique role in the foundation in Turkey, the military was more than a war-force. Most of the founder elites had a military past. After the establishment of the Republic, the military was monitoring the government and punished those who acted against Kemalist principles (Yavuz, 2013, p.46). However, the state attributed an Islamic sacrificial meaning to the military, as well. At this point, I would like to cite from Yavuz (2013);

> One reason the military was able to implement its modernizing policies has to do with its imagined sacred roots among ordinary Turks[…]For instance, every member of the Turkish army is called "mehmetcik" (TurkiWed version of Muhammad, or the soldier of Muhammad). Thus, the armed forces are regarded as the Peygamber Ocağı (the Heart of the Prophet). Every soldier who is killed in the line of duty, therefore, is also regarded as şehid (martyr), and those involved in military conflict are called gazi (a fighter for Islam and homeland). (p.49)

Therefore, trust in the military is also a feature of the most Islamic identities in Turkey. Kemalist ideology and the military are mostly separated in imaginations, and the army force of Turkey has always been a subject for pride. Hence, although the coups are not described in a positive meaning; ordinary members of Islamic identities, have not struggled against the coups until 2016.

However, after the 1960 coup, a new constitution was established which provided more civil rights, especially in the political area. On the other hand, the constitution triggered the emergence of political acts in universities and unions. However, during the middle of the 1960s, the separation between the left and right-wing politics has started to take shape, and the right-wing politics revealed themselves with Associations to Fight Against Communism (Türkiye Komünizmle Mücadele Dernekleri), and many Muslims joined them (Yavuz, 2013, p.173). As the 1960s-1970s, the leftist ideas were on the rise in Turkey, as they were all over the world. The Islamic identities were articulated to anti-communism and Turkish nationalism again.

It was not the first time that the Islamic identities came up against the leftist-movement. But this time, the right-wing and Islamic groups, sometimes together, took actions against the left systematically. The rising leftist movement and their relations with the public influenced Islamic identities.

Between the 1960s and 1970s, many political parties that were founded can be grouped under Islamic identities. These parties are remembered in Turkish political life as National Vision Movements (MGH). I will not mention the parties one by one but refer to them as MGH in general to give examples. However, I would like to point out that all these political parties had conflicts and consensus from time to time. Moreover, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) has its origin from these movements and adapted them to the global world.

Necmettin Erbakan, by founding National Salvation Party (MSP), was the originator of MGH. Until the 1997 Post-modern coup, the parties produced different political lines. Although,

together with the 1980s coup, some Islamic political parties were closed by the military and were accused of involving in sharia-activism and endangering the secular system. The Islamic symbols spread and combined with a liberal economy with the coup (Kara and Öz, 2013, p.15).

However, I would like to generalize Islamic values, and the discourse between the 1970s-1980s under the MGH, as these values were a combination of past values which I mentioned their reasons. Therefore, I will summarize them.

Competing with the generation of 68 and the emerging income inequality as consequences of the liberal economy increased the egalitarian economic discourses in Islamic movements. In short, the values and discourses can be summarized as the words of; discourses on nationalism, social justice, anti-Christianity (for instance the conquest of Constantinople), order/regulation, felicity, soundness, Islamic social traditions (Kentel, 2004, pp.2-4). Moreover, they also put into words some economic plans, such as national economic independence, economic statism, move for heavy industry (Kentel, 2004, pp.2-4). The other, especially socialist discourses, affected Islamic identity with its economic demands.

It is worth mentioning that Islamic discourses spread in this process through organizations, civil societies and different magazines. As this way of organizing would be maintained for a long time.

In MGH, there were different political parties. Some of them, such as the National Order Party (MNP), pointed out the values such as commitment to Allah (*Hakk'a bağlılık*), avoidance of evil (*kötülükten sakınmak*), being kind (*iyilik yapmak*) by combining national economic development, such as; building dams or fabricating rockets (Kara and Öz, 2013, pp. 529-530). National Salvation Party (MSP) was organizing Jeruselam Meetings against Israel (Kara and Öz, 2013, pp.758-759). In the 1980s Motherland Party (Anavatan Partisi) defended the typical liberal way by saying that they were against the polarization between left and right-wing politics and promised to merge with nationalism, social democracy, Islamism and centre-right (Kara and Öz, 2013, pp.529-530). After the disintegration of the Soviet Union as a result of the weakening of the left-wing politics, Welfare Party (RP) tried to substitute itself with the famous slogan "fair order" (*adil düzen*). They claimed that the third way between socialism and capitalism could structure and adapt the Islamic identity to anti-capitalism, and

called the workers and poor people who won the 1995 general election (Kara and Öz, 2013, p.529).

By this point, it is fair to claim that Islamic identities diversify with different positions and values. They embraced some 'degree of otherness'.

Sometimes they integrated into the domestic political system and the world order; other times, they were banned and found another alternative by establishing new parties.

However, in 1997, they have faced a post-modern coup with the same reasons, threatening the secular system, and this was another break for the Islamic identities. The Welfare Party (RP) was banned, and the two political parties were founded as a continuation of MGH; Felicity Party (SP) and Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the first party was grouped under the traditionalists, while AKP was acknowledged as reformers.

During these times, the headscarf was banned in public institutions, and the universities and Islamic identities braced up and went into action against the ban. Indeed, these demonstrations were not related to the political parties directly; nevertheless, they paved the way for new discourses in Islamic identities.

As I mentioned, one of the core values of Islamic identities was being against the Westernization. Although, there were some discourses on modernism or 'good sides of the West' could be adapted before the 1997 coup; the concepts such as democracy, human rights, civil society or state of the law were recognized as left-wing values in the society. After the post-modern coup, the Islamic identities did not keep away from these concepts, and they supported the membership to the EU (Kara and Öz, 2013, pp.773-774). These people were known as the reformist wing in Islamic groups.

After reformists (would be named as AKP) was established officially; the party determined a brave political line itself and spoke out some overtones ideas. First, they promised to make efforts for the EU membership which was embraced by underpressured Kurds in Turkey in terms of the human rights (Kara and Öz, 2013, p.783). As religious and Kurdish groups or people began to assert their identities since the 1990s (Yavuz, 2003, p.239). Second AKP guaranteed the existence of Islamic symbols in the public sphere (Yavuz, 2003, pp.255-256). Third, AKP defended organizing from bottom to top, which meant a local democracy allegation and challenge to military domination (Kara and Öz, 2013, p.531; Türk, 2015, p.16).

Moreover, AKP supported the reforms related to neoliberal global economy (Kara and Öz, 2013, p.532). Indeed, especially in its first period of power, they started to keep their promises in return of discharging the opponents slowly.

It should be noted that, until 2010 Fethullah Gülen, who was the leader of *Nurcular*[2] and his followers were located in AKP and they had an Islamic-modern establishment (Kara and Öz, 2013, p.533). However, the Gülen movement also assisted AKP in connecting with the neoliberal economy.

Although most of the scholars did not accept that AKP strictly has a neoliberal-conservative identity[3]; the Western countries, the US and the party members convinced and accepted this democrat, conservative, moderate ideology for a long time.

However, I will give more information about the policies that were held, and the steps taken during the Denmark cartoon crisis. This a brief historical configuration of the Islamic identities in Turkey, and I hope that it serves adequate information to the background of Islamic identities regarding the reactions to the Danish cartoon crisis.

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[2] Nurcular is an Islamic sect and Fethullah Gülen, the leader of them, has been in the US.
[3] For instance Tanıl Bora, who is a famous researcher in Turkey, named AKP as 'new-centre right' and since 2002 pointed out the possibility of authoritarianism in the party (Check; Bora, 2002: 002 Seçimi ve Siyasi Güzergah Problemleri)

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In social science studies, deciding on the time-range of the data is troublesome most of the times, since specifying the time-range requires an indepth understanding of the purpose of the research. In my study, I analyzed all the news related to the cartoon controversy in the chosen newspapers which were published between 1st January, 2006 and 28th February, 2006. This time range covers the time when the protests peaked in all over the world.

However, it is also important to analyse the news within this timeline by emphasizing the Islamic political identities, as much as the consensus and conflicts between Islamic and other identities. These elements can not be limited to the range of Denmark cartoon crisis; they were rather formed antecedently. Hervik (2012) states that the cartoons did not appear out of the blue to test the borders of the free speech (p.35). He says that the cartoons should be rather seen as the continuation of an ongoing debate against Islamic beliefs in the field of re-politicized journalism, accompanied by a broader implementation of the nationalistic idea (Harvik, 2012, p.35). Indeed, we can add more elements to the last developments, such as the effects of globalization, migration of the Muslim population, modernist paradigms or the conflicts in the Middle-East. On the one hand, the Denmark cartoon crisis can be evaluated as a result of these developments; on the other, it became an element that effects the future.

Considering these facts, it is fair to say that the representations in the Islamic newspapers are not shaped through the chain of events only within this time range, as well. Rather, they are constructed by the political, economic and cultural conflicts in Turkey and in the European countries; by the international relations between the West and the East; and by the developments in the global economy. Also, the dynamics of Turkish media have a critical role in this (re)presentation. However, within the scope of this research, I narrowed down the topics related to the cartoon crisis, and presented the arguments of Islamic newspapers within this context.

3.1 Backstage of the Cartoons

Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten published twelve cartoons by giving a headline: ''The Faces of Muhammad'' (Agius, 2013, p.241). The cartoons sparked reactions both in the Muslim and Western countries, and also in international/supranational unions which made the crisis last more than five months.

At first glance, the crisis seems like a conflict between the freedom of religion and conscience and the freedom of the press. Even we can make these judgments; the Muslim intolerance caused the crisis to grow, JP revealed its racist/Islamophobic tendencies, and Rasmussen made a mistake by not apologizing. All of these judgments can be a part of the truth. Nevertheless, these are part of the consequence. Fleming Rose, the culture editor of JP, gives more clues in his article;

> *Modern, secular society[emphasis added]* is rejected by some Muslims. *They[emphasis added]* demand a special position, insisting on special consideration for their own religious feelings. It is incompatible with contemporary democracy […] where one must be ready to put up with insults. It is certainly not always attractive and nice to look at, and it does not mean that religious feelings should be made fun of at any price, but that is of minor importance in the present context [...] *We[emphasis added]* are on our way to a slippery slope where no-one can tell how the self-censorship will end. That is why Morgenavisen Jyllands-Posten has invited members of the Danish editorial cartoonists union to draw Muhammad as they see him (Rose in Beck, 2015, p.193).

In the article, Rose does not only express his opinions on the cartoon controversy, but also underlines some identity conflicts. His thoughts also consist of some judgments on Danish society. First, he claims that modern-secular society does not involve *some* Muslims who would like to demand consideration on their *own* religious feelings, which is in conflict with modern democracy. When we reverse the sentence and reduce it by emphasizing the identity, it becomes; the Muslims (*they*) who want their feelings to be considered/taken seriously are undemocratic and they are not a part of the Danish society. As (*our*) present context, making fun is a (*our*) value, and *their* demands are less essential than *ours*. If we do not censor ourselves, they might become a threat. He finds Muslims as a threat when they tend to be more religious in Danish society. He implies that being a Muslim is one of the most destructive identities for Danish society. Furthermore, as the identity cannot be constructed one-sided, Rose says that the Danish society also perceived itself under "threat".

However, Brian Mikkelsen, member of the cabinet and the Minister of Culture, expressed that the "contemporary Muslim culture" in Denmark has Middle-Eastern norms and "anti-democratic ways of thinking" (Hervik, 2012, p.60)

I cover this issue more broadly in the theory chapter. Nevertheless, what is related to the historical background chapter is the conflicting identity issues that turned the event into a crisis on an international level. The cartoons reached the level of the crisis.

3.2 Key Events and Time Range in Denmark Cartoon Crisis

In the scope of this research, it is not possible to mention all the events related to the Denmark cartoon crisis. Therefore, I would like to point out a few key issues, and accordingly, highlight the reactions of the Islamic newspapers within this time range. However, the table (Table 3.1) indicates more key events, and also some literature points out of these events in more detail chronologically.[4]

I divided the Denmark cartoon crisis into different levels, as the crisis was not created within a constant process. In contrast, it consists of unsteady events, which sometimes contradict each other, in the course of the crisis. For instance, Western countries did not involve in the arguments or in any kind of action until the protests increased. Likewise, Muslims did not react immediately after JP published the cartoons; and Rasmussen and JP changed their attitudes in time. All these events are interrelated. These relations also shape presentations in the newspapers in a particular way. Therefore, it is crucial to assess the crisis by categorizing these key events.

Lindekilde et al. (2009), and Rynning et al. (2006) split the crisis into four phases. They refer to the first month as "initial responses" and, second month as "violent escalation" (p.295). However, while Phase 3 is called "Violent Escalation" by Lindekilde et al. (2009), Rynning et al. (2006) preferred to call this time range "Climax and Crisis Management".

I accept this distinction in many aspects, as it largely fits to the timeline of the reactions and their (re)presentations in the newspapers in Turkey. However, I made minor changes in my study; such as in the dates or in the names of phases to cover the events and news on Turkish media more accurately (Table 3.1).

For Phase 1, while Hervik (2012) dates the beginning of the process as 7th December 2006, Lindekilde et al. (2009) date it as 26th December 2006. I preferred to use Lindekilde's (2009) periodization of Phase 1, because Hervik (2012) selects the date when OIC included the cartoons in their agenda and "complained to the UN" (p.14). However, as OIC meeting was

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[4] Hervik(2012) explains the events in detail in pp.37-63 and gives a short chronology of the events in p. 107.

not realized, and UN (United Nations) complaining process just started, these two events did not go further than an attempt. My understanding of the internalization process is the events reaching to a critical level by mass protests and countries taking the crisis more seriously all over the world. Internationalization of the issue also made the newspapers cover the events more extensively. Additionally, in Turkey, newspapers started to publish more serious news about the crisis from 1st January.

The Phase-3 was named as Violent Escalation by Lindekilde et al. (2009). However, Hervik (2012) conceptualized this period as ''Climax and Crisis Management'' which provides a multidirectional approach in (re)presenting conflict and solutions processes; together with the international solution-seeking process, as well. I also use the same time-range that Hervik (2012) defines for Phase-3.

The author starts phase-3 on 2nd February 2006, when Rasmussen took the crisis more seriously and explained his case first time on Al-Arabiya. The phase-3 ends on 27th February 2006, when the EU stated that the right to freedom of speech should be used with responsibility (Hervik, 2012, p.15).

Both Hervik (2012) and Lindekilde et al. (2009) name phase-4 as "re-domestication". Even though two researchers give the same title, Hervik (2012) starts phase-4 on 27th February, when the EU statement was announced and ends on 20th March, when the embassies started to (re)open and the UN (United Nations) report was published (p.295). Additionally, the consequences of the crisis for Denmark were much more visible within this time-range.

Even though the cartoon crisis phases took longer process than the data time range I have decided to analyze, "Internationalization" and "Climax and Crisis Management" phases correspond to the most significant time-range for the Islamic newspapers of Turkey. Because, there were only a few articles on the Islamic newspapers before the "Internationalization" phase; and those articles were rather short, informative and did not include any comments about the crisis. Similarly, after the "Climax and Crisis Management" phase, newspapers gave a little place to the news about the crisis. Therefore, I focus on analyzing the news within those two phases.

Table 3.1: Danish Cartoon Crisis' Phases

	Phase 1 Initial Responses	Phase 2 Internationalization	Phase 3 Climax and Crisis Management	Phase 4 Re-domestication
Time Range	**30 September 2005-** **25 December 2005**	**26 December 2006-** **1 February 2006**	**2 February 2006-** **27 February 2006**	**28 February 2006-** **20 March 2006**
Key Events	● JP published 12 cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad. ● Islamic groups in Denmark demanded an apology from JP ●The non-meeting with the Muslim ambassadors in Denmark ●The so-called "imam-delegations" in Denmark to win external support for their claims	● The foreign ministers of the Arab League criticized the Danish government ● Imams from the Islamic Community in Denmark got support from Middle East countries for their criticism against Denmark ●Boycott against Danish products began. Demonstrations and burning flags in the Middle East ●Decision of non-prosecution for the case against JP by the Danish State Prosecutor	● Fogh Rasmussen explained his case on Al-Arabiya. ●Demonstrations against the cartoons spread all over the world ●Attacks on Danish embassies in Syria, Lebanon, Iran and Indonesia. ●US, NATO and EU made declarations on supporting Denmark ● Kofi Annan (UN), Javier Solana (EU) and Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu (OIC) urged dialogue and peace. ●Javier Solana traveled to the Middle East to try to calm down the situation ●Jyllands-Posten apologized for the unintended insult to Muslims. ●Fogh Rasmussen made a statement on TV: "I personally have such respect for people's religious feelings that I personally would not have depicted Muhammad, Jesus or other religious figures in such a manner that would offend other people." However, he did not apologize for what was printed in the newspaper exercising free speech ● EU statement: freedom of speech is inviolable, but must be used with responsibility.	● UN(United Nations) report criticized Denmark for "doing too little to resolve the crisis". ●Re-opening of Danish embassies in the Middle-East countries

3.2.1 Phase 1: Initial Responses (September 30, 2005- December 25, 2005)

After the cartoons were published on 30th September 2005, they did not receive an immediate reaction from Muslim countries. In fact, the parties were observing each other's reactions rather than taking a step. The events that took place during this period caused the crisis to reach an international dimension, even though the disagreements between the parties were rather small. (Lindekilde et al., 2009, p.294). Ambassadors of Muslim countries requested to meet Rasmussen, but he rejected them (op.cit.). Following that, Muslims in Denmark decided to send delegations to some Middle East countries. One of the most important factors that caused the crisis to grow internationally was the disconnection and lack of communication between those parties.

In Phase 1, Islamic newspapers in Turkey made a few news about the crisis. These news consisted of articles based on the description of the main event and not exceeding 10 sentences. In other words, newspapers only mentioned that JP published some cartoons depicting Prophet Muhammad.

There may be different reasons why newspapers made such short news. First, like the parties to the crisis, the newspapers might have expected to see a massive reaction before making comments about the event. Because, the crisis had not yet spread to the whole world in this period. Moreover, the Turkish government did not make any statements in the first phase, either.

The second reason may be related to the developments in Turkey's European Union membership process. On 3th October 2005, European Union Council agreed to a "framework for negotiations", after long years of Turkey's effort. The Council expected Turkey to have policies in line with the Union's values. Just after the EU Progress Report was published, the Turkish government started to take an active role in the cartoon crisis. However, Hervik (2012) states that the newspapers published more news worldwide, after the internationalization of the crisis, when the Muslims started to protest (pp.38-39).

3.2.2 Phase 2: Internationalization (December 26, 2005- February 1, 2006)

The term "internationalization" means that the crisis spread to the whole world from Denmark. In this period, demonstrations against the cartoons began in other countries. Also, Western newspapers began to republish the cartoons, in order to provide solidarity with JP

(Lindekilde et al., 2009, p.294). Moreover, in an interview with Rasmussen, he supported the idea that freedom of speech can be used for provocation purposes (Lindekilde et al., 2009, p.61).

In this period, Muslims started to protest and call for an economic boycott against Danish products all over the world. To clarify how severe the boycott was; "Arla products were removed from 50.000 shops and supermarkets", and the business world in Denmark felt uncomfortable with this situation (Holmström, Falkheimer& Nielsen, 2009, p.3).

On the other hand, the OIC and the Turkish government started to take an active role in the crisis, and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan visited Denmark in November (Klausen, 2006, p.67).

The Islamic newspapers in Turkey started to publish the news in January 2006. Until January, the cartoons were not taken seriously in the news, and the event was evaded by writing only a few sentences. It should be noted that, in this period, international organizations did not get involved in the events. Some politicians outside Denmark made statements. Nevertheless, interventions became more visible in the crisis management phase.

3.2.3 Phase 3: Climax and Crisis Management (February 2 2006- February 27 2006)

Rynning et al. (2006) prefer to call this time-range; "Climax and Crisis Management". This period indicates the time-range when the violence escalated in the Middle East, and in some Western countries. However, the countries and international organizations started to take serious steps in this period to solve the crisis (Hervik, 2012, p.15; Rynning et al., 2006, p.295).

In this phase, we can observe the changing attitudes of both parties. For instance, Javier Solana, Foreign Affairs Minister of Spain, began his series of trips to Middle East countries, and Rasmussen accepted to meet some representatives from other countries (Hervik, 2012, p.15; Rynning et al., 2006, p.295). On 27th February, the EU stated that the right to freedom of speech should be used with responsibility (Hervik, 2012, p.15).

In this phase, the politicians made more statements regarding their political attitudes on the issue. Similarly, the Islamic newspapers made most of their news about the crisis in this phase. After this period, the papers rarely reported about the crisis. On the other hand, the papers used various religious and historical references in their articles, and related them to the

cartoon controversy. These references constructed a specific narrative, which contains the perspective of Islamic newspapers on identity issues.

3.2.4 Phase 4: Re-domestication (February 28 2006- March 20 2006)

Although the term "re-domestication" was not defined by neither Lindekilde et al. (2009) nor Hervik (2012), as far as I am concerned the happenings in this phase point out the term refers to facing the consequences in bureaucratic level. Moreover, the measures taken by the Middle East countries, such as the closure of embassies, were terminated in this phase.

In this period, many countries and their citizens apologized to Muslims, including the EU and the delegations of Danish churches (Hervik, 2012, p.92). Moreover, the UN published a report criticizing Denmark on this issue.

Even though the crisis seemed to be resolved in this phase, some newspapers continued to publish the cartoons, and Muslims started to resort to violence. Nevertheless, the reactions were limited to some small groups of Muslims.

4. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will clarify my methodological approach: Critical Discourse Analysis. As I mentioned in the theory chapter, CDA has both theoretical and practical sides, and I already mentioned its theoretical side. Therefore, the main concern of this chapter is the implementation of CDA in terms of methodology.

However, first, I will give information on the classification of my data. I will answer the question: which features of the data are analyzed? Second, I will explain why I chose CDA as a method, and how it serves the purpose of my study. Then, I will describe the implementation of CDA in this study and how I combined CDA with Narrative Analysis-as a tool.

4.1 Selection Criteria for Data

In this research, I analyze Turkish newspapers in terms of discourse and identity. For this purpose, I decided on four selection criteria for the newspapers. Accordingly, I narrowed down my selection of papers to six; both are Islamic, right-wing, national and paid and daily published. From these six newspapers, I analyzed 791 news that were published between 1 January and 28 February in 2006, including both days.

4.1.1 Islamic Newspapers

'Do I contradict myself?

Very well, I contradict myself.

I am large, I contain multitudes'

-Walt Whitman

There is no easy way to describe *Islamic newspapers* without asking what Islam is. It is necessary to understand the description of the data, to answer this question. However, asking this question brings more questions: which Islam? when and where? followed by who? what are the motivation behind its followers? and which context? As it is understood, all these efforts on trying to describe Islam lead us to the same point: the general assumptions of CDA on our discourse and identity theory. Therefore, like the other beliefs and values, Islam can be assessed within a limited historical context.

Nevertheless, Ahmed (2015) has compelling arguments in his book, and I would like to mention some of which are useful for this study. First, the description of Islam cannot be

assessed by the Western originated analytical tools that conceptualize the modern civilizations by using secular vs. religious dichotomy (Ahmed, 2015, pp.162-193). In contrast, Islam is a civilization that has cultural, political and religious dimensions (Ahmed, 2015, pp.113-176). Second, the assessment of Islam can be realized in three levels: Text, Pretext and Context (Ahmed, 2015, pp.303-364). The text corresponds to the rules written in Qur'an or originated from Hadith (p.304). Pretext means Islamic philosophy; it exceeds the text and is combined with the imagination of Islam (Ahmed, 2015, pp.310-312). Context, on the other hand, is the lifestyle of Islam (Ahmed, 2015, pp.312-325).

Islamic newspapers in this study were chosen according to this categorization. I selected newspapers by studying if they defended Qur'an by referring to the words that come from Qur'an or not. Second, I analyzed if they gave place to the interpretations of Islamic philosophy or not. Last, I assessed if their discourses on the Danish cartoon crisis were originated from those two standpoints or not. At the end of this process, I decided that these six newspapers can be identified as Islamic newspapers, and I analyzed all of them.

The names of the newspapers are; Yeni Şafak(YŞ), Yeni Asya(YA), Türkiye(T), Vakit(V), Milli Gazete(MG) and Zaman(Z)[5]

4.2.2 Paid and Daily Newspapers

In this study, I selected daily and paid newspapers. Before starting, it should be noted that there are a few free newspapers in Turkey, and most of them are related to municipalities. It means that they are usually regional and inform citizens about the latest news on local issues. In other words, unlike many other countries that have been publishing freesheet for decades, Turkey does not have such a tradition (Aydoğan, 2012, pp.2-4).

Nevertheless, some free newspapers are available in some supermarkets. However, this is not a very common and long-term practice to read a newspaper in Turkey. Moreover, citizens tend to pay for the newspapers to show their support and solidarity in Turkey. Therefore, I believe that the paid newspapers reflect the supporters' opinion more than free newspapers.

In addition to this, I had other reasons to select daily newspapers. First, there was a lot of breaking news during the Denmark cartoon crisis and daily newspapers have published news about every event almost everyday for over two months. Second, most citizens follow daily

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[5] Henceforward, I will use these abbreviations for the newspapers.

newspapers. Third, daily newspapers are a traditional medium to shape public opinion in Turkey. Last but not least, although analyzing daily newspapers needs more effort than analyzing periodicals, they give an opportunity to investigate various standpoints and (re)presentations. Thus, I believe that daily and paid newspapers give more reliable results.

4.2.3. National Newspapers

In the scope of the research, I will analyze national newspapers. In order to be approved as a national newspaper, the paper should be distributed to at least 75 percent of the total number of settlements and at least one province in every geographical region of Turkey (Karagöz, 2015, p.129). This definition shows that even if a newspaper is not distributed to 25 percent of the total number of settlements, it still falls under the national newspaper category.

Turkey has a large population, over 80 million people, and 25 percent of the population corresponds to a significant number. Therefore, I decided to select newspapers which have distributions to all provinces of Turkey. Based on this, I analyzed all Islamic newspapers which meet this requirement. There is only one exception: *Yeni Mesaj*, which is an Islamic newspaper, too. Unfortunately, I could not find any information if the paper is being distributed to all provinces or not. Even, I could not find its back issues in the library of the Parliament. Therefore, *Yeni Mesaj* was not included in the research.

In brief, I made sure that the newspapers I selected were in the national newspaper category and that they could reach a wide audience, since my study is on discourse and identity building.

4.4.4. Right-wing Newspapers

In my study, owing to some practical, contextual, historical, and political reasons, I selected right-wing Islamic newspapers in Turkey. Because, in this research, I approach Islam as a sociological phenomenon within the given context.

In Turkey, Islam is commonly associated with right-wings as Islamic values have had a strong relation with right-wing political movements for a long time. I covered this issue more extensively in the theory chapter: Islamic identities.

On the other hand, the right-wing members of Islamic views have taken advantage of the hegemonic values in the country, such as nationalism or even authoritarianism. As a result of

this, ever since the 1950s, they articulated the power and voices of associations of proto-civil society, and some of them are related to business associations (Yavuz, 2003, p.62). Therefore, they are supported economically, and it is easier to establish mass newspapers for them.

However, even though the majority of right-wing values are based on Islamic views or ideology of Turkey, there are some Islamic groups that can be located in left-wing politics, such as "Anti-capitalist Muslims" (Anti-Kapitalist Müslümanlar) and "Platform for Labour and Justice" (Emek ve Adalet Platformu). These groups actively use new technology and the Internet, and they can reach a lot of people through social media accounts.

In brief, Islam, in a contextual frame, is related to right-wing politics. Therefore, the representation of Islamic views in a broader sense requires to take notice of right-wing politics.

4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA):
4.2.1 What is CDA?

In theory chapter, I discussed how discourse and identity are addressed in CDA. In this chapter, I will give more information on CDA and its arguments broadly.

Discourse analysis, itself, "can be traced back to ancient treatise" with rhetoric studies (Van Dijk, 1987, p.3). CDA, one sub-branch of the discourse analysis, has been used for analyzing language and also in various disciplines between the 1960s and early 1970s (McCarthy, 1992, p.5). Depending on the field or approach, it is applied in different ways. For instance, in anthropology, it is used for the analysis of myths in society, or in sociology, daily conversations became a more important aspect of analyzing (McCarthy,1992, pp.3-4).

Media and communication studies are also among the main subjects that use CDA as a methodology. Because communication, especially starting with the 20th century, has become more important with the realization of the effect of propaganda in society.

Disagreements on the discourse studies mostly stem from their emphasis on the balance between the linguistic analysis and the context. In the extreme form of linguistic determinism, it is argued that the language completely shapes the context (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p.16; Lakoff, 2008, pp.158-166). On the other hand, in the objectivist paradigm, it is claimed that the language is a neutral phenomenon that *reflects* context directly (Machin and Mayr, 2012, p.16; Lakoff, 2008, pp.158-166). I believe that CDA basically finds a balance between

language and the social context. Hence, CDA analyzes language within its social conditions and accepts language as a constituent element of the social context and vice versa. In other words, the method rejects subject (society)-object (language) dichotomy; but rather assesses the language as a dynamic concept. Accordingly, discourse is not only an object to be analyzed for CDA. But also, it is a part of the social life which effects society.

According to Fairclough and Wodak (2001), CDA is a method that draws attention to social problems as well as it accepts discourse as one of the constituents of society, in addition to its "ideological work" with its connections to power (Wodak and Meyer, 2001, p.141). At this point, CDA focuses on language as one of the elements which (re)presents the balance between relations and power in society.

The method approaches the media discourse in the same way. Accordingly, the media do not reflect reality in a neutral way, but they have a *selective* mission from the real world's events. Moreover, after this selection process, the media use a language of their choice to (re)present these events and use specific narratives to tell us about them with their own expressions and structure. The method aims to seek out the reasons for the way of media (re)presentations.

The texts in the media are structured on collective values, ideology, historical and contextual relations. This structure is put into practice through symbols, and their constructed meanings, evocations, bindings between values or context, and discursive practices which can be controlled to gain power (Tenorio, 2011, p.191).

CDA tends to understand the discourse of media as a process that is under the influence of the dominant power. As the discourse is shaped by the dominant power, the discourse shapes social relations and identities, as well it helps produce and sustain unequal power relations (Seale, Gobo and et al., 2004, p.186).

To sum up, CDA is a method that analyses all these relations through discourses considering the social contexts. The media is accepted as one of the institutions in which the discourses are constructed. By so, the relations are shaped and (re)presented.

4.2.2 Why CDA?

I would like to briefly mention the main reasons why I preferred CDA as a methodology for this study. Accordingly, I will focus on CDA's coherence capacity in my research.

First of all, CDA was developed to analyze communication events. The newspapers are a suitable medium to apply CDA.

First, the news is the texts, which include certain language with social values, symbols, narratives that are reflected in the discourses. CDA claims that by analyzing the news, we can reveal the social structure and relations that lie behinds the discourses (Karaduman, 2017, p.33). In this regard, (re)presentation of the identities can be analyzed through the news, as the identity is one of the areas that embody this social structure.

Moreover, CDA provides the necessary tools to analyze the language of the news, which can be adapted to every language. However, these tools are always related to the features of any society. Van Dijk (2013) focuses on social meaning, rhetoric, sentence and word relations in each text, together with the role of the power(s) in the given conditions. Therefore, the methodology contains the relations between the language and social, economic and political systems.

The texts in the newspapers on Denmark Cartoon Crisis are also the units that (re)present political agents, history, religion, relations of the subjects. Hence, the linguistic tools and their interpretations by CDA are suitable for this study.

The Denmark Cartoon Crisis has spread to many countries in a short while and compelled the countries and international/supranational unions to new diplomatic relations. One of the significant features of the crisis is the different characteristics of the parties involved. Parties, such as Muslims, or Western countries and international/supranational unions should be assessed with their positions and political powers in the world order. Accordingly, CDA has favorable literature on international news, and these analyses have broadened my point of view while doing my research. For instance, Van Dijk analyzes international news by considering "imbalances in the current international[…] order." (pp.31-32).

Finally, even though CDA is a systematic method to make analyses, this systematic extensity comes with its flexibility. By this means, its adaptability is excessive and enables adding new tools and components in line with the researches. In the matter of Denmark crisis, for instance, we can find out Islamic values through the CDA method, even though neither Van Dijk nor Fairlouch analyzes Islamic values. Similarly, more normative concepts or linguistic tools can be applied to the studies on media. In this study, I adapted different discourse and

identity theories and also expanded the implementation of the narrative analyses by highlighting narratives with other theoreticians' notions and applications.

4.2.3 Macrostructure Analysis

The news analysis requires understanding the holistic idea of the text. In other words, when we look at the text, we need to detect the common idea. Macrostructure is the first step of the analysis process, and it gives an answer to the questions; "what is the news about?" and "what is the topic or theme of the news?" (Dijk, 2013a, p.13).

The macrostructure or *global level* of the discourse allows us to describe the meanings of whole paragraphs, sections, or chapters of written discourse (Dijk, 2013a, p.26). Nevertheless, analyzing macrostructure requires reading the whole text and summarise it. However, this summary is not an abridgement. In contrast, it focuses on the text by separating it into different levels which should include all general characteristics of the news (Van Dijk, 2013b, p.15).

For Van Dijk (2013a, 2013b), the macrostructure has two sub-categories: *thematic (semantic) structure* and *schematic structure*. These structures give us the tools to analyze the news more detailed.

4.2.3.1 Thematic Structure

The thematic structure is the shortest version of the news and includes the headline and the leads. It is "the overall topics or themes of a text and at the same time defines what we could call the overall coherence of a text as well as its upshot or gist" (Van Dijk, 2013a, p.15).

Headlines of the newspapers are vital elements that are carefully structured to maximize the effect of the news (Teo, 2000, p.18). They show which information is the most important part or newsworthy, and they can be understood as strategies to control the readers' understanding of the most significant part of the news (Van Dijk, 2013a, p.14). Therefore, analyzing the headline helps to find the most intensive part of the discourse.

However, analyzing the thematic structure does not mean writing headlines in order. It rather requires grasping the main message or the key idea of the text by looking at the headlines.

4.2.3.2 Schematic Structure

Another sub-category of the macrostructure is *schematic structure*. The schematic structure is about the formal side of the text, which is the construction and form of the whole text.

While the thematic structure is the highest level of the macrostructure; schematic structure includes lower macro-propositions which has full content in the news report (Van Dijk, 2013a, p.15). While the thematic structure is based on the news summary, schematic structure rather *traces* the news story.

When we analyze the schematic structure, we look for the answers to these questions: how did the newspapers present the news? What are the consequences of the news? What is the background and what kind of comments were used in the news? (Van Dijk, 2013a, p.55). In other words, schematic structure analysis is based on exploring the main event in the given background, context, history, or verbal reaction in the news (Van Dijk, 2013a, pp.53-57).

The main event is the minimal form of the discourse of the news, and it tells us the basic story in the text (Van Dijk, 2013a, pp.53-59). Other pieces of information in the news follow the main event and connect to it. On the other hand, *context* and *background* are about preferred socio-cultural factors or events from the past (Van Dijk, 2013a, pp.24-25). The newspapers decide which background or cultural values they would prefer to give place or not. Therefore, background and context help analyze the general standpoint of the newspaper. However, the newspapers refer to the comments of witnesses, politicians, or other participants in their news. Van Dijk (2013a) calls them *verbal reactions* (p.56). Verbal reactions reveal which people are taken seriously by the newspapers, and which parties of the events are silenced.

Last but not least, narrative analysis of the news can also be located in the schematic structure. In the next sections, I will explain how I combine narrative analysis with CDA. Nevertheless, as a concept, narratives can be described as meaningful stories that have a (perceived) beginning and an end (Ping, 2018, p.2). They need to be constructed as meaningful sequential events. All the news includes constructed-narratives and these narratives reveal the perception of the event.

4.2.3.3 Applying Macrostructure Analysis to the Research

In this study, I will implement all levels of the macrostructure elements. First, I will analyze the thematic structure of the news. By doing this, I will reveal specific themes and key ideas

of the news in the chosen newspapers for the study. Then, I will exemplify particular headlines, and I will interpret their main message, and show it in a table.

After I detect these themes, I will discuss them one by one. At this point, I will focus on the main event, provided background and context surrounding the main event, and I will touch upon which subjects were silenced and whose speeches were given lace in the newspapers. Afterward, I will give a brief narrative in the newspapers.

4.2.4. Microstructure Analysis

Microstructure analysis is understood as a grammatical structure of the news. In microstructure analysis, the researcher explores "how the topic was realized" in the text (Van Dijk, 2013b, p.100). Also, in macrostructure analysis, the researcher mostly focuses on the themes and the topics, but not the ways of how they were (re)presented.

Microstructure provides detailed information about the topics by focusing on the grammatical levels and local meanings of the words (Van Dijk, 2013a, 2013b). Therefore, the microstructure analysis requires more attention than macrostructure analysis, when it is implemented to find relations between different parts of the text. Nevertheless, the examination of the linguistic elements of the text is not the main concern of CDA. Instead, it is a strategy to find out the meaning behind the news. Therefore, the linguistic tools should be applied as long as they provide a piece of meaningful and required information for the research. Otherwise, there are thousands of linguistic sub-categories, and any research, including Van Dijk's, contains all of them. However, in this research, I will mention the most common and suitable microstructure elements.

Another point is that the microstructure analysis is not limited to the grammatical rules. It also focuses on the words that are used, the cause-effect relations between sentences, and the elements that provide connections or rhetoric (Van Dijk, 2013b, p.13).

Now, I would like to mention microstructure analysis together with its significant concepts, which I will use in my research.

4.2.4.1 Coherence and Cohesion Analysis

Coherence and cohesion 'relate to the complex interrelationship between form, meaning, and use of linguistic expressions in specific contexts' (Bublitz, 2011, p.37).

Coherence, roughly, can be defined as the features that make the text meaningful (Halliday and Hasan, 1989, p.72, 73). That is to say, whether the text is composed of the sentences 'woven together or flow into each other or not' (McCrimmon, 1963, p.92). Therefore, coherence is not only about the text, but it is 'rather the outcome of a dialogue between the text and its reader' (Tanskanen, 2006, p.7). From this point of view, coherence involves even social context and culture. Because the relations between the sentences are related to the context of the text and the reader's understanding.

However, the differences between the coherence and cohesion have been discussed for a long time, and the researchers have different ideas about it (Carrell, 1982; Halliday and Hasan, 2014; Korpimies 1978). According to Bamberg (1983), the terms cohesion and coherence substitute each other in Van Dijk's works sometimes (Bamberg, 1983, p.419). Therefore, by following Bamberg (1983) and Connor&Lauer (1985), I will accept that coherent texts are composed of; understandable grammar, focus, context, closure, organization, and cohesion (p.428; p.311).

In the simplest form, the coherence analysis of the research will answer the questions of what is the focus, organization, given context or closure of the text? By this way, cohesion becomes one of the elements of coherence.

Cohesion corresponds to grammatical and lexical features of the text. While coherence is about the understandability of the text in the cognitive level; cohesion is about all lexical relations and grammatical features beyond understandability. Therefore, it is fair to say that cohesion focuses on the meanings of words in the news. It is also more about the connections between different parts of the text (Tanskanen, 2006, p.7). Cohesion is separated into two sub-categories; semantic (lexical) and grammatical cohesion.

On the other hand, *grammatical cohesion* means focusing on the grammatical rules and the length of the sentences in the text in the broadest sense. Grammatical cohesion can be defined as relations between the constituents within the sentence 'together with the order in which the elements occur' (Hasan and Halliday, 2014, p.28). Van Dijk (2013b) uses the syntax analysis instead of grammatical cohesion in his studies (pp.235-246; 270-278).

Grammatical cohesion includes different grammar rules. However, in this study, I will usually focus on affinities structured within sentences or inter-sentences, which are the constituent elements of the narratives. Without these affinities, we cannot mention a coherent text, as the

meanings get off the point of the text without a rational bond. On the other hand, analyzing them reveal the assigned meanings to those relations.

The news constructs the text by linking all the sentences and within sentences, and to do this, apply affinities. The common analytical tool to realize this purpose is connectives. *Connectives* are the words or phrases that structure connection between different parts of the Text (Salkie, 2006, p.75). They enable text writers to give additional information (e.g. *also, besides),* show the oppositions (e.g. *but, in contrast*), point out time sequence (e.g. *after, while*), and establish cause-effect relations (e.g. *therefore, under these circumstances*)[6]These connections ensure the flow of the text and sometimes establish different meanings. For instance, the cause-effect relations, which are the practices for interpretation, are based on the assumption of why things happen in a specific way.

References[7] are another important tool that I also use while revealing the themes and narratives. References are the words that should be used for addressing other words or sentences to have a full meaning (Salkie, 2006, p.64). As they 'do not have a full meaning in their own right', they are used to 'refer to something else' (Salkie, 2006, p.64). The references can express sameness, differences or equality (e.g. *as...as, more, the most*); point out proximity or distance (e.g. *this, those*); point our person or groups (e.g. *our*)[8] (Halliday and Hasan, 2014, pp.37-39; Salkie, 2006, pp.67-68). However, as I mentioned before, I will mostly focus on semantic cohesion in my study.

Semantic cohesion[9] refers to 'a unit which is not of form but meaning' (Hasan and Halliday, 2014, p.2,8). Semantic cohesion analysis requires considering the relationship between the words within the sentences or inter-sentences. Hasan and Halliday (2014) argue that semantic cohesion 'rests on the identity of reference between two items' (Zienkowski, Östman and Verschuen, 2011, p.35). Halliday and Hasan (2014) group them under two different categories; lexical reiteration and lexical collocation.

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[6] To see more connectives and their potential meanings in discourse, you can check the table I with my interpretation in appendix. (Appendix 1: References)

[7] To see more references and their potential meanings in discourse, you can check the table with my interpretation in appendix. (Appendix 2: Connectives)

[9] To see semantic cohesion(reitreations and collocations), sub-categories, potantial meanings of the discourse and examples, you can check the table with mt interpretation in appendix. (Appendix 3: Lexical Cohesion)

Reiterations are the repetition of the words or the synonyms of those in the Text (Hasan and Halliday, 2014, p.279). *Collocations* point out opposite words, related words, or generalizations (Hasan and Halliday, 2014, pp.284-290). *Generalizations* are 'the extension of the characteristics or activities of a specific and specifiable group of people to a much more general and open-ended set' (Teo, 2000, p.16). Word usage gives clues about (re)presentations of the values; description of the groups and their relations. For instance, using West and East as a synonym or generalizing one European country's action to the whole West. Besides, some specific words show us how the newspaper (re)presents cultural or political systems when we analyze them within context and background, such as; nation, Prophet, believers.

Apart from these two elements, Van Dijk (2013a) also mentions the rhetoric by underlining that they intersect macro and microanalysis, and he uses rhetoric in a restricted sense (p.28). Accordingly, *rhetoric* means 'a process of persuasion' in the text, or shortly it means 'how we say things' (Dijk, 2013a., p.82). In the newspapers; using emotional statements, showing pieces of historical evidence, and citing from the politicians or relevant people, can be acknowledged as rhetorical elements. All these features show us that rhetoric is an effective tool in the text, as it helps to give intended-meanings.

4.2.4.2 Applying Microstructure Analysis to the Research

By reference to the theory chapter, identities are (re)presented as elements of the discursive practices, and they can be analyzed through detecting the otherness, values, and description of the events. The newspapers construct these events in a specific organization.

However, *coherence* can be assessed as the upper-feature of the news. Analyzing coherence shows us brief *organizations* of the text. For instance, the news begins with an opening sentence; then continues with a body; and ends with a conclusion. When one is lacking in the news, the event does not make sense. Moreover, without them, it is not possible to do a narrative analysis. They also provide an insisting story on the relations between the identities and the events. The *focus* of the news helps us decide which event the news is about, in other words, what the topic is. The given topic is one of the most essential features of the analysis. Since, while we are looking for the characteristics of the identities, the theme provides information on the topics surrounding these identities. *Closure*, on the other hand, is about how the story ends. Therefore, the last judgment is located in the closure part. The *context* of

the text refers to the setting of the story. It determines the stage in which the identities are positioned.

On the other hand, *cohesion analysis* is a kind of warning for the researcher to avoid subjectivity and determine the limits of the interpretation. In this work, it helps me not to attribute more values than displayed in the newspapers. Because the relations can be interpreted boundlessly while giving historical background or focusing the newspapers' attitudes independent from the event. However, it provides specific rules to realize this aim.

Semantic analysis (reiterations and collocations) show *generalizations* of the relations between the identities. For instance, one specific identity can be (re)presented as *good* or *bad* insistently by generalizing their features to all subjects of the group members. In the chosen newspapers, all the Muslims might be described as *good* or all the politicians of the opposition party as *bad* people. The newspapers also give place to the oppositions when describing civilizations; such as the West-East. In these situations, we understand that the attributed values are also the opposite. The newspapers might use certain words or word relations. Using adjective clause 'angry Muslims' instead of ' those who resort to violence' (vice versa) is based on the pre-assumptions about the subject and essence of the action, as well as it shows that the newspapers point out the religion.

However, the grammatical features of the text give us a clue about the identities. References, such as 'our Prophet', might draw a border between *us* and *the other*. The newspapers structure the connection between the actions of different identities through connectives. For instance, cause and relations can point out the selected/structured reasons for the subject. The reason for the murder of the Priest can be related to the published-cartoons. This can be provided by choosing specific words and sentences to point out the time sequence or cause-effect connectives. This would explain the possible reasons for the subject's actions.

However, the last, rhetoric, shows us how the newspapers call identities and which values they use to persuade the readers. For instance, the newspapers can give quotes from the Qur'an or resort to exciting actions by using short-sentences, which gives a rapid rhythm to the text.

As seen from the examples, microanalyses can reveal the (re)presentation of the identities. Because the texts attribute pre-assumed features and values to the subjects and (re)present the events by constructing the reasons in a specific way.

However, doing microstructure analysis aims to find out the reasons for grammar or semantic usage that is connected to the background or context; to realize differences between them or using one instead of other should be required about the world knowledge (Van Dijk, 1997, p.33).

In this study, I will refer to grammatical elements when they help represent/structure identities. Besides, I will put forward some of the elements (such as generalizations) more than referring to the others. Last, I will give some information about how I used narrative analysis in my research and conclude the methodology chapter.

4.2.4.3 Narrative Analysis

''People are always the tellers of tales.

They live surrounded by their stories and

The stories of the others; they see everything

Happens to them through those stories

And they try to live their lives as if they were recounting them.''

(Sartre, 1981)

Following the theory chapter, I would like to point out more practical levels of analyzing narratives. First of all, narrative analysis is a method suitable for CDA when they are combined appropriately.

Even Van Dijk (2013a) encourages the researchers to analyze narratives together with the other elements of CDA (p.152). Accordingly, he argues that to provide a better understanding, the structure of the discourse and 'the narrative organization of the news story' can be combined (Van Dijk, 2013a, p.152). Although narrative analysis can be used as a single method, in this study, narrative analysis is not evaluated as an independent element from CDA to explore news deeper.

Sometimes, the events in the newspapers are not in chronological order. This can cause missing out the causation relations in the news. Therefore, the elements can be organized in chronological order by using narrative analysis. Normally, the events unfold the time, have a beginning and an end, and include junctures between sentences. Narrative analysis in the newspapers reveals the structured stories, their elements, and relations between them.

In a technical sense, the narratives are composed of characters, events, actions, scenes (Webster and Mertova, 2007, p.22). Thus, while analyzing the text narrative, we explore how the news (re)presented the characters, actions, the event-scene, and which features are put forward.

In my study, I will combine different approaches to narrative analysis. I would like to mention them by referring to the researchers.

Souto and Manning (2014) suggest to find micro-events in the narrative, combine them with the broader discourses and, afterward, assess them within the social context (p.4). Cheshire (2000) analyzes three components of narrative in her study on gender in adolescent friendship. Accordingly, she examines the main story, the narrator, and the way of telling. On the other hand, Litoseletti (2018) remarks the importance of finding assumptions and realizing disorganizations in the narrative (pp.201-205). Van Dijk (2013) also reminds us that the narratives are not always told in chronological order (p.149).

Additionally, the deconstructive theory suggests a different perspective which is also suitable for CDA (Cobb, 1994). Accordingly, when we skeletonize Derrida, there is the two-stage process and to complete them, double-reading of the text is required. In the first stage, the text is read from the view of the dominant discourse (Düzgit, 2015, p.157). Afterward, the researcher focuses on the conflicts in the texts and instability of the discursive elements (Düzgit, 2015, p.157).

In my study, I will combine these approaches and I will analyze the narratives together with CDA. In the first stage, I will reveal the main event in the text, and I will separate the significant elements of the news, such as the groups or actions in the stories. Then, if they are not in chronological order, I will put them in.

As a second stage, I will detect the values, assigned features to the identities, and the cause-effect relations that were constructed by the newspapers. Then, by following Derrida, I will (re)construct the story of the newspapers at its simplest version, which gives the hegemonic narrative. Last, I will reveal the critical version of the components of the story within the themes which correspond to combining the alternative reading and CDA to reveal identities, assigned meanings, power(s), and relations.

Final Notes on the Methodology

By now, I explained my classification of data with their features. I mentioned the practical side of CDA in addition to the theoretical description and assumptions that I covered in the theory chapter. I explained the reasons for using CDA in this study. Afterward, I touched upon each basic headline -macroanalysis, microanalysis, and narrative analysis- and gave descriptions and definitions of my tools.

Before proceeding to the analysis section, I would like to clarify one point. I will present the analyses of the newspapers systematically. Therefore, I will mention the main themes, their frequency, and how the newspapers handled these themes in general. The elements in that section correspond to both elements belong to macro and microanalysis. For instance, I will mention the rhetoric of the newspapers while I am giving general information about themes. Then -in the longest part of the analysis- I will use both macro and micro elements when it is necessary. However, when I share the narratives, I will not tell every step of it, as I believe they can be seen easily.

5. NEWSPAPER ANALYSIS

5.1 Macrostructure Analysis

In this headline, I will start with an overview of the general themes in the newspapers as the thematic analysis requires presenting key ideas in a broad sense. Afterwards, I will provide a general assessment of the newspapers, which consists of the schematic structure.

5.1.1. Thematic Structure: Major Themes and Key Ideas

In line with the methodology section, the thematic structure examination includes headline analysis, key ideas, and general views on the theme by pointing out the consensus[10]. Headline examples of the newspapers, main judgements of headlines and their broad coverage can be found in the appendix. In the research, I will collect them under groups of themes.

5.1.1.1 Freedom of Speech and Press: blasphemy is not a freedom

The right to freedom of speech is one of the most frequent themes in the news. It was usually written together with the right of the press, or these substituted each other. Common points of the Islamic newspapers are that Prophet Muhammed's depictions were not included within the context of the right of the freedom of speech and press. In contrast, cartoons show that blasphemy should be limited by the right to free speech. Moreover, the idea that Western countries use freedom of speech as an excuse in some conditions is mostly shared.

5.1.1.2 Islamophobia: are you afraid of us enough?

Islamic newspapers all agree that the cartoons are a reflection of Islamophobia, especially after the 9/11 attacks. There are many implications in the texts that cartoons are another Islamophobic indicator and they are only the surface part of Islamophobic Western countries. On the other hand, the newspapers tend to emphasize the politicians rather than citizens of these countries.

The newspapers do not only represent Islamophobia as an undemocratic manner. But also, they fictionalize a narrative that the Muslims are not the subjects to give fear negatively; but

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[10] For headline examples and their potential discursive meaning, please check: Appendix 4: Headline Examples and Maın Judgements

also, the Western countries are quite right to be afraid of Islam. Because Islam provides an ethical society, superior mind or truth and innocence among their believers.

5.1.1.3 Do not Draw 'Our' Prophet

Prophet Muhammed is the subject of the texts most of the time. In the majority of these texts, the newspapers prefer to use a gentle language. Instead of blaming, the news focuses on the emotional statements. Prophet Muhammed is represented as a person who loves humanity. Moreover, the news implies that the people in the West do not understand Muhammed correctly, and if they do, they have never drawn the cartoons.

5.1.1.4 More than a newspaper, more than news: JP

The newspaper JP is blamed as one of the most important actors who created the crisis. Nevertheless, it is not evaluated as an independent agency free from the government or other newspapers in Denmark generally. Islamic newspapers highlight that JP could find the courage to publish the cartoons because the freedom of press regulations in Denmark is insufficient and the West encouraged JP. Especially in the upcoming days of the crisis when the protests got stronger, JP journalists are represented as coward subjects. Moreover, by referring to the previous news of the JP, such as immigrants news, Islamic newspapers focus on the ideological structure of the newspapers and criticize it.

5.1.1.5 You Made Our Youth Angry: Keep Calm but Sorry not Sorry

Protesters are (re)presented as angry, independent, and innocent people in most of the texts. Nevertheless, especially after the violence started, newspapers advised the protesters to avoid violence. Most of the papers highlighted that the violence harms the innocence of the struggle; on the other hand, the protesters were not (re)presented as the subjects who use violence.

> The newspapers built cause-effect relations between the cartoons and the protests, whether they support violent protests or not. However, some newspapers warned Muslims not to resort to violence. The main reason to support peaceful protests was explained as not to be provoked by the West. According to the representations, the main aim of the West in publishing the cartoons was to give rise to Islamophobia by provoking Muslims. On the other hand, the newspapers which support all kinds of protests -by implications in the texts- (re)presented the idea that Muslims should fight against the West altogether.

5.1.1.6 Moderate disobedience by economical boycott: we suggest you not to buy

Islamic newspapers recommend to economic boycott against Denmark products. Moreover, some newspapers give a product list. Besides, it is possible to encounter some suggestions involving boycott against the other European/Western countries or the press which defend the cartoons. Even though an economic boycott is suggested to respond to the cartoons, democratic meetings are defended and encouraged by the newspapers, as well. It is fair to say that this crisis is perceived as an opportunity to show a reaction against Western countries' actions.

5.1.1.7 Alliance of Civilizations and Clash of Civilizations

Civilization itself becomes a convincing argument in the newspapers. Considering the Western main-stream belief that "the West is the protector of the civilization"; naturally, Islamic newspapers react against this claim. Because the main narrative of the newspapers is constructed to protect freedom of speech and its limitations. This situation, exceeding the limits of free speech, harms the reconciliation between civilizations in general, as only one party of civilizations finds the right to exercise freedom of expression for itself.

On the other hand, the clash of civilizations is understood as the Western attacks on Islamic values. The papers argue that the Western countries caused the clash between civilizations by insisting on their offensive comments and depictions. However, some newspapers believed that the cartoons are not about the clash of civilizations, but about respect to the *others*.

5.1.1.8 Shadowy Forces, Scheduled Game, Provocation

All the Islamic newspapers searched for a "bigger enemy" behind the cartoons. They used certain words to (re)present the enemy as a multiple or unknown/hidden force. The papers also openly warned the readers to be on guard for the enemy's sneaky attacks.

However, the bigger enemy appeared as Israel or Zionism in the texts most of the time. The newspapers (re)presented those as the others that also has been a common practice in the Islamic discourse of Turkey for a long time. The right-wing politics tend to attribute the social problems to Israel.

The papers compared anti-Semitism to Islamophobia by exemplifying the decisions of national or international or courts. Accordingly, the papers argued that the courts are very

careful about anti-Semitism and accepted it as a crime against humanity or human rights. But Islamophobia is not taken seriously. The newspapers demanded the same punishment for the cartoonists.

5.1.1.9 After a Thousand Years: The Crusaders are Coming Back

The Crusaders have always been a striking reference given by Islamic movements or groups. Interestingly, the newspapers tried to give readers the feeling of "to be occupied". Most of the texts imply that the Crusaders can dominate again if they find an opportunity to do it. Nevertheless, it is not fair to say that all newspapers expressed this idea very strongly. Indeed, this theme is covered because of an Italian politician's comment on the Crusaders. Still, the papers preferred to mention the Crusader reference by relating it to the Danish cartoon crisis.

5.1.1.10 Muslim World is Uniting; Turkey is Leading

Turkey, as an exceptional example, has a secular system while having the majority of its population as Muslims. Especially because of the ongoing process of the EU membership; Islamic newspapers declared Turkey as the leader in solving the Danish cartoon crisis.

Indeed, this claim fits the assigned role of Turkey by international forces. Because Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, the Turkish leader of OIC was expected to calm the protestors by the Western countries. International meetings were held and İhsanoğlu gave statements on the issue. Therefore, Turkey became one of the key countries in the crisis.

The Islamic newspapers made news about these meetings, and the leadership role of Turkey was put forward. The papers (re)presented Western countries as desperate subjects that called Turkey for help to solve this situation. Besides the Islamic identity of Turkey, the Turkish identity was also assessed as a significant element for the leadership role.

5.1.1.11 Bizarre Murder of Priest: it should not have been but…

Priest Santoro was murdered during the cartoon crisis in Turkey. Newspapers associated the crime with the cartoon crisis and covered both issues altogether. However, some newspapers denied the relationship between those two events.

The newspapers had different arguments regarding the cause of the murder. Some papers claimed that the murderer was an innocent high-school school student who was misled and

confused. Some claimed that the main reason for the murder was the Priest's Christian identity. And the others argued that the murder was a provocation of the US/Western countries, by showing the US brand murder weapon as evidence. However, all the newspapers made it clear that they do not approve of the murder.

5.1.1.12 Waiting for an Apology

After the cartoons were published, all the newspapers waited for an apology from JP and the Danish government. Most of the newspapers evaluated JP and the Danish government under a single roof. Besides, after JP apologized and Rasmussen stated that he is worried about the cartoons, the newspapers did not find it sufficient. The papers evaluated the apology as a symptom of the selfish character of the West. Because they did not apologize for a long time and waited until the time they "had to" apologize concerning the consequences of economic boycott, protests and threats.

5.1.1.13 Hypocrisy of the West

As one of the most common themes, the Western hypocrisy is (re)presented in the newspapers by claiming that Muslims are not treated equally with Jewish and Christian people by the Western countries. Moreover, the newspapers argued that the right to free speech is only used in favour of the West. The representations of the newspapers pointed out the Islamic hostility of the West.

5.1.1.14 Our internal matter: headscarf, laicism, Armenians, Kurds

The newspapers also touched on the problems and matters within the country in their news about the cartoon crisis. Although these issues were not explicitly linked, the newspapers made connections between them and dealt with them together. The domestic issues that were related to the Danish cartoon crisis are the headscarf ban, Roj TV, and the Armenian Massacre.

First, wearing a headscarf was not allowed in public institutes, including universities until 2008. After the Danish cartoon crisis emerged, the newspapers (re)presented the Kemalist regime that banned wearing headscarves in public institutions as "the enemy inside". Second, Roj TV was a Kurdish channel that was banned in Turkey but broadcasted in Denmark until 2013. The newspapers (re)presented the broadcasting of the channel in Denmark as an additional political conflict during the Danish cartoon crisis and related to terrorism. Third, the papers (re)opened the debate on the Armenian genocide, to accuse Western countries of being hypocrites on different religious/nationalistic crises. The Islamic newspapers covered

the previous court decisions on Anti-Semitism crimes and demanded the same justice for Islamophobia, which is also a crime of thought.

5.1.2 Schematic Structure

Each newspaper has a strong emphasis on different issues, together with a specific perspective. Regarding those, I will analyze each newspaper concerning the structure of the news; such as the length, the feature of headlines, basic understanding within the context and their brief point of views.

This chapter includes a brief presentation of the Islamic newspapers, together with the analyses of overall statistics. Therefore, I will analyze the discursive themes in the following chapter in more detail.

The chart (Figure 5.1) indicates the distribution of the themes:
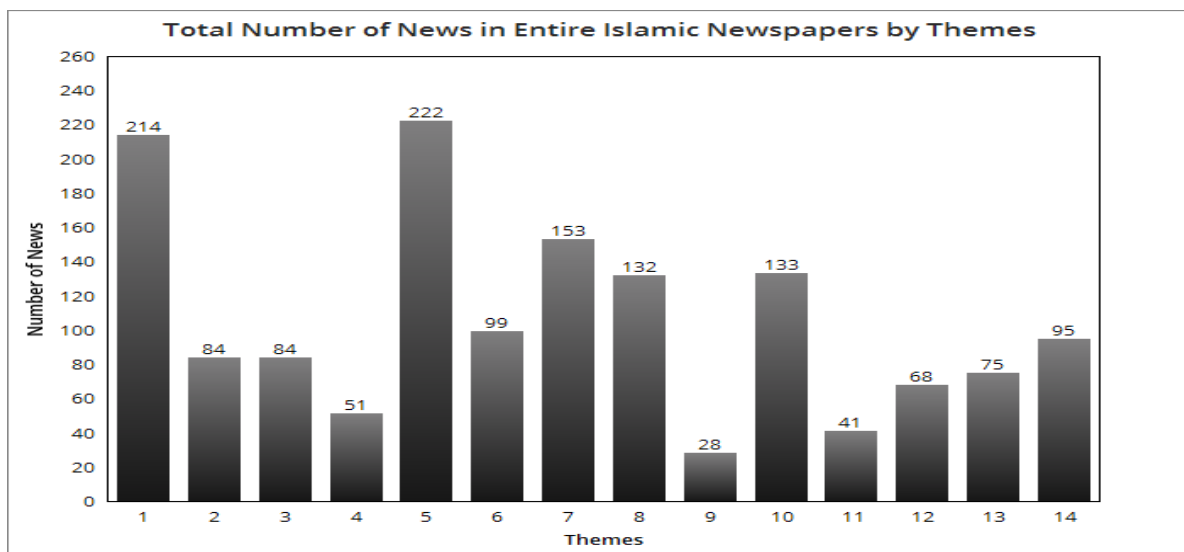
Figure 5.1: Total Number in News in the Entire Islamic Newspapers by Themes

5.1.2.1 Yeni Şafak

Yeni Şafak gives the least place to the Denmark cartoon crisis among all Islamic newspapers. Although the newspaper made 45 news about the cartoons, the length of the news is relatively longer (Figure 4.2). Moreover, the distribution of the themes is quite balanced compared to other newspapers. Also, the headlines in Yeni Şafak are shorter and more straight to the point. The reader can understand what the news is about by only reading the headline. In other words, the headlines convey the specific messages and main themes of the news.
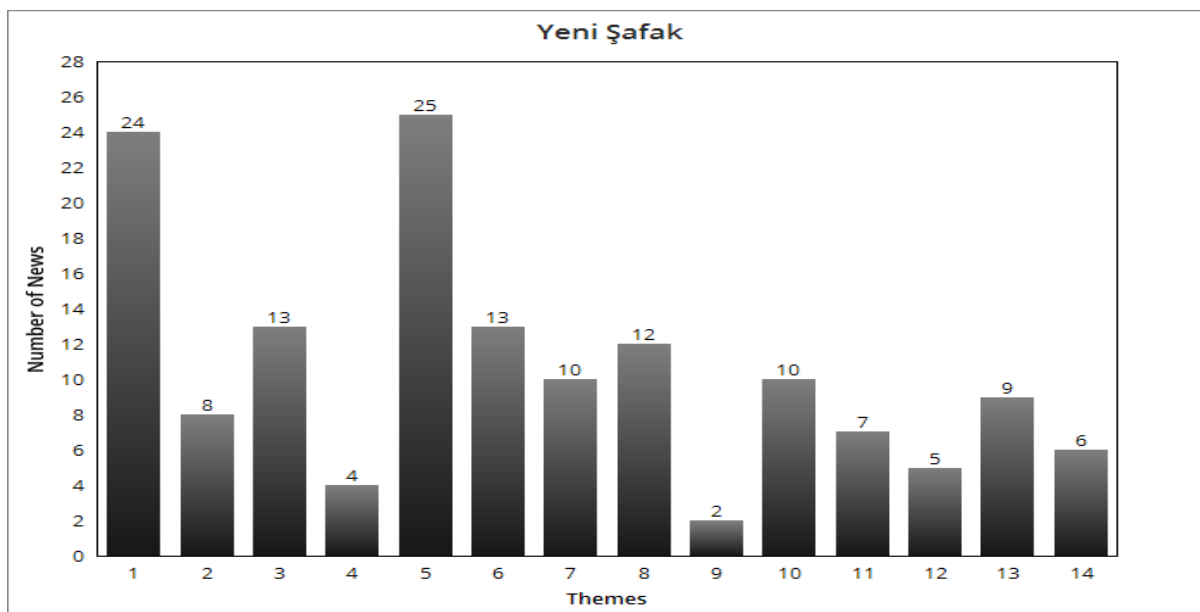
Figure 5.2: Frequency of themes in Yeni Şafak

The most common theme in Yeni Şafak is freedom of speech and the protests. The right to freedom of speech is mostly covered together with the issues such as; blasphemy and freedom of belief.

Yeni Şafak approaches Islamic unity as a form of solidarity against the cartoons, not a political imagination or target. Turkey is represented as a leader country in the solution process.

The economic protests inside or outside of Islamic countries are mentioned, and boycott is encouraged by sharing boycott calls. The paper mostly supports peaceful protests and does not approve the act of murder.

The newspaper gave many verbal reactions. Although the government, Justice and Development Party (AKP) members, and OIC were cited mostly, nevertheless, the other political parties, associations, or politicians from the West gave reactions to the cartoons were cited, too.

5.1.2.2 Yeni Asya

Yeni Asya made 125 news about the cartoon crisis, and the most frequent theme is freedom of speech and the protests (Figure 4.3). The length of the news is relatively long, and the headlines give direct messages. Also, the language of the news is mostly gentle.
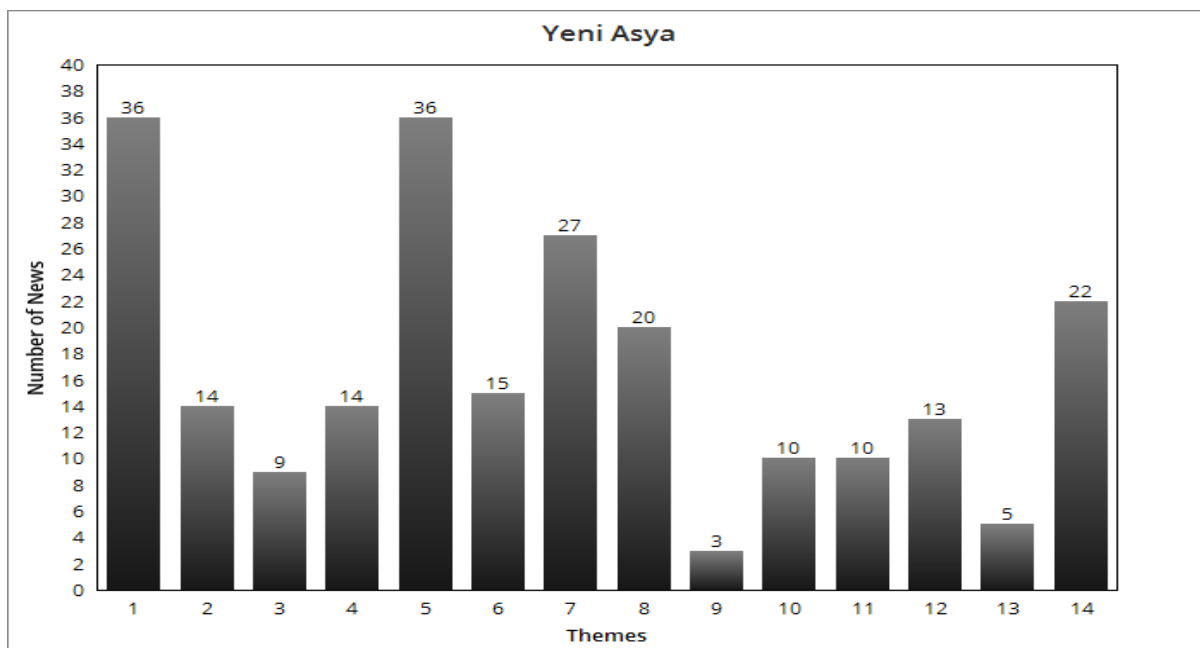
Figure 5.3: Frequency of themes in Yeni Asya

The paper commonly cites from the statements of Turkish politicians and OIC. The newspaper advocates for peaceful ways in the solution of the crisis. This resolution is seen as the alliance of civilizations, underlying the significance of dialogue between the West and the Islamic countries.

The news points out the borders of free speech and the right of the protests. The paper gives comprehensive coverage to the protests and boycotts in Islamic countries, but also warns about the violent protests and provocations.

The newspaper cited politicians who give more peaceful messages about the cartoons.

5.1.2.3 Türkiye

Türkiye made 140 news about the crisis, and the most frequent theme is the protests (Figure 4.4). The length of the news varies depending on the theme. The most lengthy news are usually about the role of Turkey and its leadership features. Erdoğan and Gül are most frequently referred subjects.
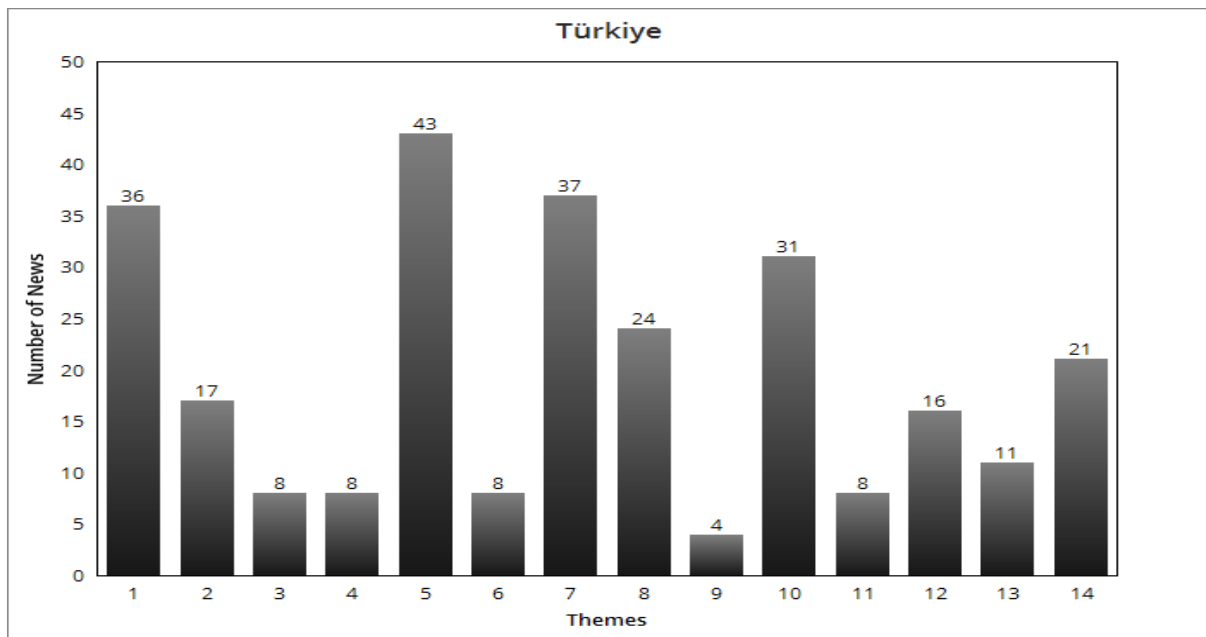
Figure 5.4: Frequency of themes in Türkiye

The paper portrays most of the Western countries and international unions as reluctant agents that do not make any effort to finalize the crisis. From time to time, Islamic countries are associated with violence. But the paper mentions peaceful protests. Finally, the murder of Priest is not approved by the paper and seen as a provocation.

5.1.2.4 Vakit

Vakit has the most aggressive language in every aspect among all the Islamic newspapers. Also, the newspaper made the highest number of news (146 total news), among the other newspapers (Figure 5.5).
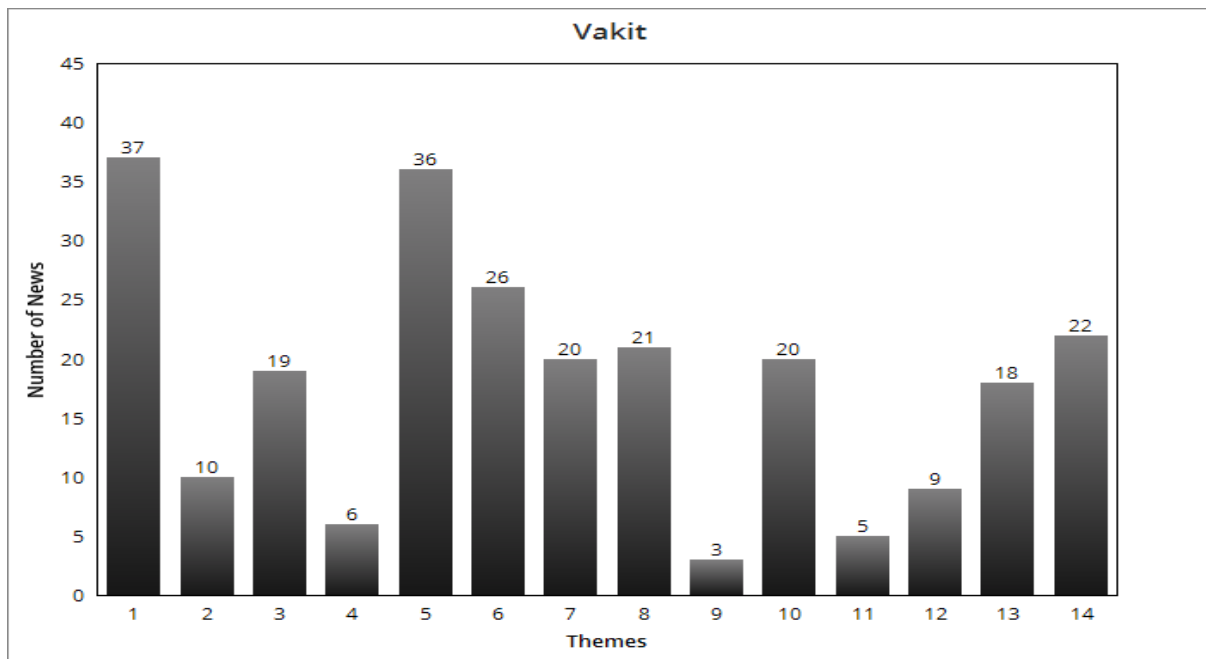
Figure 5.5: Frequency of themes in Vakit

The headlines are provocative and include swear words. The news are very short compared to the other newspapers; and sometimes it is not clear where they start or end. Alongside Turkish and Middle-Eastern politicians, Vakit also cited from some terror organizations, such as Hezbollah.

The paper gives place to the theme freedom of speech frequently by saying that this concept is used as a cover for the attacks on Muslims.

The protests are defended regardless of their methods as the West resorted to violence before to oppress Muslims. Strikingly, the murder of Priest is spoken out as a neutral consequence of the cartoons. Furthermore, Vakit perceives the local opponents to the Turkish government, the West, the EU, the US, Israel or any international subjects as the enemies.

The newspaper gives place to the verbal reactions of different international organizations (e.g. Muslim Brothers), the members of the government, and OIC (Organization of Islamic Cooperation) briefly. However, Vakit also cites those who support publishing the cartoons, and (re)presents them as enemies.

5.1.2.5 Milli Gazete

Milli Gazete made 139 news about the cartoon crisis, and the most frequent theme is the protests. The newspaper cited from the politicians of the Felicity Party (SP) most of the times

(Figure 4.6). Besides referring to statements of Felicity Party (SP), the paper positioned itself on National Vision Movement's side, and supported their demonstrations. The length of the news is rather shorter than the other papers.
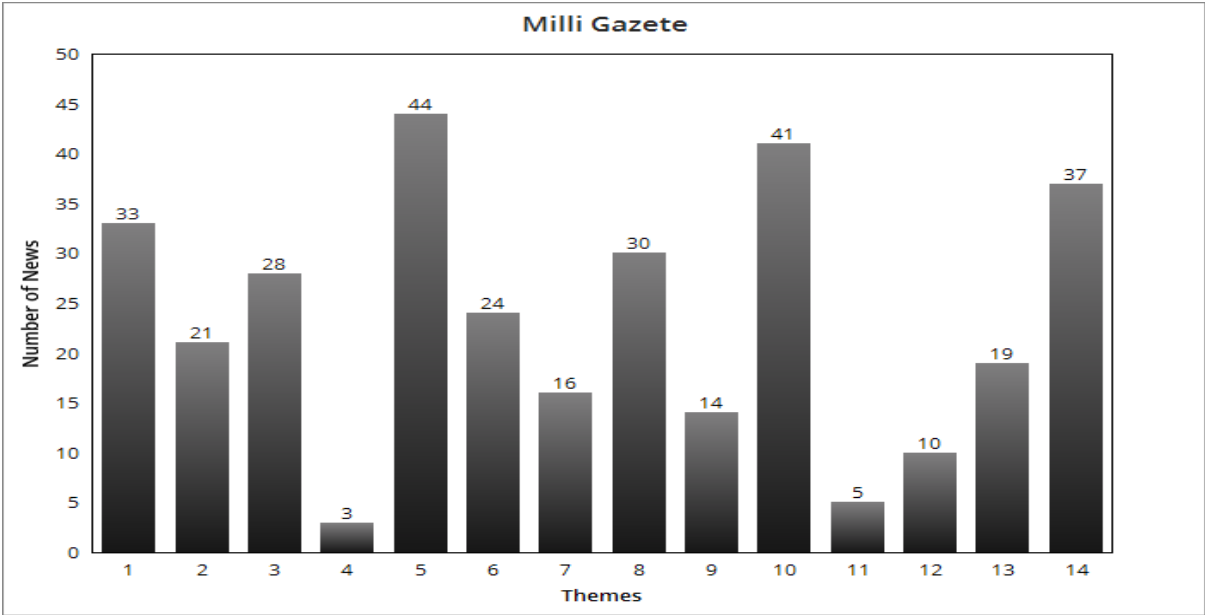
Figure 5.6: Frequency of Themes in Milli Gazete

On the other hand, the Middle-East protests and news are given extensive coverage. The newspaper supports the union of Islam, pan-Islamism politics under the leadership of Turkey.

Moreover, Milli Gazete criticized AKP in most of the news, and accused the government of being an "advocate" (avukat) of the West. According to the newspaper, the alliance of the civilizations is a sneaky plan made by the West to control the Muslims. The newspaper commonly referred to Zionism and Israel as the biggest yet hidden enemies of Islamic countries, and demonized these subjects.

5.1.2.6 Zaman

Zaman made 112 news about the crisis, and the most frequent theme is the alliance of civilization (Figure 4.7). The most important feature of the newspaper, which distinguishes it from other newspapers, is that it contains a lot of articles and columns containing the ideas of the authors. Moreover, the paper published translated-news from foreign newspapers such as The Guardian. Zaman mostly cited from the statements of Erdoğan, OIC, the officers of the foreign countries.
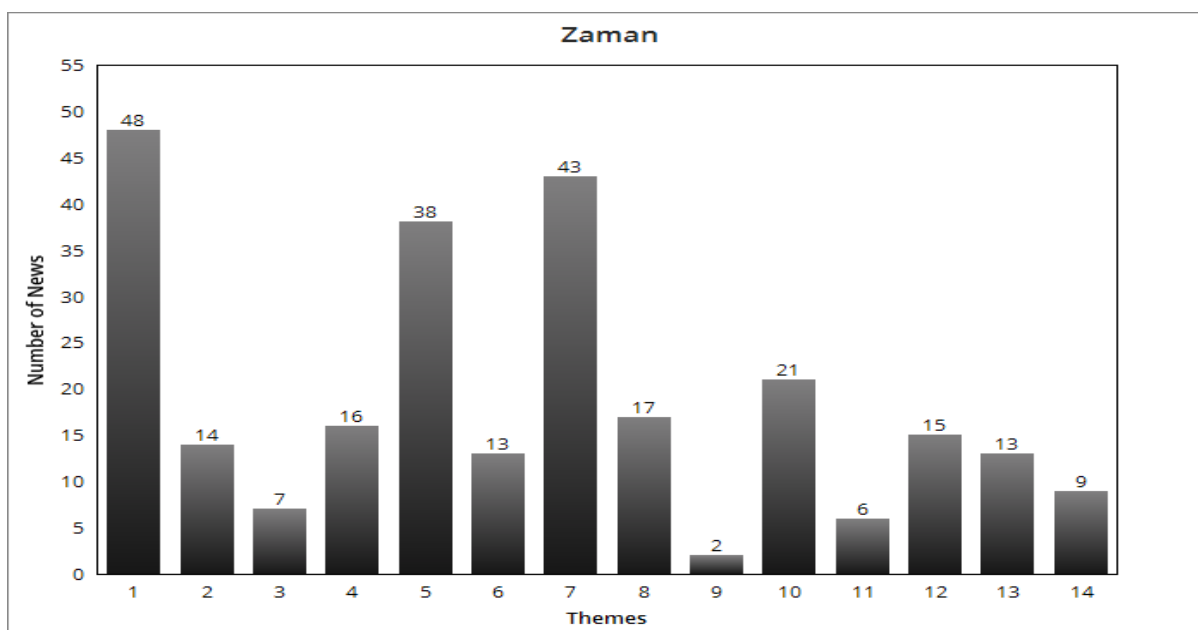
Figure 5.7: Frequency of Themes in Zaman

Together with Yeni Asya, Zaman used a gentle language in the articles, and concentrated more on the side of Western countries rather than the Islamic world. The EU membership process of Turkey appears to be one of the most significant points for the paper, while covering the events. Indeed, the paper looks most of the issues in a positive light; such as the emphasis on the value of constructive dialogue between religions, peace, conscience, and the alliance of civilizations against the notion of clash of civilizations. Yet, the paper does not hold back any comments on the hypocrisy of the West at the same time.

The paper does not approve bloody or violent protests, such as setting fire to the embassies. Even, those incidents are highly criticized.

5.2. Microstructure Analysis

The Islamic newspapers have distinctive themes regarding the cartoon controversy. In six newspapers I chose to review, I identified sixteen prominent themes depending on how the papers approached the cartoon crisis. Although these themes are analyzed in separate titles, they are still all related to each other. For instance, Islamophobia, Alliance/Clash of Civilizations and the Unity of Muslim World topics are interconnected, because the papers mainly discuss the identity issues. However, I analyze them under separate topics because the newspapers share

distinctive examples of historical and current events related to those issues. Similarly, each newspaper presents their own argument in a specific way. In this chapter, I aim to review and analyze these common themes concerning the essential standpoint of each newspaper.

However, while I am doing my analysis, I will point out focus, organization or context of the texts (coherence). I will underline the word usage (semantic). Furthermore, by appealing grammatical analysis, I will reveal the sentence connections. I will present them under the narrative analysis by giving examples. Most of the times, I will highlight relations between us and the other which can be understood as inferences from the grammatical analysis (e.g. references such as 'our Prophet').

5.2.1 Freedom of Speech and Press: Blasphemy is not a Freedom

The right to freedom of speech is one of the most frequent themes in the news. It is usually pointed out together with freedom of the press and freedom of belief. Regarding the issue, the Islamic newspapers have some common arguments such as; the depictions of prophet Muhammad cannot be viewed as the right to freedom of speech and the press. On the contrary, they argue that cartoons abusing these rights proves that blasphemy is not a part of freedom of speech. Therefore, they accuse Western countries of using freedom of speech as an excuse to insult Islamic values.

All the Islamic newspapers have a similar narrative that the European/Western countries, or Denmark in particular, defend the right to freedom of speech and its limitations only in principle. For instance, the newspapers assert that the European countries would never let anyone abuse this right in anti-semitism arguments. Some newspapers exemplify the ECHR decisions about the holocaust discourse, in order to demonstrate how anti-semitic comments were punished by the court. Moreover, the newspapers point out what they claim to be discrimination among different religious values. According to Islamic newspapers, the West does not treat Islam and Christianity equally. They bestow a privilege upon Christianity and Christian values, so when it comes to insulting Muslims and Islamic values, they claim that it is their right to free speech. The newspapers represent this behaviour as the "hypocrisy of the West."

Alongside the discussions on the hypocrisy of the West, YA and Z give place to the idea that some Western countries act fairly about religious issues. For instance, YA mentions that Russian prosecutors sued a cartoon about Jesus, Moses, Muhammed, and Buddha

(YA02162006, p.9). Z says that the Church Aid Organization and some other Western newspapers found the cartoons outrageous (Z02122006, p.13).

YA addresses the issue from an Islamic perspective. The newspaper claims that the Muhammad's last sermon is the very first human rights document in the history (Karagöz, YA02252006, p.4). Within this discourse, Islam is the origin of human rights. In other words, the newspaper points out that Muslims are respectful to the right to freedom of speech, because it is an integral part of Islamic values.

Z argues that the reactions of Christians are no different than Muslims in terms of giving reactions to religious issues. One article mentions that the events which took place in West during the past years show that Christians use violence, too when they feel offended (Cücük, Z01122006, p.12). Furthermore, Z points out the event when Christians burned down a theater building, because they found the movie offensive to Jesus. However, Z accepts that Muslims used violence, too. Nevertheless, they conclude as it does not mean that Muslims should resort to violence.

T represented the idea that free speech is liable to the limits and these limits are beliefs of the people (T02042006, p.12). The newspaper gave evidence from ECHR and underlined the international laws (Turan, T02072006, p.12)

YŞ structured a narrative saying that 'The cartoons turn into a confrontation' and the newspapers gave examples Western countries with their support on the republishing of the cartoons and the Islamic countries with their reactions against(Güvenç, YŞ02022006, p.12). Accordingly, Western countries covered their insolence(küstahlık) by using the concept of 'freedom of speech'(Güvenç, YŞ02022006, p.12). Nevertheless, YŞ gave some examples from the Western politicians who think that the cartoons are out of freedom of speech(YŞ02042006, p.7)

V cited from Muslim Brothers who underlined the cartoons harmed the Prophet by covering this behaviour concept of freedom of speech(V02012006, p.6). On the other hand, the cartoons are out of free speech as they praise and promote violence by provoking Muslims(Bilici, V02032006, p.6). The newspapers pointed out there is the spiritual leader of the Christians among the supporters of the cartoons in the name of freedom of speech(V02032006, p.8)

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YŞ and V also emphasize the relationship between the Holocaust and the notion of freedom of speech. The newspapers point out that the West condemn people who claim that the holocaust did not actually happen. The news highlight that the European countries punished these people before. Because they were, as YŞ calls them, "the criminals of thought" (Mutanoğlu, YŞ02052006, p.7).

MG presents the idea of free speech in the West as a "global attack against Muslims" (MG02172006, p.8). This argument is very popular in most of the newspapers, as they claim that the freedom of speech is an ill-used right by the Western countries to attack Muslims and Islamic religious values. In general, newspapers discuss the question of where the limits of free speech begin and end; and emphasize that insulting Islamic values is not a part of freedom of speech.

In brief, all the newspapers shared a similar narrative that Western countries, indeed, do not support free speech when it comes to the Islamic religion. They represented injustice by using the references grammatically pointed out how the West display behaviour to Islam is different than Christianity in favour of Christianity. All the newspapers structured contrast between the right of freedom of speech vs freedom of religion by using opposition connectives such as; but and however by focusing on specific narrative; there is a right of free speech but/however it does not include harming the Prophet/religion. These common features of the newspapers show us that the identity of the other is Christian whether the other directly talk about it or not. Second, this identity communed with the West. They tend to insult us one way or the other; and therefore, they are not respectful. On the other hand, this Christian, Western and disrespectful *other* attacked Islamic subjects. *Us*, who is under the attack, are not threatened equally by the Christian-West. Therefore, their real aim does not support free speech; but using it to provide unequal treatment.

However, Z, YA and T put forward the universal values by citing the delegates from other religions. The representation of us includes some 'degree of otherness.'. Nevertheless, human rights are not originated from the West (the other), but it is included among our values. Therefore, us and the other normally have a ground for reconciliation. Hence, these two newspapers still maintain the Islamic values of the reformist part especially shaped after 1997s by pointing out human rights and international organizations. They make an effort to fix Islamic identity on these rights. As a result of this, they create one more other; traditionalist Islamists who are more aggressive. Moreover, they do not point out any 'golden

age' and focuses on the future, which shows they have plans to maintain the fixation process of Islamic identity they represented.

YŞ makes a strick distinction between Islamic and Western countries. Nevertheless, individual subjects from Western are given as an example to strengthen the idea of how Islamic countries are right about understanding the limitation of free speech. In other words, the other is used pragmatically to structure us holistically. Us, therefore, is located as the subjects outside of the West but able to grasp the human rights. YŞ seems between the traditionalists in 1990s and reformists wing AKP by mixing anti-Westernization and human rights.

MG represented the other to structure an enemy to Islam by using generalizations. The other is Western countries and have plans to attack to us. The newspapers rationalize and pragmatize the sacred Islamic values to integrate world politics. To do this, it appeals to the militarized language. These representations remind us the traditional anti-Westernization idea in Islamic movements before the 1990s, in contrast, Z and YA.

The other in the V was represented as ready to provoke Muslims; therefore, against the peace. Also, their Christian feature directly located in being aggressive. Accordingly, Western Christian *other* who is hypocritical and desires for the conflicts are also supported the Jewish. In local meaning, Jewish is used as was evil. The 1980s Islamic value of being against Israel and finding out some degree of Jewishness in every Western country is maintained its representations. Moreover

5.2.2 Islamophobia: Are You Afraid of Us Enough?

All six newspapers underline Islamophobia in the Western and European countries. However, not all of them use the word "Islamophobia". Instead, they usually prefer phrases such as "attack on Islam", "hostility against Islam" or "xenophobia", even though they imply Islamophobia.

The main narrative in the newspapers;

1. The Islamaphobia prevail among Western countries.
2. The cartoons are only one example which reveals Muslim hostility.
3. Therefore, the cartoons are more than drawings but reveal the problem of Islamaphobia.

YŞ quotes from a professor who pointed out the "filthy campaigns against Islam" in the West (Yeter, YŞ02092006, p.Gündem II). YA and T give place to xenophobia in European countries and hostility against Quran and Islam religion(YA02212006, p.7; T02112006, p.13). Z prefers a rather careful language by mentioning hostility against Islam. The newspaper concerns for the *tendency* of hostility against Islam in European countries (Aydın, Z02052006, p.13). These four newspapers describe the West as it is in trouble with Islam. Therefore, the papers suggest that the West has problems with Islamic countries.

V and MG bring a different perspective and use a more striking language than the other papers. These two newspapers fictionalize a narrative that the Western countries are quite right to be afraid of Islam. Because, certain employees of the newspaper Charlie Hebdo - which republished the cartoons- were put under police protection after the threats of Muslims (V02092006, p.6). MG underlines that "Western countries are afraid of Islam" and "they are astonished by the protests of Muslims" (Altınalan, MG02212006, p.9). These two newspapers portray the West as a bunch of coward countries that are afraid of Muslims, because Muslims are stronger than them.

In terms of Islamophobia, the newspapers tend to generalize the Western countries. Denmark in particular is rarely discussed in terms of Islamophobia except for T (YŞ02092006, p. Gündem II; YA02212006, p.7; T02092006, p.13; V02202006, p.10; MG02212006, p.9; Z02022006, p.12), because the Islamic newspapers do not consider Denmark as an independent country from its Western allies. V represent this idea by quoting from a union; "The attack that we encountered today can not be explained with only Denmark which is a small and insignificant country…"(V02202006, p.19)

Accordingly, Denmark is a dependent subject, and the West is a holistic union. On the other hand, T argues that the West is a union that tries to solve Islamophobia and punish Denmark by writing reports (T02092006, p.13). The paper represents Denmark as a scourged child by the brother West.

The cartoons are mostly discussed as a reflection of the Islamophobic emotions of the West. In other words, the cartoons were one of the results of Islamophobia except for Z (YŞ02052006, p.Gündem II; YA02212006, p.7; MG02212006, p.9; Turan, T02092006, p.13; V02202006, p.10). The *other*, West, is Islamophobic that has become apparent in some cases, such as by the publishing of cartoons.

On the other hand; some newspapers give place to the idea that the cartoons were planned for promoting Islamophobia and representing Muslims like terrorists (YŞ02092006, p.Gündem II; YA02152006, p.5; T02112006, p.13; V02092006, p.6). *The other*, the West, is represented here as a sneaky agent who has been waiting for putting their plan into action. By this way, *us*, Muslims have become the target.

V and MG claim that hostility against Islam is an inherent feature of the West. According to MG, the West has always had hostility against Islam from past to present (Cura, MG02042006, p.3) V interviewed with a researcher and the researcher directly stated that the interfaith dialogue is a Catholic Church project which aims to "Christianise Islam" (V02062006, p.17). For MG and V, the West has been making all sorts of devious plans for a long time. The *others* is right there and always will be there as a threat to the Islamic world. Muslims, *us*, are threatened subjects.

Other papers - Z, T, YA- assess Islamophobic attitudes in this crisis as a mistake, and they believe those attitudes can change over time. Z reminds the decision of European Commision (EC) which forbids Islamophobia, and countries must adhere to this decision (Z02022006, p.12). T quotes from a minister in Turkey who said that we should abstain from prejudices mutually, both Muslims and the West (T02272006, p.12). YA proposes a solution to prevent Islamophobia; increasing dialogue between the subjects (YA02182006, p.1). The West is represented as a subject that makes mistakes, while Muslims are continuously exposed to the consequences of them. However, YA argues that a positive dialogue can solve this problem.

Obviously, the first group did not believe that Islamophobia or hostility problem will be solved. On the other hand, the second group seems more optimistic about problem-solving diplomacy.

Some newspapers mention two historical events in the scope of the theme—first, the occupation of Middle Eastern territories, and second, 9/11 attacks. The point here is to underline the Western attitudes against muslim countries and people, which is violence, torture and invasion of their lands (YŞ02092006, p.Gündem II; V02202006, p.19; Ataş, MG02052006, p.11; Karagöz, YA02252006, p.4). Z and T do not touch upon this subject; they rather focus on the solution of current issues.

In brief, the other is included Islam hostility which is the word pattern used for Islamophobia for making the concept more powerful. First group(YA, T, Z) represented the Islamaphobia

problem is solvable. Second group(YŞ, MG, V) is represented Islamaphobia is an embedded feature of the other; in other words, they are essentialists about characteristics of the other. Last, the only newspaper made a distinction between Denmark and the other Western countries is T. Other newspapers represented the Western in solidarity and Denmark is a dependent subject.

5.2.3 Do not Draw 'Our' Prophet

The protests of Muslims against the cartoons are covered extensively by the papers. All six newspapers use a similar narrative structure as follows:

1. The cartoons depicted the prophet Muhammad in an inappropriate way
2. As a result of this, the Muslim got angry
3. Angry Muslims started to protest to protect our Prophet

Although each newspaper approaches the subject from different angles, they all describe the way the prophet is portrayed in the cartoons as problematic and unacceptable. First and foremost, the newspapers assert that the cartoons are unacceptable, because the depiction of the Prophet is inappropriate. In this sense, "'the squalid attacks on our Prophet" and "the cartoons insulting our Prophet" are amongst the most used expressions in the news (YŞ02032006, p.1, YŞ02042006, p.14; YA02202006, p.5,YA02132006, p.3, YA02012006, p.1; T02272006, p.12, T02142006, p.12; V02252006, p.10, V02262006, p.10; Gülüm, MG02192006, p.11, V02012006, p.11; Kurt, Z02072006, p.13, Z02192006, p.12). Also, YŞ emphasizes that the visual depiction of Prophet is illicit in Islam (YŞ02052006, p.Gündem II).

All six newspapers refer prophet Muhammad as "our prophet". By doing so, they create a possessive meaning for the Prophet of Islam. In other words, they identify themselves as the believers of Muhammad by emphasizing that the Prophet is "theirs". By this, they make a distinction between themselves and the non-Muslims both in Turkey and in other countries.

In the papers "our Prophet" is used with the repeated adjective clause; "insulting cartoons". Therefore the *others* are the people who do not respect the Prophet, because they support the cartoons and insult the Prophet Muhammad. For instance;

"The cartoons that insult our Prophet were protested in several provinces, from East to the West of Turkey." (YŞ02062006, p.14)

"Children, youth, men, women and elders[…]ay salavat for our Prophet and curse the persecution of the West altogether" (MG02202006, p.11).

Another issue is the portrayal of European/Western countries in Islamic newspapers. Most of the newspapers claim that European/Western countries are responsible for causing this crisis. They accuse these countries of remaining silent, publishing and republishing the cartoons.

"The squalid attack on our *Prophet*… in European countries, Denmark is in the first place... Europe, remaining insensitive to the cartoons that insult our Prophet, only recommends Muslims to be peaceful." (YŞ02052006, p.Gündem II). Furthermore, the newspaper points out that Prophet's individual character; 'self-possession'(vakar) and moderation(itidal) by citing from the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs(Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı).

"Nearly 1.5 million people attended to the demonstrations… European countries were cursed" (MG02202006, p.11)

According to the newspapers, European countries are responsible for the protests because they insulted the Prophet. Although the newspapers mention Denmark specifically, they also accuse other European countries of being indifferent to the crisis. Even, V and T mention that the US and Israel are responsible of this crisis, too. Fahrettin Afacan, President of İlim Yayma Cemiyeti argues that the tolerance of Muslims spoils Jewish people and Christians:

"Islam is the religion of peace and brotherhood. This religion of Muslims has been misevaluated by Jewish and Christian people on purpose, and our tolerance has made them spoilt" (V02252006, p.10; T02142006, p.12).

The newspapers tend to generalize the characteristics of Western/European countries while describing their attitudes during the cartoon crisis. In other words, the newspapers assert that Denmark and other European countries are essentially the same concerning their shared religious and cultural values. Accordingly, they are all described as "insensitive" and "indifferent", because they insulted the Prophet, and therefore Islamic values (YŞ02042006, p.14). Moreover, some newspapers claim that the Western countries that defend the cartoons do not even respect their own Prophet. Islam acknowledges Jesus as a prophet, therefore the Western countries that attacked Islam and its values, also insulted their own prophet (YŞ02062006, p.14). As a result, the newspapers argue that the Western countries are disrespectful about any kinds of religious values.

European countries are also represented as "biased"(*taraflı*) and "unjust"(*adaletsiz*). Instead of warning the cartoonists and condemning the cartoons, European countries only tried to stop and calm down the Muslims who were rightfully protesting against the insult to the Prophet Muhammad (YŞ02042006, p.14). So, the Western countries are seen as "hypocrites" (*ikiyüzlü*), and they "try to hide injustice" by using the right to freedom of speech as an excuse for blasphemy (MG02202006, p.11).

V uses an aggressive and offensive language while arguing about the West, Israel, the US and any other subject which is seen responsible for the cartoon crisis. For instance, the newspaper frequently uses adjectives such as; "insolent" (aşağılık) or "germ" (mikrop) to describe the subjects who support the cartoons (V02252006, p.10).

Briefly, *the other* planned to provoke us with an attack. Attack means in the local level, the cartoons disrespectfully drawing Prophet. The newspapers have consensus on Prophet is the most essential Islamic value for Islamic identities as it is the border between *us* and the *other*. Newspapers used Islamic words such as salawat and Prophet's characteristic features.

The newspapers except for Z and YA, portray Western countries as unfair, disdainful and insensitive, because they harass religious values. Z made differences between the Western country in terms of Islamaphobia by quoting from the US old president Bill Clinton who supported Islamic countries in the cartoon crisis with his speech about condemn Islamophobia(Z02012006, p.13). YA pointed out the issue with a similar approach and underlined that the cartoon crisis revealed various opinions in different Western countries(YA02042006, p.9) Clearly, the Western countries and Denmark are seen in the same level. For V and MG, outside of the Islamic world, all have "bad" characteristics, including Christians, Jewish people, the US, Israel.

5.2.4 More Than a Newspaper, More Than a News: "JP is on Pins and Needles"

The newspaper JP is blamed to be one of the most important actors who created or began the cartoon crisis. However, the Islamic newspapers blame other European countries as well. The papers argue that even though JP published the cartoons first, the other countries re-published the cartoons over and over again, which made a domino effect for the crisis as the social context enabled publishing the cartoons several times.

The newspapers define the beginning of the crisis with specific and similar words. YŞ and MG suggest that JP "caused public indignation" (kamuoyunda infiale neden oldu) by publishing the cartoons (YŞ02012006, p.6; MG02042006 p.10). T, YA and Z identify JP as "the starter of the crisis" (T02212006, p.12; YA02042006, p.9; Z, 02082006, p.13).

All Islamic newspapers use a denigrating and insulting language while describing JP. For instance, some of the adjectives to define JP are; "provocateur" (provakatör) (YŞ02022006, p.6; YA02142006, p.1; T02042006, p.12; MG02142006, p.10; Z02252006, p.13), "impertinent" (küstah) (V02112006, p.17; MG02222006, p.8), "coward" (korkak) (YŞ02072006, p.7; YA02052006, p.9; Turan, T02072006, p.12; V02072006, p.17) and "hypocrite" (ikiyüzlü) (YŞ02072006, p.7; YA02042006, p.4; MG02142006, p.1).

Some newspapers resorted to a sardonic language while describing the fear of cartoonists. For instance, V wrote; "The 12 Danes who drew the cartoons began to hide because they are scared"(Güzel, V02072006, p.6). For V, Muslim subjects are powerful enough to scare JP and in this situation JP becomes coward.

Furthermore, the newspapers imply that JP is a hypocrite on behalf of the West, since they published neither Jesus nor Jewish cartoons before (YŞ02072006, p.7; YA02102006, p.9; Karagül, MG02102006, p.5; Cücük, Z02052006 p.13). By moving the claim of the double standard against Muslims, Islamic newspapers argue that the Muslims have been chosen as a target on purpose.

The reason for the cartoons of JP is connected with the some specific events from the past. YŞ points out that the cartoons are only one form of showing cultural terrorism in European countries(Yeter, YŞ02052006, p.Gündem II). YA notes the long-standing racism problem in Denmark (YA02032006, p.6). T refers to ongoing Islamophobia after 9/11 attacks (Turan, T02032006, p.11). MG identifies the problem as hostility against Islam in Western countries which is ever present (Ataş, MG02052006, p.11). However, Z outlines the issue as the cartoons are a consequence of dis-acknowledging other/different civilizations (Z02262006, p.13).

Another issue related to the theme is the expectation for an apology from JP. While the newspapers show JP as the starter of cartoons controversy, JP is totally dependent on Rasmussen and Danish government. Hence, the newspapers demand to apologize from Rasmussen alongside JP as well(YA02042006, p.4; YŞ02052006, p.7; T02042006, p.12;

V02252006, p.10; Gülüm, MG02022006, p.10; Cücük, Z02162006, p.12). Accordingly, JP - as a subject- almost means nothing as it equalized the Danish government.

Above all, the basic narrative can be summarized;

a. West has already had issues with Muslims. Therefore, one small event was enough to reveal this problem.
b. The newspapers build a cause and effect relation. The West made Muslims the scapegoat, and JP pioneered this hatred by publishing highly controversial cartoons aimed at Muslims and Islamic values. JP, which represents the West and its historical and social conflicts with the Islamic world only ignited the wick.
c. Muslims demanded an apology, but Rasmussen did not apologize, and this caused a bigger controversy and triggered worldwide protests.

In short, all Islamic newspapers used rude language to describe JP. However, JP is blamed as a starter for the crisis. By this, Muslims are portrayed as innocent people who are *provoked* by JP. JP is not represented independently from the Danish government. Besides, JP is only of the agents represents Western political behavior. However, both Danish government and JP became selfish as they apologized in the condition that their political and economic interests. The newspapers made a hierarchy between the subjects which are related to each other. Accordingly, Denmark is not independent of the West, and JP id dependent on the Danish government. Therefore *the other* is, indeed, the Western countries. Islamic countries became provoked, threatened by West by using some tools(the newspaper JP here) and they are sincere by expecting apologies, but the other is selfish.

5.2.5 You Made Our Youth Angry: Keep Calm but Sorry not Sorry

All the Islamic newspapers represent the protests as a natural and inevitable consequence of the cartoons. The narratives about the protests and the protesters are similar. They establish a cause and effect relationship between the emotions of the protesters and the protests. The common narrative is; the depiction of Muhammad in the cartoons made young Muslims angry; therefore, they started to protest against it. The newspapers use striking negative adjectives to dramatize their narrations. In this way, they legitimize the protests of the Islamic world.

For instance, according to YŞ the cartoons'instigated'(ayağa kaldırmak) Islamic world(YŞ02042006, p.7). T represented the cartoons make the Muslims world angry(T02142006, p.12). YA described the cartoons as 'ugly atack'(çirkin saldırı) and pointed out that the attacks were protested by Muslims(YA02202006, p.5). MG highlighted that the protests are proceeding against the 'ignoble'(aşağılık) cartoons(MG02212006, p.8). V underlined the cartoons are 'tolerated by Western countries' were cursed(V02202006, p.7). In contrast, Z preffered to give a place of solution efforts of the Western; 'Solona is going to the Middle East to calm the crisis. The anger against the cartoons…continue." (Z02112006, p.13)

Although all newspapers mentioned the protests, MG put forward the dynamism in Islamic world. V created the enemy through protests as Western. Z focuses on the future and expects that efforts of Western countries will calm the protests. The common opinion that all papers share is that Denmark, Western countries and international organizations got into a tight corner by the worldwide effects of protests.

On the other hand, the newspapers distinct on whether they support peaceful protests or violent ones. MG and V, prominently, support all kind of protests and legitimize them.

V quoted from the statements of terrorist organizations such as; Hezbollah, Taliban, Palestinian Islamic Jihad Organization(V02112006, p.1). In one article, V stated that the "interfaith dialogue is nonsense" and called people who died in the protests a "martyr" (şehit) (V02092006, p.10). The use of religious and military terms and references indicates that V idolized even violent protests.

MG referred to religious terms for the protests. The newspaper rather focused on the features of demonstrations in Turkey. It is always emphasized that the participation to the demonstration which is organized by Felicity Party is a religious responsibility for all muslims. Accordingly, thanks to National Vision Movement, "Turkey fulfilled the duty" (Cura, MG02212006, p.10). The newspaper strongly criticized people who defend interfaith dialogue, for supporting EU and the West and threat the West(Cura, MG02212006, p.10).

YŞ has rather a neutral language concerning the news about muslims protesting the cartoons; accordingly, the paper mostly published articles citing from the speeches of Turkish politicians, especially the members of AKP (Zelvi, YŞ02062006, p.13). Also, points out that protests provided solidarity among Muslims excitedly(YŞ01302006, p.1). However, after the murder of the priest, the newspapers started calling muslims for peace. For instance, the

newspapers give a headline; "Code of peace is hidden in the slogans" (barışın şifresi sloganlarda saklı) (YŞ02082006, p.7).

YA, Z and T advocates peaceful protests, too.(YA02152006, p.7; Kaya, Z02092006, p.13; T02062006, 2006, p.12). For YA, the controversy can only be solved by following bureaucratic procedures at an international level (YA02152006, p.7; YA02092006, p.5). Z is concerned about the terrorist organizations and mentioned Al Fatah, Mujahideen Army by pointing out their "armed force" (silahlı güçler) and describes the violent protests as "undesirable incidents" (istenmeyen olaylar) (Bayraktar, Z01282006, p.4). T preferred to warn the reader by claiming that some people provoke the protests, especially from outside of Turkey, and *we* should be careful about it. (Türkoğlu, T02222006, p.9).

In brief, all newspapers legitimize the protests by describing the cartoons with negative words. MG and V do support all kinds of protests; on the other hand, the others give negative coverage of the violent protests. While MG put Turkish protests forward, V preferred to make more news on international Islamic organizations and reactions from the Islamic world. YA pointed out the international bureaucratic ways to solve the crisis and Z mentions the danger of terrorist organizations.

Therefore, Z makes a strict distinction between the violent and non-violent protests. It should be noted that this newspaper is the supporter of the EU and trusted the ability of the West in solving this crisis. Therefore, it is natural that Z supported the Western organizations which were approved by EU.

5.2.6 Moderate Disobedience by Economical Boycott: We Suggest You not to Buy

As a result of the cartoon crisis, economic boycott calls began in Islamic countries (Figure 1.1). Besides recommending economic boycott against Denmark products, some Islamic countries also advised boycotting the products of other European countries that published the cartoons. The papers covered the economic boycott topic extensively. Even, some newspapers shared a stop list including Danish brands.

Even though, some newspapers argue that the economic boycott is the best way of protesting cartoons; other papers claim that Islamic countries should practice the boycott as an additional reaction besides other kinds of protests. In this respect, all the newspapers except Z, directly

invited people to join the boycott. (YŞ02062006, p.14; YA02092006, p.5; T02062006, p.12; MG02022006, p.1,10; V02052006, p.5).

All the Islamic newspapers used the same sequence of events in their narration, which is:

1. After the cartoons were published, Muslims demanded an apology.

2. Denmark/Rasmussen and JP did not apologize for the cartoons.

3. Muslims started a boycott campaign.

4. The boycott effected Denmark's economy negatively.

5. One of the most important reason forced to Rasmussen and JP to apologize is the negative effects of economic boycott.

The most common argument in the news is how Denmark economy faced difficulty; in other words, the success of the economic boycott of the Islamic countries. The newspapers used sentence patterns such as "Denmark is in a tight corner" (köşeye sıkıştı) or "Danish companies lost significant money" (Danimarka şirketleri büyük para kaybetti) consistently(YŞ02032006, p.6; YA02032006, p.1,9; MG02122006, p.1;Güzel, V02012006, p.6; T02032006, p.11; Cücük, Z02092006, p.13). The papers intended to present Denmark as an incapable subject against the power of economic boycott of Muslims. The papers asserted that it was the Muslims' economic boycott which put Denmark's economy in bad condition YŞ02032006, p.6; YA02032006, p.1,9; MG02122006, p.1;Güzel, V02012006, p.6; T02032006, p.11; Cücük, Z02092006, p.13). By this way, Muslims are represented as heroic subjects who achieved victory over Denmark.

Similarly, one of the most significant subjects in the newspapers is the call for economic boycott against Denmark and other European countries, rather than promoting violent protests. Most of the newspapers mentioned that violent protests served Denmark's goals. For instance, *YA* said "if we react violently we serve a purpose desired by the provocateurs". (YA02032006, p.1,9). Likewise, YŞ gave place to the calls for economic boycott instead of violent protests(Toprak, YŞ02092006, p.13). T warned Turkish people not to fall into a trap by getting involved in the violence. Instead, they can resort to economic boycott (T02062006, p.1,12). *Z* also said that the violent protests could only serve people who planned this scheme

against the muslim world (Baysal, Z02082006, p.10). The news in MG and V did not mention the necessity of staying out of violence.

I would like to point out that *Z* also contextualized the boycott from a different aspect. Accordingly, the newspaper touched upon the paradox of the economic boycott, which is; the boycott can cause harm in the local economy of the other countries (Baysal, Z02082006, p.10). Moreover, the paper argues that the lack of knowledge about the origin of brands might cause a negative effect on non-Danish products by boycotting in a misleading way (Baysal, Z02082006, p.10). Z shows it is a true believer of neoliberal economy and foreign capital. Therefore, the newspaper seemed wary about the boycott, and rather pointed out the significance of the limits of the economic boycott.

Besides, MG published lots of articles which criticize the actions of the current Turkish government (AKP). In this regard, even though most of the Muslim countries made an official call for economic boycott, the Turkish government did not (MG02012006, p.1,11).

In brief, the economic boycott was recommended as an alternative way to violent protests by most of the newspapers, except MG and V. Those papers see the boycott as an essential reaction, but not an efficient way to react. Moreover, the Islamic newspapers constructed their narratives about the issue of economic boycott against Denmark and Danish products in the same manner. As a result, Muslims, *us*, were presented as powerful and decisive subjects. In contrast, Denmark, *the other*, was presented as weak and a loser.

5.2.7 Alliance of Civilizations vs. Clash of Civilizations

The notion of civilization is discussed as a part of cartoon controversy in the newspapers. All the newspapers assessed the cartoons in terms of the clash of civilizations, even though there was no consensus on the way they interpreted the issue. Some newspapers argue that the West abuse the alliance of civilizations idea, while the other papers defend the importance of the alliance of civilizations. Sometimes both arguments are covered in the same newspaper. Nevertheless, each newspaper pays more attention to only one of these two ideas.

There is a background of the discussions of these concepts. At that time, the membership of Turkey to the EU was discussed, and the country was set as an example to bridge between European and Islamic countries. Therefore the government and international organizations expected Turkey to play a unifying role for the alliance of civilizations. Following that, Turkey and OIC were invited to international conferences to solve the crisis. Hence, Islamic

newspapers problematized the concepts of clash of civilization versus the alliance of civilizations.

All the Islamic newspapers questioned whether the cartoons harm the alliance of civilizations or not—because most of the newspapers represented the West and Islamic world as two polar opposites. However, some newspapers expected a compromise between them. These newspapers usually pointed out the necessity of the alliance of civilizations. On the other hand, MG disagreed with it. The other newspapers positioned themselves between those opposite poles.

Z and *YA* argued that the cartoons do not play a significant role in the discussions of the clash of civilizations. On the other hand, these two newspapers shared the claims which pointed out that violent protests can harm the alliance of civilizations. For instance; "The crisis is making *them* happy who hope for a clash among civilizations." (Kaya, Z02092006, p.13) and Yeni Asta states that;

> "…*Some people[my emphasis]* are on the lookout for a suitable ground
> and time to create international conflicts instead of brotherhood, peace
> and tolerance among civilizations..." (YA, 0220066, 2006, p.1)

In both examples, as it is seen from the reference words "them" and "some people", the clash of civilizations is desired by the *other*. The specification of the otherness left empty in these newspapers. However, *us*, at this point, is the one who supports alliances of civilizations. Moreover, YA and Z underlined the role of Turkey in the solution process many times, accordingly Turkey is the one who wishes for the alliance of civilizations and it is among the countries which "put their efforts on the project of the alliance of civilizations" and play a key role to provide it(Z02072006, p.1;YA02092006, p.1,5).

However, YŞ and T seem closer to Z and YA's point of views by sharing the Turkish government's call for alliance of civilizations. YŞ and T put forward the crucial role of Turkey in the international area, and it was presented as "a highly required country to provide an alliance among civilizations" (YŞ02172006, p.6; T02052006, p.1,13). By this way, the West, *the other*, is reflected as a group of countries that are not strong enough to provide this alliance. Turkey, *us*, on the one hand, has a Muslim identity which makes it suitable to represent the Islamic world. Also, *we* are an important country for the West.

MG approaches the alliance of civilization like other European concepts. The paper claimed that the alliance of civilizations is a "fairy tale" (peri masalı) which was created by the Western countries to keep Muslims silent, whereas West showed its "true colors" (gerçek yüzleri) by insulting Islam with the cartoons((Baydemir, MG02182006, p.10). The paper argued that the alliance of civilizations can not be provided, while one group (the West) keeps on stigmatizing the other ones (Muslim countries) as terrorists (MG02042006, p.11). Moreover, MG also criticized the government for supporting and joining the meetings to build interfaith dialogue and alliance of civilizations (Cura, MG02042006, p.1,3)

In short, MG asserted that the concept of alliance of civilizations is used for abusing Islamic countries and the government is a partner of this project. True Muslims, us, can not support this concept, as the *other*, the West and their collaborators, made up the concept to dominate Muslims.

Although **V** shared similar representations with MG from time to time, it gave place to the official declarations of the Turkish government. On the other hand, V also underlined the hypocrisy of the West by saying that the Western countries did not show any reaction against the cartoons until the crisis had escalated to a critical point. (V02152006, p.7). However, the newspaper underlined that *Christian countries* accuse Muslim countries of supporting the clash among civilizations, but they are actually the ones who support conflict. (V02032006, p.8). Nevertheless, one time, the paper cited from Erdoğan's speech that the violence can cause the clash of civilizations and this is desired by "some people". Therefore Turkey should not be deceived by supporting the clash of civilizations (Ocaklı, V02062006, p.10).

V represents the *other*, the West, by equating with Christianity. By this way, Muslims, *us,* are identified as opposed to Christianity. On the other hand, as the other wishes for a clash among civilizations, Muslims should not fall to that trap.

To sum up, the alliance vs. clash of civilization were represented differently in the newspapers. YŞ, YA, Z and T pointed out the role of T to provide the alliance of civilization and strengthen the role of *us*. MG assessed the concept as a mechanism, which should be objected by us as *the other* is trying to control and silence us through it. V supports the alliance for only not falling the *Christian* trap. The Western-Christian subject became other that set a trap for *us* and we should be on guard.

5.2.8 Shadowy Forces, Scheduled Game, Provocation: Behind the Scenes

All Islamic newspapers imply a scheme is organized against Islamic countries. Therefore, the papers try to identify and reproduce singular or multiple enemies. In this regard, all the newspapers labelled the crisis as a "provocation". Second, the newspapers frequently used words such as; "Zionism" (Siyonizm), "Israel" (İsrail) and "Semitism" (Semitizm) as the most substantial group which planned this provocation.[11]

The word "provocation" (provokasyon) was used by all Islamic newspaper several times by saying that the cartoons were planned by the West. The Turkish government and other Islamic countries used this narration as well. The papers made news by sharing those speeches of authorities (YŞ02142006, p.12; YA02052006, p.4; T02112006, p.12; V02132006, p.10; MG02212006, p.9; Z02082006, p.12).

The newspapers argued that the cartoons aimed to incite Muslims. The main narrative is:

1. *They* published the cartoons to provoke *Muslims*. By doing so, *they* wanted to misrepresent the *Muslims*, as if they are prone to violence by their nature.

2. The *Muslims* would react against the cartoons, and some of them would even resort to violence.

3. As a result of this, the preplanned scheme would be realized.

Another common point of Islamic newspapers is their choice of words to define provocation. Alongside the word "provocation" (provokasyon), the papers used words such as; "the trick" (oyun), "the ruse" (tezgah) and "the trap" (tuzak) (YŞ02072006, p.16; T02112006, p.12; V02132006, p.10; Çekrek, MG02172006, p.10; Dolmacı, Z02102006, p.2).

This mysterious, and therefore, the powerful enemy was often portrayed as a multiple and unknown force. Sometimes the enemy was described as a couple of countries, the West or the Zionists; other times it was marked as a single subject. By this way, the papers expand the group defined as enemies. Because, such a wide range of plans can only be realized in collaboration.

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[11] In the Turkish context, these words are used synonymously and with an evil meaning. These words are used associating with provocation, secret agent, betrayer, occupying powers and so on.

However, these "mysterious" enemies or their secret practices were rarely defined. For instance, *YA* stated that;

"The hidden side actors of the cartoon crisis that are connected to the neocons from the USA and Israel are uncovered." (YA02142006, p.1)

Phrases such as; "hidden actors" (gizli aktörler) or their ''connections with the USA or Israel''(İsrail ve ABD ile bağlantıları) were used frequently by the newspapers, in order to show that the enemy is stronger than it seems. By presenting *the other* as the subject which strikes out when it is not expected, *us* becomes under threat all the time. *Us* is under attack should always be wary as the enemy is a "trickster" (düzenbaz) who cannot win the "game" (oyun) with dignity and honour.

Moreover, the newspapers advise Muslims about their behaviours. Most of the newspapers warned Muslims to avoid violence, because this would give *the others* what they want. For instance, Z cites from Erdoğan's several speeches about avoiding violence points aout that the cartoons are a provocation to compel the Islamic world to violence; therefore Muslims should not fall into this trap (Z02082006, p.12).

On the other hand, *MG* did not recommend being silence against to enemies. The paper did not share the official statements of the Turkish government, even though different bureaucrats made statements about the issue several times. This shows that the paper disagrees with their suggestions on how Muslims should behave. Instead, the paper shared the opinion of Felicity Party; "Muslims and Turks have protected the Prophet Muhammad before, and they will do it again" (MG02172006, p.10).

Besides using "the West" (Batı) and "Western/European countries" (Batılı ülkeler/Avrupa ülkeleri); "Israel" (İsrail) and "Zionism"(siyonizm) were also defined as *the other,* the enemy. The newspapers compare discussions on Anti-Semitism to the ones on Islamophobia. They mention about the judgement of both international and national courts against anti-semitism and the punishment of Jewish hostility. Accordingly, Jewish people are defended and protected by the Western countries. But the courts do not defend Muslims; therefore, the system is not fair. The newspapers interpret this situation as the replacement of anti-semitism with islamophobia (Güvenç, YŞ02072006, p.13; V02052006, p.5; Z02012006, p.13).

Second, the newspapers mentioned about the Holocaust to point out the hypocrisy of the West. According to the Islamic newspapers, the West does not accept denying the Holocaust within the limits of freedom of speech; but they do see insulting Islam as a way of free speech. V says: "It is a crime to opine that the genocide did not carry out, but attacking to Islam is respected on behalf of free speech." (V02042006, p.6)

Similarly, MG resuscitated a historical event in 1989, when a historian defended that there was no Holocaust, and then condemned by the Western courts (MG02222006, p.8)

Third, the Islamic newspapers perceived Israel as the most vicious enemy. From the Turkish right-wing point of view, words such as "dark forces" (karanlık güçler) and "backstage" (perde arkası) correspond to Israel and Zionism. The discourse of Zionism is a widespread element in Islamic politics in the Middle Eastern countries, as I mentioned in the Islamic identities[12]. Right-wing discourse resort to the myth that Israel is the hidden force behind the scenes, which controls most of the countries' *bad* actions. As a matter of fact, "Jewish" (Yahudi), "breed of Israel" (İsrail soyu), "Zionist" (Siyonist) are widely used as some kind of curse words in Turkey's right-wing politics. I would like to share one of the long quotes from YA to be able to represent how Israel discourse is structured;

> *Rose, who published the Danish cartoons, is impressed by Daniel Pipes, who is the enemy of Islam and a pro-Israel ideologue… Eldrup, who is the executive of the company of the JP, her husband is the chairman of petroleum and natural gas company. Her husband mingles with neocons and Richard Perle, known as the prince of darkness, and Douglas Feith, who leaked information to Israel, are among these neocons.* (YA02142006, p.1)

The terms in YA, such as "the prince of darkness" (karanlıklar prensi), "neocons" (neoconlar), "ideologue" (ideolog) provide a hidden, uncertain and unpredictable feeling

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[12] For an exhaustive analyze in the literature to who keening on the Zionism discours in Islam: Schroeter, D. J. (2018). "Islamic Anti-Semitism" in Historical Discourse. *The American Historical Review*, *123*(4), 1172-1189; Webman, E. (2010). The challenge of assessing Arab/Islamic antisemitism. *Middle Eastern Studies*, *46*(5), 677-697.

about the text. Moreover, sharing the origin of JP makes the news mysterious. Besides, the petroleum and gas industry reminds drilling oil from the Middle East, commercial relations and secret plans. By this way, *us* becomes "threatened" seriously.

Other Islamic newspapers use the same speculative and provocative language as well. Z cites from one politician who describes the cartoons as a "sneaky plan of Zionism'' (Baki, Z02102006, p.7). *MG* described one expert who joined a panel about the cartoons and mentioned the significance of constituting moderate Islamic identity as "speaking like a Zionist" (MG02172006, p.8). According to MG, structuring moderate Islamic identities is also a plan of *the other*. Hence, the features of *us* do not include being moderate.

In brief, all these newspapers represent the idea highlighted the cartoons are provocations aimed at Islamic countries. However, the enemies do no only correspond to Western countries and the US; but Israel or Zionism is incorporated into these enemies. By this way, the existent Islamic discourse on Israel and Zionism is represented and maintained. However, words such as dark forces are appealed to strengthen the feature of the enemy and provide the necessity to be cautious about it. As I mentioned, the feeling of under threatened, on the one hand, helps to solidarity by structuring us; on the other hand, promote us to pursue dynamism.

5.2.9 After a Thousand Years: The Crusaders are Coming Back

The Crusaders have always been a striking reference given by Islamic movements. Indeed, Turkey is not the only Muslim country that discusses this topic.[13] However, the crusaders is an under-researched topic in media studies, even though there are many studies in other academic areas such as history.

Following the emergence of Denmark cartoon crisis, Italian minister Roberto Calderoli gave a public speech and said that the West should wage war against Muslims.[14] The newspapers

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[13] Although there are very limited research on the Crusaders from the perspective of Islamic media, this research gives a wide place to the subject: Woodward, M. (2010). Tropes of the crusades in Indonesian Muslim discourse. *Contemporary Islam*, *4*(3), 311-330.

[14] Calderoli's speech had an impact on academic discussions about hate speech, prejudice against Muslims and Islamophobia. There are very comprehensive studies about the issue such as; Hutchings, S., Flood, C., & Miazhevich, G. (Eds.). (2011). *Islam in its International Context: Comparative Perspectives*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing; di Carpegna Falconieri, T. (2019). *The Militant Middle Ages: Contemporary Politics*

published some part of this speech by associating it with the cartoon controversy, even though the speech was not directly related to it. Out of these six newspapers, only Z covered the speech and cartoon crisis as two independent subjects.

Some newspapers directly published the whole speech without sharing any commentaries, while the others covered the news by adding the comments of Turkish politicians. The newspapers mostly did not publish all the speech.

The newspapers argue that the Western countries have always seen themselves at war against the East and Eastern culture. Some papers comment on Calderoli's speech as a general tendency of the West, while other papers define Calderoli and his speech as an exception. The essential difference between the newspapers in this theme is whether they generalize Calderoli's speech to the other countries' tendency or not.

Even though the speech was a minor event compared to the overall cartoon crisis, the Islamic newspapers put an excessive emphasis on the topic by relating it to the historical reference of crusaders.

T, V and MG published more articles about Calderoli's speech than Z and YA. Also, the first group used a more aggressive language than the latter, by adding offensive comments and selected-citations from politicians. YŞ made the most news about this issue among all the papers and used a relatively less aggressive language than the first group.

In Z, there is no news about Calderoli's speech. The newspapers place to a reaction of main opposition leader from Republican People's Party (CHP) and Erdoğan. The news was placed in the newspapers mostly put Erdoğan forward;

> "Erdoğan is preparing to establish a new initiative with his Spanish colleague, Zapatero…One of the most strong messages came from the leader of CHP…expressed that the cartoons can not be explained with the freedom of speech, and the condonation of them is the continuation of crusader mindset."

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between New Barbarians and Modern Crusaders. Brill; Zúquete, J. P. (2007). *Missionary Politics in Contemporary Europe*. Syracuse University Press.

In this text, Erdoğan is represented as the leader dealing with the 'main' work; solution of the crisis internationally. The word "colleague" (meslektaş) represents that the newspapers highlight that Erdoğan is *on a par* with a European leader. However, Z did not make any comments about CHP's speech about the crusader but quoted directly. It seems that, when it is assessed together with other news, the newspapers mostly focus on the plans by underlining international meetings and solutions. Therefore, it did not touch upon this subject in the cartoon news. In other words, Z prioritized the bureaucratic attempts in the crisis.[15]

On the other hand, YA represented Calderoli constitutes an exemption, even for his own country. However, the newspaper cited most of his speech, unlike Z. The paper shared the background of Calderoli's political party, which places on the centre-right coalition. YA commented on his speech as; "an exceptional voice from the West" (YA02042006, p.9). By this way, the newspaper claimed that the desire for the crusader occupation of Eastern countries is not a common reaction in the West. This argument seems consistent for the Islamic newspaper, Z, which supports the EU membership of Turkey.

YŞ approaches the issue from the perspective by mentioning Islamophobia that emerged after 9/11 attacks. Accordingly, the newspaper argues that the speech about crusaders is a scheme to pave the way to Islamophobia, just as it happened after 9/11 attacks; "The new 9/11 attacks scenario" is the headline of the Calderoli's speech about the crusaders (YŞ02062006, p.14). This headline implies a background of the 9/11 attacks, which resulted in the Islamophobia in the US and European countries, also the occupation of Middle Eastern countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan by the US. YŞ discusses Muslim protests together with the crusader arguments (YŞ02202006, p.Gündem II). All these representations serve to acquit the protests and demonstrations.

T, MG and V represent the crusader issue in a more reactionist way. They give more place to their comments about the issue than the statements of Turkish politicians.

According to T, Calderoli intended to provoke the Muslim world and suggested that all Christians world to fight against Islam (T02192006, p.12). T underlines that Calderoli aims to provocation. However, the text did not generalize the crusader mentality to the whole West.

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[15] The newspapers published many articles about the Crusaders; however, the cartoon crisis was not related with it.

MG defended the idea that the West and the EU always had the crusade mentality (MG02152006, p.1; MG02232006, p.8). Moreover, Jewish people and the US abused some Islamic governments as a tool to realize the crusader idea (MG02092006, p.10). This project is identified in one of the articles as; "the Jewish and the US empire with the support of the West" (MG02092006, p.10). The paper blames Turkish government for remaining silence against the controversy in the crusader news (Ataş, MG02042006, p.10). In short, the paper claimed that AKP is used as a tool for the "crusader project" in the Middle East by the US and the Jewish people.

V used threatening language against Denmark, Israel and the other European countries such as, "do not test our patience" in the subject of crusaders (V02112006, p.1, 10). Accordingly, the paper cited by the politicians and these speeches points out that the European countries plan to crusade against Islamic countries again (V02112006, p.1, 10). The words such as; "heretics" (kafir) or "the army of Muhammad" (Muhammed'in ordusu) were used to show the power of the protests V02112006, p.1, 10). The protesters were identified as "believers"[16] (inananlar) (V02112006, p.1, 10)

In brief, Z, T and YA made a distinction between Western countries, and they tend to describe the issue as an exception to the general standpoint. According to these newspapers, European countries are not against Turkey. In contrast, Turkey is represented as a country that has European values. On the other hand, although YŞ did not generalize this speech to the European countries directly, with the Islamophobia emphasis, the crusader discourse is seen as a planned attack to Islamic countries. YŞ, did not focus on Turkey directly, but *us* is constituted with other Islamic countries; therefore, *the other* is became attackers to Islam. These four newspapers did not give reactionist discourse in the theme of crusaders but focus on the future to structure *us*.

Rest of the newspapers(V, MG) presented the crusader topic with an aggressive language. They argued that Israel, the US and the other European countries still possess a crusade mentality. The texts make the reader feel "to be occupied" by the crusaders, as it happened way back in the history of religious wars; therefore, the Crusaders can dominate *us* again if they ever find an opportunity to do so.

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[16] In Turkish context, the word of believers indicates Muslims.

5.2.10 Muslim World is Uniting; Turkey is Leading

All Islamic newspapers declare that they are proud of Muslim world for reacting against the cartoons altogether. It is worth bearing in mind that pan-Islamism was suggested as one of the significant solutions for Ottoman Empire from falling apart during the late 19th century(Lee, 1942, p.280). In this regard, some newspapers titled excitedly; "The Islamic world/Muslims are in full unity" (Güvenç, YŞ02082006, p.13; V02212006, p.7).

Another common argument is; Turkey has a key role in finding a solution to this controversy. In this regard, Turkey's participation to international meetings and conferences were mentioned; together with Turkey's ability to lead other Islamic countries. Moreover, the newspapers gave place to specific protests from different Muslim countries, in order to show the characteristics of Islamic countries that differ among themselves; and to highlight the role of Turkey.

According to Islamic newspapers, "united Muslim world" does not mean that the Muslim countries are equal among themselves. The papers categorized Islamic countries in a hierarchy, and placed Turkey at the top spot in this ranking. All the newspapers attached importance to the fact that Turkey was invited to the meetings held by Western organizations and European countries to find a solution for the crisis (YŞ02082006 p.13; YA02142006, p.9; Turan, T02252006, p.9; Öymez, V02242006, p.8; Z02062006, p.1). This representation put Turkey in the leadership position of the Islamic countries. To underline the role, Turkey was described with the words such as; "leader" (lider), "a civilization that contribute to humanity and peace from past to present" (geçmişten bugüne barışa ve insanlığa katkı sağlayan uygarlık), "key-positioned country" (anahtar roldeki ülke), "needed" (ihtiyaç duyulan), "a mediator between the West and Muslims" (islam dünyası ve batı arasındaki arabulucu) (YA02102006, p.4; T02102006, p.9; Cura, MG02212006, p.10). In short, the newspapers emphasize the significance of Turkey to solve the crisis.

Z, YA and T underlined the superiority of Turkey by highlighting the Western countries' invitation to the solution process. Z wrote that Turkey could ensure intimacy between the West and the Islamic countries (Kurt, Z02102006, p.13). On the other hand, these newspapers also warned Islamic countries about not to involve in "acts of terrorism" (YA02102006, p.4).

T gave a headline; 'we will solve the crisis' by remaining Turkey(Turan, T02252006, p.9). Another headline is 'Islamic world is gathering under a single roof' and mentioned that

Turkey will lead Islamic countries(Yaniay, T02282006, p.11). However, it also pointed out that some Muslim countries involved in violent protests, while the protests in Turkey were rather peaceful (T02062006, p.12). In other words, the paper represented Turkey as a peaceful and democratic country, unlike other Muslim countries that dwell on violence. By this, Turkey was portrayed as a superior country among other muslim countries. Peaceful reactions and seeking for democratic solutions have been accepted as western values by the newspapers. Unlike other Muslim countries, Turkey having these western values has been considered as a positive aspect in terms of leadership.

V used a striking language by representing the Islamic world against the West. For instance; ''Turkey being in the first place, Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, UAE, Qatar, Kuwait, Libya, Algeria, Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia and Muslims in Europe and the US are clamped together against the arrogant West'' (V02042006, p.1,6,7). In other news, it described the Western countries as ''giaour'' (gavur) and Muslims as ''Ummah of Muhammed'' (V02112006, p.1, 10)[17]. The newspaper also appeals the military word pattern ''the army of Muhammed''(p.17). The newspaper is represented *us* as a united Muslims and hence, highlights the pan-Islamist idea. On the other hand, *the other* is the West who should be fought against.

MG considers the matter from a different angle said that the other muslim countries expected Turkey to lead in this situation. (MG02092006, p.11). Moreover, the paper argued that Turkey actualized its "historical role" by organizing a large scale demonstration (Cura, MG02212006, p.10). Although MG represented Turkey as a leading country, this representation is not based on the solution of the crisis. The newspaper provides a role to Turkey to organize protests and react against the cartoons by using other ways.

In short except for V and MG, the newspapers put forward the role of Turkey more than Islamic unity in the world. These newspapers usually support the solution process lead by Turkey together with OIC and other Western countries. V and MG defend Pan-Islamism is the ultimate solution for any kind of economic, political or social crisis in Muslim countries

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[17] In Turkish context, *giaour* has a very strong concepts which also includes the local meaning that you can expect every bad action from the person/group are described giaour. On the other hand, *ummah* also very religious word that describe Muslims. It does not mean only community of Muslims, but the Muslims defines themselves with Islamic identity in the first place. Usually modarate groups prefer Muslims instead.

through representations. MG, additionally, put forward the leadership of Turkey to structure Islamic unity.

5.2.11 Bizarre Murder of Priest: "It Should not Have Been, But…"

Priest Andrea Santoro was murdered on the 5th 0220062006 in Turkey, while the cartoon crisis was on the rampage. Some of the Islamic newspapers associated the murder with the cartoon crisis in some aspects, whereas the others denied the relationship between those two events. I will discuss how they represented the murder related with Islamic identities under the subtitles.

Ordinary crime with reasons

Some of the newspapers tried to legitimize the murder by giving reasons, while the other papers tried to underestimate the murder by claiming that it was an ordinary crime. Sometimes, the same newspaper stated the reasons for the murder, and then represented it as an ordinary crime. For instance, YŞ pointed out that the Priest and the murderer had a quarrel a day before the murder, yet the paper covered the story of the murder as if it was an ordinary crime (YŞ02072006, p.15). At the same time, the papers mentioned that the crime could be linked to the cartoon controversy:

> "The police also consider the possibility that the killer might have been triggered by the rising reactions against the publication of insulting cartoons…"(YŞ02072006, p.15)

All newspapers gave place to the information about the day before the crime. By this way, the reason for the murder is presented as a result of an ordinary quarrel. By this way, the papers implied that the person is just an ordinary murderer rather than a misused person.

Suspicious Murder

The reactions of the newspapers against the murder have some common points. The primary shared opinion is that the murder was a provocation. The newspapers give full place to the qualifications of the gun used in the murder, and they point out that the gun is one of the "professional" guns. For instance, MG draws attention to the gun's brand and implies that the murder was a professional job:

"Another feature of the gun …the US distributed to its security forces in Iraq after the invasion of Iraq... The brand of the weapon increased doubts that it was not an ordinary murder." (Yılmaz, MG02092006, 2006, p.11)

As it is also understood from this citation, MG did not focus on the main event. Instead, the paper preferred to stick to a narrow perspective rather than covering the overall issue. By so, the newspaper constructed a narrative about the previous events based on the Western occupation of the Middle Eastern geography.

The paper also implied that it was an already planned scheme by showcasing the technical features of the murder weapon which was also used by the US army during their middle-eastern occupation. Therefore, the paper speculated about the possibility that the US provided the murder weapon to ignite a provocation in Turkey.

V has a similar tendency regarding the issue. The newspaper argued that the Priest offered money to the murderer in exchange for converting him from Islam to Christianity. The paper continued its speculative reasoning for the murder; saying that it could be the consequence of Priest not paying the money that he promised to the murderer (V02092006, p.10)

The child who involved in crime

Even though the murder is not approved by the newspapers constantly, the papers still try to present the murder as less cruel than it is by presenting the murderer as a "young" (genç) and "emotional" (duygularıyla hareket eden) person(YA02082006 p.4; T02082006, p.1; YŞ02062006, p.5; V02092006, p.1; MG02082006, p.10). For example, YA put forward his "high school student" identity:

"The murder suspect of the Priest was captured: 16 years old high school student. Since he was a first-year high school student but never attended school in the first semester, and he failed due to absence" (YA02082006, p.4)

However, the newspaper speculates over the murderer's naive and ignorant nature, and puts forward those features as a kind of reason to commit this crime, and tries to justify this action. Furthermore, it maintains its efforts to call attention to the possible reasons. For instance, the paper mentions the murderer was playing the computer game, OGame, and accordingly, the game encourages the violence(YA02222006, p.15). The murderer representations became a high school student playing the game.

Besides justifying the murder, V even expresses deep sadness for the murderer by saying that in the first-page headline: "A child's life was fell apart for the sake of missionary activities" (V02092006, p.1,10)

Moreover, the Priest also made the child's life miserable (V02092006, p.1,10). As it is seen, V speaks off that the responsibility for the murder is the Priest himself, and the murderer was repeatedly represented as a "child" to emphasize his innocent personality.

After all, he is a Christian

 The essential feature of Priest's identity is acknowledged as Christianity. Consequently, the newspapers linked the murder to his religion in the first place. At least, they speculated about the relation between them. Thus, by giving place to the murder and cartoon crisis altogether, it is fair to say that Christianity is a constructed element in the cartoon crisis as well. In other words, Islamic newspapers associate cartoons crisis with Christianity most of the times.

On the other hand, the murder of Santoro is not represented as a shocking event in any of the newspapers. Instead, the murder is described as one of the possible results of the cartoon crisis. Accordingly, T highlights the excusableness of the murder; "The mother of the Priest, who died as a result of an armed assault, forgave the murderer." (T02102006, p.9)

MG directly stated that the murder of the Priest was expected by "them". (MG02072006, p.11). In other words, the paper claimed that the murder would eventually happen because of priest's suspicious missionary activities. V stated this argument most directly: "The murder was revealed as a consequence of his missionary activity…" (V02092006, p.10)

Similarly, YŞ cited from the governor of the province; ''Because of his missionary activity, the Priest was threatened before'' (YŞ02062006, p.5). The newspaper keeps a cause-effect relation between the killed/to be threatened and being Christian as if it was an ordinary bond. Z also points out after he was threatened at past, he did not ask to be under protection(Z02062006, p.4). The newspaper indirectly neutralizes the murder by implying that he could ask for protection.

V represented the murder to exclude the main opposition party(CHP) by pointing out the Priest's Christian identity and gave a headline; ''CHP's Admiration of the Priest.'' (V02162006, p.10). For V, the other is represented as CHP, which is a secular party alongside Christians. Therefore, secularism equated Christianity.

YA, although it gives many peaceful messages, still maintains the representation of the Christianity identity of Priest as a reason for the murder. The newspaper interviewed

We are not acclaiming

Most newspapers clearly state that they do not approve the murder of the Priest. However, the newspapers share their reasons for their disapproval. First, the papers say it was a provocation, and it gives Turkey a bad reputation. For instance, MG implies that the Western countries will use this murder to spread Islamic hostility in world by saying that a high-school student could not commit the murder alone (Yılmaz, YA02092006, p.11).

YA assesses the event in terms of human rights. The paper directly says that the murder was wrong (Yılmaz, YA02092006, p.11). According to the newspaper, the murder is a violation of the right to live (Yılmaz, YA02092006, p.11) On the other hand, it is highlighted that the murderer was "illiterate" (cahil) and therefore was "misled" (yanlış yönlendirilmiş) (YA02082006, p.4).

Z, instead of mentioning the causes of murder, gives place to the possibilities. The paper published articles focusing on the mutual acquaintance of the murderer and the Priest (Öztoprak, Z02072006, p.4).

According to T, the murder of the Priest was the consequence of abusing the cartoon crisis. In their news, the murderer was described as a "patriotic" (vatansever) and "nationalistic" (milliyetçi) high-school student based on Abdullah Gül's statement (Güven, T02102006, p.11). In other words, the murderer was portrayed as a teenager who was, unfortunately, misled by his excessive nationalistic and patriotic feelings.

V differs from the other Islamic newspapers, as the paper does not share any comments about whether they approve the murder or not. The paper interprets the murder as a result of the cartoon crisis and gives a headline: "There ain't no murder which is more important than the cartoon murder" (Karakaya, V02072006, p.11). By this way, the paper ensures the readers to focus on the cartoons instead of the murder. Hence, the murder of the priest are not represented as an essential issue.

In short, all newspapers were represented other as Christianity by combining with cartoons crisis. Hence, it is fair to claim that the papers connected cartoons and Christianity. The murder was legitimized by highlighting the reasons such as; high-school student(young),

having emotional behaviour, playing computer games. The newspapers represented *the other* as Christians through murder.

5.2.12 Waiting for an Apology

Hence, Muslims, *us*, are portrayed as subjects who have economic and political power to force JP to apologize. JP, *other*, resisted the Muslims, in the end, had to apologize and became a loser.

Most of the newspapers made news about the expectation of an apology from Rasmussen, until the very last days of the crisis. According to the narration created by the newspapers, Muslims were waiting for Rasmussen to apologize. However, he refused to apologize, and this refusal sparked more protests and boycotts. This gives Rasmussen the most important responsibility in the crisis.

Moreover, the papersimply that Rasmussen did not apologize on purpose. For instance, T cited the speech in which Rasmussen repeats that he will never apologize regardless of the reactions of the Islamic world (T02042006, p.1, 12). As result, the outrage in Islamic world increased because the Danish government refused to apologize (YŞ02052006, p.7).

However, the newspapers do not only blame Rasmussen. According to some papers, he is just "the tip of the iceberg", because the Western countries encouraged him by underlining their shared historical positions. The papers argue that the Western countries have already had discriminating attitudes towards Muslims. For instance, V mentions about the expected apology. But rather than saying that Rasmussen is the one who should apologize, the newspaper refers to Denmark or the West in their articles. The news state that the Western countries blame the Muslim world instead of Rasmussen or Denmark. (V02142006, p.7). V and MG adopt this attitude strictly. By this way, Rasmussen becomes a member of the "guilty" team. In short, V and MG generalize the West as the enemies of Muslim world.

Z makes a strict distinction between the attitudes of Rasmussen and the West, even with the Danes: "Rasmussen's attitude disappointed not only the Islamic world but also right-minded Danes" (Cücük, Z02092006, p.13).

T takes the same side with Z. According to T, Rasmussen is the person who "instigated the Islamic world by not apologizing" (T02182006, p.8). YA focuses on the Rasmussen's refusal to apologize in an uncompromising way (YA02102006, p.1). However, the newspapers

insistently demanding Rasmussen to apologize shows that the crisis could be easily resolved with an apology. We can see that YA, Z and T describe Rasmussen as "the other".

Even after JP expressed their regret on publishing the cartoons, newspapers claim that JP and Rasmussen apologized only because they were forced to do so. One of the biggest reasons that forced JP and Rasmussen to apologise is the economic boycott, the newspaper argues (YA02012006, p.9; V01312006, p.1; Gülüm, MG02012006, p.11; Cücük, Z01302006, p.1). In the meantime, the newspapers emphasized that the cartoonists were concerned about their and Danish people's lives as the reason for apologizing(T02042006, p.12; YA02052006, p.9; V02072006, p.17). By this way, Muslims is represented powerful subjects who achieved to make Rasmussen and JP apologized and *the other* is selfish.

MG gave a place that JP apologized, but Rasmussen only expressed regret, therefore, *they* are ''sneaky creatures'' (sinsi yaratıklar) who did not even apologize properly (MG02012006, p.9). Accordingly, MG seems keen on maintaining the problem and construct the enemy as much as possible.

YA says that Denmark apologized for the cartoons, and Islamic Faith Union accepted the apology (YA02012006, p.9). The newspaper called this event as "the victory of *common sense* [*my emphasis*] in Denmark" (Danimarka'da sağduyunun zaferi) (YA02012006, p.1).

The phrase "common sense" points out whether the person is Muslim or not, the people who have a consensus about the expectation of apology, regardless of religious beliefs or nationalities, the cartoons were not found ethical. Therefore, Muslims, *us*, have consensus with *others* who have a different belief or nationality. Under the condition that the others respect Muslims, they can be accepted to the group of *us*. Otherwise, like Rasmussen or JP, they are excluded and become a part of others who are unrespectful to common sense and act against the norms.

Z presents JP's apology as a result of the reactions from the UN and EU (Z01072006, p. 13). The newspaper argues that cartoons caused tension between Denmark and the Islamic world and the West is portrayed as the subject who actually supports Muslims (Z01072006, p. 13). Accordingly, the paper implies that there is no conflict between the Muslims and the West. The *others*, Rasmussen and JP, had to settle down in the end.

Overall, the most noteworthy aspect of this theme is that all the newspapers expected an apology from Rasmussen. This expectation shows that the Islamic world, *us*, demanded to be taken seriously by the West.

5.2.13 Hypocrisy of the West

According to all Islamic newspapers, Western countries are hypocrites. Hypocrisy is mostly understood as an interpretation of the events to the detriment of Islamic world, and for the benefit of Western countries.

The newspapers pointed out different standpoints to claim the Western hypocrisy. Firstly, the newspapers problematized the punishment of some European scholars who claimed that the Jewish Holocaust never occurred (YŞ02052006, p.7; YA02212006, p.7; V02042006, p.10; MG02152006, p.1). Accordingly, these scientists could not use their right to freedom of speech. The newspapers claimed that the European countries are ignoring Muslims, while protecting Jewish people. Therefore, they are hypocrites.

MG and V underlined Jewish issue more and insistently compare Jewish people with Muslims. For instance; "They respect Jews but not Muslims" (V02042006, p.10) or "Although it is forbidden to criticize Holocaust and Zionism…" (MG02152006, p.1).

Moreover, especially Z and YA brought the laws forward more than other newspapers and remind Western countries about the ECHR decisions for the limits of freedom of speech. One of them is the decision against Islamophobia. Another one is the previous decisions of the courts; such as the cartoons about Jesus. Therefore the newspapers represented West injustice. Furthermore, by comparing Christians and Jews with Muslims, they demand equality.

To establish a connection with the hypocrisy of West, newspapers used the cause and effect conjunctions. For instance;

> Despite Europe's decision to fight against hostility towards Islam last year, European countries' distance stance against attacks on Islam raises concern (Aydın, Z02052006, p.13).

In brief, the narratives were mostly constructed on the hypocrisy of the West against Muslim populations. Z and YA approach the issue in a more legal level; on the other hand, MG and V put Jewish forward. Either way, the newspapers identified the West as a hypocrite and hostile to Muslims, *us*.

5.2.14 Our Internal Matter: Headscarf, Laicism, Armenians, Kurds, the EU and Beyond

The media use a specific narrative to approach an event. CDA, as I mentioned, gives us the insight to separate the main event with embedded backstories. From this point, as a result of deconstructing the texts, I explored six different common themes Islamic newspapers structured their narratives with the cartoon crisis by using the backstories. As you can remember, external enemies can be structured with the internal one; most of the themes can be understood with this theoretical assumption.

Therefore, I would like to present these issues as sub-themes of the "internal matter" theme. All these issues have their origins in history; headscarf, the Kurdish question, discussions on denial or acceptance of Armenian Genocide, European Union (EU) and the foreign policy on the Middle-East.

Headscarf: there is not a bomb on her head

Wearing a headscarf has been a long time discussion in Turkey as I mentioned in theory chapter, and it was not allowed to wear it until 2008 in public institutes, including universities. In 2006, the same year with the cartoon crisis, the Council of State passed the judgement about remaining the headscarf ban and the head of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) gave a striking speech about a teacher who wore a headscarf outside the school;

> I am talking about an ordinary child[...] Her/his teacher wears a headscarf, because she is ashamed of her femininity, and the child encounters her outside of school and questions whether his mother, who does not wear a headscarf behaves shamefully or not (Çetinkaya, Z02112006, p.6).

Following that statement, the headscarf protests increased. Accordingly, some newspapers made news by pointing out that the headscarf ban serves the same purposes as the cartoon crisis does (Z02112006, p.6; Arıcı, V02122006, p.10; Baydemir, MG02152006, p.11)).

V claimed that only whoever protests the headscarf ban is also against the illicit cartoons "faithfully" (samimi şekilde) (V02122006, p.10). By this way, V framed the borders of the group *us,* and accordingly, *us* was described as the faithful believers who protested against the headscarf ban and the cartoons altogether. Internal other is pointed out as supporters of the headscarf ban whether they against the cartoons or not.

Moreover, V pointed out that the countries which published the cartoons are the "devious external enemies" (hain dış güçler), and those who supported this headscarf ban within the country are the "traitors" (vatan hainleri) (V02122006, p.10). The other, supporters of the ban, represented as the traitors are connected with the other countries.

MG, similarly, took a side by saying explicitly that whoever supports the headscarf ban also defends the cartoons (MG02152006, p.11).

On the other hand, YA and Z remarked the necessity of reforming strict- laicism perspective (YA01312006, p.4; Z02122006, p.13). These newspapers compared the cartoons of Muhammad with the headscarf ban. Indeed, this narrative is based upon the criticisms against the Kemalist regime's religious prohibitions. Accordingly, the religious group, us, should be against the cartoons and headscarf.

For the newspapers, it is clear that the Kemalist regime was seen as a "shadow" of the cartoons because the newspapers remind Kemalist state implementations; anti-Islamic prohibitions. The cartoons were combined with anti-Islamism and turn into a tool to create criticism of the Kemalist identity.

Kurdish Issue

The Kurdish issue is one of the most crucial matters which has been discussed for a long time in Turkey. It is also important to note that this issue dates back to the establishment of Turkish Republic, as well.

Roj TV was broadcasting in Denmark until 2013 and became a problematic matter between Denmark and Turkey even before the cartoon crisis. The channel was associated with terrorism by the government in Turkey. .Although it was banned in Turkey, Denmark continued its broadcasting until 2013. Turkish government demanded to ban the TV in Denmark, but Rasmussen did not accept it. Islamic newspapers put the Kurdish issue forward with the cartoon crisis, by reminding the former attitudes of Rasmussen about a Kurdish channel, Roj TV. The newspapers gave a place to the Kurdish issue within the context of terrorism (YŞ02092006, p.13; T02242006, p.9; MG02172006, p.11; Z02152006, p.6).

According to *YŞ*, *T* and *MG*, Denmark does not respect the limits of the freedom of speech by publishing the cartoons, as they did not respect in the past by broadcasting Roj TV (YŞ02032006, p.1,6; Turan, T02052006, p.12; MG02062006, p.10). However, in the cartoon

crisis process, Rasmussen asked for help from Turkey, and he was presented as a miserable person who always needs help, yet he is also a supporter of terrorism(YŞ02032006, p.1,6; T02052006, p.12; MG02062006, p.10).

YA did not make any news combining Kurdish issue with the crisis. *Z* mentioned the issue only once by citing from a politician (YA02152006, p.6). It seems in line with their supportive attitudes on the membership of Turkey to the EU; as the EU demanded a solution for the Kurdish issue from Turkey.

On the other hand, MG published several articles about the Kurdish organization PKK(Kurdistan Workers' Party) by relating it to Denmark cartoon crisis. The paper used a particular language in their articles to create the impression that a conspiracy had been revealed, such as; "gun" (silah), "assault rifle" (suikast silahı), "the American man" (Amerikan adam). For instance;

> ''The similar guns which was used for the murder of the priest were captured at an operation in Southeastern Anatolia (*the region where most Kurdish people live*)…Also, the assault rifle was found in an American man's car while he was on his way to Diyarbakır (*the city with most Kurdish population*)'' (MG02092006, p.11)

As it is seen, the backstage story was prepared by rummaging out by MG. The narrations on the USA and terrorism were combined together with the murder of the priest carefully. By this, the West was presented as "the others" that support terrorism in Turkey.

On the other hand, except for YA and V, all newspapers structured *the other* as Kurdish people who support Roj Tv. As they perceived the channel a way of spreading terrorist propaganda, Denmark became a country that supports terrorism.

Armenian Genocide

Armenian Genocide is a controversial issue in Turkey, which is officially declined. In society, it is a taboo to claim it, and a reason to be put on trial most of the times.. However, Genocide discussions have been rooted in history, as well.

YŞ, V and *MG* referred to Armenian Massacre in their articles about the cartoons. According to their narrative, the West punishes who denies the Armenian Massacre; yet, hypocritically

mentions freedom of speech; therefore, contradict itself by defending cartoons in the scope of free speech (YŞ02052006, p.1,7; V02082006, p.1; MG02222006, p.1,8).

YŞ covered the story of the European scientists whose freedom of speech were limited, and they were even put on trial because they denied Armenian Genocide (YŞ02052006, p.1,7). *V* wrote about the European Committee that joined the trial of the journalist who has been accused of defending Armenian Genocide in Turkey (V02082006, p.1, 8). The papers said that some members of the Committee attached the picture of the murdered priest on their jackets (V02082006, p.1, 8). Hence, V structured the enemy as a hypocrite who does not accept the right of denying Armenian Genocide but perceives the cartoons in the scope of free speech.

Therefore, in the representations of YŞ, V and MG, *the other* is the Western countries are combined with the historical problem with Armenians. Rest of the newspaper did not mention the issue.

European Union (EU)

The relations between Turkey and the EU goes back to 1950s when the Democrat Party (DP) was in power.[18] The negotiation process started in late 2005, and coincided with the outbreak of the cartoon crisis. The EU process was a much-debated issue at that time because of current affairs about it. Therefore all the Islamic newspapers had something to say. However, after the cartoon crisis and protests in Turkey, the EU countries made comments about the EU-membership process of Turkey. Accordingly, the newspapers gave place to the effects of the cartoons on the EU membership.

In this regard, *V* and *MG* took a position against the EU explicitly, and did not hold back any negative comments about the negotiation process. What is more, they did not give place to the positive comments of the EU countries which they made about the Turkish membership in the same process. Both newspapers portrayed the EU as a union that does not respect *our* cultural, religious, national and ethical values (V02072006, p.11; Yoloğlu and Yılmaz, MG02182006, p.10). MG cited from a member of Felicity Party (SP) who named the EU as a "Christian Union" (Hristiyan Birliği) (MG, 2006.).

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[18] To remind, Democrat Party(DP) is the first political party became power which releasing its Islamic tendency explicitly.

MG used rude words while describing the EU; such as "infidel" (gavur) (Yoloğlu and Yılmaz, MG02182006, p.10). *V* said that the EU is "disrespectful" (saygısız) to national values (V02072006, p.11). By this way, The EU, *the other*, was described as an enemy which is against our national and religious values. To prove this claim, they exemplified the cartoon crisis to show how they attacked *our values*.

The rest of the newspapers shared the EU politicians' positive comments and evaluations on Turkey. By this, they showed that they took the EU progress and the EU politicians seriously. For instance, YŞ and T stated that Berlusconi "cherished" (el üstünde tuttu) Turkey, even though some European leaders opened up a discussion about the EU membership of Turkey (YŞ02082006, p.13; YA02092006, p.5). Z and YA, likewise, referred to a politician from the USA, who said that he was satisfied to observe the behavior of Turkey about the EU membership; and the cartoon crisis would not change this positive image (Aslan, Z02082006, p.12; YA02092006, p.5).

In short, except for V and MG, the standpoint of newspapers highlights their perception of "*the other*". Turkey, *us*, was presented as a country in the Westernization process. Although the newspapers pointed out the Western countries as *the other* in other themes, they make distinctions between the EU and the Western countries. On the one hand, this shows *us* that the degree of otherness appears in the EU process. On the other hand, we see that the desire of *us* to turns into the *other*.

Overall, the EU membership is a subject which revealed the contradictions between Islamic newspapers.

Cyprus Conflict

The Cyprus conflict is based on Greek and Turkish disagreement on their powers in Cyprus (Stavrinides, 1975, p.1). The general tendency in Turkish society, regardless of right or left-wing, is to be proud of governing a part of Cyprus, although the left-wing politics won the first "victory" over there. However, the Cyprus conflict was one of the most important issues for Turkey during the EU membership negotiations. One of the demands of the EU was a reconciliation on power, which would result in a decreasing power for Turkey in Cyprus.

Three newspapers preferred to mention Cyprus conflict by combining it with the cartoon crisis. The main narrative in the newspapers is:

1. Turkey feels a desire to support the alliance of civilizations, and looks forward to fulfill its responsibilities on the EU membership process.

2. *Therefore*, Turkey made a plan for the solution of the Cyprus conflict.

3. The evidence of Turkey's political choice can be observed through its steps taken on the cartoon crisis.

In other words, the newspapers used the cartoon crisis pragmatically to prove that Turkey wishes to enter the EU and, for that, willing to solve the Cyprus conflict and makes every effort to finalize this process successfully (YA02092006, p.5; T02052006, p.12; Z02082006, p.12). In this regard, the newspapers constructed a new discourse against the well-accepted identity of Turkey as the Cyprus issue were not discussed seriously in the past.

First, these newspapers(YA, T and Z) challenged the dominant social pride of governing Northern Cyprus. Second, "using" the role of Turkey in the cartoon crisis for the EU membership shows that these Islamic newspapers can be pragmatic if required; as Cyprus and cartoon conflicts are not directly related to each other. Last but not least, their representation of Turkey constructed a reconciliatory and compatible identity to the EU values.

Foreign Policy: you killed our brothers in the Middle East

Some newspapers laid stress on the Middle-East occupations and the problems that came within by emphasizing the injustice of the West. While *V* and *MG* declared their positions on the Middle East issue, *YŞ* and *T* held back any kind of comments.

V and *MG* did not only underline the Middle-East occupations, also portrayed the issue as one of the initiators of the cartoon crisis. Accordingly, the Western countries, including Denmark, have tried Muslims' patient by occupying the Middle-East (V02202006, p.19; MG02122006, p.6).

V cited from a politician who stated that the Western countries were only able to create crises and conflicts; but on the surface, they claim that they are pro-peace (V02202006, p.19). The newspaper also argued that the Denmark crisis was not a surprise by pointing out Denmark's support to the USA in the occupation of Iraq (V02202006, p.19). By this, the cartoon crisis was equalized with occupations. Because, both are the actions which attack Islamic countries.

Therefore, V presented the group of *us* as all the Middle East countries, and *the others* as the Western countries. Accordingly, the characteristics that are attributed to *us* are "victim", "threatened, and "occupied", while *the others* are "Western", "occupants", "hypocrites", "trouble makers" and "peace breakers".

MG, on the other hand, made more accusing comments on Europe in this regard. The newspaper argued that Europe will attack Afghanistan in the future, because the cartoon crisis indicates that they will never stop occupying Middle Eastern countries (Yoloğlu and Yılmaz, MG02182006, p.10). The newspaper also covered a long citation from Ahmadinejad's, the president of Iran's, speech which challenged the USA by saying that the Western countries have attacked the Islamic world for a long time, and this trend was proved by the emergence of cartoon crisis (MG02122006, p.6). In the news, the group of *us* (Islamic countries) was portrayed as a subject that is "attacked", but a "challenger" and "powerful". On the other hand, *the others* (Western countries) are described as having an embedded hostility against Islam, and always scheming against *us*.

Along with the Middle East occupations, *YŞ* and *T* reminded Iran's right to generate nuclear power (YŞ02122006, p.6; T02172006, p.9). Therefore, the newspapers tried to remind the injustice of the West by giving place to the occupations.

In brief, Except YA and Z, other newspapers problematized the Middle East occupations. V and MG used more striking language and represented the cartoons as a continuation of the occupations. YŞ and T, on the other hand, reminded the injustice of the West.

MG: a dash of this a pinch of that

Along with taking a position in all events related to the crisis, *MG* is an exception, because the paper constantly refers to historical instances while discussing the cartoon controversy. Although many newspapers combined the cartoon crisis with the other events, and used them as an opportunity to express their ideology; *MG* made most of their news by referring to various backgrounds, and used striking words to turn it into propaganda. In this regard, I think it is worth to mention MG in the separate headline.

First, the newspaper put Felicity Party (SP) forward and mentioned the success of the National Vision Movement. According to MG, SP and National Vision Movement organized the most significant demonstration together, which scared the West (Cura, MG02212006,

p.10). The newspaper represented *us* as Muslims, especially SP, who dare to take action; while portraying *the others* as the West, which is the "attacker" (saldırgan).

Second, the newspaper accused the government, AKP, of supporting the West, and not giving an adequate reaction against the cartoons (MG02092006, p.4). According to the paper, the accurate reaction would be rather the establishment of an Islamic front led by Turkey (Cura, MG02212006, p.10). Unlike other papers, MG here defines *the others* as the West and its partner AKP.

On the other hand, the group of *us* is described as "real Muslims" (gerçek Müslümanlar) who do not give any credits to the West and the cartoons. The newspaper hierarchically categorized Muslims, and defined them as "Muslims in Turkey" and "Muslims in the world". Based on this, Muslims in Turkey can lead the other Muslims, which means that the national values are also essential in this constructed identity.

Third, the newspaper hinted at the idea of the country's invasion by foreigners. Even more, the cartoon crisis was combined with the 'the electricity bills" written in English:

> ''Alanya and Didim (*popular holiday destinations in Turkey*) are under occupation by foreigners; even the bills are in English…The Danes, who insulted the Prophet, take the top place on the list.'' (MG02192006, p.3)

The newspaper covered the news as if the Danes aimed to occupy Turkey by residing. As it is seen, the Western "foreigners" were described as *the others* who are occupants, and taking advantage of Turkey, while turning Turkey into a Western country. On the other hand, the group of *us* was defined as they do not belong to the West. Therefore, they are described as Muslims who defend their Prophet against foreign occupants.

CONCLUSION

The Denmark cartoon crisis has been discussed for a long time from various aspects. However, (re)presentations in Islamic newspapers have been an under-researched topic. Therefore, in this research, I seek the response of these questions;

How were Islamic identities (re)presented in Turkish Islamic newspapers during the crisis? Which themes were applied to the news related to the crisis? What kind of stories/narratives were structured by the newspapers to describe the crisis? What do these (re)presentations tell us about the relationship between the self and the other? Were there any consensus or conflict between the Islamic newspapers?

To respond to these questions, I analyzed all Islamic newspapers in Turkey between 1 January 2006 and 1 February 2006. I made the most-comprehensive qualitative data-driven research on the Denmark cartoon crisis in media studies by analyzing 791 news from six different newspapers.

I applied Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the methodology of the study by combining it with the narrative analysis. As a result of the first step analysis, I found out 14 different common themes in Islamic newspapers which were contingent upon discourses and connected to the cartoons crisis.

For the theoretical study, I combined different critical approaches on identity, discourse, and the narrative, by considering my methodology. In other words, I located various theoretical assumptions in CDA to do more in-depth analyses, instead of using the general arguments of CDA at the theoretical level. Thanks to the theory, I focused on the identity analysis in the themes that I generated when I read the newspapers for the first time and I explored the newspapers concentrating on the narratives, identity analysis, and relations between the self and the other.

I (re)arranged the main features of Islamic identities by positioning them in history and politics to have an insight into the power relations. I analyzed how the main characteristics have been in conflict and reconciliation for various groups, and I discussed them considering their time-frames. Thus, I consider the newspapers' discourse and structured identities together with their historical and political routes. As the CDA underlines the significance of the social context, on the other hand, identity and discourse theories emphasize the time-frame and the changes in the discourse and identity.

Above all, the first contribution of this research is the detailed analyses of six Turkish Islamic newspapers on the Danish cartoon crisis. Second, this research reveals the differences and consensus among Islamic newspapers. Third, the discourse of the Islamic identities in Turkey has not been analyzed before by using narrative and critical discourse analysis. Therefore, I aimed to bring a new perspective for analyzing Islamic identities at theoretical and methodological levels. Besides, I would like to encourage the researchers to analyze Islamic identities through newspapers by focusing on reconciliations and conflicts within a certain time-frame. However, this study also contributes to the existing literature.

Lewis (1955, 1968, 1997), one of the most important pioneers of the orientalist literature, plotted a basic rout which was followed by many researchers. Accordingly, he assessed all civilizations with Western values and measured their development depending on whether they follow the historical path of the West or not. One of the most influential arguments was mounted by Said (1978, 1995). He briefly stated that there are other ways to progress for the civilizations outside the West. In line with Said's argument, Ahmed (2017) narrowed it down to the Islamic world and considered different identities in Islam by putting Islamic practices forward. As a result of my analysis, I detected many differences between the Islamic identities which were (re)presented by the newspapers. Moreover, I found that the struggles and efforts of orientating Islamic identities improved pluralism among them.

However, the orientalist view is liable to perceive the establishment of the Turkish Republic and its fundamental values as a measurement of developments. In contrast, this research shows that the values that were transferred from the establishment process have a great influence on structuring Islamic identities. On the one hand, some Islamic identities *otherized* the strict-state values and struggled with it. On the other hand, the others avoided conflict with these values and constructed their identities pragmatically. Moreover, the constructed identities were not stable but, transitional and dynamic. This research suggests that neither Western identities (Kemalist state and values) nor Islamic identities in Turkey resulted in development. In contrast, the integrations and conflicts between them provided the pluralism in society. Therefore, analysis of the productions, changes, and fixations on the discourses through identity in this research are in contrast with Lewis (1955, 1968, 1997) and line with Ahmed's (2017) study in Islam.

In this study, theories on the discourse claim those in brief:

- Discourse is a communicative event that *represents* the real world. The structure of discourse can not be separated from the social context, historical background, and relations with powers (Barker and Galasinski; 2001; Conboy, 2013; Van Dijk, 1997, 2001, 2013a, 2013b).
- Discourses do not reflect but represent identities. Discourse and identity have mutual dialectic relations (Van Dijk, 2013a, 2013b; Hall, 1997)
- The discourses are unstable forms and their meanings permanently change. The power struggle at the discursive level is based on the domination of discourses (Barker and Galansinski; Campell, 1992; 2002; Gregoria, 2010; Laclau and Mouffe, 2001; Nelson and Grossberg,1988).

Accordingly, I analyzed the discourses of the newspapers by considering the social context, historical background, and power relations. However, this study shows that discourses are related to the constructed powers through history. The newspapers do not only struggle with the discourses of the Kemalist state but also (re)present the internal conflicts between Islamic identities. On the other hand, although there have been firmed discourses, some newspapers tried to change them. Furthermore, all the newspapers made an effort to fix and dominate the meanings by addressing the Denmark cartoon crisis. Hence, all newspapers used the crisis pragmatically to perform their discourses to describe internal and external others.

Identity theories in this study point out that:

- identities are the positions in which we locate ourselves and the others in society. Therefore, the identity unifies in-groups (*self/us*) and separates out-groups (*the others*) (Andreouli, 2010; Duveen, 2013)
- Self is dependant on the other. The other is the subject that denies our identity. Nevertheless, every identity includes some degree of otherness (Carpentier and Spinoy, 2008; Hansen, 2013)
- Identities are always in a dynamic and ongoing process and they are never completed. Therefore, we also (re)produce identities through discursive and social practices (Godeo, 2010; Hall, 1997; Hansen, 2013),
- The other is constructed through strict discourses when feeling hazard, fear, threat, or insecurity (Aydın-Düzgit, 2005, p.163; Hansen, 2013; Joseph, 2004)

All the Islamic newspapers describe the self and the other in their texts. While some newspapers (especially Milli Gazete and Vakit) structure strict contrasts between the self and the others in a reactionist way, other papers (especially Yeni Asya, Türkiye and Zaman) construct those identities moderately by including a degree of otherness.

The features of specific Islamic identities during different courses of history were transformed into represented characteristics in Islamic identity in the crisis process, such as anti-Christianity or anti-Kemalism. On the other hand, some newspapers formed new identity features by combining them with the previous ones, such as the moderate approach to the demanded-implementations by the EU.

The practical application of CDA in this study was combined with narrative analysis. From this point of view, the methodological tools can be summarized;

- The microanalysis of the news consists of thematic and schematic analysis. Thematic analysis suggests revealing key ideas, concepts, and news summary. Schematic analysis requires assessing the news with the social context, background information, reactions in the news.
- The macroanalysis of the news is composed of grammatical and semantic analysis. The grammatical analysis explores the *connectives*, such as cause-effect relations, oppositions; and references, such as the patterns showing differences. Semantic analysis means to find out the word relations, such as generalizations or antonyms.
- The narrative analysis is located in semantic analysis. The implementation of the narrative analysis includes putting the events in chronological order, revealing the simplest story, main subjects, and relations.

In the thematic analysis, I revealed 14 different themes, the key ideas about how each newspaper approaches these themes, and shared a general assessment. In the schematic analysis, I mentioned all newspapers and highlighted given social contexts, background information, and verbal reaction in the news. Themes that I found out in these newspapers are;

1	Freedom of Speech and Press	8	Provocation, Shadowy Forces, Israel, Zionism
2	Islamophobia	9	The Crusaders
3	The Prophet Muhammad	10	United Muslims and Leadership of Turkey
4	The Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten	11	Murder of Priest Andrea Santoro
5	Muslim Protests	12	Apology of Rasmussen
6	Economic Boycott	13	Hypocrisy of the West
7	Alliances vs. Clasf of Civilizations	14	Internal Matter of Turkey

In the microstructure analysis, the newspapers prioritized the cause-effect connectives between the sentences and structured the narrative through this grammatical tool. Moreover, generalizations between the Western countries were the most used lexical collocation. Regarding the word relations, opposite words (such as the West and Islamic) were structured through the religion mostly. Last but not least, in the microstructure analysis, I also evaluated the rhetoric and gave macro-structure elements to provide a more holistic analysis.

All the newspapers narrated the stories in three or four steps regardless of the text length and aggrandized the narratives with self/other relations based on the accepted Islamic values.

I would like to make my last assessment of the newspapers. First, I will point out the consensus between all Islamic newspapers. Then I will underline the conflicts. I grouped the newspapers according to the structured features of the Islamic identities, self/other relations and transformed values from history. Accordingly, I detected three different groups. The first group includes Zaman, Yeni Asya and Türkiye, which are the moderate newspapers keeping the differences. The second group consists of Milli Gazete and Vakit which are more reactionists- again reserving the differences. Last, Yeni Şafak involves the features of both groups, depending on the themes.

Consensus on the Islamic Newspapers:

- The cartoons depicting the Prophet are represented as a part of the conflict that has connections with a bigger problem; 'Islamophobia'. The cartoons are described as a 'provocation'.
- The Islamic identity is represented as a threatened subject by the Western countries.
- The newspapers represented the West as a 'hypocrite'.
- The representations of the Crusaders expressed the fear of being occupied. The Crusaders are represented according to the current image of the Western countries. In other words, the West is equalized to Christianity directly or indirectly.

- The newspapers demanded to be taken seriously by the West.
- The newspapers used similar word patterns such as 'game', 'plan', 'scheme', 'dark forces', 'behind the scenes', 'trick' to construct connections with Israel, Zionism or Western countries.
- The newspapers used the crisis pragmatically to mention the internal matters of the country, such as; Kurdish question, the EU membership, the Armenian Genocide, Cyprus conflict, the Middle East occupations.
- All the newspapers criticize the restrictions of the Kemalist values about the religions. The most frequent theme that criticizes Kemalism is the headscarf ban in Turkey.
- The newspapers did not represent Denmark as an independent country most of the time.
- Turkey is seen as a leader of the Islamic countries.
- The newspapers have consensus about describing *the other* as Christians and Jewish with the features of being hypocrite and temperamental.
- All newspapers *otherized* the European countries to some extent. The *self* was represented as Muslims who have economic and political power, protecting the Prophet and were threatened by the West. The Prophet is equalized with Islam in the representations.
- All Islamic newspapers stuck to a similar narrative to represent the anger of the Islamic world. Accordingly, to make a holistic text, they focused on the cause-effect relations between the cartoon crisis and the protests.

The representation of self and the other in first group newspapers (Zaman, Yeni Asya, Türkiye);

- These newspapers are the most moderate ones among all the papers. They put the universal values, state of law and human rights forward.
- They give credence to Western countries, although they point out that Islamaphobia is still a big problem in the West. However, they are optimistic about the ability of the West to solve the problem.
- They leaned towards the EU membership of Turkey, used references to point out the sameness of the West and Turkey and represented Turkey as the only country that could provide alliances of civilizations by being a bridge between the West and

Islamic countries. Hence, Turkey was represented as a Muslim and democratic country that deserves to enter the EU.

- Although the main external other is the West, besides Christians and Zionists, the representation of *us* included some ''degree of otherness'' from "Western" values.

- They tend to cite from the government officials, Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) statements, the European politicians' speeches and give information about international and trans-national organizations. These newspapers use a professional language and give evidence from the laws at the schematic level.

- They mostly (re)presented the characteristics of moderate and reformist new intellectual Islamic identities that have been shaped after 1997s. This (re)presentation contradicts with the traditionalist Islamic identities which include values such as, anti-Westernization, strict Turkish nationalism, militarized language, and pan-Islamism.

- They focused on the future worldwide plans in political or economical levels, instead of reminiscing about the golden age (*asr-ı saadet*)

- They pointed out the Cyprus conflict, which was a taboo in Turkey before the 21st century. The newspapers dared to produce counter-hegemony to Kemalist discourse and changed the values in Islamic identity.

- The newspapers still maintain the Islamic values of the reformist part, especially the one that has been shaped after 1997s by pointing out human rights and international organizations. They make an effort to fix Islamic identity on these rights.

- These newspapers remained distant to the violent protests in the Islamic world and covered the news on violent protests as much as possible schematically. They encouraged Muslims to make an economic boycott. They mentioned violent protests as 'undesirable events,' and pointed out that some terrorist/radical groups used the cartoons as an excuse for violence.

- In short, the external other is seen as the West, Israel and Christianity. Attributed values to *the other* are; being hypocrite, provocateur, Islamaphobic, prejudiced. Internal other is; Kemalists and traditionalist Islamists. Attributed features of the internal other are; being repressive, undemocratic, and reactionist.

The representation of the self/other in the second group newspapers (Milli Gazete and Vakit);

- They used a vulgar language and the self/other nexus were described with very contrast features through this language. Such as the believers/Muslims versus the

heretics. They generalized all the Western countries, including Israel. For instance, they replaced Denmark with all Western countries in their texts.

- They made lots of news about the Islamic world in-detail and cited from the Muslim politicians in these countries. The demonstrations were described by using religious and military words. For instance, they used the word 'martyr' for the people who got murdered during the protests, or they called the protestors 'ummah of the Prophet Mohammed'.

- They accused the Turkish government, Justice and Development Party (AKP), of being a partner of the West (Milli Gazete did that particularly).

- They did not support the EU membership of Turkey and pointed out the EU's Christian identity.

- They perceived the alliance of civilizations as a 'fairy tale' which was made up by the West to control Muslims. Also, they encouraged Muslims to protest more.

- Milli Gazete covered all the statements made by the Felicity Party (SP) and supported the party as a part of the National Vision Movement (MGH).

- They represented the economic boycott as a method to be used alongside the protests, not as an alternative to violent protests. Nevertheless, sometimes they warned Muslims not to use violence as the West incite Muslims by representing them like terrorists.

- The newspapers reminded the Middle East occupations in the background and equalize the cartoons with occupations.

- They represented Turkey as the leader country. However, the role of Turkey was represented not as a bridge between the West and Islamic countries, but as a unifier of the Islamic countries to fight against the West/Western values. For instance, newspapers mentioned establishing a Muslim union against the EU.

- Additionally, Milli Gazete represented Kurdish people, and Vakit represented the main opposition party supporters as the *others*.

- The external other is represented as all Western countries, Christians, Israel, the US and the governments of some Islamic countries that were exploited by the West. Attributed features of the others are; being hypocrite, heretic, occupant, anti-Islamist and terrorist. Internal others are represented as Kemalists, secularists, Armenians and the reformist Muslims. Attributed characteristics are; being repressive (in terms of

restrictions on religious activities), hypocrite, a comprador of the West, betrayer and traitor.

Last, Yeni Şafak stands between these two groups in terms of structuring identities;

- The newspaper put the Muslim protests forward and supported them against the West. However, this was perceived as exercising democratic rights.
- The newspaper changed its representations of the Islamic demonstrations after protests increased and became violent. Then, the paper started to call for peace.
- The West was neither described as evil (like in the second group) nor was represented with positive comments (like in the first group). However, Yeni Şafak represented the West as biased and unjust.
- Although the newspaper emphasized the secret plans of the West and reminded its evil historical actions, it mostly used a professional language.
- The newspaper does not have essentialist views. The features of the subjects changed depending on the news. For instance, individual subjects from Western countries that supported Muslims were given as examples.
- The newspaper gave a place to the Kurdish issue and blamed Denmark for supporting terrorism.
- Yeni Şafak represented the positive evaluations of Turkey made by the EU and positioned Turkey as a key country that can solve the crisis.
- The newspaper represented external others as; West, Christians, Israel. Attributed characteristics to the external others are; being hypocrite and provocateur, anti-Islamist, planner, Islamophobic. Internal others are; Kemalists, Armenians, Kurdish. Attribıted feature is being a collaborationist (for minorities), repressive(for Kemalists).

I would like to make a final assessment of the representations in the newspapers by locating them in a broader social context. The Islamic identities in Turkey have internal differences. The first group of newspapers (Zaman, Yeni Asya and Türkiye) have a struggle with the second group of newspapers (Milli Gazete and Vakit) at a discursive level and structuring identity.

The first group of newspapers represents the 21st-century Muslim identity in Turkey by supporting the global world system economically and politically, by putting human rights

forward, and by having intellectual tendencies in the rhetorical level. These newspapers challenge the values that have been transformed since the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

They do not call the Western values the total opposites. Nevertheless, anti-Christianism and Jewism are still observable features in the identity. Moreover, they are pragmatical about the values they embraced, and therefore, they tend to fix and change the meanings of the discourses promptly. They focus on the future and have specific aims. Hence, it is very unpredictable which discourses they can appeal to achieve these aims.

Furthermore, these newspapers support the Turkish government in their representations of the cartoon crisis. In other words, there is a possibility that they can support the government in its all international relations or policies and depend on government activities can become the newspapers that embrace nationalistic values as well.

Last, these newspapers also represent values from the past. For instance, they build contrasts between laicism vs. Kemalism; instead of (re)channeling the antagonism transformed from the past. Therefore, they contain overtones of the 1920s-1945s Islamic identity characteristics, such as victimization. Similarly, they keep their distance from the international traditional Islamic movements in contrast with the 1950s Democrat Party (DP) identity. However, they tend to support capital owners, similar to the Islamic identity of the DP.

On the other hand, the second group of newspapers has a traditionalistic tendency in Islamic identity that is based on different dates in history. They build a strict contrast between the self and the other and demonize the other. Part of their identity has partisan features. For instance, Milli Gazete supports the Felicity Party (SP) and approaches issues like a party-press. On the other hand, Vakit does not support any political party explicitly. Nevertheless, it cites from the terrorist Islamic movements all over the world and uses their discourse in the news.

However, these two newspapers transformed almost all Islamic values coming from the past except the reformist ones. In other words, these newspapers represent; anti-Westernization, anti-Kemalism, pan-Islamism, anti-leftism. They also focused on the past and supported the idea of revanchism against the other.

Before finalizing this study, I would like to point out that this research has limitations in terms of the time-frame and the place. Moreover, I believe that the left-wing and nationalist newspapers are worth analyzing to compare them, as I believe that identity is relational. To

understand today's world, I could say that future researches focusing on the differences between Islamic identities and their reflections, as well as to explore hegemonic Western attitudes, are needed and significant.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: REFERENCES

Reference Type	Example	Potential Discursive Meaning
Personal References *(Referring to people)* Personal Pronouns *(he, she, it, one…)* Possessive Pronouns *(mine, hers, his…)* Possessive Determiners *(my, them, our…)*	'*Our* country is full' (Trump, against the immigrants) '*He* is *my* brother even though *he* is Kurdish' (Erdoğan while explaining investments in Kurdish cities)	They can be used to show a sense of ownership, feeling of closeness or unfamiliarity, grouping the people or objects and so on.
Demonstrative References (Establishing proximity or distance) Proximity *(this, these)* Distance *(that, those)*	'I hail the work of *this* society as typifying one of *those* forces which tend to the betterment and uplifting of our social system.'(Theodore Roosevelt)	They can be used to show closeness, outsiderness or to draw attention by emphasizing some information and so on.
Comparative References *(To express sameness, differences or equality)* Adjectives *(more important, as important as, more equal)* Adverbs *(importantly, equally…)*	'When we now have a world where perhaps lack of speech is even *more pronounced* than during the cold war.' (Angela Merkel)	They contribute to meaning more reliable, persuasive, and they are also used for reflecting feelings or thoughts about people or situations.

APPENDIX 2:CONNECTIVES

Reference Type	Example	Potential Discursive Meaning
Addition connectives *(Gives additional information)*	Also, and, for example, moreover, furthermore, additionally, beside…	They can strengthen meaning, give more details about the case, structure similarity between the statements by compounding the words or phrase.
Opposition connectives *(Gives contrast meanings)*	Despite, but, nevertheless, although, even so, rather, on the other hand, in contrast…	They provide contrast meanings between words, phrases and so on. They can be used to clarify differences between statements, objects or subjects.
Cause- effect connectives *(Provides to establish cause and effect relations)*	Hence, therefore, thus, yet, still, under the circumstances, so, stemmed from…	They direct reader to given reasons in the text. They can structure relational connection between statements and so on. In other words, by using these words, two or more different statements can be linked.
Time connectives *(To point out time sequence)*	Previously, then, after that, finally, at first, whenever, while, before that, meanwhile..	They show time order between the situations or actions. They also provide rhythm in the text. They can be used to mention background information or previous events.

Lexical Cohesion Type	Example	Potential Discursive Meaning
Reiteration *Same word repetition* *Synonym or near-synonym* *Superordinate or general words (hyponym)*	'They make an effort to fact-check and correct *disinformation* or *misinformation* on the epidemic, which mostly circulates online, meanwhile *disseminating* the right *information* to the public as third-party independent institutions... has been working to tackle the *coronavirus outbreak* by using multiple measures to contain the *spread* of the *virus*' *Information:* Same word repetition *Disinformation / Misinformation:* Near-Synonym *Correct / Fact-Check:* Near-Synonym *Spread / Outbreak:* Near-Synonym *Virus / Coronavirus:* Superordinate / Hyponym	Repeating same words provides integration between sentences. Moreover, it maintains reader's focus on the subject. Synonym and near-synonym words reveal intention holistically. They also tell how the newspapers grasp the subject. Superordinate usage can be more persuasive, because general statements are mostly explained by subordinate words.
Collocation *Opposite Words* *Related Words*	'Taiwan proves that the *democratic* strategy is *successful* in *curbing* the *spread* of the new *coronavirus* – which is why Taiwan is *outperforming* its *authoritarian* neighbor, China.' *Democratic / Authoritarian*: Opposite words *Outperform / Successful:* Related Words *Curbing / Outperform:* Related Words	Using opposite words, especially multiple opposites, help to structure alternative contrasts between the notions or statements. Moreover, using opposite words help to create bipolar notions. Related words strengthen the meaning in the text. These words help the reader to focus and remained focused on the theme.

		Headline Examples	Main Judgement	Topic and Theme
	YŞ	''Islamic Countries are in Solidarity against Arrogance'' *(İslam ülkelerinden küstahlığa ortak tavır)*	Islamic countries have a consensus on the crisis, and they are united. Each Islamic country is doing its duty.	**Islamic Unity or Pan-Islamism**
	YA	''Islamic World is Standing''*(İslam alemi ayakta)*		
	T	"Islamic World is Gathered under a Single Roof" *(İslam dünyası tek çatı altında)*		
	V	''Muslims are of one Heart'' *(Müslümanlar tek yürek.)*		
	M	"Islamic World Raised its Voice: Our Prophet is our Honor." *(İslam Aleminin her yanından aynı ses ükseldi: Peygamberimiz onurumuzdur.)*		
	Z	"The OIC Warned: Overreactions Harms the Righteous Case" *(İslam Kalkinma Örgütü uyardı: Aşırı tepkiler haklı davaya zarar veriyor.)*		
	YŞ	''Denmark is in a Tight Corner: Poor Rasmussen''*(Danimarka köşeye sıkıştı Çaresiz Rasmussen.)*	Denmark, Rasmussen and/or Western countries are stuck in a difficult situation thanks to the protests and reactions. They became more moderate in the process for various reasons.	**Muslims' Reactions and its Effects on West/Danemark**
	YA	"Indignation Increases in Denmark: Rasmussen Seeks for the Dialogue" *(Danimarkada infial büyüyor: Rasmussen diyalog peşinde.)*		
	T	"Denmark Asked for Help" *(Danimarka Yardım Istedi)*		
	V	"Insolent Denmark dreads." *(Küstah Danimarka'yı korku saldı)*		
	M	"Europe in a Pretty Scrape" *(Avrupa, ayıkla pirincin taşını)*		
	Z	"Step back from Copenhagen in Cartoon Crisis: He said the Government is Upset and Denied Responsibility" *(Karikatür krizinde Kopenhag'dan geri adım Hükümet üzgün dedi, sorumluluğu reddetti)*		

		Headline Examples	Main Judgement	Topic and Theme
	YŞ	"We Don't Sell Danish Products: Arla Closed the Factory" *(Danimarka ürünlerini satmıyoruz: Arla fabrikayı kapattı)*	International economic boycott is getting spread. This harms Danish economy.	**Boycott**
	YA	"Shopekeeers Burned Danish Products" *(Esnaf Danimarka mallerını yaktı)*		
	T	"Violence is Wrong, let us Boycott" (Şiddet yanlış, boykot edelim)		
	V	"Requital and Boycott is Spreading against Denmark" *(Danimarka'ya misilleme ve boykot yayılıyor)*		
	M	"Boycott against Denmark is Spreading in waves: Boycott against Insult Scares Europe" *(Danimarka boykotu dalga dalga genişliyor: Hakarete karşı boykot avrupayı korkuttu)*		
	Z	"Danish Shares Fall" *(Danimarka hisseleri düştü)*		
	YŞ	"The Anger in the Streets" *(Öfke sokağa taştı)*	Muslims are protesting and using bureaucratic ways insistently. They will not give up.	**Muslims' protests.**
	YA	"Reactions against Denmark keep snowballing *(Danimarka'ya karsi öfke çig gibi büyüyor)*		
	T	"Hundreds of Thousands Demand Respect for Faith" (Yüzbinler inanca saygı istedi)		
	V	"The Squares are Full" *(Meydanlar doldu)*		
	M	"Anger Rages on against Arrogants" *(Küstahlara öfke sürüyor)*		
	Z	"Tens of thousands Protested Insulting Cartoons" *(On binler hakaret içeren karikatürleri protesto etti)*		

		Headline Examples	Main Judgement	Topic and Theme
	YŞ	"Unlimited Insolence" (*Sınırsız küstahlık*)	The cartoons are not a part of freedom of speech; they are disrespectful, blasphemous, indicator of arrogance.	**Freedom of Speech and Its Limits**
	YA	"Insulting is not Freedom of Speech" (*Hakaretin adı ifade özgürlüğü değildir*)		
	T	"The Cartoons are a Crime against Humanity" (*Karikatürler insanlık suçu*)		
	V	"This is Completely Insulting to Islam" (*Bu yapılan tamamen İslam'a hakaret*)		
	M	"Freedom of Speech does not Allow Blasphemy" (*Özgürlük kutsala hakarete izin vermez*)		
	Z	"Gül: The Problem is not Free speech, but Respect to Beliefs" (*Gül: sorun ifade özgürlüğü değil, inançlara saygı*)		
	YŞ	"The Cartoons are Part of a Planned Process" (*Karikatürler planlı bir sürecin devamı*)	The cartoons are consciously made to provoke the Islamic World and create international conflict.	**The motivation behind Cartoon-Drawing**
	YA	"Provocation Backfires" (*Provakasyon geri tepiyor*)		
	T	"Erdoğan: Do not Fall into a Provocation Trap" (*Erdoğan: tahrik tuzağına düşmeyelim*)		
	V	"They Reawaken this Purposely" (*İnadına kaşıyorlar*)		
	M	"The Cartoons: Operations Carried out Consciously" (*Karikatürler bilinçli operasyon*)		
	Z	"It is not Freedom of Expression, but Provocation!" (*İfade özgürlüğü değil, provokasyon!*)		

		Headline Examples	Main Judgement	Topic and Theme
	YŞ	"West Lost the Exam" (*Batı sınavı kaybetti*)		
	YA	"Cartoon Epidemic Transmitted to France: Italian Minister Oversteppend the Mark" (*Karikatür salgını Fransa'ya bulaştı: İtalyan bakan çizmeyi aştı*)	Western countries are guilty in erronously helping to create the crisis and support Denmark.	**Western Solidarity with Denmark**
	T	"Western Media Continues to Provoke Muslims by Adding Fuel to the Flames" (*Batı basını müslümanları provoke ederek ateşe körükle gitmeye devam ediyor*)		
	V	"West United in Hostility to Islam" (*Batı islam düşmanlığında birleşti*)		
	M	"Incitement and Provocation Effort" (*Tahrik ve provakasyon çabası*)		
	Z	"Provocation: Threat to the Alliance of Civilizations" (*Provakasyon: medeniyetler ittifakına tehdit*)		
	YŞ	"International Warning from the OIC and the EU" (*İKÖ ve AB den uluslararası uyarı*)		
	YA	"Solidarity between OIC and the EU" (*İKÖ-AB Dayanışması*)	OIC is one of the most important international actors having a leadership role, and the Western countries need it.	**The OIC's and Muslims' Importance in International Arena**
	T	"Annan and OIC in Action" (*Annan ve İKÖ Devrede*)		
	V	"The EU Seeks Help from the OIC to Alleviate the Crisis" (*AB Krizi yatıştırmak için İKÖ den yardım istedi*)		
	M	"The Government and the OIC Should do the Necessary" (*Hükümet ve İKÖ gereğini yapmalı*)		
	Z	"İhsanoğlu will Call the OIC to an Emergency Meeting" (*İhsanoğlu İKÖ'yü acil toplantıya çağıracak*)		

		Headline Examples	Main Judgement	Topic and Theme
	YŞ	"It is not the First Disrespect" *(İlk saygısızlık değil)*	The history of the West is full of disrespectfull actions against Muslims. They have double standard in determining the substance of free speech.	**Hypocrite West**
	YA	"Ahmadinejad: The Real Genocide is in Iran and Palestine" *(Ahmedinejat: Asıl soykırım İran ve Filistin'de)*		
	T	"Here is the Double Standard" *(İşte çifte standart)*		
	V	"The EU is Unctuous" *(Kaypak AB)*		
	M	"Learn to Respect the Sacred" *(Kutsala saygı duymayı öğrenin)*		
	Z	" The Cartoons are like the 9/11 to the Islamic World" *(Karikatürler İslam dünyasının 11 eylülü gibi)*		
	YŞ	"Denmark Insists on not Apologizing" (Danimarka özür dilememekte ısrar ediyor)	Rasmussen or Danish politicians should apologize. By their persistent attitudes of not apologizing, they worsen the crisis.	**Absence of Apologies**
	YA	"Rasmussen did not Apologize" (Rasmussen özür dilemedi)		
	T	" If Apologies Were Transmitted There Would be no Crisis" *(Özür dilense kriz olmazdı)*		
	V	"Slippery attitude from Rasmussen" *(Rasmussen den kaypak tavır)*		
	M	"They Insist on Being Mean" *(Alçaklıkta ısrar ediyorlar)*		
	Z	"Rasmussen Aims at Misguiding" *(Rasmussen hedef saptırma peşinde)*		

		Headline Examples	Main Judgement	Topic and Theme
	YŞ	"The killer had an argument with the attacker the day before" *(Katil bir gün önce saldırganla tartışmıştı)*	The priest's murder was either an ordinary murder or it was planned by actors aiming to cause political tension. Given that the priest was a missionary, it is not that shocking. Turkey is doing best in investigating the crime.	**The Murder of the Priest**
	YA	"Priest's Suspect Caught: 16-Year-old College-Boy" *(Rahibin zanlısı yakalandı: 16 yaşında liseli)*		
	T	"Pastor's Murder: An Isolated Incident" *(Papaz cinayeti münferit bir olay)*		
	V	"No Murder is Worse than the one Caused by Cartoons" *(Hiçbir cinayet karikatür cinayetinden daha büyük değildir)*		
	M	"Assassination Surprised the Gun" *(Suikast silahı şaşırttı)*		
	Z	"The Killer Knows the Priest According to the Police" *(Polise göre katil rahibi tanıyor)*		
	YŞ	"Erdoğan Wrote a Letter to 80 Political Leaders" *(Erdoğan'dan 80 lidere mektup)*	Turkey and Turkish politicians are important political leaders with an undeniable capacity to resolve the Cartoon Crisis.	**Turkish Leadership in the International Arena.**
	YA	"Arınç Wrote a Letter to his European Colleagues" *(Arınç'tan AB'li meslektaşlarına mektup)*		
	T	"It's Us who Can Resolve the Crisis" *(Krizi biz çözeriz)*		
	V	"A Special Mission for Gül" *(Gül'e Özel Misyon)*		
	M	"Turkey Fulfilled its Historical Responsibility" *(TR üzerine düşen tarihi sorumluluğu gerçekleştirdi)*		
	Z	"The EU trusts Turkey to Solve the Cartoon Crisis" *(AB Karikatür krizi çözümünde tr ye güveniyor)*		

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	YŞ	"Call for a Crusade" *(Haçlı seferine çağırdı)*	The Western maintain a crusader mentality. When they find an opportunity they don't hesitate fighting against Islam.	**Crusades' in the Collective Memory**
	YA	"Italian Minister Called for a Crusade" *(İtalyan bakan haçlı savaşı istedi)*		
	T	—		
	V	"Yazıcıoğlu: Crusades Continue" *(Yazıcıoğlu: Haçlı seferleri sürüyor)*		
	M	"Islamic Countries Watch, Crusaders Attack" (İslam ülkeleri seyrediyor, haçlılar saldırıyor)		
	Z	—		
	YŞ	"We Would Print the Jewish Cartoons on the Same day as Iran" *(Yahudi karikatürlerini İran ile aynı gün basarız)*	Islamophobia and Antisemitism are similar. The West have double measures *vis-à-vis* Jews and Muslims. Israel contributed to the creation of the crisis.	**Hostility towards Israel**
	YA	"Islamophobia Replaced Antisemitism" *(Antisemitizmin yerini anti islam aldı)*		
	T	—		
	V	"Zionists are behind the Cartoon Crisis" *(Karikatürün arkasında siyonistler var)*		
	M	"Zionists are United in Arrogance" *(Siyonistler küstahlıkta ağız birliği ettiler)*		
	Z	"The Cartoons have also Fueled the Holocaust" *(Karikatürler, Yahudi soykırımını da körükledi)*		

		Headline Examples	Main Judgement	Topic and Theme
	YŞ	"He Recalled the Value of Forgiveness in Islam" *(İslamın bağışlayıcılığını hatırlattı)*	Islam and Prophet symbolize ethical values of civilzed people, including human rights, peace and constitute our main identity.	**Prophet Mohammed and Islam**
	YA	" The Last Khutbah is the First Human Rights Declaration" *(Veda Hutbesi ilk insan hakları bildirisi)*		
	T	"This Time, Their Target is Our Sacred Values" *(Şimdiki hedefleri kutsal değerlerimiz)*		
	V	"A Meeting of Love for Our Prophet" *(Peygamberimize sevgi mitingi)*		
	M	"Our Prophet is our Honor" *(Peygamberimiz onurumuzdur)*		
	Z	"Loisee from Danemark: If They Knew Islam, They Would not have Published it" *(Danimarkalı Loisee: İslamı bilseler yayımlamazlardı)*		
	YŞ	"Thousands Protest Cartoons in Belgium" *(Belçikada binlerce kişi karikatürleri protesto etti)*	Some Western countries, their citizens' and some affiliates of other religions do not support cartoons for various reasons.	**International Support to Muslims**
	YA	"Danes in the Race for Apology" *(Danimarkalılar özür yarışında)*		
	T	"The EU: It will not Happen Again" *(AB: Bir daha olmayacak)*		
	V	"Clinton: Publishing these Cartoons has been a Mistake" *(Clinton: karikatürlerin yayımlanması hata)*		
	M	"Profanity is the only Nation" *(Küfür tek millettir)*		
	Z	"Provocation Attempt with Cartoons Met with Reaction in Norway" *(Karikatürlü provokasyon girişimi norveçte tepkiyle karşılandı)*		

		Headline Examples	Main Judgement	Topic and Theme
	YŞ	"There is no Solution at the Gun Tip" *(Silah ucunda çözüm olmaz)*	Some protests are violent, due to various reasons. Nonetheless, protesters should use peaceful ways.	**The Nature of Protests**
	YA	"The Cartoon Blood did not Die" *(Karikatür kanı dinmedi)*		
	T	"Violent Demonstrations Harm Islam" *(Şiddet gösterileri İslam'a zarar verir)*		
	V	"Cartoon Crisis Caused the Death of 3 People" *(Karikatür krizi 3 kişinin ölümüne sebep oldu)*		
	M	"The Danish consulate in Beyrouth Burned to Ashes" *(Danimarka'nın Beyrut Konsolosluğu kül oldu)*		
	Z	"Violent Protests" *(Protestolar şiddete teslim)*		