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Political Responses to Terrorism

Case study on the Madrid terrorist attack on March 11, 2004,
and its aftermath

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a case study on the dynamics of different types of political responses to the Madrid terrorist attack on March 11, 2004. The Madrid attack was a mass casualty terrorist attack that was very likely perpetrated to influence the voting behaviour on the general elections on March 14. Effectively, it had an impact, since an electoral overturn took place. From the point of view of political science this was a surprising response. The dominant theory is that terrorist attacks are followed by a so-called rally-around-the-flag effect, which means that people tend support the ruling elites, not the political opposition like in Spain.

The case itself is divided into three parts according to the most relevant types of political responses: 1) political crisis governance, meaning the way the Spanish government managed the crisis, and how it dealt with other political powers and public information. 2) political activism in the civic society, and 3) the voting behaviour in the General Elections.

In order to analyse the dynamics of the political responses, the process that led to the overturn is traced from the attack to the elections using several types of open source information. The primary material in this dissertation consists of the press conferences of prominent politicians, public statements, testimonies in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry, blog writings of individual citizens, actions that took place on the street, text messages, electoral results, opinion polls, etc.

The aim of this dissertation is to challenge the rally effect and to demonstrate that the dynamics of political responses depend on several factors, which are much more related to the general political context, than to terrorists and their possible aims. This is done by using the theoretical approach of appraisal theory on emotions.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

AP   Alianza Popular

BNG   Bloque Nacionalista Galego

CC   Coalición Canaria

CD   Coalición Democrática (1979 elections: Alianza Popular, Acción
                Ciudadana Liberal, Partido Democrático Progresista, Renovación
                Española and Partido Popular de Cataluña. The presidential
                candidate was Manuel Fraga)

CDS   Centro Democrático y Social

CHA   Chunta Aragonesista

CIS   Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas

CiU   Convergència i Unió

CNI   Centro Nacional de Inteligencia

EA   Eusko Alkartasuna

EAJ   Eusko Alderdi Jeltzalea

EUPV   Esquerra Unida País Valencia

ERC   Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya

ETA   Euskadi ta Askatasuna

EUIA   Esquerra Unida i Alternativa

ICV   Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds

IU   Izquierda Unida

NA-BAI   Nafarroa-Bai

PNV   Partido Nacionalista Vasco

PP   Partido Popular

PSC   Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya

PTSD	Post-traumatic stress disorder
PSE	Partido Socialista de Euskadi
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
Tedax	Los Técnicos Especialistas en Desactivación de Artefactos Explosivos
TVE	Televisión Española
UCD	Unión de Centro Democrático
UCIE	Unidad Central de Información Exterior
UPN	Unión de Pueblo Navarro

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE ATTACK AND ITS AFTERMATH

March 11, 2004, was a tragic day in Madrid[1]. Ten bombs exploded almost simultaneously on four local trains, causing the death of 191 passengers and injuring physically more than 2 000 persons. Emergency services started their operations immediately. Hospitals were filled with patients requiring first aid, ambulances circulated in the city, helicopters patrolled the skies, and the police were worried about securing the scene. It was a crisis situation.

Many suspected that *Euskadi ta Askatasuna* (ETA), the Basque terrorist group that has dominated the political violence scene in Spain for over four decades, was behind the attack, but a devastating terrorist attack against various civilian targets simultaneously was not the *modus operandi* of ETA. Therefore some started to suspect that the perpetrators of the attack were related to the type of terrorism that had been most feared internationally after the September 11 attacks in the U.S.A.: namely Islamic terrorism.

After securing the scene, the first task of the police was to "descubrir a los autores y tomar todas las medidas posibles para detenerlos"[2]. Yet with very little available information, Minister of the Interior Ángel Acebes Paniagua[3] said in the first Government press conference, that there was no doubt about the involvement of ETA. Before Minister Acebes, many leaders of different political parties had already pointed accusing fingers at ETA. The only exception was Arnaldo Otegi Mondragón, the leader of the outlawed Batasuna party, which is often considered the political wing of ETA[4]. At that moment all

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[1] Hereafter also referred to as 11-M, which is an abbreviation used in Spain for the day of the attack. It comes from the Spanish way of writing dates: *11 de Marzo.*
[2] "track down the perpetrators and arrest them by all possible means". Former Minister of the Interior Ángel Acebes in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 2).
[3] Spanish surnames refer first to the family of the father, and second to the family of the mother. This means here that Acebes is the paternal line, and Paniagua maternal. However, nowadays only one surname is normally used (normally paternal, but in many cases also the maternal surname). In this dissertation I shall first mention both surnames, and then use the one that is commonly used.
[4] Batasuna is also listed on the so called "EU terrorist list", Council of the European Union: "Council Common Position 2009/67CFSP" [Internet document].

the politicians were eager to comment the events in Madrid. General elections were to be held only three days later, and the campaigning was at its highest before the attack. Although all the parties cancelled their campaigning because of the sudden crisis, political networks were already activated due to the campaigns, and the media focus was on them. It did not take long before the crisis was politicised.

Police investigations advanced little by little, and all the new information was rapidly spread to the public. Even though there was no evidence to show beyond doubt that ETA was behind the attack, the Spanish Government continued to blame ETA for the attack. This was quickly criticised by the political opposition, which suspected that the accusations could be deliberate. There were two reasons for this suspicion: 1) ETA had been enemy number one of Prime Minister José María Aznar López's Government, and framing ETA for the March 11 attack would confirm that the enemy was rightly fought. 2) Aznar's Government had taken a very unpopular and unilateral decision to participate in the U.S. led coalition in the Iraq war, and if the assailant in Madrid proved to be some Islamic group, it would easily lead to a causal analysis that such participation had caused the attack. This would especially benefit the political opposition. The leader of the socialist party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español,* PSOE) José Luís Rodríguez Zapatero had already promised in his electoral campaign that if PSOE were to win the elections, he would take the Spanish troops out of Iraq.

Besides the possible significance that the origin of the terrorists could have in making causal attributions on the events in Madrid – in other words the meaning-making process[5] – Prime Minister Aznar's crisis governance was authoritative. He did not follow the established protocol for crisis situations, and he excluded all other political forces from decision-making. This was typical of Prime Minister Aznar's personal leadership style, but in a crisis situation this exclusiveness proved damaging to the image of the Government. The opposition formed its own frame of the events in Madrid, accusing the Government of holding back information for electoral purposes. Aznar's decision to demonstrate national unity against terrorism by organising a nationwide demonstration the day after the attack with a problematic slogan was a failure. The political opposition was indignified because it

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[5] Understood here as in Boin et al. 2005, 69-90. The Concept is explained later in this dissertation.

had to march with the slogan that the Government had unilaterally decided on, and large sectories of the public were confused about the meaning of the demonstration. People were sad, angry, and in need of trustworthy information about the attack. Rumours circulated, people protested against ETA, against Islamic terrorism, against the Government, meanwhile many wanted to show their sympathy for the victims and their family members without any politics involved.

The official demonstration was a mixture of different kinds of emotions related to the terrorist attack and to the crisis governance style, and did not succeed in uniting the Spanish political parties, nor the public. In response to the confusing official demonstration, one day later on March 13, some of the public mobilised to organise protests against the Government and its information policy. During the day and evening, text messages circulated around Spain to summon people to the protests, also referred to as flash mobs[6]. Little by little thousands of people went onto the streets, mainly in Madrid and Barcelona, but also in other cities, to bang saucepans and demand the "truth", whatever it was. In Madrid the headquarters of the conservative Popular Party (*Partido Popular,* PP) was laid siege to by angry people. Late at that same evening, a confession was made by an unknown Islamic terrorist group saying that they were responsible for the attack, and the motive was that Spain collaborated with "the criminal Bush and his allies"[7]. Minister Acebes issued a special communiqué to the public because of the confession, but he did not make any assessments of its credibility. With this knowledge, the people had to decide whom to vote for the next day.

Before the terrorists attacked in Madrid on March 11, the victory of the PP in the General Elections on the following Sunday, March 14, seemed obvious. All the significant opinion polls estimating the electoral results indicated that the PP would defeat the PSOE by a clear margin. However, none of the polls was right: PSOE won the elections with a significant

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[6] According to Wikipedia, flash mob is "a large group of people who assemble suddenly in a public place, perform an unusual action for a brief time, then quickly disperse. The term flash mob is generally applied only to gatherings organized via social media or viral emails, rather than those organized by public relations firms or for a publicity stunt." [Internet document]. The term has normally been used to refer to non-political sudden gatherings, rather than to political protests. However, the method of organisation in these protests was similar to those in flash mobs, so the term is often used.
[7] English version published e.g. in "Full text: 'Al-Qaeda' Madrid Claim", BBC News, UK [Internet document].

majority over the PP. This was an electoral overturn. Once in power, the newly selected Prime Minister Zapatero stuck to his promise: Spanish troops were removed from Iraq.

1.2. STUDY SUBJECT

The terrorist attack in Madrid was committed only a couple of days before the general elections. This was hardly a coincidence. Those terrorists who attacked in Madrid wanted to influence voting behaviour, not merely to punish Spain for her cooperation with the U.S.A. Although it is not known if the attackers were aware of the following analysis found in the Internet some months prior to the events in Madrid, it is possible that knowing the Spanish political situation, they may have made a similar assessment on the effectiveness of terrorism:

> It is necessary to make utmost use of the upcoming general election in Spain in March next year. We think that the Spanish government could not tolerate more than two, maximum three blows, after which it will have to withdraw as a result of popular pressure. If its troops still remain in Iraq after these blows, then the victory of the Socialist Party is almost secured, and the withdrawal of the Spanish forces will be on its electoral programme.[8]

Considering that the attack led to the withdrawal of Spanish troops from Iraq, although not exactly as in the above assessment, it was a huge success from the point of view of the terrorists. However, a variety of questions should be asked: Did the attack influence voting behaviour? If so, how? Analysing electoral results and the influence of the terrorist attack and its aftermath on voting behaviour is one of the main research subjects in this study.

It seems reasonable to hypothesize that the attack alone could not cause such an electoral overturn. Typically isolated acts of terrorism like the one in Madrid tend to cause so-called a rally-around-the-flag effect rather than loss of support for the political rulers. For example, when the U.S. was attacked on September 11, 2001, approval for President Bush

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[8] A translation and the original document in Arabic can be found in the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment web site (*Forsvarets Forskning Institut*, FFI), 2004-03-19 [Internet document]. The author of the document remains unknown, but it was prepared by the "Media Committee for the Victory of the Iraqi People (Mujahidin Services Centre)" in September 2003 and published on approximately December 10, 2003. Researchers from the FFI found the document in December, and after the events in Madrid started to analyse it in more detail

rose significantly[9]. Because of this rally-around-the-flag effect, many political leaders have been criticised for manipulating public fears of terrorism to achieve specific political objectives[10]. However, the events in Spain after the Madrid attack demonstrate that this is not always the case. Even though the Government acted according to the established objectives in the crisis situation, it was not able to control the situation successfully. The public took spontaneous political action in the aftermath of the attack in order to protest against the Government, and in the elections the PP lost governmental power to the PSOE.

Besides the influence of the attack on the elections, events in Spain during the aftermath of the attack led to two further interests on which this study focuses: The first of these is the crisis governance itself. How was the situation controlled? What did the Government do to exercise its power? Why were certain decisions taken and other decisions not? How was the governance perceived by the public, and more specifically, how did it affect the *appraisal processes* on the individual level? According to appraisal theory on emotions discussed in Chapter 3 emotions related to some specific event, in this case the terrorist attack in Madrid, follow an evaluation where the personal relevance of that event is appraised[11]. This appraisal process includes, for example, a thorough analysis of the causes and consequences of the event with the information available to the individual, and it is here hypothesized to lead to specific coping strategies and political action. A second interest is the public response. How was the public response formed in Spain, and why was it directed against the Government? Was it not enough that the Spanish had the unique opportunity to influence with a vote right after the attack if they considered that the Government was not up to its job? Why there was a need for radical forms of civic action? How did people appraise the situation, and how did they estimate that they should act?

Because the political effects of the attack in Spain seem to be atypical (instead of a rally-around-the-flag effect, people protested against the Government), and the proximity of the parliamentary elections, the case of the Madrid terrorist attack and its aftermath offers a very interesting research topic for political science. In comparison to the 9/11 attacks in the

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[9] Different measuring tools and results represented e.g. in Wikipedia: "United States Presidential approval rating" [Internet document].
[10] Robin 2004; Altheide 2003; Furedi 1997.
[11] Hereafter the word appraise is used as in appraisal theory. In comparison to other similar words, like for example assess, judge, estimate, evaluate, etc. appraise causes an emotional reaction, whereas the others do not necessarily do so.

U.S.A. and the London terrorist attacks in 2005, the Madrid case is a more complex one. There were some relevant internal divisions that influenced the outcomes of the attack that were not present in the two other mass casualty terrorist attacks mentioned here. However, it is necessary to contemplate if the case of the Madrid terrorist attack and its aftermath challenge the existing perceptions of terrorism and its effects. Is the rally-around-the-flag effect a response to terrorist action, or a response to the political crisis governance that follows the act of terrorism? If the electoral overturn and public response against the Spanish Government in the aftermath were responses to the crisis governance rather than to the terrorist attack alone, what could then be the response to an act of terrorism in its simplest form? Is it possible to form a theory on the response, or responses, to terrorism? In order to answer these theoretical questions, definitions on terrorism have to be discussed in detail, and a posited theory on the response(s) to terrorism is presented and argued in light of the empirical data from the case of the Madrid terrorist attacks. This is the main subject of study from the theoretical point of view.

1.3. STUDY DESIGN: AN EMBEDDED SINGLE-CASE STUDY

As already noted, this study tries to explain why the attack in Madrid had different consequences from those of other mass casualty terrorist attacks in this decade. However, the approach is not comparative; the focus is on understanding the Madrid case itself. What kind of dynamics was behind the different kinds of political responses? How were these responses formed? Can a causal chain be identified? Regarding methodology, the approach in this case study could be called process-tracing in an historical explanation. The process-tracing method is an attempt to identify the intervening causal process, including the causal chain and mechanism, between different events inside the case[12]. This method can be useful for theory development[13], which is one of the main aims in this dissertation. In order to accomplish this, a specific research design was made for this study.

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[12] George & Bennet 2005, 206.
[13] George & Bennet 2005, 209.

1.3.1. Research rationale and structure

There are various types of case studies, so it is useful to specify exactly which study design is used here, and why have I chosen it. As can be inferred from the preceding chapter on the subject of study, the case of the Madrid terrorist attack and its aftermath is the only case studied. Therefore this is a single-case study[14], meaning that no comparison is made to any other terrorist attacks and their possible political consequences. Since the hypothesis here is that an individual experience in relation to the terrorist attack is the basis for political action, it means that there are several aspects of interest in the case. Political action in the aftermath of 11-M took many forms: it was not a unified response to a single event.

On the basis of appraisal theory on emotions, an event like an act of terrorism has a capacity to cause drastic changes in individual situational appraisals. From the point of view of political science, these changes may lead to political action. This action may be conventional, like voting, appealing to the political decision-makers, using personal contacts, social networks, or it may be unconventional, like protesting against the perceived cause of the attack, attacking ethnic minorities, etc. Furthermore, action can also be divided according to the main function: it can either be aversive (escaping the perceived problem), or appetitive (confronting the problem). Therefore the first task in conducting background research on the case of Madrid was to identify all the meaningful forms of political action: who took action, why, what kind of action, where, etc. As a consequence of this identification process, three main forms of action were identified in Spain, namely in the order in which they appear in this dissertation: 1) crisis governance, 2) public response, and 3) elections. From the point of view of study design, this meant that each form of political action was studied as a separate unit of analysis[15].

Studying each of the units of analysis as part of the whole case gives different points of view on the phenomenon in focus. In the literature on case studies, this is close to so-called triangulation. In general, there are four different types of triangulation: 1) material triangulation, 2) methodological triangulation, 3) theoretical triangulation, and 4) researcher triangulation[16]. If triangulation is understood here broadly, the first of the two types of

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[14] Yin 2009, 46-53.
[15] Yin 2009, 46-53.
[16] Denzin 1978.

triangulations is used in my study. Each unit of analysis requires tailored use of different materials and methods of analysis. These are explained later. However, if triangulation is understood narrowly, it means that different material, methods, theories, or researchers should be used to analyse the same unit. Now this is a case study, which is embedded from three sub-units of analysis that are in many ways so different from each other, that they could be studied as separate cases. In spite of this, the point of view in this study is that they were parts of the same political process, and it would be impossible to explain the responses to the terrorist attack without taking into account all the three units of analysis. This means that on the level of the whole political context – the case of the Madrid terrorist attacks and their aftermath – there was triangulation as mentioned above, but in the analysis of different sub-units, triangulation was not used. In other words, analysing crisis governance did require different material and methods than analysing electoral behaviour, but only one approach was used in the analysis of crisis governance. Therefore it could be said that the triangulation in this study is a result of focusing on different kinds of political responses within the same case.

The rationale behind this embedded single-case study is the following: Many definitions of terrorism are discussed in detail in Chapter 2 mention that acts of terrorism are designed to have:

> far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim(s) or object of terrorist attack. It is meant to instil fear within, and thereby intimidate, a wider 'target audience'.[17]

However, there is no theory on *how* these far-reaching psychological effects are actually formed, *how* they can have political repercussions, or *why* acts of terrorism can have such effects. As Yin has noted, "how" and "why" questions are more explanatory than other typical questions and a well-designed case study can answer these questions[18]. From the point of view of a researcher, the terrorist attack in Madrid offers an exceptional case, where different forms of political action are identifiable in the same context, and in relation to the same act of terrorism. Seldom is there an opportunity to analyse electoral results in such close proximity of an isolated act of terrorism. Furthermore, the public response in the aftermath of the attack was strong, meaning that there is plenty of material for research.

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[17] Hoffman 1998, 43-44.
[18] Yin 2009, 8-14.

The close proximity of elections also means that the time framing for the study can be short, in this case only four days. This makes it possible to use a wide variety of different kinds of material from different sources, and to analyse it with different methodological tools without making the study too extensive.

Above I used the word "exceptional" referring to the case I am studying. In the literature on case studies, it is common to specify the cases as exceptional, unique, critical, revelatory, typical, or longitudinal, when referring to the position of the case vis á vis the theory[19]. It is hard to define which is the case of the Madrid terrorist attack using these adjectives. It is true that it offers an exceptional case to study the relationship between electoral behaviour and terrorism due to the proximity of the attack and elections, but it could also be considered as a revelatory or critical case, because it can offer new information on the relation between acts of terrorism and responsive political and psychological action. This can challenge the existing definitions of terrorism, and test the theory proposed in this study. As Lappalainen has noted, in political science all cases are in a way exceptional and unique[20], and the subject of study is related more or less strictly to its context. This is also true in the case of the Madrid terrorist attack and its aftermath. Therefore it is hard, if not impossible, to draw the conclusion that the case could serve as a basis for any theoretical generalizations. It is ambitious enough to claim that the case offers significant complementary information for forming a theory on the response(s) to terrorism.

1.3.2. Background material

A single-case study that is embedded from three units of analysis requires tailored use of different kinds of materials. For each unit of analysis, empirical material is chosen so that it is possible to answer the questions "how" and "why" the political response to the terrorist attack was such as it was. Because one of the main interests in this study is to analyse how the crisis governance influenced the public response and electoral behaviour, it means that only publicly known aspects of the crisis governance are used in the analysis. This has no relevance for the analysis of public response or electoral behaviour, but it means that some of the aspects related to crisis governance are inevitably omitted from this study. A great

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[19] Yin 2009, 48-49; Laine et al. 2007, 31-34; Lappalainen 2007, 205-208.
[20] Lappalainen 2007, 207.

part of the governance during the days that frame the scope of this study happened behind the scenes, and within the limits of this study it is not possible to analyse those actions, even though they might be highly relevant to the outcomes of the events. A profound study on the "hidden politics" and on the role of the leadership would be extremely interesting, but quite impossible to carry out, since when Prime Minister Aznar left office in Moncloa after the PSOE won the elections, all the documents, minutes of the meetings, acts, decisions, notes, etc. from the period of March 11 to 14 were destroyed[21].

Earlier I mentioned the word governance to refer to the actions of the Government during the aftermath. Now I shall briefly define it, and in Chapter 4 do so more precisely. According to Tiihonen, governing and governance are processes of management and rule that involve the arrangement and interaction of national socio-political actors, institutions, processes and structures[22]. In this study the governance analysed is limited to public crisis governance, meaning that the focus is on the Spanish Government and its intentions to wield political power to manage the crisis. However, the word public has been omitted from the title of this unit of analysis, because it refers to the kind of governance that is planned and designed so that it is expected to have some specific outcomes for the public. Although the information policy of the Spanish Government is in the main role here, there are some aspects in governance, that were not planned to be part of the public governance, but they became public and influenced the final outcomes of the events.

The most important background material consists of Spanish media sources. Different media played a significant part in the meaning-making process of the attack, so in a way, media could be analysed separately. However, in Spain media has traditionally close ties to the political parties, and this case was no different. This means that they did not have as independent a role in the opinion formation as they should have in order to analyse them separately. Now that the role of the media is a matter of opinion, another argument is based on the research focus. Analysing the actions of the media would not have yielded any extra knowledge regarding the public response formation, nor on the responses to terrorism in general. However, media was important in disseminating information to the people. In the

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[21] Prime Minister Zapatero in his testimony at the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 22, 19).
[22] Tiihonen 2004, 18-19.

case of the Madrid attack, a great part of that information was based on the official communiqués of the Government, but also on opposite information and misinformation that were circulating. Radio and television were especially significant, since they could follow the events in Madrid practically in real time. Despite this fact and due to the availability of media sources, only printed press and media sources in the Internet are used in this study. Because the role of the media is not in focus here, this limitation on the selected sources for background information should not impair the credibility of this study.

The newspapers selected for this study are *El País*, which is the biggest quality newspaper in Spain with a normal circulation of approximately 426 000 copies[23], and *ABC,* with an approximate circulation of 277 000 copies daily [24]. The time period, as mentioned earlier, is mainly between March 11 and 14, 2004, but some of the later news with information on the events during those days are also used. The reason for selecting these two newspapers is that they represent the bipolarity of the press in the aftermath of the terrorist attack. *El País* belongs to the *Grupo PRISA* media house, which is known for its political allegiance to the centre-left, especially to the socialist PSOE. The same *Grupo PRISA* owns for example, the radio channel *SER*, which is also mentioned on some occasions in this study. Similarly *ABC* has traditionally close ties to the conservatives, and in the aftermath of the terrorist attack *ABC* remained relatively loyal to the official information of the Government. In addition to the news published in *El País* and *ABC*, some news from other media is used as background information. For example the database on the activity of ETA that is maintained by *elmundo.es* has been very useful.

Besides the media, other types of published material have also been used as background information. Perhaps one of the most important secondary sources related to the crisis governance was the research paper *Fear or Falsehood? Framing the 3/11 Terrorist Attacks in Madrid and Electoral Accountability* by José Olmeda (2005). Although not much academic research has been published on the March 11 attack and its consequences, there is plenty of other, mostly journalistic, literature related to it that was published quickly after the attack. A great part of the published literature is not very relevant for the purposes of this study, since it is often politically biased, or intended for non-academic readers. The

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[23] These figures are from 2007, published in "El País", Wikipedia [Internet document].
[24] Figures from 2005, published in "ABC (España)", Wikipedia [Internet document].

motivation in writing has been to promote some opinions on the causes and consequences of the events, or to write a simplistic narrative on the course of events without any theoretical analysis. In these cases the use of this literature as background material is limited. Nevertheless, some chronicles of the events have been useful. For example, the book *La Manipulation* by Jean Chalvidant (2004) served as a source for some references on the time of the events, if it has not been possible to find the exact timing from the used media sources. However, it is important to note that in different sources the timing of the events varies. For example, in the chronology of Jean Chalvidant, it says: "13h32 – Première conference de presse d'Ángel Acebes"[25], while José Olmeda says the same more approximately in his analysis on the framing process: "around 1:00pm"[26]. Some of these differences are caused by approximations as in the example above, but other differences may be due to different sources. Some channels broadcast the press conferences live, but others showed excerpts on them on the main news at 15:00 or at 21:00. This study normally uses the time when the discourse in question was made public the first time, but if there is a discrepancy in the sources, an approximation that has been verified from various sources has been used. Although the aim is to analyse the events with exact details, one has to keep in mind that even if information is delivered at some particular minute, it always takes some time to reach the entire public. Therefore the exact minutes are not so significant to the outcomes of the events, as is more or less the order of events. And according to the appraisal theory on emotions used in this dissertation to explain the individual response and as a basis for a possible political activism, people may make reappraisals of the situation at hand whenever new information comes to their knowledge. This means that at the individual level, timing is not relevant to the consequences of an event like an act of terrorism, but naturally in the larger social context, time framing can be significant. In spite of this, the exact minutes are not so relevant as approximations.

On some occasions I have used Wikipedia as a source for minor anecdotes. I am aware of its limitations, and of differing opinions on its validity as a source among scholars. Wikipedia articles are so-called fluid documents, meaning that they may change and lack formal disciplinary peer review. Indeed, in many politically sensitive issues it is needful to question the credibility of Wikipedia information. However, in many cases it is as accurate

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[25] Chalvidant 2004, 19.
[26] Olmeda 2005, 19.

as Encyclopaedia Britannica[27], and due to the recently increased control on sensitive articles[28], I find the source credible enough for the purposes for which I have used it. Furthermore, Wikipedia is also more accessible to readers than any other encyclopaedia.

1.3.3. Primary material

Because the study design is embedded from three different units of analysis, primary material is unit specific. All the sources of primary material are chosen for one, or both, of the following reasons: 1) their role in the course of events during the aftermath, or 2) because they can explain the processes of political decision-making in the crisis governance, individual appraisals, or voting decision. The material that played a role during the course of the events especially was gathered from multiple sources. It includes public actions, decisions and non-decisions, press releases, rumours, theories, observations, inferences, etc. Some of this material is naturally not true in the sense that the information content was not based entirely on fact, but it nevertheless played a role in the course of events.

The weakness of using different kinds of material is that it may lead to a biased selection process. Since the case of the Madrid terrorist attack and its aftermath is still polemic in Spain, it has been a difficult task to maintain neutrality. Many of the sources used are related to partisan interpretations on the course of events. However, the rationale behind the selectiveness is based on the public effects, not on their political content. The aftermath was intensely political, so ruling out politically coloured information would have made analysis impossible. People made their situational appraisals according to the information they had, whether it was true or not.

The primary material, besides the decisions and actions, for the analysis on the crisis governance consists of the official communiqués of the Government during the aftermath, and from the testimonies given in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Comisión de investigación sobre el 11 de marzo de 2004*). The press conferences of the representatives of the Government, most of all those given by Minister of the Interior Acebes and Prime

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[27] BBC News 15.12.2005: "Wikipedia survives research test" [Internet document].
[28] BBC News 25.8.2009: "Wikipedia to launch page controls" [Internet document].

Minister Aznar, were all televised and broadcast on all major television channels. Some excerpts from those public appearances can still be seen in *youtube.com*, but the content of official statements was also published word for word in the newspapers or literature used as background material in this study. The focus is on the content and timing of the public communiqués, not on the rhetorical aspects of the informing. Therefore video material on the press conferences has not been used. In order to keep the analysis compact, in the communiqués or testimonies only those parts of the material that are considered pertinent to the research questions are included in the text. These political discourses are contextualised with the rest of the events, mainly with the decisions and non-decisions of the political actors who played a significant role in the crisis governance and its effects.

Material acquired from the March 11 Committee of Enquiry records needs some specifications. The Committee of Enquiry was a political organ created by the Spanish Parliament in May 27, 2004, in order to:

> En primer lugar, esclarecer la verdad acerca de los hechos sucedidos los días 11 al 14 de marzo, así como los antecedentes y consecuentes que resulten coherentes con aquella finalidad. En segundo lugar, esclarecer los acontecimientos anteriores y posteriores a los atentados del 11 de marzo vinculados con estos y las actuaciones que han realizado sobre ellos los poderes del Estado.[29]
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> First of all, to clarify the truth of the events that took place from March 11 to 14, as well as of the antecedent and subsequent events that are consonant with this purpose. Secondly, to clarify the events before and after related to the attacks in March 11, and the actions that the governmental powers took in relation to them.

The Committee was composed of 5 deputies from the Socialist Parliamentary Group of the Congress of Deputies (PSOE), 5 deputies from the Popular Parliamentary Group (PP), and one from each of the following parliamentary groups: Catalan Group (deputy from *Convergència i Unió,* CiU), *Esquerra Republicana* (ERC), Basque Group (deputy from *Partido Nacionalista Vasco*, PNV), *Izquierda Verde – Izquierda Unida – Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds*, *Coalición Canaria*, and Mixed Group.

Testimonies from the March 11 Committee of Enquiry are dated between May 27 and December 15, 2004. All the minutes of the 50 sessions that were published[30] can be found in the website of the Spanish Congress of Deputies. Altogether there are 1,908 pages of

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[29] *Diario de sesiones* no. 1, 2.
[30] Sessions from 38 to 49 are not public.

testimony from 57 witnesses or specialists. The variety of the interviewees was wide, ranging from field level officials from the police and Civil Guard to the director of Europol Mariano Simancas Carrión, as well as academic specialists on Islamic activism (Jesús Núñez Villaverde), history of religion (Xabier Picaza Ibarrondo), and sociology (Manuel Castells Oliván). The main information of these testimonies for this study comes from the leading politicians, especially from the former Prime Minister Aznar, former Minister of the Interior Acebes, former Minister for Foreign Affairs Ana de Palacio y del Valle Lersundi, and Prime Minister Zapatero, and senior governmental officials like the former leader of the National Intelligence Centre (*Centro Nacional de Inteligencia,* CNI) Jorge Dezcallar de Mazarredo.

An informal rule during the hearings in the Committee was that besides the officials or politicians who were in power between March 11 and 14, also those who had the same posts during the committee hearings gave their testimonies. For example, former Minister of the Interior Acebes gave a statement in session number 18 on July 27, 2004, and his successor José Antonio Alonso Suárez in the following session number 19 on July 28, 2004. In this study the focus is naturally on those who were in charge of the situation during the immediate aftermath. However, an exception is made regarding those who took part in the political action in the opposition, but were interviewed as representatives of the new Government. Prime Minister Zapatero is one of these. He was the leader of the opposition during the period of the study and played a significant role in the public response formation, but since the PSOE won the General Elections on March 14, 2004, he gave evidence before the Committee of Enquiry in the capacity of Prime Minister.

The documents of the March 11 Committee of Enquiry follow double numbering. First, there are the numbers of the sessions, according to the order of the different sessions of the Committee. Then there are also the numbers of each diary of the sessions (*Diario de sesiones*) of the Congress deputies. For example, the testimony of the former Prime Minister Aznar was in session number 32, and it was published in *Diario de sesiones* number 21. In order to simplify this, when referring to the documents of the Committee of Enquiry, only the latter numbering is used.

Although the testimonies given in the Committee of Enquiry are political testimonies *a posteriori* to the time frames of this study – and thereby they cannot be considered as part of the formation of the response within the case context – using the testimonies helps to explain *why* relevant political actors did what they did, and *how* they reached the conclusions they did in the investigation of the attack during the period of this study. Since in the analysis of the second unit, public response, I used personal testimonies and histories, I considered it necessary also to use personal testimonies related to the crisis governance. However, it is useful to note that these testimonies before the Committee of Enquiry are very different from the much more intimate testimonies used in the analysis of the public response, since the committee was required to give a *political judgement* on the events related to the attack and its aftermath, mainly on the effectiveness on the terrorism prevention, police investigations of the attack, and Government's information policy. No legal proceedings were ever initiated in relation to the governance. This means that a lot of the information given in the Committee of Enquiry is biased because of the availability of hindsight knowledge in general, and more specifically because many of the interviewees and interviewers exploited the occasion to present their own, politically coloured theories on the course of events. Nevertheless, the Committee of Enquiry constitutes a valuable source of information given by key political decision-makers. It would otherwise be difficult to get to interview the same decision-makers, not to mention that those interviews would follow as an equal set-up for all, as in the Committee of Enquiry.

The primary material used in the analysis of the public response, again summed with the actions, consists of written texts, opinions, and testimonies of the people affected by the terrorist attack. They were published either in the press, or in some of the various Internet forums or blogs, which were used as forums to share emotions and opinions. They were all produced in the immediate aftermath of the attacks, and they reflect personal emotions, perceptions, and interpretations of the event. At the same time they represent the feelings and ways to respond to the crisis and are one important form of political action, because they may have influenced the response formation process of the others. As Mosca has noted, active Internet users are not only passive recipients of information, but active producers of new information, who are also active in the offline environment[31]. Most of

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[31] Mosca 2008, 48-51.

those testimonies that were published on the Internet and used in this study, are also published in the book *¡Pásalo!: Relatos y análisis sobre el 11-M y los días que le siguieron,* which is a collection of written opinions on the Internet. It is important to note, that there is no knowledge of the possible political affiliation or sympathies of the writers of those testimonies in the book, or of the testimonies directly selected from the Internet, because of the use of pseudonyms. However, using inferencing based on the nature of the websites and the content of the texts, almost all the writers could be identified as part of the political opposition during the aftermath, if such a label is needed.

The consequence of the selectiveness of empirical material is that the sample does not represent the opinions and feelings of the *majority* in Spain. It is commonly known in political science that small minorities can make a huge noise, and following the public discourses in the opinions may not give a complete picture of the opinions of the public as a whole. This is the case in Spain, too. Those who were active in the Internet forums and blogs were also part of the social malcontents that occupied the streets the evening and night before the general elections. They represent that section of the public that considered unconventional political action necessary and that is exactly the section of the public that is analysed in the chapter on public response.

The empirical material gathered from blogs and opinions in Internet forums is rather special, because it is at the same time "private" and "public". It was produced to express private thoughts and sentiments, but since it was published in the Internet, it is not purely private in the strictest sense of the word. The material was directed at others, mainly other people with more or less the same thoughts and sentiments, and it went through some process of selection. When the material was published in the press, the selection process was at least double, since first the person interviewed selects the information he or she is willing to give, and then the journalist selects which interviews to use, and which parts of each interview are to be published. When the material is published on Internet forums or blogs, the selection process is not so complicated. The person who writes a blog or puts an opinion in an Internet forum himself selects what to write. Normally there is no person to control the opinions that are published, or the control comes afterwards ruling out texts that are considered inappropriate. This selection process means, that the texts are meant to be part of the public debate, and to influence individual appraisal processes.

The third unit of analysis, electoral behaviour in the general elections of 2004, requires completely different material and analysing tools than the analysis of the crisis governance and public response. The intention is to explain why an electoral turnaround took place in Spain, and how it could be explained: did the terrorist attack exert influence, or were there some other factors that caused a significant part of the electorate to vote contrary to expectations before the attack?

The primary material for the electoral behaviour is naturally the outcome of the general elections. In the elections people voted for the Congress of Deputies, Senate, and in Andalusia for the President of the Autonomous Government (*Junta de Andalucía*) and bicameral Parliament of the Autonomous Region of Andalusia. However, the analysis focuses only on the elections of the Congress of Deputies, not on the other elections that were held at the same time, since this is where the future Government was elected. The results are published in the Internet in various websites, but the one used here is the database of the Spanish Ministry of Interior[32], where the results from all the elections from 1977 to the present day can be found. In the same website there is also useful information on the Spanish electoral system in general.

Another type of primary material consists of the results of different opinion barometers and surveys that help to analyse the reasoning and logic of the Spanish electorate. There are some references to the pre-electoral opinion polls that estimated the success of the most important political parties in the elections, but the main source of public opinion indicators used in this analysis is the Centre for Sociological Investigations (*Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas,* CIS), which has conducted surveys on the Spanish attitudes and public opinion since 1977. CIS has published most of its surveys and data related to it in its website, and the rest can be ordered from them.

One of the main surveys of CIS for this study was conducted between March 23 and April 3, 2004, where the people were asked about their reasons for voting, especially related to the terrorist attack and its consequences. Although the results offer an excellent basis for an inference about voting behaviour in general, there is a shortcoming in the question

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[32] "Resultados electorales", Spanish Ministry of Interior [interned document].

formulation in the CIS survey: it does not make a distinction between the terrorist attack and the crisis governance related to it. All the questions are in the form: "did the terrorist attack and its consequences..." without specifying, what is understood by the consequences. This means that the interviewees can interpret the consequences as they like, and the explanatory value of the results diminishes.

Using polls in the electoral analysis is somewhat limited. A typical criticism of polls is that it is not the same thing to make a real decision in the elections than to respond to a survey. To vote is a politically significant act, and to express an opinion in a survey does not have the same significance as a political gesture. However, the most important limitation in the use of polls is that people tend to explain their behaviour more in terms related to rationality, than in emotive terms. This makes it difficult to find out, how much the emotional reaction influenced the voting in Spain.

All English translations from Spanish have been prepared by the author.

1.3.4. Methods of analysing

The overall aim of this study is to explain the dynamics of the political responses to the terrorist attack in Madrid within the chosen case context: Spanish society. In other words, the question is about the *process* in which the consequences were formed, meaning that the method could be called process-tracing[33] inside a historical case. However, the research design is further developed into three sub-units of analysis, which make it easier to form an overall picture of the events in Spain, and therefore facilitate the process-tracing. In spite of this division, there is no significant variety in the methods of analysis. All the most important research questions in all three units of analysis are very similar: *Why* did the political decision-makers lead the crisis as they did? *How* did the governance influence the appraisal processes in the individual level? *Why* did the public respond as strongly as it did, and *how* was the public response formed from individual appraisal to public political action? *Why* did the people vote differently in the elections from what was expected before the attack? *How* did the appraisal process influence the voting decision? Answering these questions first requires a detailed description of the course of events, actions, and decisions.

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[33] George & Bennet 2005, 205-232.

Then it requires explanation. As Bruno Latour has written: "Actors know what they do and we have to learn from them not only what they do, but how and why they do it"[34]. This means that the "why" question is best answered by letting the people themselves describe their emotions, reasoning, decisions and behaviour during the aftermath. Answering the "how" questions with an explanation is done by reflecting the actions, including those in written or spoken form, against the framework of appraisal theory on emotions.

The first and most important goal in this study was to construct a detailed description of the course of the events from the attack until general elections. In the writing of this description of past events, ideas from political history were kept in mind. Using this point of view familiar to political history, although the case under study should be considered more specifically as *contemporary* history[35] (when the closing comments of this analysis were written, five years had elapsed since the attack), it should be underlined that since the focus is on a process that deals with a *change,* there are rarely specific ending or starting points to that change. Changes occur within a simultaneous continuity[36], or *continuum[37]*. This means that many things remain the same when a change is under way, and the change is only related to some specific aspects in the context. This may sound paradoxical, but an idealistic point of view is based on this assumption of "unity in diversity", or "identity in difference"[38]. The past can be therefore understood as a seamless web, where a historian makes artificial markings and framings of events with the benefit of hindsight. This is also applicable to the case under study. Although it could be stated that the responses to the terrorist attack of 11-M started at 7:39 on the morning of March 11, 2004, with the first explosion in the trains, there were events prior to this that both influenced the outcomes of the attack, and led to the attack in the first place. People did not only respond to the attack, but acted according to their estimations of the political situation prior to the explosions. Similarly, the effects of the attack did not stop when the polling stations closed on Sunday evening, March 14. Far from that, since the political debate goes on today in relation to the causal attribution of the attack. There is still no universally acceptable closure to the

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[34] Latour 1999, 19.
[35] Also known as modern history, current history, or history of the present. Aróstegui 2004, 23-31. Definitive factor that makes a difference between history of the past and contemporary history, is that the contemporary history is so recent that the events under study are experienced personally by the study subject, but normally also by the researcher. Aróstegui 2004, 31-36.
[36] Renvall 1983, 379.
[37] Aróstegui 2004, 12.
[38] Boucher 1985, 108.

traumatic event, and it is unlikely that there ever will be from the point of view of contemporary history.

When writing a reconstruction of historical events, especially when they are contemporary events, certain aspects that have to be taken into account. One of the basic assumptions underlying this study is that individual limitations, political biases and available information influence the appraisal process related to the terrorist attack. The same assumption is applied to the authors of any historical study, since no one is free from such limitations. There may be "truth out there", but is impossible to reconstruct it exactly as it was. As Oakeshott has stated, the past is dead and it is not possible to revive it. Facts and real happenings are past reality, but on the other hand, that past is attached to the present. History is therefore an abstract dimension of the present.[39] Contrary to the view of Oakeshott, Collingwood claims that the past can be reconstructed without history losing its identity as a past course of events. This is possible when the historian revives and reproduces the thoughts and events of the past.[40] This means that even though reconstructing the past may be impossible, it is possible to do research on past events. Whether or not I, in the role of an historian, am now successful in reviving and reproducing the course of the events in Spain between March 11 and 14, 2004 is therefore not relevant from the point of view of the real happenings in Spain, but from the point of view of the practical discourses on those events[41] that take time and place in the present.

One of the core ideas that has influenced the structure of this study, was, as the citation from Bruno Latour suggested, to give a voice to those participating in the events following the terrorist attack. A great part of the empirical material is from political decision-makers or ordinary members of the public who were in Madrid, or elsewhere in Spain, during the aftermath. From the methodological point of view this means that when analysing these texts, the aim has been to understand the intentions and actions of the one who has produced the text. The producer of the text – text has to be understood here widely, referring to written or oral discourses, testimonies, observations, etc. – is at the same time a political actor, who influences the course of the events in this case both by doing things,

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[39] Oakeshott 1985, 146-147.
[40] Collingwood 1946, 213-217.
[41] Oakeshott 1983, 44.

and by producing texts that have a meaning within the specific political context[42]. All the chosen texts are therefore also part of the political action. Combining the textual analysis with an analysis of other types of political behaviour, in this case voting decision-making, crisis governance and social protests, makes it possible to answer questions like *why* people protested against the Government during the aftermath, and *how* they appraised the situation after the attack. This means that the focus is on the effects and contents of the texts, rather than on the linguistic analysis on the words or concepts used [43]. In the methodological tradition, this would be rhetoric analysis that focuses on the argumentation content, instead of the style. Using the terminology familiar in rhetoric analysis, the subject analysed in the texts is the illocution, not the locution[44].

When the focus is on the inner meaning of the text, what is important is what the author or actor has wanted to say, why, and on the other hand, how that influenced the wider political context. Did he want to influence the recipient, persuade him? Was he successful or not? What kind of arguments did he use? What kind of situational analysis did he make? How did he perceive the situation, and why? In other words, the aim is to reflect political though during the course of the events by using the framework of appraisal theory. When analysing political thought, it is necessary to know the context of the actor, his intentions, aims, in what context he thought what, and what actions he took[45]. Since my dissertation is focused on a very strictly framed case, many of the above questions are quite easily inferred. Personal inferences – appraisals – especially when they were exteriorized with texts or other actions, intertwined with the larger political context, and formed the basis for the political responses to the attack in Madrid.

The last unit of analysis, electoral behaviour, requires a slightly different kind of analytical approach than the other two units. Although it is hypothesized that the crisis governance played a significant part in the voting decision, and that the appraisal process was also significant in explaining the electoral overturn, it was not possible to use similar qualitative material in the electoral analysis than in the other two units of analysis. In the public response it was mainly supporters of the political opposition of the PP's Government who

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[42] Boucher 1985, 193.
[43] Boucher 1985, 194-195.
[44] Terms here as in the research on rhetoric. See e.g. Palonen & Summa 1996.
[45] Pocock 1985, 5-6.

participated in the protests and the chosen empirical material represented that part of the public. However, in the elections there were much more extensive sections of society participating, and no blogs, opinions, or testimonies could represent the whole electorate. Therefore I decided to rely on a couple of surveys conducted soon after the elections. Although personally I might have formulated the questions differently for this study, I considered that making a survey of my own some years after the actual voting decision would not have enough analytical relevance. People tend to rationalize their actions with the benefit of hindsight, and a changed political situation simply means changes in the responses. However, electoral analysis is not apart from the rest of the study, since the knowledge gained from the survey results is reflected in the theoretical framework of this study.

1.4. EARLIER STUDIES AND LITERATURE

1.4.1. Literature on the March 11 attack and its aftermath

The March 11 attack in Spain was followed very rapidly by a stream of literature, which could be called investigative journalism, on the events before and after the explosions. Most of those publications were written by journalists, and based on personal observations and opinions. Quite typically the first wave of literature had compelling titles such as *11-M: La Respuesta*[46], written by Iñaki Pacheco López. Pacheco's book was already published in April 2004, and mainly contained extractions from the *elmundo.es* website, a simple description of terrorism, and a personal analysis of the events during the aftermath. Another similar journalistic view on the events was Rosa María Artal's *11-M – 14-M: Onda Expansiva*[47] (2004), which was published less than a month after the attack.

It is quite typical of this first wave of literature on 11-M that there is a strong political bias. This type of literature is so common in Spain that it would offer a sufficient study subject for further research. Just to mention some examples of this kind of politically motivated interpretations on the events, the book *Días de infamia: Del 11-M al 14-M*[48] by Enrique de Diego is worth mentioning. His book was also published in April 2004, and there is no

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[46] "11-M: the answer".
[47] "March 11- 14: a shockwave".
[48] "Days of disgrace".

attempt to conceal the political sympathies of the author. The book is dedicated to "los nueve millones setecientos mil votantes del PP, que, con coraje civil, no cedieron al chantaje terrorista"[49].

Most radical examples of this politically coloured literature are conspiracy theories. This genre can be personalised in Luis del Pino, who is an active promoter of conspiracy theories in all possible arenas. In his book *Las Mentiras del 11-M: 192 falsedades sobre la mayor masacre terrorista que ha sufrido España*[50] (2006) he attempts to question details related to the investigations of the attack. His theory is that the PSOE tampered with the evidence so that it could blame Aznar's Government for the attack and win the elections. However, the "evidence" is typical of all conspiracy theories: it concentrates on small details one by one questioning their credibility with complex theories that raise more new questions rather than answering any of the existing ones. For example, he claims that the van that was found in Álcala de Henares contained no explosives at all before the police arrived and planted them[51]. Del Pino also insists that ETA was behind the attack. Conspiracy theories are also common among more serious authors. For example Jaime Ignacio del Burgo Tajadura, who is a politician affiliated to the PP, and a member of the March 11 Committee of Enquiry as a representative of the PP, wrote a book called *11-M: Demasiadas preguntas sin respuesta*[52]. In his book he tries to prove that there was a connection between ETA and some Islamic radicals related to the attack, and questions the results of the Committee of Enquiry by saying that "En muchos casos la Comisión ni siquiera ha intentado investigar nada"[53]. Although some of the terrorists of 11-M had been in the same prisons as some condemned ETA activists, del Burgo Tajadura is not able to present any evidence on *de facto* cooperation between the authors of 11-M and ETA. His criticism on the Committee of Enquiry is whatsoever legitimate. The Committee was a political organ that reflected the balance of power in Parliament, and including those parties that were relevant stakeholders in the events following the attack into the committee making a judgement on those same events, cannot lead to unbiased results.

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[49] "those nine millions seven hundred thousand voters of PP, who courageously did not concede to terrorist extortion." de Diego 2004, 5.
[50] "Lies of 11-M: 192 falsehoods on the biggest terrorist massacre that Spain has suffered".
[51] Del Pino 2006, 20-21.
[52] "11-M: too many questions without an answer". Del Burgo Tajadura 2006.
[53] "In many cases the Committee did not even try to investigate anything". Del Burgo Tajadura 2006, 19.

Some of the journalistic literature has been useful to this study. For example, Carlos Cué's *¡Pásalo!: Los cuatro días de marzo que cambiaron un país* (gives an interesting, although unconfirmed, point of view on the first moments of the flash-mob phenomenon in Spain on Saturday, March 13. Since Carlos Cué is a journalist for *El País,* the same criticism of his book has to be taken into account as in the use of *El País* in general: possible political symphaties may cause a bias. The slightly later published Miguel Platón's *11-M – Cómo la Yihad puso de rodillas a España*[54] (2005) contains a conclusion that the attack caused an exceptional political situation, and the Government failed to realize this in its information policy[55]. Platón believes that with political unity it would have been possible to overcome the crisis. Furthermore, Casimiro García-Abadillo's *11-M: La Venganza* (2004) offers an interesting detailed narrative of the attack and its aftermath. Naturally this information at its best serves as a background material for this dissertation.

There is a lot of journalistic literature on 11-M, but relevant academic studies in relation to 11-M and its aftermath have been surprisingly rare. Quite soon after the attack a few very useful research articles were published. From the point of view of this dissertation, the most important ones have been the article on framing campaigns by José Olmeda already mentioned, Javier Noya's *Del 11-M al 14-M: Estrategia yihadista, elecciones generales y opinión pública*[56] (2004), and Narciso Michavila's *Guerra, terrorismo y elecciones: incidencia electoral de los atentados islamistas en Madrid*[57] (2005). All these three studies were done at the *Real Instituto Elcano*, which is a private non-partisan institution founded in 2001, and according to their own web page: "for the purpose of conducting an exhaustive study of the interests of Spain and of Spanish people in international affairs and to place its findings before the public at large"[58]. Besides these, Edurne Uriarte's research *Terrorismo y democracia tras el 11-M* (2004) and Fernando Reinares' and Antonio Elorza's (editors) book *El Nuevo terrorismo islamista: Del 11-S al 11-M* (2004) on the attack and its aftermath have also been used.

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[54] "11-M – How Spain was brought to its knees by Jihad".
[55] Platón 2005, 451-452.
[56] "From 11-M to 14-M: Jihadist Strategy, General Elections, and Public Opinion".
[57] "War, Terrorism, and Elections: Electoral Impact of the Islamist Terror Attacks on Madrid".
[58] Real Instituto Elcano: "Definition" [Internet document].

1.4.2. Literature on the effects of terrorism

Whereas there is plenty literature on terrorism, there is not as much literature on the effects of terrorism on political behaviour. One of the best attempts to explain and theorize the effects of terrorism is the so-called Terror Management Theory. This theory is best presented in the book by Pyszczynski, Solomon and Greenberg: *In The Wake of 9/11: The Psychology of Terror* (2003). Although the focus of Pyszczynski et al. is slightly different from that in this dissertation, their work has been very useful. Appraisal theory on emotions is congruent with the ideas of Pyszczynski et al. Similarly the work of Vamık Volkan could be mentioned here. In his book *Blind Trust: Large Groups and Their Leaders in Times of Crisis and Terror* (2004), Volkan uses a psychoanalytical approach to explain the role of the leadership and group identities in exceptional times, for example after a traumatic act of terrorism. In my opinion, the idea of group identity needs to be added to appraisal theory, since that explains why some traumatic events are considered personally relevant even though there is no direct physical link to the person making an appraisal. This is largely discussed in Chapter 3.

The relationship between terrorism and conventional democratic political systems has been extensively studied, although, in my opinion, there is still a need for more theoretical approaches. Important work on this aspect has been done by Paul Wilkinson, who analysed the relationship between terrorism and liberal democracies in his monograph *Terrorism versus Democracy: A Liberal State Response* (2005). Alan Dershowitz has also touched on the same topic in his critical, and even polemic work *Why terrorism works: Understanding the threat, responding to the challenge* (2003). Adding to these, many scholars have focused on the problems related to counterterrorism programmes and civic liberties and human rights, especially after the cases of Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo prison became public knowledge[59]. Besides the titles mentioned, several others, more general ones, also touch the topic briefly. Despite the wide body of literature on terrorism and its effects, the focus in political science tends, quite naturally, to be on the decision-makers and terrorists instead of the targeted citizen. Exceptions to this are, for example, the studies by Rasinski, Berktold, Smith and Albertson (2002); Yechiam, Barron and Erév (2005); and Slone (2000). Rasinski et al. conducted a follow-up study on American attitudes, changes of behaviour, etc. in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, and Yechiam et al. focused on the role

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[59] E.g. Whittaker 2009; Dempsey & Cole 2006.

of personal experience and different patterns of response in the case of "Al-Aqsa Intifada" in Israel. Slone on the other hand studied how different groups of people responded to news of terrorism, measuring their anxiety levels. However, much work has to be done in order to put the results of those studies into a wider political context.

In psychology the research on the effects of terrorism can be divided roughly into two categories: those that study the effects of isolated acts of terrorism, like for example the case of 9/11[60] and Oklahoma City bombing[61], and those that study the effects of long term terrorism campaigns, like in the context of Northern Ireland or Palestine-Israel[62]. Even in the case of isolated acts on terrorism the focus has been also on the long-term effects of the event, especially from the psychiatric point of view. The occurrence of diagnosed disorders, most importantly post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)[63], has been widely mapped in different kinds of contexts. The psychiatric consequences of 11-M have also already been studied among the injured victims, and the general public from one of the most central communities touched by the attack: Alcalá de Henares, and rescue workers[64]. However, since the main interest of these studies has been in mapping disorders instead behavioural responses, their relevance to this dissertation is limited. Accordingly, some studies on the general response to traumatic events offer more reason to develop a theory on the response to terrorist action.

Ginny Sprang noted in her article on the impact of isolated acts of terrorism, that many aspects of the psychological effects of terrorism have already received much attention, whereas considerable gaps remain. For example the long-term psychological effects of exposure to trauma, personal risk factors, different coping strategies, etc. have been studied[65], but comparison between the effects of isolated acts of terrorism and long-term terrorist campaigns is still needed. Another interesting question to study would also be the role of society and cultural factors in the coping process. Furthermore, as explained at the beginning of Chapter 3 is explained, many researchers of terrorism concede, that there are

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[60] E.g. Matsaganis & Payne 2005; Friedman et al. 2004; Luminet et al. 2004; Pyszczynski et al. 2003; Huddy et al. 2002.
[61] Sprang 2003.
[62] Muldoon 2003; Punamäki 1987.
[63] Gabriel et al. 2007; Sprang 2003.
[64] Gabriel et al. 2007.
[65] Sprang 2003, 133.

some shortcomings in terrorism research, especially when it comes to taking into account the whole context in which terrorist actions are executed.

In this dissertation I try to answer these shortcomings in terrorism research, and to build a bridge between psychological knowledge on the effects on terrorism and political science knowledge on terrorism and political behaviour, decision-making and political activism. There are already several similar interdisciplinary approaches to traumatic experiences and political activism. For example Kent M. Jennings and Ellen Andersen have written a couple of very interesting articles on pain and loss experiences and activism, most of all focusing on AIDS activists[66]. Similarly, the article by De Castella et al. (2009) on the fear appeals in political rhetoric about terrorism contributed much to the theoretical framework of this dissertation. In that article appraisal theory on emotions was used in an analysis of political discourses, which gave me the idea of trying how well it would fit the study of the different kinds of political responses to an isolated act of terrorism, as was the case in the Madrid terrorist attack, in a larger political context that takes into account other situational factors, like the actions, decisions, non-decisions, etc. of all the relevant stakeholders during the aftermath.

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[66] Jennings & Andersen 2003; Jennings 1999; Jennings & Andersen 1996.

2. DEFINING TERRORISM

This study has two dimensions: first of all practical, where the focus is on the events of the case in question. Relevant questions are: What happened in Spain after the terrorists had exploded their bombs in the local trains? What kinds of political responses did it cause? Why did the Government lose its public support? The second dimension is related to the theories on terrorism. What is terrorism? What effects does it have? How do people respond to terrorist actions? Can a theory on the responses to terrorism be formed?

The aim of this second chapter is to form a theoretical basis to the second dimension of this study. First the concept of terrorism has to be discussed. This is a difficult task, since there is no commonly accepted definition of terrorism. As Martha Crenshaw points out:

> It is thus necessary to recognize that an important aspect of terrorism is its social construction, which is relative to time and place, thus to historical context. It is not a neutral descriptive term. Even scholarly definitions of terrorism are subjective because they must take into account ordinary language uses of the term, which contain value judgements.[…] Since "terrorism" is a political label, it is an organizing concept that both describes the phenomenon as it exists and offers a moral judgement. A label is useful shorthand, combining descriptive, evocative, and symbolic elements, but its meanings are inherently flexible and ambiguous. They may even be contradictory.[67]

After defining this central concept of the study, it has to be put into a context. Terrorism is not an isolated method of action, since it is the wider political context that makes specific acts of violence terrorism, and others not. A central hypothesis in this study is that terrorist action always causes an emotional reaction, but, depending on how the targeted people appraise the larger political circumstances, that reaction may have various outcomes. Before going to the empirical part of this case study, some theoretical points of views are now explained.

2.1. POLITICAL ASPECTS

One of the main characteristics of the term terrorism is its connection with the current political context. Looking back on the conceptual history, it can be observed that the term has been used to refer to many different types political violence, depending on the political

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[67] Crenshaw 1995, 8-9.

points of view[68]. As underlined in the previous citation from Martha Crenshaw, "terrorism" is an ambiguous term. Besides influencing political discourses, this ambiguity has also influenced academic research on terrorism. Since there is no politically neutral and commonly accepted definition of terrorism in political science, it is hard to conduct research on the phenomenon without using a lot of effort to explain which concept of terrorism is used and why one has chosen that one. And even then, politics remains present. No definition can ignore how the term is used in the "real world", or then it is not a good definition. Therefore in defining terrorism it must be born in mind that:

> In contemporary politics, calling adversaries "terrorists" is a way of depicting them as fanatic and irrational so as to foreclose the possibility of compromise, draw attention to the real or imagined threat to security, and promote solidarity among the threatened.[69]

Crenshaw made her observation over a decade ago, but it has not lost its relevance. Quite the contrary, the words terrorist and terrorism are now, in the post 9/11 era, more demonized than ever before.

From the political point of view it has always been more important to define *who* is a terrorist, than *what* terrorism is[70]. In practice, successful labelling has opened up a variety of means to fight against the "terrorist" organisation that would not have been possible without the labelling. Since terrorism has often been considered one of the most important threats to security, even such measures have been accepted in the fight against terrorism that are questionable from the point of view of human rights and rule of law. For example, the existence of Guantanamo prison would not be possible at all without the extreme, even diabolical meaning attached to terrorism after the events of 9/11. Guantanamo prison may be the most extreme example of an exaggerated response to terrorism, but from the legal point of view it must be underlined that many countries have special laws separating terrorism from other types of criminal activity. The American Patriot Act and the British Prevention of Terrorism Act are typical examples of these. The main function of such legislation is to enable State systems to work more efficiently against terrorism, than against other criminal activity. However, the problem seems to be the relatively unclear definition of terrorism that is not necessarily used consistently.

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[68] E.g. Laqueur 2001; Hoffman 1998, 13-44.
[69] Crenshaw 1995, 9.
[70] Harle 2002, 31-32.

Even if it is politically very important to be able to name who is a terrorist and who is not, the meaning of terrorism has also its own life. Martha Crenshaw describes the situation following way:

> [T]he users of political language are not entirely free to shape it; once concepts are constructed and endowed with meaning, they take on a certain autonomy, especially when they are adopted by the news media, disseminated to the public, and integrated into a general context of norms and values.[71]

Anyone can observe the diverse use of "terror" in popular language, since nowadays the word is used to label something simply unacceptable and bad, due to its very negative connotation. It is used as a moral judgement more than as a description of a certain kind of political violence. In common language the word can be found in a variety of contexts: smokers "terrorize" non-smokers, speeding drivers "terrorize" other people in traffic, computer hackers are "cyberterrorists", drug dealers are "narcoterrorists", etc.[72] The danger in this usage lies not only in the confusion between "real" terrorism and the general activity of breaking norms, but also in the inflation of the meaning, because it may lead to an escalation of violence. How can you terrorize anyone any more, if, according to the common language, people are already "terrorized" by frenzied drivers, inconsiderate smokers, and malevolent hackers? If "terrorism" is ubiquitous, how is one type of terrorism different from another? This can lead to two different hypotheses which are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but coexisting: The first one is that people become inured to terrorism, and in order to be "terrorised" by any act of terrorism, those acts have to be more destructive than before[73]. This may be the case especially when it is possible to detach oneself from the problem, in other words when the threat of terrorism is not too immediate, or it is easily avoided, like for example by not going into areas "contaminated" by the problem[74]. The news threshold on terrorist attacks in Iraq or Afghanistan, would suggest that the more the crisis is prolonged, the more and more mortal victims are required in terrorist attacks to make the news in Europe. The second hypothesis is that people become afraid of everything. They lose their basic trust in other people because their sense of security is undermined, and they are very sensitive to any kind of threats, especially when they are close at hand. Contrary to the news threshold example, terrorism may also make

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[71] Crenshaw 1995, 9.
[72] See e.g. Paastela 2005, 19.
[73] Neumann & Smith call this as an "escalation trap" (2005, 588).
[74] See for example Yechiam, Barron & Erév 2005.

the news without any victims. In 2007 several threats of terrorist attacks in the UK attracted a lot of attention. The most remarkable of these occurred on July 29 and 30. First two unexploded car bombs were found in London, and the following day two men tried to crash a car loaded with a home made bomb into Glasgow International Airport. Both of these badly prepared and easily foiled attacks were featured in the international media, and alert levels were raised in many countries.[75]

Despite the problematic use of the word terrorism, the phenomenon itself has become international, and international cooperation is needed in the fight against it. This naturally requires that all the cooperating parties use the same concept of terrorism. Although a lot of work has been done to reach agreements on the definition, there are only few so far. For example, the United Nations has not been able to define terrorism in a way that would please all Member States. One of the few international organisations that has been able to decide upon a common definition on terrorism is the European Union. Soon after 9/11 the European Union drew up its strategy on "combatting terrorism"[76], and one of the most central parts of the strategy was a common legal definition of terrorism. Before the agreement on the common definition in 2002, only France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom had specific legislation on terrorist offences[77]. The EU definition of terrorism can be used as an example of a relatively typical organisational definition:

Article 1 – Terrorist offences and fundamental rights and principles
1. Each Member State shall take the necessary measures to ensure that the intentional acts referred to below in points (a) to (i), as defined as offences under national law, which, given their nature or context, may seriously damage a country or an international organisation where committed with the aim of:
  - seriously intimidating a population, or
  - unduly compelling a Government or international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, or
  - seriously destabilising or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organisation,
shall be deemed to be terrorist offences:
(a) attacks upon a person's life which may cause death;
(b) attacks upon the physical integrity of a person;
(c) kidnapping or hostage taking;
(d) causing extensive destruction to a Government or public facility, a transport system, an infrastructure facility, including an information system, a fixed platform located on the

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[75] Wikipedia: "2007 UK terrorist incidents" [Internet document].
[76] In the EU language "combat" is used instead of "war". Only the UK uses the term "war against terror". Eloranta 2007, 369.
[77] Eloranta 2005, 226.

continental shelf, a public place or private property likely to endanger human life or result in major economic loss;
(e) seizure of aircraft, ships or other means of public or goods transport;
(f) manufacture, possession, acquisition, transport, supply or use of weapons, explosives or of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons, as well as research into, and development of, biological and chemical weapons;
(g) release of dangerous substances, or causing fires, floods or explosions the effect of which is to endanger human life;
(h) interfering with or disrupting the supply of water, power, or any other fundamental natural resource the effect of which is to endanger human life;
(i) threatening to commit any of the acts listed in (a) to (h).

Article 2 – Offences relating to a terrorist group
1. For the purpose of this Framework Decision, 'terrorist group' shall mean: a structured group of more than two persons established over a period of time, acting in concert to commit terrorist offences. 'Structured group' shall mean a group that is not randomly formed for the immediate commission of an offence and that does not need to have formally defined roles for its members, continuity of its membership or a developed structure.

2. Each Member State shall take the necessary measures to ensure that the following intentional acts are punishable:
(a) directing a terrorist group;
(b) participating in the activities of a terrorist group, including by supplying information or material resources, or by funding its activities in any way, with knowledge of the fact that such participation will contribute to the criminal activities of the terrorist group.[78]

The EU legal definition of terrorism is quite comprehensive: it names several types of offences that constitute terrorism, and specifies what a terrorist group is. However, it includes a couple of points that may create problems when the definition is used in practice. First, saying that terrorism is "committed with the aim of" intimidating, destabilising, destroying, or compelling to certain policy can leave room for speculation, since it is the court system of the targeted Member State who decides what the "aim" of every particular action has been. This can lead to a situation where any offence that destabilizes the established power structure can be regarded as "terrorism". For example, there may be a temptation to categorize vandalism, boycotts, civic disobedience, etc. as terrorism, since they all include the aspect of deliberate intimidation. Second, since the definition also includes violence against material targets, many single-issue movements could be accused of perpetrating terrorism. Some organisations within the anti-globalisation and animal rights movements especially have engaged in violence against material targets with the aim of intimidation, but they have refrained from violence against human targets. According to the EU definition, this could be deemed as terrorism. Perhaps kicking a window of

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[78] Council of the European Union: "Council framework decision of 13 June 2002 on combating terrorism (2002/475/JHA)" [Internet document].

McDonald's during an anti-globalisation demonstration does not fulfil the idea of causing "major economic loss" in order to be categorized as terrorism, but for example, some attacks on fur farms have been so severe that individual entrepreneurs have gone bankrupt. Even if such activism has not yet been deemed to be terrorism by any European court, it is problematic that a legal definition leaves room for such interpretation. However, it is understandable that the EU bureaucrats, or those of any other organisation, formulate their definitions on terrorism so as to facilitate the future actions of that organisation and protects the established power structures. For the same reason such organisational definitions, even if they are functional for the legal system, have often little use outside the organisation itself.

Regarding the problem in using the "aims" of the perpetrator as a core part of the definition, it may also be that it is not sufficient that the actor or group itself openly aims at terrorising people for the act to be defined as a terrorist act. For example, Pekka-Eric Auvinen, the perpetrator of the school massacre in Jokela, Finland, claimed that his aim was to terrorize and destroy, but his atrocity only managed to shock the nation. His vague political message[79] and lack of threat continuity – he was not part of any movement as perhaps are suicide bombers in Palestine – made it impossible to consider the school massacre an act of terrorism. After the school massacre in 2007, there were several threats against Finnish schools, and a massacre was carried out in September 2008, but there was no political message, demands, nor movement behind these crimes, so it is impossible to consider this kind of "nihilistic trend" as part of the terrorism phenomenon[80].

Despite the political interests that make it difficult to find a common definition on terrorism, Martha Crenshaw argues that a neutral definition is possible without losing the capacity to use the term in political discourse, saying that: "Labelling an action "terrorist" is not in itself a moral claim."[81] Requirements of neutrality and political functionality may not be as difficult to meet as is often thought. One way to do it is by separating the actors from the action itself. If it is possible to define clearly and in an unbiased way, what

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[79] Auvinen left a "Media pack" in the Internet to explain his actions [Internet document].
[80] There are some differing opinions among scholars, for example Aaltola: "Koulusurmaaja rinnastuu itsemurhapommittajaan" ("The school killer can be equated with a suicide bomber"), Helsingin Sanomat 25.9.2008.
[81] Crenshaw 1983, 5.

terrorist action is, the definition may also serve if necessary in the labelling process as well. Seeing terrorism as a method, or as a strategy of "coercive diplomacy"[82], that includes certain contextual factors makes it relatively easy to recognise the phenomenon when it occurs. Then "terrorist" is an individual, group or an organisation that uses that method. By making this distinction between the action and actors, the remaining problem for the politicians still willing to use the word "terrorist", is: how much terrorist action is required to earn the label "terrorist"? This may seem an awkward question, but this has been the main problem in the discourses on who are terrorists and who are not. Terrorism is normally just a method among other methods, and many organisations can use a variation of conventional and perfectly legal methods concurrently with terrorist methods. For example, Hamas and Hezbollah are known to have humanitarian social programmes to support their own people at the same time as they have been targeting their enemy with terrorist methods. Actually it is very rare that the sole aim of a terrorist organisation is to "intimidate" and terrorise. Therefore it might be worth considering if the term "terrorist" should be used at all in political discourses, not to mention academic discourses. It is an equally valid term as "murderer": it can be used in common language, or to refer to the criminal in a specific context where the act of murder takes place, but referring to that same person with that word in another context is simply absurd, since the roles of every person, being a murderer, terrorist, police, or judge, are always context related[83]. Naturally this conclusion does not rule out the fact that there are still individuals and organisations that have used, use, and are prepared to use *terrorism* as a part of their strategy.

2.2. DEFINITIONS WITHIN TERRORISM RESEARCH

Similar problems to those preventing agreements on the political definitions of terrorism are to some degree also present in terrorism research as. Even though many scholars have presented well established and well argued proposals on the definition, so far the field of terrorism research lacks a common definition. It seems unlikely that any agreement on the

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[82] Neumann & Smith 2005.
[83] When it comes to terrorism, this complexity of context dependent roles is emphasised, since quite often "terrorists" can have a valued status in their support group for reasons other than practising terrorist action: For example, they may be important leaders of ethnic, religious, nationalist, etc. movements, and using a terrorist strategy may be only a small phase in their careers.

definition will be reached in the immediate future[84]. Most scholars that are writing on terrorism use their own definitions, or use one or more definitions borrowed from other scholars.

Despite the variety of definitions, there are some common elements in them. According to Schmid and Jongman, violence or use of force is involved in 83.5 % of the definitions. After that, the most common definitional elements were: political (65 %), "fear" or "terror" (51 %), threat (47%), psychological effects and reactions (41.5%), victim-target differentiation (37.5%), systematic and organized action (32%), and method of combat (30.5%).[85] Although the three most common elements were found in more than a half of the definitions studied, the results of Schmid's and Jongman's study gives us a picture of how much variety there is in the definitions of terrorism. Schmid and Jongman made their comparison as early as in 1984, but it continues to be representative of the field[86]. The conceptual discrepancies that are very present in the terrorism research have not prevented scholars from studying terrorism.

After studying the variation between different definitions of terrorism, Schmid and Jongman themselves made an important effort in order to resolve the definitional problems of terrorism when they presented the following, rather lengthy, definition:

> Terrorism is a method of combat in which random or symbolic victims serve as an instrumental *target of violence*. These instrumental victims share group or class characteristics which form the basis for their selection for victimization. Through previous use of violence or the credible threat of violence other members of that group or class are put in a *state of chronic fear (terror)*. This group or class, whose members' sense of security is purposefully undermined, is the *target of terror*. The victimization of the target of violence is considered extranormal by most observers from the witnessing audience on the basis of its atrocity, the time (e.g., peacetime) or place (not a battlefield) of victimization, or the disregard for rules of combat accepted in conventional warfare. The norm violation creates an attentive audience beyond the target of terror; sectors of this audience might in turn form the main object of manipulation. The purpose of this indirect method of combat is either to immobilize the target of terror in order to produce disorientation and/or compliance, or to mobilize secondary *targets of demands* (e.g., a government) or *targets of attention* (e.g., public opinion) to changes of attitude or behaviour favouring the short or long-term interests of the users of this method of combat.[87]

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[84] Duyvesteyn 2007, 55.
[85] Schmid & Jongman 1988, 5-7. 109 different definitions of terrorism were studied, and 22 elements were categorized.
[86] Duyvesteyn 2007, 55.
[87] Schmid & Jongman 1988, 1-2.

Although the definition by Schmid and Jongman dates back to the beginning of the 1980's, it is still a relevant contribution to terrorism studies[88]. The most important element of the definition is the distinction of targets of violence, terror, demands and attention.

2.2.1. Logic of terrorism

Making distinctions between different target groups makes it easier to understand the logic of terrorism, which differentiates terrorism from other forms of political violence. Terrorists direct the violence, or the threat of it, against a target that is symbolically or otherwise important to the target of their demands. This makes the target of violence an instrument of fear. There are some variations to this instrumentality: 1) the target of terror is the same as the target of demands. In this case terrorists target the violence of a victim that represents the same symbolism as the target of demands, and the target of demands feels personally threatened. For example, killing a representative of a certain political party can be interpreted as a message to the rest of the party, or threatening the family of the target of demands makes the family an instrument of terror. The Basque terrorist organisation ETA has used this logic when kidnapping, assassinating and threatening representatives of political parties, members of the Civil Guard, or their families in order to pressure the target of demands. 2) Target of terror and target of demands are not the same, but the reaction of the target of terror compels the target of demands to act. Such influence is related to acts of terrorism like 11-M and 9/11. Targeting random civilians perhaps does not cause the ruling elites to fear for their own lives since they do not normally use public transport or visit shopping centres, but since in the democratic political systems politicians are accountable to the public, public reaction to the terrorist action has to be taken into account, since in these cases terrorism is used to "isolate the individual from the regime and his environment"[89]. However, this distinction between the target of terror and target of demands does not mean that the leading politicians could not be shocked or devastated in the moment of crisis caused by terrorist action, even though they do not feel personally threatened. Such indiscriminate action is normally justified by the symbolism related to nationality or citizenship, and therefore the politicians can identify themselves with the

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[88] Schmid & Jongman sent a questionnaire to some two hundred members of the research community in the field of political terrorism inviting them to comment the definition. Although only about one fourth of them answered, it was still a remarkable effort.
[89] Neumann & Smith 2005, 577.

victims. Therefore the line between these two target groups is more theoretical than practical.

Similar theoretical difference can be found in the distinction between target of attention and target of terror. Generally in terrorist action directed against random civilians, the "public" in general is simultaneously both the target of terror and the target of attention. However, many societies are so fragmented regarding identity, that the public as a whole does not experience the action in the same way: some may be "terrorised", while others may even consider the action legitimate. Furthermore, global media interest makes it possible for every major terrorist attack to gain attention abroad, and people can identify with the target of terror across borders. In other words, "the public" can vary widely from one attack to another. The significant difference between these two target groups is simply that the target of attention is that part of the public - domestic or international - that does not perceive itself threatened by any symbolism the attack represents. Once again an example on ETA: when they execute an attack on the Civil Guard, besides the demands they deliver to the rest of the Civil Guard and the central government, they need the attention of their supporters and potential supporters. In many cases it seems that the actions of ETA – or of many other terrorist organisations as well – are made more in order to show their supporters that that they are really doing something, than to terrorize the public[90]. For example, the so-called *kale borroka* (street fight) is a form of activism that may not have any kind of effective results, but it gives activists themselves the sensation that something is being done.

As the target of attention, one could also understand the mass media. Terrorists need publicity in order to get their message and possible demands heard, as well as to expand the terror[91]. Media plays an essential role in that process. Even though nowadays the role of the international press has been decreasing due to the growth of Internet and independent amateur websites, that can offer various opportunities to channel information internationally without the attention of the masses, it still is an important tool to the terrorists. With the media, the public at large gets to know about the terrorists, their aims, modus operandi, motives and ideology. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that the

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[90] E.g. Neumann & Smith 2005, 582-585.
[91] Ibidem. See also Nacos 2002.

journalists themselves may feel that they are the target of terror, and reporting is thus easily biased. Furthermore, it has not been rare for terrorists to directly attack the representatives of the media. Again, ETA has attacked some newspapers and journalists because they have not been pleased with their reports. In these cases it is clear that those working in the press are part of the target of terror, not part of the target of attention.

Besides the separation of different target types, Schmid and Jongman underline the important fact of using the direct target of violence as an instrument of terrorism. This aptly describes the logic behind terrorist action. Although the instrumental use of some party (a) in order to influence some other party (b) has been widely used in politics, only in its most extreme form can it be called terrorism. The same logic of threatening and extortion is applied in the action of many so-called new social movements that may break the law and damage property in order to pressure their target of demands. For example, some extreme environmentalist movements acting against the fur industry have used attacks on individual entrepreneurs, dealers and researchers as a method of creating fear and pressuring to the whole industry. As noted earlier, according to the EU definition of terrorism, this could be considered terrorism. However, keeping in mind that the word terror means an extreme sensation of fear, it is clear that this sensation is not achieved by breaking material things or threatening to do so. The emotional reaction to such vandalism or material destruction, even if it means a loss of business and income, cannot reach the same social dimensions as a threat to life and health. Therefore definitions of terrorism should include only those actions that are targeted against human life. Furthermore, in order to make a distinction between terrorism and some other forms of organised crime, it is also important to frame the definition of terrorism to politically motivated violence. Without this distinction, organisations like the mafia could be considered to be practising terrorism. Although the logic of instrumental coercion and the threat to human life may be the same as in terrorism, if the action is motivated by economic aims instead of political ones, it should be considered a different form of crime.

2.2.2. Isolated acts of terrorism?
Despite the comprehensive definition by Schmid and Jongman, there are some aspects that can be criticised. Besides being lengthy and complicated, the definition includes a term

"state of chronic fear (terror)". This is problematic, since even if most terrorist organisations need to create a more or less "chronic state of fear" through continuous campaigning, not all forms of terrorism require this state. For terrorist organisations like ETA in Spain, it is important to maintain the credibility of threat throughout their campaign. They need repetitive terrorist action to maintain a "chronic state of fear". But that is because they have more or less concrete objectives regarding the same context that they are acting in: the *Euskal Herria*[92]. However, recently very destructive terrorist attacks, like 11-M and 9/11, were perpetrated just once without a long-term strategy. They may have had a vague ideology, even some kind of movement, behind them, but only very few concrete objectives, if any at all. For example, the terrorists of 11-M were al-Qaedaists[93], and thereby they believed that attacking any western country could be justified, but since they were in Spain, they decided to act in there. Spanish participation in the war in Iraq could have been what motivated them to act just at that specific moment in the selected place, but they never had a long-term strategy with regard to Spain, or at least there is no knowledge of such a strategy. They did not need a "chronic state of fear" to influence the target of demands. The temporary emotional reaction caused by an isolated act of terrorism was sufficient in this case. Using the definition of Schmid and Jongman, the attack of 11-M could not be defined as terrorism at all, since it lacked any preceding violence and threat, and there was no relevant "state of fear" related to Islamic terrorism in Spain before the attack[94].

Another question raised by the use of "state of fear" is whether or not it is relevant to the public who has caused that state. In the case of Spain and 11-M it could be argued that there was a "state of fear" caused by the ETA[95], but not a "state of fear" related to Islamic terrorism. Did this previous state fear influence the final consequences of the 11-M, or is

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[92] Euskal Herria means the whole Basque cultural region, which is different from the autonomous Basque Country.

[93] Al-Qaeda as a terrorist organization with the capacity to execute terrorist attacks by itself was possibly ended soon after the September 11 attacks in the U.S. However, thereafter there have been various terrorist attacks that follow the footsteps of al-Qaeda both ideologically and in their modus operandi. These organizations can be called al-Qaedaist. Paastela 2007, 2008-2009.

[94] After 9/11 it became quite evident that western countries, especially the friends and allies of the U.S.A., could be targeted by al-Qaedaist groups. Although Osama bin Laden specifically mentioned Spain in one of his communiqués (BBC News 18.10.2003: "'Bin Laden' messages: Full text" [Internet document]), in Spain the attention before 11-M was on ETA. More on this topic in Chapter 4.

[95] It is arguable whether the threat of ETA was credible at the moment of 11-M, since ETA had not made any lethal attack since May 2003. However, it had been very active in making attacks without any fatalities, and therefore the threat was existent, but latent.

the "state of fear" perpetrator specific? There is no research available on this topic, and the question remains unanswered.

2.2.3. Definitional shortcoming: emotional response

Besides the problems with the durability of the experienced state of fear, the use of "fear and terror" can also be criticised. As Schmid and Jongman found, "terror" and "fear" occurred in 51 % of the academic definitions on terrorism. Since fear and terror are specific emotional states, using exclusively these rules out every other possible emotion that terrorist action may cause. Fear is defined in the dictionary as "a distressing emotion aroused by impending pain, danger, evil, etc., whether real or imagined"[96], and terror as "intense, sharp, overmastering fear"[97]. It is true that these emotions may be the emotions that the terrorists want to cause in their "target of terror", and they undoubtedly frequently succeed in it. Nevertheless, as Neumann & Smith noted, "terrorism is based on a series of assumptions about individual, collective and institutional behaviour under stress which are either false or wholly unproven"[98]. Neumann and Smith directed their criticism to the assumptions made by terrorists when choosing their strategy, but terrorism research can also be criticized. Different kinds of pain and loss experiences have shown that people experience a huge variety of emotions. Especially when the traumatic event is of human origin, emotions like anger, frustration, and hatred are also common besides the sadness of a possible loss and fear caused by the loss of sense of security. Appraisal theory on emotions can offer an explanation for this. According to the theory, arousal provides the basis for any emotion, but it is the interpretation of the cause and explanation of that arousal rather than the arousal itself that causes specific emotions[99]. This is further argued in the following chapter, but at this point it must be underlined that besides fear and terror, other emotions are also related to traumatic events caused by terrorist action. Therefore the short and less specific definition of terrorism by Bruce Hoffman seems to be more practical than that by Schmid and Jongman:

> Terrorism is specifically designed to have far-reaching psychological effects beyond the immediate victim(s) or object of terrorist attack. It is meant to instil fear within, and

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[96] Webster's Encyclopaedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language 1996, 519.
[97] Ibidem, 1466.
[98] 2005, 585.
[99] Colman 2001, 140; Roseman & Smith 2001, 6. The theory is also called cognitive-appraisal theory, and cognitive-evaluation theory.

thereby intimidate, a wider 'target audience'[.][…] Through the publicity generated by their violence, terrorists seek to obtain the leverage, influence and power they otherwise lack to effect political change[.][100]

Even though Hoffman also uses fear in his definition, before that he mentions "far-reaching psychological effects", which fits better the complex reality of the emotional consequences of terrorist action, and does not limit the effects of terrorism to one specific emotion.

Looking back over the history of terrorism, terrorists have used violence not just to "instil fear within" the public, but to provoke their target. Many terrorist groups, including ETA[101], have used so-called action-repression-action strategy. The idea of this strategy is to provoke decision-makers to use an exaggerated amount of violence in their response to the terrorists and their supporters, which would then legitimize the future violence of the terrorists in the eyes of their support group, and possibly cause the larger public to sympathize with the now "victimised" group. In that sense the terrorists are also seeking a "state of anger".

However, the role of public sentiments is not limited to merely sympathizing with the suppressed group, or being terrorised and afraid. Very often the reprisals undertaken by decision-makers in the aftermath of terrorist action is also considered legitimate among the people who feel offended by the terrorists. One does not have to look far back in history in order to find examples of this: as was noted already in the introductory chapter, the approval rating of President George Bush rose significantly in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, and he did not meet significant resistance in deciding on the military operation in Afghanistan. One explanation for this "support for vengeance" in times of crisis can be that in general anger and hatred are easier to express publicly than fear and terror. Both anger and hatred are associated with courage and fighting back, whereas fear with weakness and flight. From the political point of view, anger is also easier to exploit than fear, since it is the emotion that motivates people to take action, while fear easily makes them passive and confrontation avoiding. Naturally fear can also be useful for political purposes if the political leaders wish the people to rely on their "protection"[102].

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[100] Hoffman 1998 43-44.
[101] E.g. Domínguez Iribarren 2000, 333.
[102] See De Castella, McGarty & Musgrove 2009.

In order to compensate for the definitional shortcoming related to the emotional response to terrorism, it is necessary to take a psychological point of view on terrorism. These definitions discussed earlier have been made by political scientists. Their focus is naturally on the political aspects of the phenomenon, but since the effects of terrorism are also very much psychological, a point of view from psychology is more than welcome. The definition from psychologists Friedman, Hamblen, Foa, and Charney could compensate for the shortcoming of political definitions, since it aptly describes the possible psychological effects of terrorism. According to this, the primary goal of terrorism (seen as a method of violence) "is to produce widespread social disruption through creation of a credible threat affecting cognitive, emotional, and behavioural stability and function."[103] Since terrorism requires "psychological effects in the target audience" in order to be effective, it is necessary to ascertain what those effects are. This is the goal of the following Chapter 3.

2.2.4. Terrorism, war and peace

The last definitional detail discussed here is related to the context of action. In the definition by Schmid & Jongman, even disregarding rules of conventional warfare can be considered as terrorism. This can be confusing. Modern warfare is already complicated without terms like terrorism. There are often many sides fighting each other, the balance of military strength is asymmetrical, and the strategies, technologies and armaments used may be very different. Not all sides are willing to fight according to the rules of war agreed by states on many occasions.

Breaking the rules of conventional warfare is normally considered to be a war crime. These actions may not differ externally from acts of terrorism. If civilians are targeted deliberately in war, by definition it is a war crime, not an act of terrorism. However, it seems to be common in conflicts like those in Afghanistan, Iraq and Chechnya that there are groups participating in the warfare without being recognisable "combatants", and they may target their violence against civilians instead of any of the warring parties. This is where the line between war crimes and acts of terrorism can be drawn: war crimes are perpetrated by a military or paramilitary organisation against civilian targets, whereas terrorism is a method used by non-military groups against civilians. Naturally in many cases the difference

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[103] Friedman et al. 2004, 123.

remains blurred, since terrorist organisations quite often copy military structures and terminology, and they may consider themselves to be soldiers of a kind.

Besides the difficulties in complex situations like those in Iraq and Afghanistan, the terminology of conventional warfare may also blur the definitional lines between terrorism and war crimes. For example, the concept of "collateral damage" makes it acceptable to have civilian casualties in conventional military operations without the act being considered as war crime. When the fighting takes place in population centres instead of battlefields, it is difficult or impossible to avoid civilian victims. But if the loss of civilians is condoned as part of "normal" warfare, Pandora's box is opened. The military may use an excessive amount of violence with some operatively justified "excuse" in order to use the same instrumental, coercive logic that is the foundation of terrorism. However, the definition of terrorism used here excludes state led actors, like military forces: terrorism is possible only in non-state, and non-military groups.

Now that terrorism is part of modern conflicts in addition to conventional warfare, the question is how it differs from guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla warfare is a typical form of asymmetrical confrontation with the state, and it has often been compared to terrorism. However, guerrillas normally do not want to blur the line between civilians and combatants. They wear uniforms as if they were waging a conventional war, attack mainly military targets, and other operatively important structures, like power plants, communication equipment, etc. Guerrillas also aim to control territory, unlike terrorists, who operate "behind enemy lines"[104]. The line between terrorists and guerrillas is therefore normally clear. Terrorists deliberately break the rules of conventional warfare by infiltrating among the civilians and attacking them in order to achieve political goals[105], not necessarily strategic ones. They may often claim that they are guerrillas or "freedom fighters", and at war with their target, but their modus operandi, methods of violence, and aims differ from those of guerrilla warfare.

What happens when guerrillas break the norms of conventional warfare? Is it a war crime, or an act of terrorism? How much "collateral damage" by guerrillas can be tolerated before

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[104] Duyvesteyn 2007, 60.
[105] Ganor 2005, 17.

they become terrorists? In the current international system, only sovereign states can declare a state of war, which means that a guerrilla group can do so only unilaterally. Therefore it is possible that a guerrilla group is fighting against a state that is not officially "at war", and that state can say that the guerrillas are nothing but terrorists. If the guerrillas have broken the norms of conventional warfare, or had any "collateral damage", labelling guerrillas as terrorists in the eyes of the public may be easy and legitimate. Using words and concepts like "state of war", "peacetime", "state of emergency", and "collateral damage", have become important tools in making a semantic distinction between warfare and terrorism. The power to define terrorism is often in the hands of those who have the power to define these previous concepts. Definitions of war and peace may also be confused for another purpose. When President Bush announced the famous "war on terror", the meaning of war was blurred. Did this "state of war" mean that the war was bilaterally legitimate? If it did, targeting the U.S. military became legitimate for the resistance groups that the U.S. considered to be terrorist groups, and targeting civilians should be considered as "collateral damage" or a "war crime", not terrorism, if the groups have a military or paramilitary structure and aims. Therefore it is possible that the rhetoric of the "war on terror" actually justified violence against U.S. targets instead of making it more reprehensible in the eyes of the international public.

2.3. DEFINITIONAL CONCLUSION

After discussing the main attempts at definition to terrorism, it is time to apply them in order to form the most suitable definition for the topic of this dissertation. The task is difficult, since a good definition should include the following aspects of terrorist action: target groups, logic, aims, degree of violence, true effects, and nature of the context. The definition should also be as brief as possible to facilitate its use. It should also meet the requirements of political and moral neutrality. Therefore: *Terrorism is a method of politically motivated, life threatening violence targeted to instrumentally meaningful person, or a group of people, by a non-military, or non-state group or organisation. It is designed to affect and affects cognitive, emotional and behavioural stability and functions beyond the immediate target of violence.*

The definition needs some explanation. The term "politically motivated" distinguishes terrorism from economically motivated violence often used by organised crime like the mafia. "Life threatening" includes both the use of violence to kill, and the threat of violence to that extent. This makes a distinction between materially orientated violence, like vandalism and coercion using violence against sources of income, and terrorism. Vandalism or attacks on material targets, whether politically motivated or not, are therefore other forms of violence.

"Instrumentally meaningful person, or a group of people" may be the point that requires most explanation. This reflects the logic of terrorism: it is not targeted directly against the decision makers, like political assassinations, but it uses the target of violence and terror as an instrument to coerce the target of demands. "Meaningfulness" comes from the symbolism or role of the direct target of violence. Using merely "symbolic" targets, as most definitions of terrorism do, rules out the possibility of using terrorism as an instrument of terror against the family and friends of the coerced person. The word "meaningful" includes both symbolic and other significance that the direct target of violence may have for the target of demands. That symbolism is mostly related to the ethnic, religious, national or ideological identity, but other symbolism is also possible.

Limiting the perpetrators to non-state and non-military groups and organisations was debated in the earlier section "Terrorism, war and peace". Furthermore, terrorism is also potentially most effective (the topic of effectiveness will be discussed in the following chapter) in contexts where the use of violence is considered illegitimate if perpetrated by other than state actors[106].

Then the definition points out that the violence is "designed to affect and affects". The intention of this is to say that terrorism is a subjective experience. Using the word "designed" means that the purpose of terrorism is to attract attention, and to create "terror", "fear", and other psychological effects beyond the direct target of violence. However, it is not enough that it is designed to do so, it really has to meet the aims of that design. As the

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[106] According to the Weberian concept of sovereign state, state systems have a legitimate monopoly of violence inside their borders (Weber 1967, 77). Terrorists, and other insurrectionary groups, may want to compete and question that monopoly through their actions.

case of the school massacre in Jokela showed, the perpetrator of the violence might claim to be a terrorist, but if he fails to create political coercion to the target of demands, which, in the case of Auvinen remained unclear, there are no effects reminiscent of terrorism. Therefore political violence is terrorism only in those cases where it is *de facto* able to affect its target of terror.

Last, the definition specifies that the psychological effects are cognitive, emotional and behavioural, and they occur beyond the direct target of violence. This specification, in comparison to the definition by Hoffman cited earlier, is made in order to make the definition more appropriate for this dissertation. In the following chapters, the psychological effects of terrorism and their possible political aspects are discussed in detail, likewise the meaning of "beyond the immediate target of violence".

3. APPRAISAL THEORY AND RESPONSE(S) TO TERRORISM

Terrorism research has often been criticised for not taking into account the whole political context where acts of terrorism are committed. One reason for this is that it would require approaching the topic from many different academic disciplines. Terrorism research is in a way particular, because it touches the fields of many disciplines, but is not particularly apt for any one alone[107]. For example John Horgan has observed that it is impossible to separate our reactions to terrorism from our attempts to understand and conceptualize it[108]. Similarly Isabelle Duyvesteyn has criticised terrorism research for a lack of conjunction with counterterrorism, which is part of the political response to the phenomenon. According to her, the countermeasures have played a role in the recruitment and strengthening of terrorists[109]. Using a different approach, Zulaika and Douglass have criticised the whole concept of terrorism for being confused with cultural taboos and fears[110] far before infamous concepts like "axis of evil", and "war on terror", which confused religious rhetoric and cultural symbols in an extraordinary way with the political discourses on terrorism. When contemplating the effectiveness of terrorism, Martha Crenshaw named several factors of terrorists and their target that are useful in explaining the political results of terrorism. Those were:

> [P]roperties of the terrorist group, including size, organisation, leadership, intensity of commitment, techniques of violence, and goals; characteristics of both the domestic and the international situation, including the role of the press, political culture, and social structure; and the governmental response, considered as an asset or an obstacle to terrorism's effectiveness.[111]

Again, taking into account all the factors that Crenshaw mentions, an interdisciplinary approach is needed. Due to this complexity of terrorism as a study subject, it would be necessary to rethink what should actually be included in the terrorism research. As Leena Malkki has proposed, the concept of terrorism could be used to understand the whole

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[107] Sinai 2007, 32.
[108] Horgan 2007, 108.
[109] Duyvesteyn 2007, 67.
[110] Zulaika & Douglass 1996.
[111] Crenshaw 1983, 26.

political process initiated by the use of symbolical violence or the threat of it[112]. Adapting this wider perspective on the phenomenon of terrorism, the effects of terrorism are put into focus, and an idea for the response, or responses, to terrorism is proposed.

Due to the disciplinary starting point based on political psychology, and the research questions and hypotheses mentioned in the Introduction, in this chapter the effects of terrorism are discussed using the framework of (psychological) appraisal theory on emotions, and applying it to the terrorism research. This theoretical framework helps to understand how terrorist actions are experienced both cognitively and emotionally, and translated into specific behavioural responses. Although there are no previous theories on the formation of the political reaction to acts of terrorism, appraisal theory forms a basis for such a theory. In this chapter that theoretical basis is built, and in the following Chapters 4, 5, and 6, empirical data from the case in study are presented and discussed.

3.1. APPRAISAL THEORY ON EMOTIONS

3.1.1. Theoretical background

In psychology, a strong relation between specific cognitions and specific emotions has been found. For example, anger is associated with blaming someone for an unwanted situation, guilt with blaming oneself for such a situation, and fear-anxiety with thinking that one is endangered[113]. This relation has been the basis for so-called appraisal theories. The four more prominent differences in those theories are: structural vs. process-oriented models, fixed vs. flexible appraisal order, the continuous vs. categorical nature of appraisal and emotion, and molecular vs. molar approaches[114]. In some cases the differences between different appraisal theories are complementary, while in other cases they are true points of disagreement. The main idea in all these theories is that cognitions are important antecedents of emotions[115]. In other words, using now the explanation of Smith et al., "emotions are evoked by an evaluation of the significance of one's circumstances for personal well-being"[116]. In order to do this evaluation, or *appraisal*, "one must have a well-

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[112] Malkki 2004, 207.
[113] Smith et al. 1993.
[114] For further knowledge, see e.g. Roseman & Smith 2001.
[115] Smith et al. 1993.
[116] Smith et al. 1993; Lazarus 1991.

developed representation of the relevant circumstances"[117]. Due to the variety of inferential strategies, personal processing capacity, and limitations of available information about the relevant circumstances, people may have very different kinds of emotional responses to the very same stimulus.

But what is an appraisal? In this study, appraisal is understood as a non-linear process, where and individual has to ask himself relevant questions on his circumstances, or in other words, an event that takes place in a specific political context. An unexpected isolated act of terrorism, like the attack in Madrid, is an example of such an event. Typical questions are: "Do I care about what is happening? Is it good or bad for me? Can I do anything about it? Can I accept it? Will it get better or worse?"[118] Answering these questions, a certain pattern of appraisal is elicited, and that conduces to a specific emotion[119]. However, since the process is here understood as a non-linear one, it is always possible to go back in the process and make reappraisals that may facilitate change in the appraisal and its emotional outcomes. Quite often situations are continuously changing, and new information about the event in question may rapidly cause that an individual making an appraisal has to go back in the process and modify the appraisal already made. Now it is necessary to make a distinction between an appraisal and other types of reasoning, like attributions, inferences and evaluations. Although in everyday language, there may not be a significant difference between these terms, in appraisal theory *appraisal* is distinct from the forementioned words specifically in its direct relationship with emotions[120]. This direct relationship is the strength of appraisal theory, making it possible to specify emotions with the use of certain patterns of appraisal. However, as some criticisms of appraisal theories say, these patterns are more like heuristic tools for understanding the occurrence of different emotions rather than a "checklist", where finding certain elements in the appraisal always leads to the same outcomes[121].

In the appraisal process concerning a specific event, there are three main objectives for the individual. Those are 1) personal relevance of the event, 2) implications that can be drawn

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[117] Lazarus 1991.
[118] Smith et al. 1993.
[119] Roseman & Smith 2001, 6.
[120] Smith et al. 1993.
[121] Frijda & Zeelenberg 2001, 154; Kappas 2001, 160.

from the cause and estimated consequences of the event, and 3) coping potential to deal with the event[122]. In other words, a person first makes an evaluation of the nature of the event and its relevance to his goals. This includes an estimate whether the event is congruent or incongruent with those goals, and how the ego is involved in the event[123]. The estimate of the ego involvement includes, for example, how the event is relevant to the individual and group identity, thereby making it possible that appraisal theory also takes social aspects of the event under appraisal into account. When making an appraisal of the second objective, implications drawn from the event, a person has to make an estimate of its causal attributions: Who or what has caused the event, what has the motive been, if the event is human-caused, whether or not the event requires an urgent response, does it have long-lasting effects, and what could those effects be. To fulfil the last objective, person has to estimate, whether he has some control over the event, and which would be the best ways to cope with it[124]. Using the vocabulary of appraisal theories, these three objectives of appraisal are composed of several appraisal components that can be used later in the construction of an appraisal pattern.[125] Such components are, for example *ego-involvement, goal-incongruence, causal attribution,* and *urgency*. The names and number of the components may vary depending on the scholar applying Appraisal Theory.

Besides appraisal components, it is useful to explain a concept of *core relational themes*. According to Smith et al., it "can synthesize the pattern of evaluation outcomes across the appraisal components into the central meanings underlying the various emotions"[126]. Thus, the appraisal associated with a given emotion can be described either as a particular pattern of outcomes across multiple appraisal components or using the "metatheoretical position"[127] of core relational themes[128]. In other words, separate appraisal components can be summed into a complex, meaning-centred whole. For example, the core relational theme for anger is a demeaning offence against me and mine[129].

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[122] Compare to Smith et al. 1993; Scherer 2001, 114-115.
[123] Lazarus calls this *primary appraisal*. Lazarus 2001, 42-43; Smith et al. 1993.
[124] In Lazarus' theory this is called *secondary appraisal*. Lazarus 2001, 55-57.
[125] Appraisal components are typical to molecular approaches of appraisal theories. Smith et al. 1993; Lazarus 2001, 55.
[126] Smith et al. 1993. i.e. molar level of appraisal. Also Lazarus 2001, 63-67.
[127] Lazarus 2001, 63.
[128] Also called as a molar approach. Roseman & Smith 2001, 14.
[129] Lazarus 2001, 64.

3.1.2. Reasons for differential appraising

Appraisal Theory explains well why people have different kinds of emotional reactions to the same stimulus. The reason for this is in different appraisals. As Lazarus points out, "emotions follow an *implacable logic*"[130], and therefore they do not pose the opposite to reason, as in western philosophical tradition is often argued[131]. But people do not always make similar appraisals of the same event in the same context. Now the reasons for different kinds of appraising are briefly addressed.

According to Lazarus, the reasons for differences in appraising outcomes may be 1) physical ailments, 2) lack of knowledge, 3) people do not pay attention to the same aspects of the event, 4) when dealing with a life-threatening crisis, people may be unable to face the truth and cope with the crisis using a variety of ego-defences, and 5) social situations especially are so complex and ambiguous that simple errors of judgement are easily made.[132] Now that the focus is on crises caused by a life-threatening act of terrorism, some of these reasons for "imperfect" appraising require further explaining.

Leaving aside physical ailments like damage to the brain or mental retardation, knowledge is the first significant reason for appraising differences. Simply put, people often have to make appraisals with limited knowledge of the event, and very often in a crisis situation there may be a lot of knowledge, that is coloured with political perceptions and opinions, or even completely erroneous information. For this reason, in crisis situations people may experience a confusion of different emotions. They do not yet know enough to make complete appraisals of the event, and they have to continuously modify the reasoning, and go back when new information about the event emerges. This is closely linked to the sense-making phase of crisis governance and the reaction phase of individual trauma response used in Chapters 4 and 5.

The third reason for differential appraising is attention to different aspects. One simple explanation for this is based on different worldviews that may cause biases in information seeking. For example a strong political ideology may distort the way people pay attention

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[130] Lazarus 2001, 60.
[131] A good overview to this tradition can be found in Marcus 2002, 9-32.
[132] Lazarus 2001, 61-62.

to events, especially when the events are closely linked to politics. According to Marcus and his neuropsychological theory on emotions and political judgement, habits can invoke a conservative bias[133], meaning that when people are content with the present situation, they do not actively seek alternative information on the political situation, but rather rely on their earlier judgements. Contrary to this, a suddenly changed situation may activate a so-called surveillance system[134] that forces an individual to seek a coping strategy to the changed system. In politics this is often seen as a "vigilant voter" –phenomenon. Marcus' neuropsychological theory seems to corroborate the core ideas of appraisal theory.

Another point of view on the existence of biases comes from so-called mood congruity[135]. The main idea behind this is that when people are in some mood or emotional state, they make different kinds of perceptions. For example, when in a negative mood, they perceive their surroundings in a more negative way. When this idea is compared to appraisal theory, the first idea is that this may lead to a vicious circle, since appraisal theory supposes that cognitions lead to emotions, and mood congruity more or less the opposite. However, when appraisals are understood as a non-linear process, this should not be a problem. This means that the emotions may change because of changing situation or changing appraisal, which may lead to further reappraisal.

Regarding the fourth reason for appraisal differences, psychological coping strategies, a useful specification that is related to the topic of this study comes from Pyszczynski, Solomon, and Greenberg. In their terror management theory (TMT)[136], they found a relationship between powerful violent images and behaviour in social situations. Although they have based on their arguments on laboratory experiments, it offers an interesting point of view on the indirect experience of terrorism. According to TMT, when the inevitability of death is made salient to people, for example by showing them violent images, they manage the conscious and unconscious death-related thoughts by the construction and maintenance of cultural worldviews[137]. Culture is here seen as a symbolic solution to the

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[133] Marcus 2002, 87.
[134] Marcus 2002, 74-78.
[135] E.g. Bower 1991, 31-52.
[136] Pyszczynski et al. 2003.
[137] Pyszczynski et al. 2003, 27.

very physical problem of death[138]. It gives an individual a meaning of life: it is an expression of the will to live, to be significant, and thereby it helps people to avoid the dread of insignificance caused by the inevitability of death[139]. TMT is based on the idea on proximal and distal psychological defences. When mortality is made salient, first the individual responds with the proximal defences, which help in reducing the conscious awareness of death. Proximal defences are: 1) distracting oneself from the problem, 2) minimizing the apparent threat by altering perceptions of its severity, 3) denying vulnerability to the threat, and 4) emphasizing temporal remoteness of the problem. Once the immediate threat of death is dismissed but still accessible, distal defences are used. According to TMT, this means bolstering faith in the worldview.[140] In laboratory experiments this has led to an effect of avoiding dissimilar others: after thinking about their own death, the testees not only disliked people who were seemingly from other cultures, but they also kept a physical distance from them[141]. In some cases this was seen as lowering tolerance to cultural differences, and even hostility towards them[142]. Interestingly, Vamık Volkan has reached similar conclusions with a psychoanalytical approach. According to him, group identity is used as a safety net in times of crisis, because individuals may rely on it in order to regain their sense of security. At the same time threats to the group identity are often perceived as individually wounding and personally endangering[143]. This is exactly what the terrorists often aim at with the symbolism of their targets, and it is the basis of the widespread effects of terrorist actions also in the "wider audience".

In complex situations people often rely on their worldviews and personal experiences, which may cause biases in the ways people perceive their circumstances, as was already discussed. Besides of the possible biases, a phenomenon called *narrative fallacy* causes people to focus on certain details in their appraisal process instead of on others. Especially in the case of unexplainable and unexpected events, people use past information and perceptions of the past to fit the event into the "narrative", or in other words, into their

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[138] Pyszczynski et al. 2003, 30.
[139] Becker 1975, 3-5.
[140] Pyszczynski et al. 2003, 54-56.
[141] Pyszczynski et al. 2003, 74.
[142] The effects naturally are dependent on what are the culturally dominant values people emphasize. According to the experiments, in those cultures that have strong liberal and tolerant worldviews, mortality salience does not have as easily negative effects of dissimilar others. Pyszczynski et al. 2003, 82-83.
[143] Volkan 2004, 33.

worldview[144]. As Nassim Taleb describes the fallacy, it is associated with overinterpretation and a predilection for narratives over truth, meaning that people tend to have a need to explain things, to forge logical links and relationships, and bind facts together into a compact and coherent narrative[145]. Compact narratives with a strong emotional content can especially cause the fallacy in the appraisal process. This is because such stories are emotionally impacting, and they therefore may lead to overestimating the possible implications of a certain event in the appraisal process.

3.2. APPRAISED PERSONAL RELEVANCE OF TERRORISM

Now the appraisal theory is put into a context of terrorism and terrorist actions. The focus is on how people experience and appraise terrorist action. There are several dimensions in the whole political context that influence the appraisal process, not all of them are something that the terrorists have planned or designed. One of the most important appraisal components influencing the effects of terrorism is causal attribution. However, in order to have effects at all, besides physical damage to the direct target of violence, it is required that people consider terrorist acts personally relevant. This seems evident, when the question is related to the immediate victims of a terrorist attack. There is no need for an appraisal when a bomb explodes in the same train that one is travelling in: physical pain and loss of a friend or a relative are of themselves traumatic. However, as several studies on the psychological outcomes of disasters have demonstrated, experiences of mass violence like terrorism are different from other collective crises, like natural disasters[146]. For example, an Israeli study among children found, that those children with terror-related injuries required longer hospitalization and greater need for rehabilitative care than those with similar injuries but no relation to terrorism[147]. The reason for this is appraising on the personal relevance.

Before approaching the experiences and appraisals of a terrorist act, it is necessary to describe how people estimate the threat of terrorism in different societies. These estimates

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[144] Taleb's "black swan" and the use of hindsight bias (Taleb 2007, xvii-xviii)
[145] Taleb 2007, 63-64.
[146] Norris et al. 2002a, b.
[147] Aharanson-Daniel et al. 2003.

are then compared to the actual terrorist incidents in order to demonstrate that there really is something special in terrorism that makes it psychologically effective.

3.2.1. Terrorist incidents and concern experienced about terrorism

The use of terrorist methods has always attached much attention. State officials have been eager to respond strongly against any insurgent groups, and counterterrorist manoeuvres have been prominent. Similarly, the media has been reporting so much about terrorism, that some scholars in terrorism research have even claimed that the relationship between media and terrorism is symbiotic[148]. It is true that media has often exploited the topic, but consumers' interest in terrorism is equally strong. Terrorism attracts attention because it is intended to. Terrorists need attention to get their aims publicised and to perpetuate awareness of threat. This design and need are the main source of criticism against exaggerated prominence of terrorism in the media, and to some degree, in popular culture[149]. This visibility keeps terrorism functional. When the horrors of terrorism are highlighted in the media, people easily consider that terrorism is personally relevant and poses a credible threat to them, their significant other, and their society, forgetting at the same time that statistically terrorism is a very marginal problem in western countries. If compared to other problems that are not as much highlighted in the public discourses, like for example other forms of organised crime, terrorism is practically absent from the majority of European countries. In spite of this, people are generally more worried about the existence of terrorism than about the existence of mafia groups, not to mention more day-to-day problems, like housing prices or unemployment.

When terrorist activity is measured statistically, there are few important notes to make: Since the definitions of terrorism used in the calculations vary according to the instance producing the statistics, the results on the state of terrorist activity likewise varies. Furthermore, when the numbers are global, they are often based on data provided by state representatives, and in those cases many insurgent or anti-state groups can be counted as terrorist groups for internal political reasons, not because of the methods used. One important question in measuring terrorist activity on the global level is the case of Iraq.

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[148] Wilkinson 2005, 174-175.
[149] The influence of popular culture on the discourses of terrorism has unfortunately not been studied enough. The role of the media as a fact based information source is perhaps more obvious, but the effects of fiction on the image of terrorism, and terrorists, should not be underestimated.

Should the violence there be considered terrorism? Although the war officially ended in 2003, it is clear that some regions of Iraq are in a state of civil war instead of being controlled by some legitimate government. Many insurgent groups, and even groups that seek economic benefit, are practicing methods typical of terrorist groups. Drawing lines is difficult in this case, as also in many other cases. Clearly Iraq is not a stabilized state; the conflict is active even if the war is over. This instability is the most fertile ground for terrorist activity, since it is "more likely to lead to the undermining of fragile democratic governments"[150]. Nowadays terrorism poses the most serious threat in the unstable countries of Asia and Africa, but drawing lines between guerrillas and terrorists can be difficult due to the unstable, and unclear, context. Despite the statistical and definitional problems in measuring terrorist activity, existing statistics can be used with caution to obtain an approximate picture on the international situation of terrorism.

According to the American National Counterterrorism Center, there were roughly 14,500 terrorist incidents around the world in 2007, resulting to the death of some 22,000 persons[151]. Of these incidents 43 %, and 13,600 fatalities, were reported in Iraq, and a significant portion of the remainder was also violence targeted at non-combatants in other conflict zones. However, in the European Union, the amount and effectiveness of terrorist incidents seems much smaller. The Europol statistics show that in 2007 there were altogether 583 failed, foiled or successful terrorist incidents in the EU, out of which 517 were separatist actions in France or Spain[152]. According to the definition of terrorism applied by the EU, violence with no intention to kill any human beings was also considered to be terrorism, meaning that the large number of terrorist incidents consisted mostly of arson, or other types of vandalism, hardly intended to be life threatening. In 2007 there were only two reported fatalities of terrorism in the EU, both being Spanish Civil Guards killed by ETA, and even the number of physically injured was low. Outside the EU borders, in conflictive zones altogether 19 Europeans were killed in terrorist attacks[153]. However, as the Madrid case in 2004 and London bomb attacks in 2005 demonstrate, few

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[150] Wilkinson 2005, 220.
[151] National Counterterrorism Center 2008, 9 [Internet document].
[152] Europol 2008, 10-16 [Internet document].
[153] Eight Spanish citizens in Yemen, eight French citizens in two different attacks in Saudi Arabia and Mauritania, and three German citizens in Afghanistan. Ibidem, 24.

well planned and mounted attacks with the intention to kill can change the numbers drastically.

Despite the fact that fatal terrorist incidents are extremely rare inside the EU, and the probability of becoming a target of indiscriminate terrorist action is thereby very low, in average one fourth of EU citizens consider terrorism as one of the three most severe problems in their countries[154]. However, there are significant differences between countries, since the highest percentage of the concerned in 2006 was 42 % (Spain and Denmark), while the lowest was only 3 % (Estonia). Other countries where the level of concern was above the average were the United Kingdom (34 %), Italy (28 %), and Germany (27 %). Curiously in France, which together with Spain had the highest number of terrorist incidents, people were not so much concerned about terrorism as the people in the EU on average, since the percentage was 19.[155] Contrary to France, in Denmark there was in 2007 only one failed attempt at terrorism[156], but a large number of people were involved. This can be explained by the cartoon episode, which put Denmark at the epicentre of some Muslim radicals one year before the survey. As noted earlier, the concern with terrorism is not directly related to the index of terrorist incidents in the country. It also seems that the fear of terrorism crosses national borders, and has a relatively independent life apart from the actual terrorist activity.

Since this is a case study on Spain, it is necessary to take a closer look on terrorism there. Spain is a country, with a long history of different types of terrorism. The first wave of modern terrorism swept the country at the end of the 19th century, when some anarchists took violent action, and according to the Europol statistics, still in 2007 nearly half of the terrorist incidents in EU still occurred in Spain[157]. Besides the most notorious Spanish terrorist group ETA – which has caused the deaths of more than 800 persons, and touched in one way or another the lives of tens of thousands, in the Basque Country and elsewhere in Spain during the 40 years of groups existence – Spain has also suffered from other

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[154] European Commission 2007, 43 [Internet document]. The data was collected in November – December 2006.
[155] Ibidem, 45.
[156] So called Glasvej case. Eight people were arrested on suspicion of planning a terrorist attack in Denmark. Europol 2008, 18 [Internet document].
[157] 279 out of 583 incidents. Europol 2008, 10 [Internet document].

separatist movements using violent methods[158], left-wing terrorists like *Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre*[159] (GRAPO), right-wing radicals before and after the Franco regime[160], and single-issue vandalism, which Europol categorizes as terrorism. In recent years, the significance of these groups other than ETA has been slight, and even ETA's militant activity seems to be subsiding, but terrorism has nevertheless been in the focus of public attention for a long time. ETA's newer strategies in the Basque Country, *kale borroka* (street fighting), and "socialization of suffering" has meant that the violence has been directed at persons in every social sector criticizing the separatist movement, extending the threat to politicians, private businesses, journalists, teachers, writers, artists, lawyers, judges, social activists etc[161]. Even tourists have been targeted in order to damage one of the most important industries of Spain. This has made the terrorist activity more "every day", although not as bloody as it was during the most active years of ETA at the end of the 70's and beginning of the 80's. Since 2000, the number of ETA fatalities has been relatively low. In 2000 ETA killed 23 people, and in the following year 15, but thereafter the number of fatalities per year has been between 0 and 5.

Despite of the subsiding terrorism in Spain, the figures of Eurobarometer show that 42 % of Spaniards considered terrorism to be one of the three most important problems in the country in 2006. The Spanish *Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas* (CIS) public opinion barometers have reported similar results. Since the CIS has been monitoring the public opinion regularly for years, it is easy to see tendencies in the public concern about terrorism in Spain. Generally it seems that the concern varies little, but there are occasional peaks when something particular has occurred. Curiously, the September 11 attacks in the U.S.A. did not cause a peak in the concern reported in Spain, as it did in many other countries. The reason for this may be that ETA had realized an intensive terrorist campaign during the summer of 2001, and people were already much concerned about the threat of terrorism before the planes crushed into the twin towers and the Pentagon[162]. However, in 2004 ETA

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[158] For example *Taldes Y* in support of ETA, *Terra Lliure* in Catalonia, *Exército Guerrilheiro do Povo Galego Ceive* in Galicia. The violence of these groups has mostly been vandalism.

[159] Antifascist Resistance Groups October First.

[160] Before the Civil War of 1936, Falange Española de las JONS, and after the fall of Fascism small groups like Anti terrorismo ETA, Triple A, Batallón Vasco Español, Grupos Armados Españoles, etc.

[161] For example Llera Ramo 2003, 267-272.

[162] In July 2001 73.5 % of those interviewed considered terrorism one of the three most severe problems in Spain, and in September after the attacks in the U.S. the percentage was 70.6. By contrast, in April 2001 the

had been less active, and a closer look at the concern on terrorism during that year, reveals a clear peak caused by the attack in Madrid (see Table 1 below).

Which are the three principal problems in Spain?
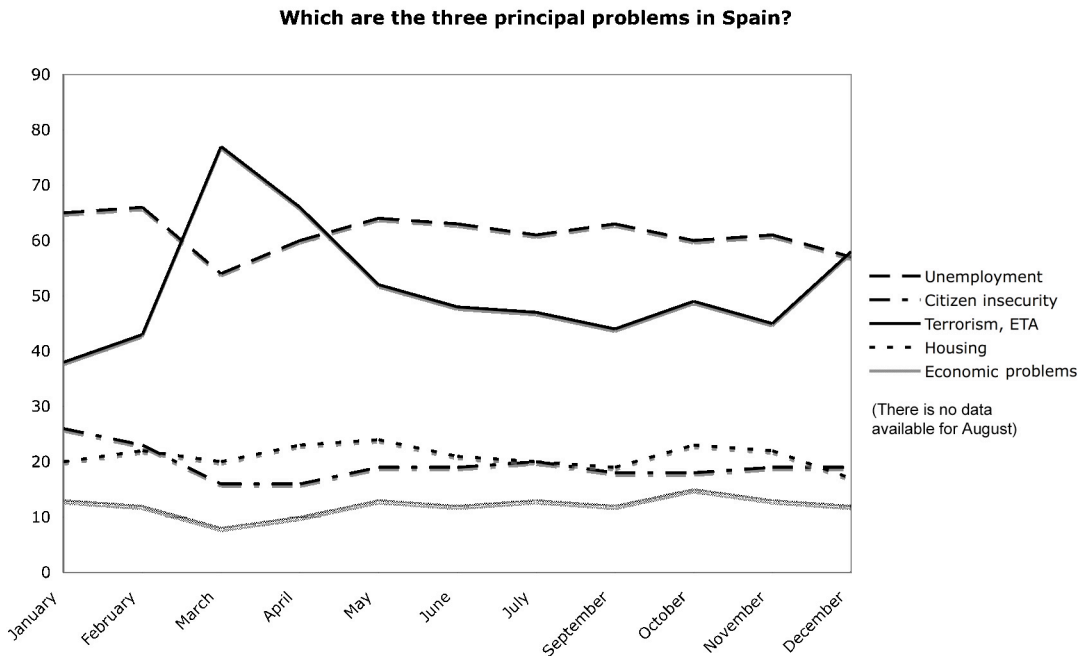
Table 1. *Principal problems in Spain during 2004.[163]*

Interestingly, even though the attack clearly shocked the nation, the concern about terrorism abated relatively rapidly back to its normal, although compared to other EU countries high, level between 40 to 50 %. It also seems that in the eyes of the public, ETA's credibility as a potential threat at the beginning of 2004 was not as high as in the minds of many Government officials in the immediate aftermath of 11-M. It is important to note that even if ETA was caught planning a terrorist attack on Chamartín railway station in Madrid in Christmas Eve 2003[164], this does not show in the figures of the CIS. If the public had considered the attempt more credible, concern about terrorism should already be much higher in January 2004. ETA's foiled attack on Chamartín served as a blaming argument against ETA in the aftermath of 11-M, but according to the CIS survey, using the Chamartín case as an argument is based on a hindsight interpretation on the causality. On

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percentage was 63, and in February 2002 it was 55.9. Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas opinion barometers from April 2001 – February 2002. [Internet documents].
[163] Prepared by the author, figures from the CIS opinion barometres January 2004 – December 2004 [Internet documents]. The original question was: "¿cuáles son, a su juicio, los tres problemas principales que existen actualmente en España?" (Which, in your opinion, are the three principal problems in Spain at the moment?). Up to three answers were allowed. Note that the option related to terrorism included ETA.
[164] See for example "ETA pretendía volar la estación de Chamartín con un 'tren bomba' y provocar una masacre", *abc.es*, 26.12.2003 [Internet document].

the other hand it can be argued, that failed or foiled attacks are not as effective in creating a threat as successful ones. ETA had not killed anybody since May 2003, and it seemed that ETA's widely practised "soft terrorism" – attacks with no intention to kill – was not effective in creating a credible threat. This argument corroborates the point of view used in this study: mere vandalism and economic threats with no intention to kill or threaten human lives, are not able to create as severe psychological effects in the public, as does life threatening violence. These forms of political violence should not be considered as terrorism at all.

Although failed or foiled attempts at terrorism may not have as terrifying effects as successful ones, they help to maintain terrorism in the public consciousness. In the summer of 2007 there was a series of attempts in the UK, including two failed car bombs in London and a rather desperate attempt to attack the Glasgow International Airport by driving a car loaded with propane gas-canisters and petrol containers against the security bollards[165]. Even though the attempts were all unsuccessful, the political response to them included raising the alert level in the UK and many international airports around the world, making thousands of passengers conscious about the possibility of terrorism and violent death wherever they were. This causes people to rank the threat of terrorism much higher, than it would be based on actual statistics of terrorism.

As a conclusion, it seems that perceived concern about terrorism does not go directly hand in hand with terrorist activity. General concern tends to arise after a shocking terrorist act, or when terrorist campaigns become more intense than normally. This peak in the concern, according to the statistics from Spain, is not of long duration, and the concern reveals to its normal level in a couple of months. However, in some cases terrorists are capable of creating a general atmosphere of relatively high concern without direct lethal action. The case of Denmark demonstrates this well: no cases of terrorist incidents were recorded in 2006 in Denmark, but the threat of these was evident after the cartoon episode attracted widespread international attention. This is exactly what terrorism is about: causing psychological effects in its target audience by life threatening action, or the threat of it. However, perceived concern about terrorism in Denmark, as well as in the rest of the EU

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[165] "2007 Glasgow International Airport Attack", Wikipedia [Internet document].

member states, is not completely irrational. Many radical Islamic groups have threatened EU member states with attacks on civilians, and a couple of them have successfully realized such attacks. Terrorist incidents do not have to happen inside the borders of the country in question, or even inside the EU, to cause effects on the public.

3.2.2. Direct and indirect relevance: categories of psychological victims

Appraisals of terrorism are possible very different when the personal relevance is not something concrete, but an experienced threat of concrete action. Unlike the effects of terrorism on the "wider target audience", direct psychiatric effects of terrorist acts have been studied widely. Although the focus here is not on the possible psychological disorders caused by terrorist acts, as, for example, variations of PTSD, there is a need to discuss what it actually means when someone, including the author of this dissertation, uses words like "direct" or "indirect" victims or targets of terrorism.

One of the main findings in purely psychological research on the effects of terrorism is that traumatic experiences caused by terrorist action, whether direct or indirect, are always subjective. This means that the effects are differential rather than across-the-board[166]. There are two opposing positions on the severity, duration and dysfunctionality of the mental consequences of disasters. One position holds that every victim is affected negatively by the traumatic event, and only the degree varies, while the other approach holds that due to the post-crisis context and "social fabric", the initial negative effects can be absorbed or even prevented up to certain degree.[167] The question concerns not so much the qualities of the event itself, since as Lewis Herman has noted: "The severity of traumatic events cannot be measured on any single dimension; simplistic efforts to quantify trauma ultimately lead to meaningless comparison of horror"[168], but rather the possible appraisals of the event.

In the psychology of catastrophes the concept of psychological victims is often used when referring to the affected sections of the population facing a catastrophe or crisis. On the contrary to this approach, in terrorism research one normally counts as victims only those killed in the attack, mentioning perhaps also those physically injured. Now the concept of

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[166] Quarantelli 1985.
[167] Quarantelli 1985.
[168] Lewis Herman 2001, 33-34.

psychological victims is in focus, since, according to the definition used in this dissertation terrorism affects, "cognitive, emotional and behavioural stability and function beyond the immediate target of violence". Categorising the victims makes it easier to assess how many persons are more or less affected by such a terrorist attack as that in Madrid, and how they could possibly appraise the situation differently due to the severity of exposure, proximity and personal relevance.

Psychological victims can be divided into the following categories (The numbers following each category are from the Madrid terrorist attack)[169]:

1) All passengers and personnel of the trains attacked (around 5000, of whom 191 died and 2062 were physically injured).

2) Family members and friends of those in the trains (around 19,000 persons sought psychological assistance, although not all of them had a relative in the trains.).

3) Rescue personnel and volunteers (around 70,000).

4) Bystanders and witnesses.

5) "Hidden victims" or in other words, people who normally use one of those trains that exploded, but for some reason did not do it that time. (at least 270,000 passengers of other trains had to wait or change their routes because of the attack)

6) Symbolic victims, and those who sympathise strongly with the victims

The first victim category does not require much explanation. Being a victim of a traumatic event always potentially causes psychological repercussions, and especially so, if the causal attribution is such that someone else is to blame, and that someone has caused the event in purpose[170].

The second category is likewise quite simple, because losing a relative or a friend, or even a remoter acquaintance, is of itself psychologically impacting, even if there is no terrorism or anything else related to it. However, an appraisal can make the response to this loss worse

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[169] Compare to Saari 2003, 35-39. Numbers from *El País* 12.9.2004.
[170] Saari 2003, 30; Smith et al. 1993.

in the case of terrorism than it would be if the loss were due to natural reasons. I shall revert to this later in the section on causal attribution dimension (3.3.1.).

The third and fourth categories are close to each other, since they do not include physical injury, or losing a family member or a friend, but only deal closely with the accident. Professional rescue personnel may be used to dealing with accidents more than an average person who just happens to be on the spot when an accident happens, but they are not invulnerable, either. An accident like that in Madrid is by its scale so grave and impacting, that it has a vast potential to be traumatizing even to the most highly trained rescue personnel, who are much exposed to death and suffering. Vivid memories of the traumatic event remain long in the mind, and they may influence the appraisals of terrorism.

The fourth category, bystanders and witnesses, together with the sixth category of symbolic victims and those who sympathise with the victims, are perhaps the most complicated ones, because in these categories people experience the event very differently. The effectiveness of the modern mass media makes it possible to witness the accidents at least to some degree even though a person is not present at the scene of the accident. Although it is very different to be *in situ* of the accident – hear the injured crying, smell the burned flesh and see the cruellest details – from seeing video clips on television or full-page and coloured images in the newspaper, or reading and hearing stories from direct victims, indirect witnessing may have an impact on a person. This is one reason why terrorism is effective beyond the wider target audience. In the case of the Madrid terrorist attack, all the people watching television or reading newspapers saw a stream of images of victims covered with blood, and human body parts lying on the ground. The impact of these mere images is especially intense if the person subjected to them can identify easily with the people in the images, or if he is personally familiar with the place of the accident.

This experience is also close to the fifth category of hidden victims. A hidden victim is a person who could reasonably think that he might have been a victim of that specific accident. People do not respond only to the real traumatic event, but also to the image of what they believe could have happened[171]. Using the case of Madrid as an example, every

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[171] Saari 2000, 33.

person who normally uses one of those morning trains that exploded to get to the centre of the city, but for some reason was late or prevented from doing it, was a hidden victim of Madrid terrorist attack. Given that the attack was realized in the morning traffic, there were trains passing every couple of minutes, and those who missed one of the fatal trains and took one before or after, can be counted in thousands. Even a person who sometimes uses those trains, or uses them regularly, but never at that time, or uses the *Cercania* trains of other lines at the same time can easily suffer from psychological damage, because it is reasonable to suspect that the terrorists could also have attacked some other train lines, or attack them at some other hour. Even a person who has used once those trains at least, or been to the Atocha Railway Station, can vividly imagine the horror of the event, and identify with the actual victims.

3.2.3. Ego involvement and terrorism

When the appraisal of a specific terrorist attack entails ego-involvement, it means that the individual estimates the way that the attack involves his self and social esteem, moral values, ego ideals, personal meanings and ideas, other persons and their well-being, and life goals[172]. This is where the symbolism of terrorism steps in, because it is the core of transmitting the terrorist "message" to a wider audience. Zulaika and Douglass have observed, that "[t]here can be such apparent precision that the logic of the message is evident to everyone"[173].

The capacity to identify with the direct victims is absolutely essential in the category of symbolic victims mentioned above. It is directly related to the ego involvement component in the appraisal process. Terrorism often includes symbolism in the target selection. For example, the 9/11 attack was committed most likely against the World Trade Center towers, because 1) they were an American target, 2) they symbolised American economic power in the world, 3) they were a visible part of New York skyline, and the highest buildings in the U.S.A., and 4) it was easier to target them with aeroplanes than to attack smaller buildings. Whereas one can often find several types of symbolism in each terrorist act, most common types of symbolism are related to group identities based on ethnicity,

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[172] Lazarus 2001, 58.
[173] Zulaika & Douglass 1996, 130.

nationality, ideology or religion[174]. For example, if the interpreted symbolism of a particular terrorist action is based on ideology, others with the same group identity may easily feel, that the same terrorists could also target them. In the appraisal theory on emotions, this means that in the primary appraisal a person infers that the attack is a threat to him and those with the same ideology and goals.

In the case of the Madrid terrorist attack, the traumatic event was quickly turned publicly into terms of national symbolism. This appraisal was first made public by king Juan Carlos in his special speech to the people transmitted shortly after the attack: "Un escenario de pesadilla se ha apoderado de todos los hogares españoles para mostrar la cara más cruel y asesina del terrorismo"[175]. A little later the same idea that the event was an attack against all Spanish people, and thereby relevant to everybody's goals, was resumed more clearly by Prime Minister José María Aznar: "Han matado a muchas personas por el mero hecho de ser españoles"[176]. At that point there was not yet enough information on the perpetrators to make an appraisal of the causality, but in this primary appraisal it was made clear that the event had relevance to everybody who considered himself *Spanish*. This appraisal was important, because it made it possible for people to feel solidarity towards the direct victims and take action to help them, but on the other hand it also amplified the logic of the terrorists, because the symbolism of the attack was accepted among the targeted "wider audience".

It is not sure what the intended symbolism of the attack in Madrid was. It was perpetrated in Spain, most likely because of the Spanish participation in the war in Iraq. However, if the symbolism was supposed to be based on Spanish national identity, the attack failed gravely. Among the 191 who died in the attack, 51 did not have Spanish nationality[177], and there were thousands of others affected by the attack. As a consequence, the attack did not impact so much on the national identity of the Spanish as the King and Prime Minister

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[174] E.g. Volkan 2004, 24-32.

[175] "A nightmarish scene has seized the Spanish homes to show the cruellest and most murderous face of terrorism". Published in "El Rey pide «unidad, firmeza y serenidad por encima de las legítimas diferencias de opinión»" (King asks for "unity, firmness, and serenity despite the legitimate differences of opinion"), *ABC* 12.3.2004.

[176] "Many people have been killed for the mere fact of being Spanish". Published in "Aznar afirma que sólo se debe aspirar a la «derrota» y a la «rendición» del terrorismo" (Aznar affirms that only "failure" and "surrender" are left for terrorism), *ABC* 12.3.2004.

[177] "Las cifras de la tragedia" (The tragedy in numbers), *El País* 12.9.2004.

suspected. After all, national sentiments are not very strong in Spain due to the strong regional identities. Another possible symbolism could be related to the social class and political ideology. The trains attacked were coming from the poor suburban areas mainly populated by immigrants, workers, students, and other lower socio-economic sectors of the population. In light of later protests against the conservative Government, this appraisal based on socio-economic group identity did play a role. It was mainly the supporters of the political left that took radical actions against the Government. This is further analysed in Chapter 5 on public response.

Besides the symbolism of terrorism, ego is often involved in acts of terrorism in purely physical ways. Quite often the effects of terrorism on its "wider target audience" have been explained by continuous exposure to terrorism in media, political discourses, and even popular culture[178]. For example the modern mass media has a capacity to transmit live or nearly live audio-visual material to homes around the globe, enabling people in remote countries able to witness traumatic events. According to Huddy et al. terrorist action can have long-term effects on personal political judgements, especially on the perceived personal and national threat, even though the people themselves have not been direct victims of a terrorist attack[179]. There are differing points of view on the psychological effects of witnessing events on television compared to witnessing the reality *in situ*. For example, Curran, Gurevitch and Woollacot have argued that media has limited influence[180], whereas several studies show that indirect experience also engenders feelings of fear similar to direct experience[181]. Appraisal theory on emotions supports the latter point of view. It is not only *what* is seen on television; it is *how* viewers relate it to their reality. In other words, people *appraise* the threat of terrorism and its personal relevance. It is not traumatic for a normal adult to see a violent film, because he knows it is fiction. However, seeing real events, real people suffering, has a stronger effect merely because the observer knows (or believes) it to be true. Quite often the line between reality and fiction is unclear, because after all, very few people have personal experience of terrorism, and they form their opinions and ideas of it according to what they see on television and in films. Interestingly, it seems that personal experience with the threat of terrorism may actually

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[178] E.g. Nacos 2002; Pyszczynski et al. 2002.
[179] Huddy et al. 2002.
[180] Curran, Gurevitch & Woollacott 1982.
[181] E.g. Bandura 1986; Slone 2000. See also Yechiam, Barron & Erév 2005.

decrease the appraisals of the credibility of personal threat. Yechiam, Barron & Erév observed, that soon after the Intifada began in 2000, there was a decrease in international tourism to Israel, but an increase in domestic tourism in Israel. Yechiam et al. explain that this is because the sensitivity of local residents diminishes with personal experience of being exposed to threat, but not hurt by any terrorist attack, whereas international tourists rely merely on second hand information in their appraisals of the probability of being targeted by terrorists.[182] A similar statistical pattern was observed in the U.S.A. after the 9/11 attacks, where the public showed the first signs of avoiding flying, public places etc., but then the behaviour returned to more or less to normal[183].

Closely related to exposure to terrorism, an aspect that influences the appraisal of ego involvement is the proximity of the event. This can be related to witnessing the terrorist attack on the news or live on the scene. If the scene witnessed is very close to the everyday life of the observer, it is likely that they will appraise it as personally more relevant than if the scene is unfamiliar. In other words, if the place or people involved in the event transmitted are familiar to the witness, the effect is potentially stronger than in the case of witnessing a happening from a totally unknown place, with unknown people, who even speak an unknown language. One reason for this is simply that it is easier to imagine the event itself vividly and identify with the direct victims. Another reason is related to victim category two; friends and relatives of the direct victims. Even though people may not lose a close person, they immediately become more worried if they know a person who could be among the direct victims. Anybody who has been close to an attack or even other traumatic event touching a group of people has noticed the proximate effect when receiving calls and enquiries from relatives or friends, even very distant ones, who knew that they were close to the scene of the crisis. This has also influenced the terrorists´ strategy: they tend to attack places that are well known in order to magnify the indirect effects. It could be argued that if the terrorists of 11-M had attacked, say Teruel, a city infamous for being ignored by the Spanish central government[184], instead of Madrid, the psychological effects of the attack would not have been as widespread as they were, because to most Spanish people Teruel is

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[182] Yechiam et al. 2005, 432-433.

[183] Rasinski, Berktold, Smith & Albertson 2002, 19-20.

[184] Teruel was made famous for its campaign "Teruel tambien existe" (Teruel exists too) in 1999, where the people from the city demanded better infrastructure and blamed the central government for ignoring them in comparison to other Spanish cities.

not as familiar as Madrid. The data collected from traumatic events also supports the proximity effect. For example, Ginny Sprang made a study of the effects of Oklahoma City terrorist attack in 1995 and found that there was no major difference in the experience of victimisation between those who had been exposed to a terrorist attack (25.3 %) and those in the same city (23.0%) who had not personally witnessed it, but when compared to people from Kentucky, the level of victimisation was significantly lower (5.1 %)[185].

3.2.4. Ego involvement and victimization

In the case of terrorism, appraisals are not done merely in relation terrorist action and its symbolism. Appraisals address the entire setting where the terrorist action takes place. Therefore one should not forget that the meaning of terrorism is largely constructed in society rather than in official political discourses. As Huddy et al. have noted:

> By design there is something personally disturbing, vivid and frightening about the threat of terrorism. It raises the specter of one's mortality, and elicits pervasive feelings of insecurity and fear of physical harm.[186]

These "pervasive" feelings of fear, insecurity and anger terrorism, are the ones that make it possible for terrorism to affect the "wider target audience". So far we have analysed how acts of terrorism are appraised as personally relevant, but now the scope is widened, and the analysis is focused on the meaning of being attacked by terrorists. This should answer the same questions as earlier explanations: Why is terrorism often more fearsome than it should be according to statistics? Why is it "personally disturbing", as Huddy et al. have claimed? Zulaika and Douglass have partly answered these questions in their contemplation on the "randomness" of terrorist victim selection:

> If "chance" has disposed that certain passengers be in particular skyjacking and that they be held hostage for the obtainment of political objectives, such external purpose transcends the lives of the victims and renders them powerless to influence their own fate.[187]

It is just the sense of powerlessness combined with the politics of terrorism which makes terrorism "personally disturbing" and different from all the other traumatic events. People

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[185] Sprang 2003, 145-146. High exposure referred to those who had reported hearing, seeing or feeling the blast, and low exposure those people who resided Oklahoma City but did not experience the blast.
[186] Huddy et al. 2002, 487.
[187] Zulaika & Douglass 1996, 145.

who become victims of a terrorist attack not only loose their lives or suffer physically or mentally, but their personal meaning of life is violated, robbed and defined by others ever after. For the terrorists, all their victims function as a mere manifesto of the terrorist worldview and political message. Furthermore, if the symbolism of the terrorist attack is related to ethnic or nationalistic identity, terrorism is profoundly discriminative or racist. There is no possible way that any person has power over their inborn characteristics, and therefore they are truly "powerless to influence their own fate", when facing this kind of terrorism.

It is not just the terrorists forcing their victims to manifest their radical ideas; the public opinion and political discourses also tend to categorize the victims according to the most convenient political options. For an ordinary person, becoming a victim may be the most (in)famous moment of his life, but it is never a chosen path. The victims have not chosen to be victims, nor to sacrifice themselves for anything. For the wider public, personal meanings of life that the victims had prior to the terrorist act normally remain unknown, but nevertheless it is not uncommon to see that people assign roles to the victims. For example, after 11-M there have been several politicians and activists trying to speak in the name of the victims and use them as a part of their political argumentation. As Pilar Manjón, the spokesperson of *Asociación 11-M – Afectados del terrorismo*, pointed out before the March 11 Committee of Enquiry[188]:

> Ha habido quien ha tratado de vetar esta comparecencia; el último paso en esa apropiación de algo que no es de ustedes, en el intento de quitarnos la voz a los afectados, de deslegitimarnos, de someternos a su propio juego político y de intentar encasillarnos en tal o en cual opción política. Señorías, ésa no es nuestra Guerra. Aquellos que intenten identificar a los afectados como colectivo en general o a esta asociación en particular con una determinada opción política se equivocan y hacen un flaco favor a la transparencia que todas las voces aclaman.

> There have been those who have tried to veto this appearance: the last step in this appropriation of something that is not yours, in the attempt to take away the voice of the affected, to delegitimise us, to submit us in your own political game and to categorize us into this or that political option. Honourable members, that is not our war. Those who try to posit the affected as a collective in general, or this association in particular, into a certain political option, are mistaken and rendering a poor favour to the much acclaimed transparency.

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[188] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 23, 3.

From this point of view, the often-criticized publicity of the victims in the media can be re-evaluated. It is important to give the victims and their families an opportunity to tell their story if they want to. However, in order to respect the pain that many victims are experiencing, this should not happen in the immediate aftermath of the traumatic event. Furthermore, these stories are often compelling, and they can have an effect on the creation of a narrative fallacy as mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, it may be important to the victims to get their stories told, and it is better that the victims themselves are the ones telling the stories instead of converting them into a part of popular culture, which mixes them with fiction.

Besides the common appropriation of the voice of the victims, it is also common to blame the victims. In this case, people perceive that the victim was somehow responsible for becoming a victim. Normally in this kind of terrorism it is seen as a consequence of one's actions. As discussed in the following chapter, this is related to the causal attribution of terrorism. For example, during the four decades of terrorism in the Basque Country, the myth of the selectiveness of ETA has grown wide[189], and the saying "algo habrá hecho"[190] is many times used when referring to the victims. People automatically assume that the victims have done something in order to "deserve" the terrorist act. This logic echoes the logic of the terrorists. The arguments favouring blaming are perhaps more common among people who do not feel identified according the interpreted symbolism of the act, or who want more distance between themselves and the victims in order to strengthen their sense of security.

Another way to treat the victims in the targeted society is to glorify them. This is typically the posture adapted by the decision-makers. It is not uncommon to build memorials to the victims or celebrate special dates in the honour of their memory as a unified group. From a plain memorial it is a short step to making something "good" out of the act of terrorism, by making the frustrating deaths of the victims somehow meaningful. This is in fact just the opposite of the blaming effect. In both cases the role of the victim in the causal chain of the

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[189] ETA has often reputation of being selective in choosing the target of violence. According to the statistics, this selectiveness is limited, since 50 % of the fatalities of ETA have been members of the police, Civil Guard or military, while the rest have been civilians killed on purpose or as "collateral damage" in actions directed at others. Llera Ramo 2003, 268-269.
[190] "He must have done something". On the consequences of ETA's terrorism, see for example Calleja 2006.

event is not seen as passive but active. Nonetheless the "activity" remains in the event, since it is always others than the victims themselves who decide what their role should be. In the glorification it is typical to turn random death into something heroic – an idea very similar to martyrdom. For example, the memorial site of Ground Zero in New York records the names of the fatalities of the attacks under the heading "The Heroes of September 11th, 2001". Despite the tragic nature of the event, one has to ask what is heroic about dying in a terrorist attack. Is it heroism to be in the wrong place at the wrong time? Are the people who did not die in the attack also heroes, just because they happen to live in New York? Are all the Americans heroes, because the attack was directed against the U.S.A.? If they are, whose heroes are all the foreigners who died or were injured in the attack? Can somebody become a hero because somebody chooses them at random? The "heroes" certainly did not have a chance to decide about their fate, and in spite of glorifying them for this non-decision, dying for a cause that is dictated by someone else is terrifying.

3.3. IMPLICATIONS OF ACTS OF TERRORISM

The second important objective in the appraisal process is related to causal attribution. Relevant questions are then, who or what caused the event, what was the motive, if the event is caused by humans, what is the estimated degree of intentionality, does the event have long-lasting effects, and what could those effects be. Both in the research on crises and trauma psychology this causal attribution has been widely recognised. However, they apparently lack a theoretical framework for this. Salli Saari, a Finnish psychologist specialised in the field level crisis work, has written, for example, that events caused by humans, are more severe in their psychological outcomes[191]. Similarly Kent M. Jennings, who has studied social movements related to "pain and loss experiences", that is to say traumatic events, has noted that the interpreted causality and social effects of the event have implications for the individual experience[192]. Boin et al. in their work on the political dimensions of crisis response and leadership also emphasize the importance of *making sense* of what is going and why[193].

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[191] Saari 2000, 30.
[192] Jennings 1999.
[193] Boin et al. 2005, 18-38.

Although many of the above-mentioned scholars have reached the same conclusions on causal attribution as in Appraisal Theory, Appraisal Theory explains well why the implications drawn from a specific event have so much relevance. It is also useful, because in it several appraisal components related to the causal attribution are specified. This helps in drawing conclusions and even making some kind of generalisations. For example, using Appraisal Theory, it is possible to go further than Saari in her conclusion that events caused by humans are experienced as more severe than circumstantial events. Using the appraisal components, it is possible to specify which kind of events caused humans are more likely to cause aggression, and which kind of events sadness, frustration, guilt or shame.

3.3.1. Causal attribution dimensions

If acts of terrorism are compared to other traumatic events, such as being a victim of a natural disaster, catching a potentially lethal disease, being in a car accident, robbed, raped, or violently beaten, there are many common characteristics both in the unexpected and uncontrollable nature of the events and in the psychological reactions they may cause. All these events push individuals through a process where fundamental life values and visions may change[194].

There are four important appraisal dimensions in all traumatic events, including those terrorism related events. Those are 1) expectedness/unexpectedness, 2) causal locus, 3) controllability, and 4) stability of the event.[195]

The first dimension is quite typical of all traumatic events; they are rarely expected to happen. However, people do use some type of probabilistic calculation in estimating risks. For example, when they have a big new car with all the modern technology, they estimate that the probability of an accident is less likely than when they are driving an old or dilapidated vehicle. Similarly, when living in a hurricane zone, hurricanes rarely come as a total surprise, which mitigates the effects of that natural disaster. When the traumatic event is caused by terrorist action, it becomes relevant whether there is a long-term terrorist campaign going on, or if this is an isolated act of terrorism. This seemingly small difference

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[194] Saari 2000, 25-27; 67-68.
[195] Compare to Weiner 1985; Smith et al. 1993. On causal attribution without the framework of Appraisal Theory, see e.g. Jennings 1999, 5-6.

can be surprisingly important for the effects of terrorism, even though the event itself is similar in scale. For example, in Spain people were more or less mentally prepared for terrorist acts perpetrated by ETA, but the 11-M attack was especially shocking because it was not expected that some Islamic group could attack in Spain. The 11-M attack was not even similar in scale to the terrorist acts perpetrated by ETA, but many people though that it *could have been* ETA.

Regarding the second, the causal locus of traumatic events, in natural disasters like hurricanes, epidemics etc. there is rarely anyone to blame or to be called responsible[196]. The locus is thereby related to general circumstances. In the literature on crisis and appraisal theories, different concepts are often used when referring to the causal locus. For example, Roseman calls this appraisal component circumstance-caused[197], and Jennings refers to a similar locus as "natural"[198]. Here the term circumstance-caused is used, because it also includes events that may not be natural disasters, but such that the circumstances can be blamed. In human-caused events there is always a person, or persons, who have caused the event. Human-caused events can be divided into two, self-caused and other-caused events[199]. Every traumatic event from car accidents to rape, murder, war and terrorism are all on this dimension.

The third important appraisal dimension is related to the controllability of the event. This means that the individual estimates, the person who has caused the event, had a low or high potential to control the event. Now that terrorism is in focus, it seems evident that terrorists always have a high capacity to control their actions, since they often plan them for a long period of time. In this respect terrorist acts are similar to rape, murder, robbery, and war crimes, which are all deliberate. Typically other-caused events that are highly controllable are emotionally more severe than those that are appraised as less controllable. Saari found

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[196] Except the divine or natural order the person might believe in. It is quite typical in this kind of event to question those metaphysical views an individual might have. A classical example of this is the destruction of Lisbon in an earthquake 1755, which caused Voltaire to write his "Poème sur le désastre de Lisbonne" where he questionises the common religious views of God punishing Lisbon for its sins. Similar thoughts were common more recently after the Asian tsunami of 2004.
[197] Roseman 2001, 70.
[198] Jennings 1999
[199] Roseman 2001, 71.

that they cause more frustration, hatred and anger, and create more need to target those emotions than circumstance-caused traumatic events[200]. Furthermore, Jennings has noted:

> Harm-related experiences, however, are often coded as preventable, directly attributable to the action of others [...] Under such circumstances people often develop politically relevant "causal stories" about what happened. Such stories and theories include the location and assignment of blame and the selection of fixers among the various agents in the causal chain.[201]

The findings of Saari and Jennings are congruent with Appraisal Theory. However, a third appraisal component is still needed, before presenting a pattern of emotional responses to specific appraisal.

The fourth most relevant appraisal dimension related to causal attribution is stability. This refers to the perception of the event itself: is it going to be long-lasting, will it change the circumstances permanently, is it only passing, is it possible that the event is repeatable, etc. In the appraisals of terrorism, this can be significant when comparing the responses to long-term terrorist campaigns with those considered to be isolated acts of terrorism.

Real world situations are often very complex, and the causal attribution can be appraised in many ways. A good example is the case of hurricane Katrina in 2005. Hurricanes are natural weather phenomena that strike several times per year in the Caribbean Sea, meaning that it was a circumstance-caused traumatic event. Nevertheless Katrina caused a reaction more typical of other-caused events with high controllability. People affected by the disaster blamed the local, state and national level authorities for failing to provide sufficient protection for New Orleans, thereby indirectly causing the damage. They also blamed the same authorities for inefficient post-crisis management.[202] In the case of Katrina people appraised that the event was likely to occur (expectedness) and the harm that it caused could have been prevented by human action (controllability). Similarly causal locus and controllability are often seen in various ways because of individual differences and styles of appraisal. Even in the cases with low controllability like traffic accidents, sometimes other instances than those directly involved are blamed for the accident: the car manufacturer

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[200] Saari 2000, 30; 53.
[201] Jennings 1999, 5.
[202] Some analyses related to the prevention and aftermath of Katrina in Daniels, Kettl & Kunreuther 2006. See also Birkland 2006, 182-189.

may be blamed for poor brakes, maintenance for slippery roads, government officials for too high speed limits, etc[203]. This is called a scapegoat effect, and it is very typical if the causal attribution is not clear beyond doubt, but people need someone to blame in order to direct their overwhelming emotions. Terrorism seems to be especially vulnerable to this unclear causal attribution. People may blame the terrorists, but they may equally well make governmental officials, the police, the economic situation, racial discrimination, social structures, etc. their scapegoat.

3.3.2. Properties of terrorist organisations

The causal attribution dimensions above included controllability. This is closely linked to the general image of terrorism. As Lazarus has noted, attribution of a malevolent or benign intention to the one causing the event, "increases the likelihood of assigning blame, making anger more likely or intensifying it"[204]. It is very typical to attach meanings like "bad" and "evil" to discourses on terrorism, whether they are official political discourses or related to fictional narratives on terrorism, like films, literature, video games, etc. But before going to the mixture of imaginary and reality, it is necessary to take a look at the design of terrorism within the framework of Appraisal theory. This means that the focus is on how the design of terrorism influences the possible appraisals on terrorism and its threat.

As already cited, Martha Crenshaw named several factors of terrorist groups and their targets that are useful in explaining the political results of terrorism. Those related to the general appraisal of terrorism were: "[P]roperties of the terrorist group, including size, organisation, leadership, intensity of commitment, techniques of violence, and goals"[205]. It

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[203] In Finland, March 19th 2004, a traffic accident occurred in Konginkangas causing 23 deaths. In the accident there was a bus full of youngsters returning from their winter vacations and a combination truck carrying a load of paper rolls. The accident happened on a quiet countryroad with very little traffic. However, the road was icy and slippery, which caused the truck to lose control in a slight curve and the vehicles collided with dramatic consequences. Finnish *Onnettomuustutkintakeskus* made a report on the accident in 2004 [Internet document]. After this there was public debate in Finland whether the road maintenance agency was responsible for the accident for not having spread salt on the road (lowers the melting point of ice), whether the State officials were partially responsible for too high speed limits in wintertime, or whether there should be an inbuilt speed limiting system in heavy vehicles adjusted to the maximum limit (there was one, but not adjusted to the maximum 80km/h). Some even blamed the paper industry for obliging its truckers to carry too heavy loads (the truck had 4 100 kg extra weight, but this did not play a role in causing the accident) and do too long routes with not enough rest (neither of the two drivers had followed the established norms of rest for professional drivers).
[204] Lazarus 2001, 56.
[205] Crenshaw 1983, 26.

seems that all these properties are designed so that the threat of terrorism appears as fearsome as possible. Naturally many of these properties are as they are for purely practical reasons.

Taking as an example the clandestine nature of terrorist organisations. The reasons for such an organisation type are quite obvious: terrorism is illegal, and the options for more visible activity are limited. This clandestine nature helps the terrorists to hide their true characteristics, like the number of their affiliates, organisational structure, and persons leading the organisation. However, leadership can be difficult underground: In an organisation based on a cell structure, activists know perhaps only the operators in the same cell, but not the rest of the members of the network. Even the top leaders may have difficulty in controlling all the levels of organisational hierarchy. They may give the cells relative autonomy for action, including the management of the grassroots connections and logistics[206]. Although difficult to lead and ineffective, a clandestine organisations can appear much more powerful than they are. As Ranstorp has noted, due to the globalisation of terrorism and constantly mutating networks, some movements, like al-Qaeda, can be like "ghosts": organisations that are "everywhere, but physically nowhere"[207].

Terrorist organisations are normally aware that the image of their organisational properties is part of the credibility of a terrorist threat. When they "come out of the clandestine", they tend to exaggerate the numbers of their activists, and give a picture of a disciplined, military like structure capable of striking at any moment against any target[208]. Besides the number of activists, the size of the support group is also significant. If a terrorist group has a large number of social supporters in its context, even if the actual group is just a handful of activists, it both makes action much easier, and the threat more credible. For example, in the U.K. it has been estimated that al-Qaeda's action has support from 13% of the British Muslim population of 1.6 millions[209]. This population of around 220,000 British citizens

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[206] On the possible consequences of this leadership "dysfunction", e.g. Dishmann 2005.
[207] Ranstorp 2007, 2.
[208] The naming of many terrorist groups is interesting. They include terms from the military, like brigade, army, armed forces, front etc. However, these terms are always very different from their original meaning. For example, in military language, brigade normally means a subdivision of an army containing from 3,000 to 7,000 soldiers, but for example the Italian Red Brigades applied the term brigade to a unit that consisted of a handful of activists.
[209] The orginal question was: "Would you regard further attacks of Al Qaeda, or similar organisations, on the USA as justified or unjustified?" ICM Research, March 2004 [Internet document].

can at least in theory offer a good recruiting ground for terrorists, as well as logistic and social support. It also makes the whole of Muslim radicalism seem more fearsome in the eyes of the possible targets of al-Qaeda and al-Qaedaist groups.

Leadership and other personal influence, like the intensity of commitment and charisma, are perhaps more important factors for the group dynamics, than they are for the image of the group in the eyes of the target of terror and attention. They are the reasons that lead a terrorist organisation to act in a specific time and place. Vamık Volkan has noted that leadership can play an important role in magnifying the dangers, increasing anxiety, and maintaining group identity[210]. However, these personal properties are often invisible to the public, and there are only significant when they are known. In some cases terrorist leaders or individual terrorists like Osama Bin Laden, Timothy McVeigh, Ted Kaczynski, and Abimael Guzmán – to mention just a few known examples – can give a face to those movements or the ideas that they represent. Quite often those faces become symbols of terrorism, and their faces are repeatedly exposed in the media and culture. Although these few individuals do not represent the "average" terrorist, if such exists, they are the ones that have a huge impact on the way people see, and appraise, terrorism.

Regarding the commitment of the terrorists, suicide is perhaps the most efficient way to show the targets of terrorism, how committed the terrorists actually are to their cause. Suicides have always been present in the history of terrorism, but terrorist attacks with the original idea of being at the same time suicidal have been rare[211]. However, the number of suicide attacks has been steadily raising, and in the past ten years there have been twice as many suicide terrorist attacks than ever before. The best known are the 9/11 attacks in the U.S.A. Suicide attacks are also efficient in their destructiveness. According to the calculations of Robert Pape, of the acts of terrorism between 1980 and 2001 only three percent were suicide attacks, but those attacks caused the deaths of half of the total victims of terrorism[212]. In practice suicide attacks are often bomb attacks, where a car is loaded with explosives and driven at its target. This is often quite cost-efficient, since it does not

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[210] Volkan 2004, 13.

[211] Many violent attacks may have ended in the death of the perpetrator, and the perpetrators have most likely been aware of this before taking action, but organized terrorism with the intention of being suicidal has been rare.

[212] Pape 2003.

require the economic resources or know-how to build complicated trigger systems. From the point of view of the target, this kind of extreme commitment is naturally difficult to understand. It normally reflects religious fanaticism[213], and makes it impossible to cope with the threat: no negotiation or compromise is possible with such people, only fighting back or submitting to their demands.

The last, but by no means least of the terrorist properties is related to the techniques of violence applied. Throughout the modern history of terrorism, several prognoses of terrorists using chemical, biological, radiological, or nuclear (CBRN) weapons have been made. Aum Shinrikyo made an attack on the Tokyo subways in 1995 using sarin gas, and after the September 11 attack in the U.S.A. there was a short episode of anthrax letters, but apart from those cases, CBRN weapons have not been successfully used in terrorist attacks. It is true that CBRN weapons are much more difficult to obtain and handle, and less effective[214] than conventional weapons, but there is a possible temptation to use these weapons in terrorism, because they are widely more feared than conventional weapons. The possibility of the use of CBRN weapons makes the appraisal of the terrorist threat more relevant personally and socially, since the physiological effects of these weapons are especially fearsome, and especially in the case of nuclear weapons, they have the capacity to pass from generation to generation. As the mass casualty terrorist acts of 9/11, 11-M and 7/7 showed, there are terrorists that not only use the targeted civilians as an instrument to coerce the target of demands, but they also want to cause as many fatalities as possible. Therefore technological advances in the future may cause that the use of CBRN to become more accessible to the terrorists, too. People are aware of this, and it affects their appraisals of terrorism.

3.3.3. Terrorism and imagination

So far it has been argued that people are more concerned about terrorism that they should according to the actual number of terrorist incidents in Europe, and that the characteristics of terrorist organisations are designed, besides securing operative capacity, also to appear

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[213] Some terrorist organisations practising suicide attacks, like the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and Al-Aqsa Martyr's Brigades in Palestine, have secular aims. However, religion, or other similarly strong beliefs, can be used to inspire activists to commit suicide attacks.

[214] CBRN weapons have gained far more attention in the research on terrorism than, for example, suicide terrorism, even though such attacks have never caused mass fatalities. E.g. Silke 2007, 88-90.

more fearsome and powerful than they are. Now the topic goes even further: appraisals of terrorism are not based solely on the estimated possibility of becoming a victim of terrorism, but also on the imaginary threat and characteristics of terrorism.

Zulaika and Douglass have compared the fear of terrorism to the fear of ghosts or burglars[215]. In both cases threat is either totally fictional or highly improbable, but nonetheless the feeling of fear is real. By comparing terrorists to ghosts Zulaika and Douglass touch the topic of real versus imagined threat that is present in both the narratives and discourses on terrorism. The fear of terrorism must, at least partly, be, based on the imagination. Few people have actually ever met any terrorists, or experienced a terrorist attack in person, but everybody has a strong opinion on terrorism. "Terrorist" is the archetype of enemy these days. It is very easy to exteriorize – using the vocabulary of the psychoanalytical approach – everything "bad" to them, because they are to a sufficient degree real, but at the same time distant enough to take the exteriorized "bad" image to its extremes. This archetype of a "terrorist" is reproduced in the popular culture countless times, helping to mix imagination with reality. In other words:

> Terrorism discourse is characterized by the confusion of sign and context provoked by the deadly atrocity of apparently random acts, the impossibility of discriminating reality from make-believe, and text from reader.[216]

Therefore it could be argued that the meaning of terrorism is not based entirely on reality. In the minds of the people, terrorists are often fictional characters, based vaguely on reality. The terrorist image is blurred with signs of demonization and dehumanization, which makes the phenomenon more fearsome than if it is based on terrorist activity.

One explanation for the mixture of real and imagined threat could be that discourses on terrorism cause a "narrative fallacy". This means simply that people easily give more emphasis to concise and touching stories than to real happenings[217], and stories that are related to terrorism, both real and fictional, are easily very touching. There are often classic elements in these stories. That from the point of view of the target is similar to the tale of Little Red Riding Hood: An "innocent victim" (Little Red Riding Hood), is threatened by

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[215] Zulaika & Douglass 1996, 28-29.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Taleb 2007, 62-84.

an "evil perpetrator" (the wolf), who infiltrates the citizens (dresses up like the grandmother) in order to attack (eat) the victim. In many versions of the tale, an "ordinary person" (the huntsman) proves a hero in time of crisis. These classic elements let people identify with the victims, feel sympathy for them, or even glorify them. For example, the story of the attacks of 9/11, where a handful of airplane passengers ("ordinary people") on Flight 93 decided to resist the hijackers, shows perfectly how such stories are so touching that they are given huge attention. This attention in the case of Flight 93 had a remarkable impact on popular culture[218], which then transmitted the story to millions and millions of people.

On the other hand, the stories related to terrorism can be told from another point of view. In the other version, terrorists are seen as "victims" and "heroes". The biblical story of David and Goliath[219] has elements similar to these stories on terrorism: Powerful and evil politicians (Goliath) have been shaming the small nation (Israeli army) for a long time, until the small and brave hero (David), without any conventional symbols or techniques of an army (David was not a soldier, and he used neither sword, spear, nor armour), stands out and kills the opponent who is several times bigger and stronger by hitting him in the most vulnerable spot[220]. Naturally such stories on the "heroism" of terrorism do not underline the fact that according to the logic of terrorism, David should have gone to the home of Goliath and killed his family, instead of killing him on the battlefield.

3.3.4. Political implications

One of the main ideas behind the logic of terrorist action is that through the use of violence, people are forced to make reappraisals of the political conditions in relation to terrorism. As Martha Crenshaw has noted:

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[218] Todd Beamer's last words on the telephone from Flight 93 "Are you guys ready? Let's roll!" were later used in many songs, slogans, etc. and later a film was made on the happenings on the plane.
[219] 1 Samuel, Chapter 17.
[220] There is a striking similarity with the rhetoric and action of many religiously motivated terrorist groups compared to the story on the Bible: When Goliath insults the gods of David, David replies: "You come to me with a sword and with a spear and with a javelin, but I come to you in the name of the LORD of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom you have defied. This day the LORD will deliver you into my hand, and I will strike you down and cut off your head. And I will give the dead bodies of the host of the Philistines this day to the birds of the air and to the wild beasts of the earth, that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel, and that all this assembly may know that the LORD saves not with sword and spear. For the battle is the LORD's, and he will give you into our hand." 1 Samuel 17:45-47 (English Standard Version).

The power of terrorism is through political legitimacy, winning acceptance in the eyes of a significant population and discrediting the government's legitimacy. The terrorist organisation challenges the regime's right to possess a monopoly of force in society and physically demonstrates its inability to maintain order.[221]

In other words, terrorists challenge the way people think about the political system and its function. Terrorist actions, and political reactions they provoke, are both in the same context, and people take them both into account when making their appraisal on terrorism.

The most important factor that influences the political implications that can be drawn from terrorism is related to its perceived causes. Especially in democratic societies, it is a significant question why some people choose terrorism instead of other, more legitimate and less deadly means of influencing politics. So far research on terrorism has not been able to give a comprehensive explanation for this: There seems to be no "terrorist personality", although some personality traits like aggression, thirst for new stimuli, and action orientation are more common among terrorists than the rest of the population[222]. Likewise, no specific social or historical conditions have been found in the backgrounds of number of terrorists[223]. However, environmental and personal factors are the ones that direct political behaviour in general, and terrorism is after all one form of political behaviour[224]. For example, the process of socialization plays an important role in the radicalization of worldview. Personality traits, personal history intertwined with the perception of the political reality, social connections, emotions, and situational factors together create a personal possibility structure[225] for terrorism, which facilitates the process[226] of becoming a terrorist.

Despite the fact that no specific conditions have been shown to lead to terrorist action, it is not uncommon that terrorism is justified by the conditions. Al-Qaedaist movements, for example, justify their violence against western democracies partly because they think that they, especially the Americans, are invading Islamic countries culturally, economically, and politically, and that the capitalistic system is by nature exploiting them and preventing them

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[221] Crenshaw 1983, 25.
[222] Post 1990, 27.
[223] E.g. Malkki 2007, 46-51.
[224] Post 2004, 11-15.
[225] Compare to the concept of possibility structure by Tarrow 1998.
[226] On terrorism as a process see e.g. Häkkänen 2007, 40-42.

from maintaining their own, traditionally religiously built structures[227]. If the justification of violence is based on, say, the global economic system and sentiments of inequality, the question is then, why does this system not meet with more terrorist resistance? Even in the poorest countries, terrorism is not a popular form of political action, and there seems to be no correlation between poverty and terrorism. On the contrary, terrorism seems to be most popular in those countries that have been going through rapid changes that profoundly influence the whole society. Moving from rural, traditional and poorly educated societies towards urban, more secular, liberal and well educated societies has caused much resistance.[228] This is especially so if there is some ideology that justifies violent means. From the late 19th century to the 1970's, the most common ideologies that justified terrorism were some very extreme and rare forms of revolutionary communism or nationalism, and the recent Islamic terrorism is based on the equally extreme and rare interpretations of the concept of Jihad in Islam. Since all the milder forms of these ideologies share a great part of the general worldview with the radical interpretations, it is not at all uncommon that the logic behind causal attribution is similar, although the methods are not accepted. This means that certain structures, or policies in those structures, are seen to cause terrorism.

The question of legitimacy seems to be valid especially in separatist terrorism, because separatist groups need to maintain sufficient social support within the context in which they act, and they need to build a credible alternative to the existing system. The Legitimacy of the system is not much use to those groups that are preparing isolated acts of terrorism. For example, the group that made the 11-M attack did not need legitimacy for its action in the eyes of the Spanish public before or after the attack took place. The most important "significant population", as Crenshaw put it, for them was among the radical Muslims in Spain and elsewhere who shared their political ideology. However, this does not mean that the targeted population did not reconsider the legitimacy of the political system, or specific policies, in the case of 11-M. In Spain the legitimacy for participation in the war in Iraq was raised to the focus of the public after an Islamic group proved to be the perpetrator of the attack in Madrid. As demonstrated in Chapter 6 on the General Elections, the legitimacy of Spanish transatlantic policy was not popular before the attack, but without the attack it

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[227] E.g. Jordán 2004, 37-107.
[228] Estimate based on the statistics from the National Counterterrorism Center 2008, 9 [Internet document].

would not have influenced the outcomes of the elections. Therefore it could be argued that long-term terrorist campaigns are designed to influence the legitimacy of the whole system, whereas isolated acts of terrorism are intended to undermine the legitimacy of very specific policies. In the latter, terrorism is merely a very radical form of single-issue politics.

3.4. COPING WITH TERRORISM: FROM INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE TO POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR

In this study the following process view of coping is used: Coping can be defined as constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts that are directed to manage specific external and internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person[229]. In other words, "coping is the effort to manage psychological stress"[230]. Although coping is a psychological process, it can also function as an encouragement to political action. As Saari has noted, taking political action may be part of the protection mechanism helping the individual to avoid the difficult emotions that the pain and loss have caused[231]. However, coping is not always active and externally directed, but it may be internal, or based on aversion rather than confrontation. For example, Roseman in his appraisal model separates motives into appetitive and aversive motives[232]. This reflects different coping strategies.

In the Appraisal Theory, the third important object of appraisal is the coping potential. This is determined using three dimensions[233]. The first one is personal control potential related to the event. This means that the person estimates to what extent the event or its outcomes can be influenced or controlled by him or by others. The second one is related to power. If control is possible, "coping potential depends on the power of the organism to exert control, or recruit others to help"[234]. This is related to social and political activism, the formation of social networks and using existing political structures that are further

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[229] Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 141.
[230] Lazarus 2001, 45.
[231] Saari 2000, 53.
[232] Roseman 2001, 70-71.
[233] Scherer 2001, 97-98.
[234] Ibid.

discussed later in this chapter. The third dimension is adjustment. This means that the individual estimates whether he can adapt to or live with the consequences of the event, after all possible means of intervention have been tried. The appetitive and aversive motives mentioned above may be the result of these appraised dimensions. If the person in question estimates that he has high control potential, power to use control, and he is not going to adjust to the event, he is likely to take exterior action. On the other hand, if he estimates that his power to change things is low, or it is too costly when he could adjust to the circumstances, he may use an aversive coping strategy.

As the power dimension in the appraisal process on the coping potential indicates, individuals who respond to traumatic events may gather together and take political and social action. As Jennings has noted, without the framework of Appraisal Theory, traumatic events cut to the core of everyday lives and frequently infuse them with politics, and responses to them occupy a prominent place in the domains of public opinion and issue activism[235]. This activism normally happens through existing social networks and organisations, but if the existing structures are deemed as insufficient, people may rapidly form new networks and organisations. Jennings accordingly continues that activism related terrorism does not normally evolve into widespread grass-roots organisations, because terrorism is automatically on the attention of decision-makers, and there is not as much need to activism as in some other cases[236]. Using the vocabulary of Appraisal Theory, this means that the individual estimates that his personal control potential in relation to the event is low, because the problem is dealt with on a higher level of politics.

Contrary to the view of Jennings, the aftermath of 11-M in Spain demonstrates that political action may be taken in spite of the high level of political interest to cope with the problem. Even before the Madrid case, there was a long history of social movements for the victims of terrorism and against terrorism in general in Spain. This indicates that people in Spain had estimated their personal coping potential to be high in relation to terrorism, and especially its consequences. More so, it could be argued that due to the appraised high personal relevance of terrorism, the emotional and social responses to the acts of terrorism are potentially very strong. When Jennings & Andersen studied AIDS activists, they found

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[235] Jennings 1999, 1
[236] Jennings 1999, 5.

that personal pain and threat increased the support for disruptive political tactics, especially if the pain and threat were associated with bodily harm and death[237]. Even though there were significant within-group differences, this leads us to suspect that activism caused by terrorism has a similar potential to adapt disruptive tactics.

3.4.1. Activism as an aggregate of individual appraisals

Although there are so far no studies on the political affiliation, motives, background, tactics or ideologies of the social movements of the victims of terrorism, there are cases that support the hypothesis that acts of terrorism have great capacity to cause civic activism. For example, in the aftermath of the assassination of the film director Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands, there were several physical assaults on mosques and Muslims by the public. In Spain there were no such hostilities, because the government was made a scapegoat and the anger was directed against it, but during the first day after the attack, there was an incident in Pamplona, Basque Country, where a police officer killed a baker who did not allow him to put an anti-ETA poster in the wall of the bakery. This was an act based on group identity and the perceived symbolism (ego involvement) of the attack in Madrid. At that point many people still believed that ETA was the perpetrator (causal attribution), and the attack was a demeaning offence against the *Spanish*, leading to a dominant emotion of anger[238] that could be directed against the estimated cause of the event: Basques, especially the supporters of ETA. Since the police officer, in an emotional state of anger, estimated that he could do something about the circumstances, he decided to spread posters against ETA around Pamplona. The refusal of the baker to condemn the attack was even a further offence against the goals of the police officer, which then led to such extremity that the police officer could not adjust, and killed the baker.

The tragic episodes in the Netherlands and Pamplona were not just isolated cases when it comes to the responses to acts of terrorism. In the aftermath of several political crises, similar criminal acts have been committed to retaliate against traumatic events, and much milder forms of political activism have been used as a part of the coping. However, there is no theory or further ideas on the dynamics of how such of "post-traumatic" political responses take shape. Individual trauma experience and the victim categories could offer a

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[237] Jennings & Andersen 1996, 330.
[238] Core relational theme, Lazarus 2001, 64.

useful starting point for the analysis of activism formation and dynamics. Combining the categories of psychological victims with the instrumental logic of terrorism the following model can be drawn to describe the target of terror in relation to the terrorism in context:
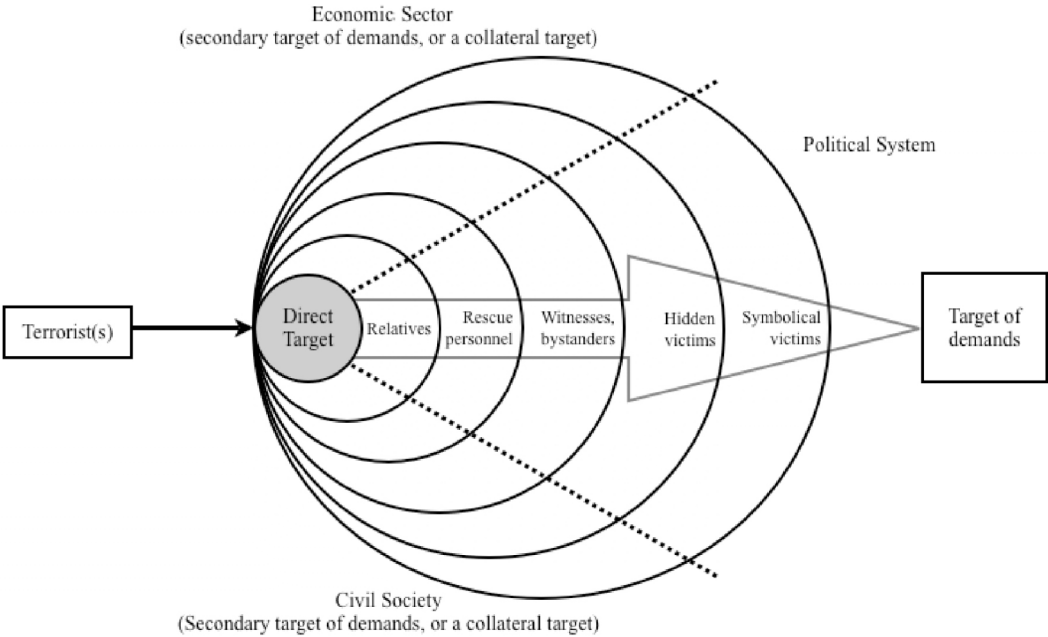
Table 2. *Victim categories and the logic of terrorism.*[239]

The model also describes how the victims of a terrorist action can be found within different sectors of society. Since terrorists design their actions so as to how political effects, effects in the political sector are more or less expected. However, the people targeted may be significant to the social or economic sectors as well, which means that any terrorist action can have side effects in these sectors. Those effects are perhaps not caused on purpose, but if they are, they are secondary targets of terror[240].

The model above may offer a good starting point for further theory formation. However, since it is hypothesised that the individual emotional response may lead to further political

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[239] Compare to Sinkkonen 2007, 122.
[240] It is rare that terrorists have social or economic goals as their primary target, and political as secondary, but such terrorism can also be included in the definition used here. It is not necessary that the political motives are the primary ones, but it is necessary that there are also political motives.

and social activism, some theories related to activism are needed in order to explain how the response transforms from a private to a public one. I have found that some ideas from the Actor Network Theory of Bruno Latour are the most convenient to explain this formation and its dynamics in cases related to terrorist action. I now present how it could be applied within the framework of this study.

3.4.2. Public response formation dynamics

Whether social activism caused by acts of terrorism is an aggregate of individual appraisals on the best coping strategy, that is to say responses[241] to those acts, or some kind of collective response, can be debated. When comparing the idea to public opinion formation studies – which after all deal with the same topic but with a different theoretical framework – and to the debate on the same issue, there seems to be no accordance. When the public, or in this case the responding parts of society, is understood as a collective, it means that the response "is an emergent property of a collective that cannot be traced in any simple way to the individual members of the body politic"[242]. According to another point of view individuals are seen as important actors in the process of forming a "public". As Taber has noted when reflecting upon the formation of a public opinion:

> [E]xternal factors do not directly cause aggregate public opinion but rather pass through the perceptions and information processing of individual citizens, whose responses may then be aggregated.[243]

It may be that the response of one single individual does not alone play a significant role in the formation of a public response, but each individual who participates in that process is nevertheless part of the causal chain of events where public opinion is formed[244]. Therefore individuals need to be accounted for in any explanatory analysis concerning the response in the social level.

Response to an act of terrorism, whether political, social, or individual, is based on the individual appraisal process, and especially on the part that considers the coping potential and possible behavioural strategies. Since one of the objects of this study is to theorize

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[241] The behavioural outcomes of an appraisal can be considered as a response to the appraised event.
[242] Taber 2003, 435.
[243] Taber 2003, 436.
[244] On the way individuals acquire information and convert it into public opinion, see also Zaller 1992, 40-52.

what the effects of terrorism are and how they influence the possible political response to acts of terrorism, it is now time to explain how individual appraisal processes lead to specific political actions.

The nature of the "stimulus" that an act of terrorism causes can best be understood comparing it to power. Applying the model of power translation by Bruno Latour[245], power moves and translates when one actor passes it to another through his actions. The original source "power" may emanate from a person or another instance willing to wield power by giving a "stimulus". This stimulus, however, rarely retains its form, but it is transformed to an impulse that is always in the hands of the person, the actor, who receives it in the chain of power translation. Although the power impulse is not something that is *possessed*, but something that has to be *made,* the actor receiving the impulse can translate it onwards through the action he takes. In this process of translation, the roles of the "powerful", the use of power and obeying are not traditional:

> Who will make it? *Others*, by definition […] These others, the only ones who are really powerful (*in actu*), therefore have to attribute their action to one amongst them who becomes powerful *in potentia*. This means that a constant debate will rage about who obeys and who is obeyed.[246]

Using this model in the context of terrorism, the power *in actu* of terrorism lies in the responding public, "others". Terrorists *make* the original stimulus with their violent action, but they cannot control how the power impulse goes on in the public, i.e. how the act of terrorism is appraised, and how people decide to cope with the problem. Depending on how the impulse is translated among the public, terrorists may be given power *in potentia*. Therefore the only true power that the terrorists have is power to cause physical damage[247].

As Prime Minister Rodríguez Zapatero said in the hearings of the March 11 Committee of Enquiry, referring to the explosions in the trains: "Claro que sus bombas tuvieron un efecto,

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[245] Latour 1986.
[246] Latour 1986, 274.
[247] Applying the theory on the political opportunity structure from Sidney Tarrow (1998, 71-90) to terrorist movements, techniques of violence can be considered as "powerful allies" to the terrorists. Normally terrorists do not have enough social support or allies within their context, or they are too impatient to work for them, and therefore they use violence in order to gain power *in potentia.* The random nature of terrorist action, the potential pain and loss they can cause to their victims, violate the basic conditions of a modern society, where the use of violence as a form of guarantee of security is in the monopoly of the state.

sobre el carne y el acero, no sobre nuestra libertad, no sobre nuestro espíritu."[248] Accordingly, in the model of translation the original stimulus or impetus, as Latour puts it, is not relevant from the point of view of the outcomes, because the displacement caused by the use of power is a consequence of the energy given to the impulse by everyone in the chain who does something with it[249]. Power is a consequence of collective action, not a cause of it[250]. When analysing the public response to an act of terrorism, the first question is therefore: Who is taking (collective) action? This is because among those taking action, the "power" of terrorism is defined. The following questions are: How is the energy translated from one actor to another, to what sort of groupings do the actors belong, and what do the actors want?[251]

In the case of terrorist attacks like those in Madrid, it is necessary to keep in mind that due to the collective nature of the event, millions of people start the appraisal process at the moment they hear about the event, and as a result, the coping potential is estimated. This entails the potential, according to the chain of power translation, that existing and new networks are used as part of the social and political activism. In other words, the "public response" starts simultaneously in many places. This means that it is not a question of a pure "cascading effect", where each actor waits to get the impulse from the previous actor before translating it forwards, but a simultaneous reaction of every individual somehow touched by the attack. The first moments after an attack are often characterised by uncertainty, fear and pain, but at the same time each person is forced to react. It takes a while before these individuals get together, share the experience, make sense of what has happened, and decide upon taking political action. This process is normally realized after immediate securing of the situation, since during the crisis people tend to be too occupied with the issues directly related to the life and death of themselves and the people close to them.

After this "political reaction time", events may succeed each other like a cascade, but since the power impulse is in the hands of the responding public, it can radically change its

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[248] "Of course their bombs had an effect, on the flesh and steel, not on our liberty, not on our spirit". *Diario de Sesiones* no. 22, 2.
[249] Latour 1986, 267.
[250] Latour 1986, 269.
[251] Compare to Latour 2005, 138.

course, and power *in potentia* is reformed. Terrorist acts like those in Madrid normally happen unexpectedly, which means that they have a huge potential to destroy existing power structures at least partially. Several different new structures, interpretations, meanings, discourses, etc. can be formed if the old ones do not fulfil the requirements of the new, changed situation. For example, even the most fundamental values and norms of society can be questioned. In the case of terrorism, it has often been observed, that quite drastic reforms have been made to restrict civil liberties and to redefine the role of the citizenship in general in order to respond effectively to the challenge terrorism is perceived to pose. In the most extreme cases of bypassing the very foundations of democracy, like the rule of law and freedom of speech, it could be useful to modify the perception of Prime Minister Zapatero cited above: "of course the response to terrorism has an effect, in the liberty and in the spirit, but not in the flesh and steel".

Following with Latour's model of translation, there are two different kinds of actors: intermediaries and mediators. An intermediary transports the power impulse without transformation, and the input equals the output[252]. In the context of the 11-M aftermath, intermediaries were, for example, those people who did not question any of the information[253] they were received, but passed it on to their personal contacts without altering the message. Whether the information competed with the official information given by the government or not is not relevant when naming people intermediaries, but the action that the person receiving information takes with it. In Spain, like anywhere else, many people are loyal to the media that shares their worldview, and they do not actively seek alternative information.

Compared to them, there were also people, who also followed the media representing an alternative political ideology, and drew their own conclusions about the course of events before taking any kind of action. These people in Latour's terms are mediators. They are the ones who transform the energy into something else, or even stop it by not passing it on. In other words, mediators do not act as the power impulse wants them to act, but make their own, independent choices. In the aftermath of 11-M there were several ways to transform

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[252] Latour 2005, 37-42.
[253] So much deliberate misinformation was given in the context of 11-M and its aftermath, that it can be considered one of the most important forms of the use of power.

the impulse, and since the information was one of the most important forms of the use of power, the main way was through the transformation of information. Mediators in the case of 11-M were those who participated in the public response (including opinion) formation actively interpreting the events and proposing ways to deal with the event and its aftermath.

However, it is difficult to make a distinction between these two kinds of actors, especially if the question is related to a real example, like that in Madrid. Since information was one of the main forms of the use of power, it has to be taken into account that even if the terrorist act is considered here to be the original stimulus, the impulses passing through the public were vivid and pluralistic. Information was continuously changing, new information changed the way old information was regarded, and very much information was deliberately false. The flow of information was not linear, but more like a situation where different peaces of information were going back and forth, some of them gaining more "weight", while others lost their importance and disappeared. Perhaps this is one of the reasons Latour later has described the process of translation as "a certain type of circulation"[254].

Whether the transformation process is linear or circular, it is after all a question of actors forming networks of power. The relations between different actors are performative[255] in nature meaning that only active ones are significant. An institutionalized relation is not relevant if it is not used through action. Therefore the true significance of a certain institution comes through the actual role it occupies. For example, in the case of Madrid, Prime Minister Aznar decided not to use institutional commissions for crisis or for intelligence, but formed an *ad hoc "*crisis cabinet". In the hearings of the March 11 Committee of Enquiry, he described his actions during the immediate aftermath of the attack in the following way: "A lo largo de esos días me reuní con distintas personas en formatos diversos, cada vez con el formato que consideraba más adecuado y más útil"[256]. The same logic that Prime Minister Aznar used in his networking was also common among the public: People met with the persons they considered most relevant at that moment. Observing this from the outside can be difficult, since individuals can act unexpectedly if

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[254] Latour 1999, 19.
[255] Law 1999, 7.
[256] "During those days I had meetings of various kinds with different persons, every time the way I considered the most adequate and useful". *Diario de Sesiones* 21, 64.

the focus is too much on the collective level. Therefore it is useful to keep in mind what Bruno Latour has written: "Actors know what they do and we have to learn from them not only what they do, but how and why they do it"[257].

3.5. APPRAISAL PATTERN OF THE EFFECTS OF TERRORISM

Using the appraisal theory, a pattern of responses can be drawn to describe the effects of terrorism. This pattern is different from other appraisal patterns, because when focusing on the political effects of terrorism, some dimensions can be left out. For example, many Appraisal Theories have been used to estimate highly detailed individual responses, like facial expressions, but when focusing on political response, this is not relevant, nor possible. Furthermore, even though some supporters of terrorism can make goal congruent appraisals in relation to specific acts of terrorism, and some people do not consider terrorism relevant for them personally, nor their friends and relatives, positive and neutral emotions are not relevant within the scope of this dissertation. Therefore the starting point is here that an act of terrorism is always appraised as goal incongruent and personally or socially harmful. It can also be argued that being among the direct targets of violence or losing someone personally important is of itself harmful and incongruent. Similarly the proximity to the event site and the severity of the exposure to horrifying images of themselves merely make it more likely, that the event is appraised as personally more relevant and threatening. There is no need here to discuss the meaning of loss and pain, but only their relation to acts of terrorism. The difference between acts of terrorism and other traumatic events is therefore in the first appraisal objective related to the symbolism, and to the victimisation. Other appraisal objectives are all important from the perspective of the effects and possible political response: causal attribution, perceived properties of the terrorist group in question, real and imagined threat of terrorism, and coping potential.

Now that acts of terrorism are seen here as always having negative effects, the sole significant components related to the personal relevance of terrorism were related to ego involvement. The most important one is related to the symbolism of terrorism. If the act of

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257 Latour 1999, 19.

terrorism is seen as an attack on group identity, it will most likely be appraised to be personally and socially relevant. As already discussed, most common group identities are based on religion, ethnicity, ideology and nationality. Besides the significance to the personal relevance, group identity is an important factor in appraisal related to the coping potential, since an attack on group identity may facilitate retaliation against the "other" group. Another ego-involvement factor is related to the experienced degree of gravity in becoming a victim of terrorism, that is to say victimisation. When terrorism is politically much disputed, the victims of terrorism are also more than merely victims of some random accident. Other people may blame them and their families and friends for being targeted, or the victims may be used as part of political debates. This may exacerbate the role of the victim.

The second objective of the appraisal process is related to the implications of the event and its causes and consequences. In relation to terrorism and its effects, the most important factor is how the causality is perceived. When there is a long-term terrorist campaign ongoing, the likelihood of an attack is greater than without a campaign, and terrorism is more likely to be seen as a permanent threat. This likely leads to an emotion of fear, in comparison to surprise and shock, which are related to acts of terrorism that are appraised as isolated ones. There is no doubt that terrorism is always human-caused, but the estimates of the cause of terrorism influence the causal locus, that in some cases may be other than the terrorists themselves. Social, economic, or political circumstances can be seen as the causal locus of terrorism, which may cause the emotional response to acts of terrorism to be not so much anger or hatred but sadness, dislike, or frustration. Furthermore, if it is considered that certain policies, for example oppression, exploitation, or foreign intervention, have caused the terrorists to commit their act, it is possible that people direct their negative feelings towards those responsible for those policies. Especially when people estimate that certain policies have been executed even though it has been known that they may give a motive to terrorists, anger is a likely emotional response.

Real and imagined properties of a terrorist group that have caused the event under appraisal influence the way people estimate the degree of intentionality. Relying on the simplistic view given by mass media and popular culture, terrorists are often seen as an extreme form of malevolence. An image of a terrorist who is so committed to his cause that he is willing

to die himself in an attack where he aims to kill as many people as possible, perhaps with a CBRN weapon that causes suffering and harmful effects perhaps over generations to those who are not killed by it, is both terrifying, and anger provoking.

Causal attribution is closely related to the coping potential. As noted earlier, the way people estimate their chances of controlling the event or its perceived causes, can lead to two different coping strategies: appetitive and aversive. Naturally it is significant how terrorism is perceived, and what the original cause of it is. If the cause is attributed to a certain policy or, for example, socio-economic circumstances, people estimate their coping potential in relation to changing the policy, politicians, or circumstances. A variety of political methods can be used, but as Jennings and Andersen note, when the event is seen as life threatening, personal pain and threat increase the support for disruptive political tactics, especially if the pain and threat are associated with bodily harm and death[258]. In other words, appraisals of the urgency and the severity of the threat likely lead to more radical methods than when the problem is not appraised as urgent, or very threatening.

In conclusion, a pattern on the potential response(s) to terrorism can be drawn. This is presented in the Table 3. below.

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[258] Jennings & Andersen 1996, 330.

CAUSAL LOCUS AND OTHER RELEVANT IMLPICATIONS	EMOTIONAL RESPONSES AND APPETITIVE COPING STRATEGIES	EMOTIONAL RESPONSES AND AVERSIVE COPING STRATECIES
Terrorists - Permanence of threat - Properties of the group - Techniques of violence Perceived goals	Anger against terrorists and what they represent → Retaliation, fighting back →Support for hard policies and charismatic leaders → Possible hate-crimes	Fear of terrorism →Acceding to demands →Non-confrontational tactics (e.g. voting) → Fear of the "other"
Politicans - Political structure (e.g. pluralistic vs. two-party system) - Personification	Anger against responsible politicians → Demands to change the politicians, and bad policies → Unconventional tactics (protests etc.)	Contempt for politicians → Support for alternative policies → Non-confrontal tactics (voting)
Circumstances - Global structures - Cultural differences - Global "scapegoats" - Personification of global leaders	Frustration → Demands to change the politicians, and bad policies → Unconventional tactics against scapegoats	Fear, sadness → Support for isolating global policies

Table 3. *Response(s) to terrorism. A hypothesized appraisal pattern of the potential emotional effects of an act of terrorism, and how it is transformed into political action.*

4. CRISIS GOVERNANCE

This chapter on crisis governance has a twofold purpose: Firstly to analyse how the political decision-makers were able to govern the crisis situation in Spain after the attack. This analysis includes the actions and non-actions of the Government, and how they functioned from the point of view of the public – or in other words, how the crisis governance affected the appraisal process of the people. The second purpose is to describe those events in Spain that are essential in the analysis of the following chapters on public response and electoral behaviour. This means that the chronology of the aftermath and the actions of the political opposition of Aznar's Government are also described here with the level of detail that was considered relevant. As already discussed in the previous chapter on the effects of terrorism, in order to analyse the effects of a specific act of terrorism, it is necessary to analyse the wider circumstances related to the traumatic event. This analysis includes the causal attribution and its dimensions, wider implications that can be drawn from the attack, and the estimated coping potential.

Before proceeding with the analysis, it is necessary to explain the terminology used here. Very often the actions of political leaders during a crisis situation are called crisis management. Although the term management could be understood widely as a process of dealing with or controlling people, it often refers to the leadership and direction of an institution, organisation, or a business. Crisis management, normally refers to the capacity to provide direction and required services, most of all first aid and security, in the most difficult circumstances. Even though some scholars of crisis management, like Arjen Boin et al., use the term management in the sense that it takes into account the whole crisis response network and other stakeholders that may have effects on the successes or failures of the management besides these of the Government or other responsible organisation[259], for the purpose of this dissertation the term crisis management has connotations that could mislead the reader. Therefore the term governance is used instead of management. According to Tiihonen, governance can be considered as "the art and practise of running a country"[260]. Governing and governance are processes of management and rule that involve

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[259] Boin et al. 2005, 1-10.
[260] Tiihonen 2004, 18.

the arrangement and interaction of national socio-political actors, institutions, processes and structures[261]. This means that besides being able to *manage* the emergency services in the crisis situation, political leaders should also be able to *govern* the country. In other words this means involving all the relevant stakeholders, such as other parliamentary parties, in dealing with the crisis, and interacting with the public, media, and international actors, such as foreign intelligence services, institutions in the European Union and United Nations, and foreign governments.

It could be said that governance is a broader term than management. For example, when the crisis in Spain was evident, the Government listed its immediate priorities:

> [L]a primera, atender a la multitud de las víctimas y a sus familiares; la segunda, evitar nuevas acciones de las terroristas; la tercera, descubrir a los autores y tomar todas las medidas posibles para detenerlos, y la cuarta, informar con la máxima transparencia a la opinión pública en un momento crítico.[262]

> [F]irst, to attend to the multitude of victims and their relatives; second, to avoid new actions by the terrorists; third, to track down the perpetrators and arrest them by all possible means, and fourth, to inform the public in a critical moment with maximum transparency.

These priorities are typical of the management aspect of crises, because they all require an efficient and functional network of emergency and security services. And this "crisis management" was actually a success in Madrid. Emergency services functioned as planned, and the police were able to track down the perpetrators in only a few days, even if the publicity of the investigations made it a difficult task. Besides the listed priorities, the Spanish Government also acted otherwise: It took a position on other political forces, acted in international forums, and most of all took decisions that hade both wanted and unwanted repercussions in the whole of Spanish society. This, together with the management of emergency and security services, is crisis governance. The underlying hypothesis in this dissertation is that the crisis governance played a crucial part in the effects that the attack in Madrid had. It influenced the way people made their appraisals of the attack and its consequences.

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[261] Tiihonen 2004, 18-19.
[262] According to the Former Minister of the Interior Ángel Acebes in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 2).

One of the main functions in crisis governance is to give a meaning to the event that has caused the crisis. This happens mainly through a so-called framing process, which means that a certain kind of interpretation of the cause and consequences of the problem, including the proposal for the best policy to solve it, is deliberately presented. However, other aspects of crisis governance also influence the appraisals people make in the course of the aftermath. Since governance also refers to the interaction and use of power over other political forces, this has to be studied as well as part of the crisis governance.

For narrative reasons this chapter is divided into three sub-chapters that reflect different phases of the crisis governance[263]. Each phase is named after its main function in the process: 1) Sense making, 2) decision making, and 3) meaning making. At the beginning of each chapter the function of the phase is explained. Although this division also reflects the timeline of the aftermath, it is necessary to keep in mind that it may overlap at some points. For example, the sense-making process may still be ongoing while the decision-makers have to start doing their work. This is where crisis governance differs from normal governance: decisions have to be made when there is not yet clear information on the cause and dimensions of the crisis at hand. This overlapping is also reflected in the following sub-chapters, since the timeline goes back and forth on several occasions in order to retain the idea of the functionality of each phase. Furthermore, this division reflects the appraisal process of the event, but the difference is that where appraisal is an individual process, these phases refer to the political process.

4.1. SENSE MAKING

In the sense-making phase of crisis governance, both the policy makers and the public need information about the event in order to make their appraisal of its potential threat and the way one should respond to it. As discussed in the section on causal attribution dimensions

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[263] Boin et al. 2005 have used the same categorization in their book on the politics of crisis management. Since Boin et al. used the term management in its wide sense, the categories are also applicable in the analysis of crisis governance.

(3.3.1.), in the case of natural disasters, the sense-making is often simple, since they rarely come totally out of the blue, and if they do, they do not require much explanation. However, when it is question of a human-caused accident, there is a wider range of possible explanations, and causal attribution becomes more relevant. The more complex the situation is, the harder it becomes to make a clear-cut causal attribution. In the case of terrorism, politics is always involved, and people may put the causal locus onto the terrorists, political decision-makers, or generally blame the circumstances. As is quite common, many terrorist organisations do not warn about their actions beforehand, and therefore the response often happens without clear knowledge of those behind the attack. In those cases policymakers have to rely on the probabilities, estimates, and on information that is fragmentary and sporadic, and start to make decisions on the political measures based on them.

4.1.1. Who did it? – a look into the past

The trains exploded in Madrid at 7:39 – 7:42 in the morning. During the very first hours after the attack there was not even information on its severity, meaning the number of direct victims, not to mention the explosive devices used, and those behind the atrocity. Making sense of all the dimensions of the attack was therefore a difficult task. At 9:00 the police announced the deaths of over thirty people at the explosion sites of El Pozo, Santa Eugenia and Atocha[264], but the number was steadily increasing as the investigations advanced. It was not until 01:30 the next night that the forensic experts concluded their autopsies calculating altogether 192 fatalities[265].

One of the first questions after the attack was quite naturally "who did it?" This is because causal attribution is relevant to the appraisals of the coping potential of individuals. However, there was no clear answer to this, and people had make their appraisals with fragments of information, using simple heuristics based on past events to fill the gaps in

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[264] Chalvidant 2004, 15.

[265] This was not the final number of fatalities, since further forensic investigations showed that some body parts were from the same person, and the number was lowered to 190, which included an unborn child. However, on March 30, one corpse more was found in the trains, and the final and confirmed number of mortal victims of the terrorist attack is thus 191. On the process of forensic medicine in the Madrid case, see the testimony of the director of the *Instituto Anatómico Forense de Madrid*, Carmen Baladía Olmedo in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones*, no. 2, 26-41). In spite of this, it is not uncommon to see number 192 as the amount of the mortal victims. The reason for this is that the police officer who was killed in the explosion when trying to arrest the suspected terrorists in Leganes on April 3, 2004, is then counted as the "last victim of March 11".

their causal attributions. The politicians, as well as possibly the vast majority of the Spanish citizens, thought that ETA was behind the attack. The Basque terrorists had been dominating the Spanish scene of political violence for nearly 40 years by the time of the attack, and suspecting them was so instinctive, that it easily caused a bias in the interpretation of the events. The former Minister of the Interior Ángel Acebes Paniagua described the basis of the ETA hypothesis well in his appearance in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry:

> A lo largo de la mañana […] el secretario de Estado de Seguridad [Ignacio Astarloa Huarte-Mendicoa] ya me había trasmitido que la valoración que habían hecho los mandos policiales y los responsables de la lucha antiterrorista decía que se trataba de la organización terrorista ETA sin ninguna duda, y los motivos eran: *modus operandi*; antecedentes, información que disponíamos en cuanto a que ETA buscaba un gran atentado en Madrid antes de las elecciones ya que lo había intentado 10 días antes con más carga explosiva que la del mismo día 11 – es decir con 500 kilos de explosivos –; en una zona que no estaba alejada de donde se habían producido estas explosiones, que era un atentado similar al de Chamartín; que en nochevieja del 2002 habían procurado un atentado con una secuencia que produjera un mayor caos. Es decir, todo apuntaba a la organización terrorista ETA y esta fue la valoración que hicieron. Se sabían que lo querían hacer, se sabía cuándo lo querían hacer y era el modo de operar de la organización terrorista ETA.[266]

> During the morning […] the Secretary of State for Security [Ignacio Astarloa Huarte-Mendicoa] had already informed me, that the evaluation that the commanders of the police and those in charge of the counterterrorism had made, said that it was ETA without any doubt, and the motives were: *modus operandi*; previous events, information we had about that ETA was searching for a big attack in Madrid before the elections, since it had tried it 10 days before with more explosive charges than in the very day of 11 – meaning with 500 kilos of explosives –; in a zone that was not far away from the place these explosions were produced, that it was a similar attack to the one in Chamartín; that on Christmas Eve 2002, they had attempted an attack with a resulting in major chaos. In other words, everything was pointing at the terrorist organization ETA, and this was the evaluation they made. It was known that they wanted to do it, it was known when they wanted to do it, and it was the mode of operation of the terrorist organization ETA.

Besides the past events that Acebes mentioned, during March 11 and 12, the security forces received many tippoffs about ETA activists in Madrid[267], which made Prime Minister Aznar to conclude that there was "agitación extremada"[268] in the political wing of ETA. Summing the past with this "extreme restlessness", the authorities calculated then that ETA was behind the attack.

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[266] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 14-15.
[267] Secretary of State for Security Ignacio Astarloa Huarte-Mendicoa in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 18, 19-20).
[268] "Extreme restlessness" (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 7).

However, if the authorities arrived at their conclusion about the guilt of ETA really as Acebes described above, it means that they were mentally more prepared for the known terrorism of ETA than for any other forms of known or unknown terrorism[269]. Even though it is always easy to see things clearly with hindsight, using past events and known international trends in terrorism, another kind of conclusion should also have come to the minds of Spanish authorities. The previous events related to radical Islamic activism in Spain were indicating a distinct growth of the number of radical activists in Spain and a rising interest to target the Spanish for their nationality: The police had arrested more Islamic radicals in the beginning of the 2000's in Spain than anywhere else in the European Union[270], which may indicate that Spain was effectively used by Islamic terrorists as some kind of "safe haven" or logistical node. Even though Spain had not been directly targeted before March 11 by Islamic terrorism[271], the terrorist attack in Casablanca on May 16, 2003 shows that there was an interest to target the Spanish for being Spanish. Then a group of 14 suicide bombers from *Salafia Jihadia* simultaneously attacked the *Casa de España* restaurant, a Jewish community centre, the Hotel Farah, a Jewish-owned Italian restaurant, and the Belgian Consulate, which was close to the Italian restaurant, killing in total 33 people, of whom four had Spanish nationality, and injuring more than 100[272]. The *modus operandi* of the attack in Casablanca was clearly more similar to that in Madrid than any attack by ETA, even if there ware no suicide terrorists involved: it was an attack with multiple bombs against a target to cause maximum damage to random citizens. If this alone was not enough to raise a suspicion that some forms of Islamic terrorism might be acting in Spain as well, perhaps the statement by Osama Bin Laden in October 2003 should have made it clear that Spain was among the enemies of al-Qaida:

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[269] Perhaps the right term for Islamic terrorism in Spain before the events in Madrid would have been "known unknown terrorism", since it was certainly known everywhere after the September 11, 2001, attacks in the U.S.A., but so far it was unknown (or ignored) that it could be operative inside Spain as well.

[270] Between 2000 and 2004 more than 30 police operations were executed against Islamic radicalism, and nearly one hundred activists arrested (Fontecha 2004, 297-299). According to the former director of the Civil Guard Santiago López Valdivielso, those arrests did not indicate that there was any operative group capable of making an attack like the one in Madrid (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 8, 111). Naturally the greater number of arrestees may also indicate that the Police attacked the radicals with more effectiveness than in other EU countries.

[271] In 1985 there was a terrorist attack in the Community of Madrid realized by Lebanese Islamic Yihad. The attack was on a restaurant *El Descanso*, which was popular among American military personnel from a nearby base. In the attack 18 people were killed and 82 injured. Even though the attack happened on Spanish territory, it has been interpreted as an attack against the Americans because of the target selection. (Fontecha 2004, 300).

[272] Fontecha 2004, 305; Wikipedia: "2003 Casablanca bombings" [Internet document].

> [W]e maintain our right to reply, at the appropriate time and place, to all the states that are taking part in this unjust war [in Iraq], particularly Britain, Spain, Australia, Poland, Japan, and Italy.[273]

Nevertheless, the Spanish national intelligence centre (*Centro Nacional de Inteligencia, CNI*) still assessed that the threat of Islamic terrorism was high only against the Spanish troops in Iraq or against "Spanish interests abroad", not on the Iberian Peninsula[274].

4.1.2. Biased sense making, or political calculation?

No matter how "natural" the ETA hypothesis was after 40 years of Basque terrorism, past events cannot serve as any kind of evidence, nor can they be used to explain an unexpected event. Accepting the ETA hypothesis as the former Minister of Interior Acebes described earlier, simply means that the authorities used encoded experience in making sense of the attack: they focused on superficial similarities between the events of March 11 and previous failed or foiled actions of ETA, and constructed the whole scenario around those false cues, making them blind to other interpretations of the event[275].

One could go even further from simple biased sense-making, since even the superficial similarity between ETA's actions and the March 11 attack is questionable. Even though a couple of foiled terrorist actions by ETA could indicate that they were planning something like the March 11 attack, it had never actually realized anything even remotely similar. The

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[273] An extraction of the traduced full speech, BBC News web site: "Bin Laden Messages: Full Text" [Internet document].

[274] Former director of CNI Jorge Dezcallar de Mazarredo in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 7, 5). Soon after the Madrid attack, although not in time to influence the sense-making process before the election day, an interesting document from a web site called "Global Islamic Media" came to wider knowledge. In the document it was estimated that an attack against Spanish troops could cause significant effects: "Therefore we say that in order to force the Spanish government to withdraw from Iraq the resistance should deal painful blows to its forces. This should be accompanied by an information campaign clarifying the truth of the matter inside Iraq. It is necessary to make utmost use of the upcoming general election in Spain in March next year. We think that the Spanish government could not tolerate more than two, maximum three blows, after which it will have to withdraw as a result of popular pressure. If its troops still remain in Iraq after these blows, then the victory of the Socialist Party is almost secured, and the withdrawal of the Spanish forces will be on its electoral programme." The translation and the original document in Arabic can be found in the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment web site (*Forsvarets Forskning Institut*, FFI), 2004-03-19 [Internet document]. The author of the document remains unknown, but it was prepared by the "Media Committee for the Victory of the Iraqi People (Mujahidin Services Centre)" in September 2003 and published on approximately December 10, 2003. Researchers from the FFI found the document in December, and after the events in Madrid started to analyse it in more detail.

[275] On the individual constraints during the sense making process, see Boin et al. 2005, 31-34. These can also be compared to the reasons for differential appraising in this study (3.1.2.).

most destructive attack by ETA was in Barcelona in 1987, when it attacked a supermarket causing the death of 21 people, but besides that it had been mostly concentrated on selected assassinations and bomb attacks with relatively little damage to bystanders. That was the *modus operandi* of ETA, not a sequential bomb attack in a crowded place intended to kill hundreds of people. Therefore it is reasonable also to ask whether ETA actually wanted to realize the attack in Chamartín station causing a maximum number of human casualties, or were they planning to warn about it before the execution of the attack in order to enhance the credibility of the threat without causing human casualties, as they often do. Whereas this question will not be answered, it is nevertheless important to underline that questioning the intentions of ETA does not mean that they were not capable of doing something like the March 11 attack – ETA is after all a terrorist organisation– but it means that in reality ETA had never used terrorist attacks as in the case of March 11. ETA normally, but not always, warns about their bombs in advance, and they often, not always, select their targets more specifically, meaning that they have attacked random citizens only as an exception, not as a rule[276].

Since the March 11 attack was not similar to the terrorist attacks perpetrated by ETA, the hypothesis on the involvement of the Basque terrorists could be more than consequence of an innocent, biased sense making: it could be based on a narrative fallacy. The March 11 attack was an event beyond the realm of normal expectations, and people used past information and perceptions of the past to fit the unexpected and inexplicable event to the "narrative", or in other words, into their worldview[277]. As Nassim Taleb describes the fallacy, it is associated to the overinterpretation and predilection for narratives over truth, meaning that people tend to have a need to explain things, to force logical links and relationships, and bind facts together into a compact and coherent narrative[278]. This often happens using past events, the existing "narrative". In the case of Madrid this meant that the political authorities had in mind an existing "ETA narrative", and when the attack came, they forced all the facts found into that narrative even though they did not fit. While the

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[276] An interesting question is, are terrorist organisations always logical in their actions? Often it is expected, that a terrorist organisation follows a certain logic, their modus operandi, and always use similar methods, materials, etc. However, the history of ETA, as well as the history of many other terrorist organisations, shows that they have revised their way to acting several times. Naturally the reason is often logical, like for example if the organisation has access to certain kinds of explosives instead of the ones they have used before, but in some cases the change may seem inexplicable and unexpected.
[277] Taleb's "black swan" and the use of hindsight bias (Taleb 2007, xvii-xviii)
[278] Taleb 2007, 63-64.

investigations progressed, many authorities did indeed notice that they had been mistaken, and later some even acknowledged this in public. For example, the former director of CNI, Jorge Dezcallar de Mazarredo, was one of the few to admit the existence of the narrative fallacy later in his testimony to March 11 Committee of Enquiry:

> ¿Estamos obsesionados con ETA? Hasta cierto punto, sí porque ETA era y ha sido nuestro problema. Y ETA ha matado aquí, ha matado repetidamente. En ese momento interpretábamos, en un análisis que hacíamos, que quería recuperar visibilidad, lo necesitaba, sabíamos que quería hacerse presente de alguna forma en las elecciones[.][279]

> Were we obsessed with ETA? Until a certain point yes, because ETA was, and has been, our problem. And ETA has killed here, it has killed repeatedly. In that moment we interpreted in one of our analyses, that it was willing to regain prominence, it needed it, and we knew that it wanted to proclaim its presence somehow in the elections [.]

But as it is always difficult to acknowledge one's mistakes, Prime Minister Aznar was especially famous for being stubborn and inflexible, meaning that the Government followed the path it had chosen: ETA had to be behind the attack, and even if the evidence was contradictory to that hypothesis, ETA had to be at least somehow involved. This narrative fallacy can be extremely persistent, since as Secretary of State for Security Astarloa stated in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry, aptly describing the perception of many supporters of Prime Minister Aznar's Government: "yo no he descartado a día de hoy la intervención de ETA en el atentado del 11-M"[280].

It is also possible that the strong emphasis on the ETA hypothesis over other possibilities in the Madrid case could also have been a conscious attempt by the Government to frame the crisis in a politically convenient way. Framing is more purposeful than a fallacy or a bias: it is a deliberately chosen policy. The Spanish Government was certainly aware that its decision to participate in the U.S. led coalition in the Iraq war was very unpopular. Only a year before, the vast majority of the Spanish were opposed to the war, including some citizens who are normally very loyal to the PP. The Government had not bothered to legitimize its decision to participate in the war, not before or after taking it, and therefore an attack motivated by the war could raise the topic again to the consciousness of the electorate with disastrous consequences to the success of PP in the elections. Even though all the polls predicted a victory for the PP before the March 11 attack, the difference from

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[279] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 7, 7.
[280] "I have not ruled out yet to this day the intervention of ETA in the attack of March 11". *Diario de Sesiones* no. 18, 13. This could also be called a "living lie" (Paastela 1995, 173-187), which means that a person wants so much certain things to be true, that he ignores all the contrary information and facts related to it.

the PSOE was not so big that a single event before the elections could not cause an overturn. Given that Prime Minister Aznar was a very experienced politician, it is reasonable to assume that he was aware of the situation and its possible consequences for the success of his party in the elections. At least there was a clear temptation to give a deliberate emphasis to the ETA hypothesis even though there was no real evidence to back it up. However, this point of view remains speculative, since there is no irrefutable evidence to show that the Government or its representatives were manipulating the information, or even withholding it. When Prime Minister Aznar left his office at Moncloa after losing the elections, all the documents, minutes of the meetings, acts, decisions, notes, etc. from the period of March 11 to 14 were destroyed before the newly elected Zapatero and his officials took office[281].

4.1.3. Critical sense making nodes

In order to facilitate sense making, all parties cancelled their official electoral campaigns and focused on the terrorist attack and its consequences. Both the PP and the PSOE did this within an hour and half of the first explosion. As the leader of the PP and the presidential candidate, Mariano Rajoy said to the press, aptly describing the message of all parties: "Son momentos para dejar a un lado todas las diferencias y unir las voluntades de todos los españoles, unidos con las víctimas y unidos con sus familias"[282]. Whereas many people united with their families as Mariano Rajoy recommended policymakers united with the people they considered important in making sense of what had happened. Countless conversations and meetings were held, people consulted the media and personally visited the sites of explosions, hospitals, police, etc. In other words, they were networking and forming important sense making nodes. These nodes were formed simultaneously in many places, and it is impossible and needless to go into the details of every node. The most significant process was quite naturally the sense making of the Government, since being the supreme political authority it influenced the sense making of other political elites, media,

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[281] Prime Minister Zapatero in his testimony at March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 22, 19).
[282] "It is time to put aside all the differences, and unite the will of every Spanish person, united with the victims, united with their families." Cited in "Rajoy y Zapatero suspenden los actos electorales y dan por terminada la campaña" (Rajoy and Zapatero suspend their electoral deeds and consider that the campaign is over), *ABC* 12.3.2004.

and public[283]. It is also necessary to note here that the decision making phase was getting started, even if the sense making was still going on. Some of the critical sense making nodes presented here also functioned as decision-making nodes.

At the beginning of the crisis, Atocha railway station became the centre of attention in Madrid. Two of the four exploded trains were in Atocha, and it was a good place to form the base for the emergency operation. The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries situated right across the street from the station, and it offered the members of the Government a logistical place for management if needed. The first representatives of the Government visited the place approximately one hour after the explosions. They were the Minister of Economic affairs and first Deputy Prime Minister Rodrigo de Rato y Figaredo and the mayor of Madrid, Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón Jiménez, followed by the Minister of the Interior, Ángel Acebes Paniagua. During his visit to Atocha Acebes gave his first communiqué to the press, which was broadcast at 11:00, saying briefly that people should remain calm, and that the investigations were progressing[284]. Although Prime Minister Aznar did not visit the crisis site in person, he met with both Minister Rato and with Minister Acebes shortly after their visit to Atocha in his *ad hoc* crisis cabinet.

While the first public statements had already been given by the various party leaders, the Government was still acting behind the scenes. When Prime Minister Aznar heard about the attack, he cancelled all his engagements and declared three days of national mourning. Then he stayed in his office at Moncloa putting together pieces of information. Between 9:00 and 10:00 he talked on the phone at least with King Juan Carlos, the leader of his own party Mariano Rajoy, former Prime Minister of the Catalonian regional government, Jordi Pujol y Soley, and the leader of the PSOE, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero[285]. In his phonecall to Zapatero at 9:55 he informed him briefly about the details of the investigation, the victims, the implementation of the emergency services, and about the concern about new terrorist attacks. At this point the Prime Minister also mentioned for the first time his plan to organize a national demonstration, which will be discussed more in the following

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[283] Entman 2004, 10.
[284] Chalvidant 2004, 18; Olmeda 2005, 18.
[285] Olmeda 2005, 18.

chapter on the decision-making.[286] After this, at 11:00, Prime Minister Aznar gathered together a group of his most trusted politicians into an improvised "Crisis Cabinet". This informal cabinet was at least momentarily the central node of Aznar's sense making and decision making network, and it included the Minister for Economic Affairs and the first Deputy Prime Minister Rodrigo de Rato, Minister of the Presidency of the Government and second Deputy Prime Minister Javier Arenas Bocanegra, Minister of the Interior Ángel Acebes, Minister of Employment and Social Security and the Spokesperson for the Government Eduardo Zaplana Hernández-Soro, Secretary General of the Presidency of the Government Javier Zarzalejos Nieto, and the Secretary of State for Communication Alfredo Timermans del Olmo[287].

This move to use an *ad hoc* crisis group was an interesting one, since there was already an established commission for crises, the Delegate Commission of the Government for Crisis Situations (*Comisión Delegada del Gobierno para Situaciones de Crisis*[288]), and a special commission for intelligence purposes, the Delegate Commission of the Government for Intelligence (*Comisión Delegada del Gobierno para Asuntos de Inteligencia*[289]). The main difference between the *ad hoc* crisis cabinet and the established commissions was that the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the director of CNI were not included in Prime Minister Aznar's selection, whereas the Secretary of State for Communication was. This improvisation in the moment of crisis was later criticised, and in the eyes of the public it may have played a part in the perception that the Government was concealing or manipulating information. To that criticism Prime Minister Aznar answered in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry, justifying his decision by functionality:

> Efectivamente, convoqué lo que se ha dado en llamar un gabinete de crisis y es sencillamente absurdo pensar que en una situación como la que se vivió el 11 de marzo el presidente del Gobierno no estaba asistido de los vicepresidentes, de los ministros más directamente afectados, del director del Centro Nacional de Inteligencia y de sus

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[286] Former Prime Minister Aznar in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 10).

[287] There were rumours that the director of the CNI Jorge Dezcallar de Mazarredo also participated in the meeting, but Mr. Dezcallar denied his participation in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 7, 8).

[288] Real Decreto 2639/1986, 30 diciembre [Internet document]. After March 11 attacks, this degree was soon replaced by the Real Decreto 1194/2004, 14 de mayo [Internet document]. In the new combination of the Delegate Commission of the Government for the Crisis Situations the Secretary of State of Security and the director of CNI are added to the Commission, whereas the Minister of Economics and Finance is no longer included.

[289] Ley 11/2002, 6 de mayo [Internet document].

colaboradores más próximos. Sin embargo, no convoqué la Comisión Delegada del Gobierno para Situaciones de Crisis. Entendí que no era el momento de convocar formalmente un órgano que, entre otras exigencias, requería la presencia física continuada de ministros y altos cargos que deberían dirigir la actuación sobre el terreno de sus departamentos.[290]

Effectively, I convoked what has later been called a crisis cabinet, and it is simply absurd to think that in a situation like the one we were experiencing on March 11, the Prime Minister had not been assisted by the Deputy Prime Ministers, the ministers most directly affected, the director of the National Intelligence Centre, and his closest collaborators. Nevertheless, I did not summon the Delegate Commission of the Government for Crisis Situations. I understood that it was not the moment for formally convoking an organism that required, among other things, continuous physical presence of ministers and senior officials that should be directing the action in the field of their departments.

One reason for Prime Minister Aznar's decision to use an improvised crisis cabinet may simply be his personal leadership style[291]. He is known to be a decisive and strong leader, but not a transparent and one given to dialogue. When the decision not to summon the official formal delegation was put together with other actions and non-actions of Aznar and his Government, it was one argument more backing up the suspicion of information manipulation. Especially the presence of the Secretary of State for Communication and the lack of the representatives of the Intelligence Service suggest that the purpose of the meeting was not merely sense making, but also making decisions on the information strategy of the Government.

From the point of view of the sense-making phase of the crisis governance process, perhaps one of the most important nodes of the response network, in hindsight, was the meeting on the operative cooperation and information between 12:00 and 13:00 at the Ministry of the Interior. That meeting was summoned by the Secretary of State for Security Ignacio Astarloa Huarte-Mendicoa, and those present included the director general of Police, Agustín Díaz de Mera y García-Consuegra, the director general of the Civil Guard, Santiago López Valdivielso, the deputy director of Police (*subdirector general operativo de la Dirección General de la Policía*), Pedro Díaz-Pintado Moraleda, the deputy director of Civil Guard (*General de la Guardia Civil de la Subdirección General de Operaciones*), Vicente Faustino Pellicer*,* commissary general of information of Police (*comisario General de Información*), Jesús de la Morena Bustillo, the chief of information of the Civil Guard

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[290] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 3-4.
[291] Olmeda 2005, 18.

(*jefe de Información de la Policía Judicial de la Guardia Civil*) General José Manuel García Varela, and possibly at the beginning the supreme chief of Police in Madrid (*jefe superior de Policía de Madrid*) Miguel Ángel Fernández Rancaño[292]. In the meeting the ETA-hypothesis was confirmed, based basically on the previous events: ETA had been caught only a week before the attacks with over 500 kilograms of explosives, heading towards the capital, and on Christmas Eves 2003 and 2002 ETA had attempted massive attacks in Madrid, including trains as their target. As the Secretary of State for Security, Ignacio Astarloa Huarte-Mendicoa, stated later in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry: "Ese día de verdad a quien temíamos era a ETA"[293]. However, no evidence was found at the explosion sites to support the ETA hypothesis. In order to get the very latest information, deputy director of Police Díaz-Pintado called the field, and spoke with the police officer in charge of the Tedax (*Los Técnicos Especialistas en Desactivación de Artefactos Explosivos*) – the bomb squad of the Police – Santiago Cuadro Jaén. At that point Mr. Cuadro did not know any relevant details, but he called back a few minutes later saying: "podría ser una dinamita reforzada con un cordón detonante"[294]. Deputy director Díaz-Pintado, however, testified later that he heard: "Titadyne con cordón detonante"[295]. This erroneous information about Titadyne was relevant, since it was the type of dynamite the ETA had been using after the group robbed a significant amount of it from France in 1999, and it was so far the sole evidence to support the ETA-hypothesis. Díaz-Pintado later explained his small but significant mistake:

> Creo que no hay ningún culpable: simplemente lo que hay es un error en la cadena de transmisión que tiene toda organización piramidal. […L]as prisas fuerzan a veces a que le preguntamos no al que tiene que hacer la analítica final sino al que está in situ.[296]
>
> I think that nobody is to blame: what happened was simply an error in the chain of transmission that every pyramidal organization has. […] The hurry sometimes makes us ask the person who is in situ instead of the one who makes the analysis.

However, when the information about the type of dynamite proved incorrect, the importance of it was now played down, even though earlier it was the most significant bit

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[292] According to the Secretary of State for Security Astarloa the Mr. Fernández Rancaño did assist the meeting at the beginning (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 18, 8), but Fernández Rancaño himself denied this in front of the same Committee of Enquiry. (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 4, 24).
[293] "That day who we really were afraid of was ETA". *Diario de Sesiones* no. 18, 9.
[294] "It could be dynamite reinforced with a fuse". *Diario de Sesiones* no. 5, 56.
[295] "Titadyne with a fuse". *Diario de Sesiones* no. 4, 44.
[296] Ibid.

of information that confirmed the ETA hypothesis. For example, the Secretary of State for Security, Astarloa later said in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry:

> [E]n el momento en que, además se tuvo conocimiento de lo del Titadyne, era un elemento añadido más que venía a redundar en lo que ya en principio se había establecido, que es era la autoría de ETA.[297]

> [A]t the moment when Titadyne came to one's knowledge, it was one added element more to confirm what was already established in the beginning, which was the culpability of ETA.

When the erroneous information was corrected at approximately 17:00 that day and transmitted to the Government[298], it did not cause any changes in the ETA-hypothesis. When the type of dynamite was finally identified late at night, around 04:00 – 05:00, day 12[299], and instead of Titadyne, it turned out to be Goma 2 ECO, the ETA hypothesis no longer had any direct evidence to back it up[300]. However, this lack of solid evidence was again denied of its importance, since both Titadyne and Goma 2 ECO are labels of dynamite, and as former minister Acebes said in the Committee of Enquiry: "ETA es la que utiliza dinamita en España, es la que viene utilizándolo durante los últimos años y por tanto lo teníamos muy claro"[301]. The authorities believed that if the author had been some Islamic group, they would have used home made napalm instead of dynamite[302]. Perhaps that would have been likely, but since the group behind the attack in Madrid had not earlier been active, there was no knowledge of its modus operandi. Even if they had used Titadyne in the attack, the authorities should also have based their hypothesis on other evidence before making any conclusions. As the investigations on the attacks later showed, it was relatively easy to obtain dynamite on the illegal markets of Spain, and the terrorists of March 11 could have bought Titadyne instead of Goma 2 ECO[303]. It is unclear whether they knew or cared about the types of the dynamite so much, that they would have preferred one type over another.

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[297] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 18, 13.
[298] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 4, 49.
[299] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 87.
[300] ETA had also been using Goma 2 ECO dynamite, but not since the 1980's. *Diario de Sesiones* no. 3, 5.
[301] "ETA is the one that uses dynamite in Spain, it is the one that has been using it during the recent years, and because of that, it was very clear". *Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 17.
[302] Ibid.
[303] On the black market for explosives and the control of it in Spain, see *Diario de Sesiones* no. 10, 13, and 15 from the March 11 Committee of Enquiry.

4.1.4. Investigation advances

Meanwhile the sense making was in an important phase in the Ministry of the Interior and the episode with the erroneous information about the dynamite was taking place, the police were already investigating a Renault Kangoo van that was found from the parking lot of the Alcalá de Henares Railway Station a couple of hours after the explosions. At that point the importance of the van was still unknown, but as the witness who had tipped off the police reported that he had seen a group of three masked men getting out of the van and heading towards the train station at 7:00[304], it was possibly connected to the terrorist attacks. The police received the information about the van at 10:30, but due to the security reasons[305] and a delay caused by waiting for the bomb squad Tedax[306] to arrive at the scene to make an investigation with their special dogs, the van was finally opened for a security check at 12:00 – 12:30. The dogs did not smell the remnants of the dynamites that were inside a plastic bag, and the Police considered it safe to take it for further investigation into the *Comisaría General de Policía Científica* in Madrid. The trip from Alcalá de Henares to Madrid again took a good while, and the van arrived at its destination at approximately 15:30, and was investigated in more detail half an hour later[307]. Inside the van, the police found 7 detonators, remnants of explosive material[308], and a cassette in Arabic. The detonators were soon identified as Spanish made[309], and the type of dynamite was the same Goma 2 ECO as that in the unexploded sports bag found later on the explosion site in El Pozo del Tío Raimundo. At approximately at 16:30 the cassette was passed to a translator, Yousef Nedal Ziad, who studied it, listened to it, and concluded that it did not contain any threats, declarations, or promote violence, but it was a typical commercial cassette with texts of the Koran, used for educative purposes[310]. Due to the lack of any declarations, the

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[304] Curiously the witness, Luís Garrudo Fernandez, did not find this so alarming as to call the police immediately, since it was not until he heard about the explosions in the trains he made the call. *Diario de Sesiones* no. 2, 2.

[305] ETA sometimes has left booby traps in the vans they have used in their attacks, so the normal procedure is to wait for the bomb squad to investigate if there is any doubt about booby traps after a visual inspection.

[306] The police were later criticised for not using the bomb squad of the Civil Guard, which would have been available more rapidly at the scene than the police bomb dogs. Chalvidant 2004, 20.

[307] Testimony of the chief inspector of police of Alcalá de Henares, Blanco González, in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones*, no. 2, 43).

[308] Testimony of the chief inspector of police of Tedax, Sánchez Manzano, at the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones*, no. 3, 3).

[309] Since the year 2000, ETA had only used detonators that were made in France. Ibidem, 5 and 15.

[310] On the translation process see the testimony of Yousef Nedal Ziad in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 15, 69-79). The cassette contained surah number III, which has also typically been cited by by radical Islamic groups (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 72). See also the testimony of former Minister of the Interior Ángel Acebes (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 73).

police did not attach any importance to the cassette, since: "una cinta como esa puede estar en el coche de usted o en el mío"[311].

Late in the evening of the first day, at around 21:30, a confession was made about the perpetrators of the attack. A group called Abu Hafs Al-Masri Brigades of al-Qaida had sent an e-mail to the newspaper *Al-Quds Al-Arabi* (Arab Jerusalem) that is published in Arabic language in London. The information about the confession was quickly relayed to Spain through Reuters. In the text the writers referred to the "operation trains of death" and said that:

> The Death Brigades penetrated into the European Crusader heartland, and struck a painful blow at one of the foundations of the Crusader coalition. This is part of a settling of old accounts with Crusader Spain, the ally of the U.S., in its war against Islam. Where is America, Aznar? Who will protect you? Who will protect Britain? Who will protect Japan, Italy, and other agents? By striking at the Italian forces in Nasiriyya [Iraq], we sent you and America's agents a warning, demanding that you quit the coalition against Islam, but you did not get the message…
>
> Now we say it clearly, hoping that you [Aznar] will understand it this time. We at the Abu Hafs Al-Masri Brigades are not sorry for the deaths of so-called civilians. Are they permitted to kill our children, our women, our elderly, and our youth in Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine, and Kashmir, and we are forbidden from killing them? Allah, may he be praised, said: ' Whoever attacks you, attack him in the same way that he attacked you' [Qur'an 2:194].
>
> Take your hands off us! Release our prisoners! Get out of our lands! Then we will leave you alone.[312]

The confession was analysed by the CNI with the help of international experts and foreign intelligence services, especially the Israeli Mossad due to their experience with Islamic radicalism[313]. The conclusion was that it was not a credible confession, because it did not have the typical vocabulary of the texts of al-Qaida, and thereby it did not seem to be an authentic document from that organisation[314]. The same group had earlier also confessed to attacks against synagogues in Turkey, UN targets in Baghdad some months earlier, and the

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[311] "A cassette like that could be in your car or mine". The testimony of the former director of the Police Agustín Díaz de Mera y García-Consuegra in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 9, 6).

[312] Cited in Carmon, Yigal: "The Alleged Al-Qa'ida Statement of Responsibility for the Madrid Bombings: Translation and Commentary" [Internet document].

[313] "El Mosad investigará, junto al CNI, la presunta implicación árabe" (Mossad will investigate supposed Arabic implications together with the CNI), *ABC* 13.3.2004.

[314] E.g. Carmon, Yigal: "The Alleged Al-Qa'ida Statement of Responsibility for the Madrid Bombings: Translation and Commentary" [Internet document].

electricity cut in Washington the previous August. It was impossible that the group had anything to do at least with the power cuts in Washington, so it was possible that the group was only trying to acheive fame with the confession.

Although the confession did not influence the sense-making process in the crisis governance, it was immensely important for the individual appraisals on the attack. Together with the cassette in Arabic it started to seem more and more possible that the perpetrato was some Islamic terrorist group. Furthermore, the repercussions of this confession were also significant to the causal attributions of the appraisals, because it stated out a link between the war in Iraq and the terrorist attack in Madrid, and that made it possible to position causal locus to those who had decided upon the participation: Aznar's Government.

The police investigation continued all night. At around two o'clock, a sports bag was found in the train that exploded close to el Pozo del Tío Raimundo, and it was taken to the police station in Puente de Vallecas, which is close to the explosion site of Santa Eugenia. The bomb in the bag was successfully deactivated a couple of hours later, and it gave the police important information about the detonating system and the type of dynamite used in the attack. Yet the most important clue for further investigations was the mobile telephone that was used in the detonating system, because inside it was a prepaid SIM-card that helped the police to pinpoint the place it was bought. When the police found that the place was an immigrant held *locutorio* in Lavapiés, Madrid, the hypothesis about Islamic terrorism was confirmed. The police made the necessary changes in the direction of the investigations that Saturday afternoon, when the responsibility of the direction was passed to the *Unidad Central de Información Exterior* (UCIE), which is the unit specialized, among other topics, in Islamic terrorism[315]. The information that was obtained from the SIM card led the police to make the first arrests related to the attack on Saturday afternoon, at approximately16:00. Five persons were arrested, three of them with Moroccan, and two with Indian nationality. Minister Acebes announced the arrests in the evening news, at 20:00.

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[315] According to the testimony of the leader of UCIE, Mariano Rayón Ramos to the March 11 Committee of Enquiry, the responsibility was passed to his unit at 14:40 (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 3, 26).

At 19:40 on Saturday evening, the local television channel Telemadrid received a phonecall claiming that a videocassette containing a confession to the attack has been left close to the main mosque in M-30. Within an hour the cassette was in the hands of the police, and it was translated from Arabic and analysed. Late at night, at approximately 00:45, Minister Acebes informed the public about the message in the cassette. It said:

> We declare our responsibility for what happened in Madrid exactly two-and-a-half years after the attacks on New York and Washington. It is a response to your collaboration with the criminals Bush and his allies. This is a response to the crimes that you have caused in the world, and specifically in Iraq and Afghanistan, and there will be more, if God wills it.
>
> You love life and we love death, which gives an example of what the Prophet Muhammad said. If you don't stop your injustices, more and more blood will flow and these attacks will seem very small compared to what can occur in what you call terrorism.
>
> This is a statement by the military spokesman for al-Qaeda in Europe, Abu Dujan al-Afghani.[316]

Acebes said that the name Abu Dujan Al Afgani was unknown to the Spanish information and intelligence services, and none of the foreign intelligence services that the Spanish officials had asked knew the name, either. He did not say anything about the credibility of the statement. Soon after the press conference of Minister Acebes, at around two o'clock, the web page of Al Jazeera published a message from Osama Bin Laden. In that message there was no reference to the attack in Madrid. This was curious, since Abu Dujan Al Afgani had claimed to be a spokesman for al-Qaida. Perhaps Osama Bin Laden was not even aware of the actions that had been committed under the label of his organisation. On the other hand this could be a clear example that al-Qaida is not an organisation at all in the strict sense of the word, but more like a loose idea of resistance, that any group can use without the approval of the leaders of the "movement". However, even if it now seemed clear that some Islamic terrorist group was the perpetrator of the attack, some doubts still remained.

4.2. DECISION-MAKING

Decision making in the times of crisis differs from other political decision making in its limits and pressure: demand for public resources and information is greater, but the

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[316] English version published e.g. "Full text: 'Al-Qaeda' Madrid Claim" BBC News, UK [Internet document]. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3509556.stm.

situation often remains unclear and volatile, there is less time to think, consult specialists, or gain acceptance for the decisions through normal democratic procedures[317]. The emergency and security services normally launch their operations more or less automatically, and they are trained for emergencies. However, the political response is not automated. It has to adapt to the details of the crisis, especially in the case of human-caused event that can have wide political repercussions.

As the Spanish Government listed among their four main priorities, the Government was to inform the public about the crisis and its consequences with maximum transparency. This is often the responsibility of the political leaders, but with an act of terrorism, it can be a risky task. Mistakes or evident political biases in the information given can cause significant damage to the credibility of the political authorities, while on the other hand being too hesitant and insecure in the public drives the public to search information from alternative sources[318]. Even often demanded transparency is problematic when the crisis is related to terrorism. When the investigations are still in progress, detailed information about the facts that the authorities know so far can help the perpetrators of the attack to avoid being caught. Furthermore, through transparency, the decision-making process itself is in focus, which may affect the appraisal process of the individuals witnessing the details of the governance. Naturally this can help the authorities to learn from their mistakes in the long run, but when the crisis is still going on, it can impair its governance.

Responsibility for the crisis governance always rests with the political leaders of the country in question, but as Boin et al. has claimed, successful crisis governance depends more on the facilitation of crisis implementation and coordination throughout the response network than on the critical decision-making[319], meaning that all the actors, even the "minor" ones in the field, within the governmental system are important to successful management. Besides of the complex official response networks, it should not be forgotten that the outcomes of any crisis also depends on other political forces that are active during the aftermath. Therefore the dynamics of the aftermath is not only related to the aspects of crisis management, but to the aspects of general crisis governance. This means the way all the relevant political forces, including non-governmental political actors, mass media, and

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[317] Boin et al. 2005, 11.
[318] Boin et al. 2005, 19; Saari 2000, 50.
[319] Boin et al. 2005, 43.

the citizenry, are taken into the governance process. The ruling authorities do not respond merely to the cause of the crisis, but also to its consequences.

In the case of the Madrid terrorist attack, the way that other political forces were included in the governance process can be seen clearly: Governmental information policy was first proactive, when the Government was trying to exclude other political forces from the meaning making process attacking aggressively any dissonant perception that was made public, but then it became to reactive and defensive, when these dissonant perceptions were becoming more common among other political forces. The information policy is described in the next chapter since it was essentially part of the meaning making phase, but it is important to keep in mind that after all it was about decisions that had to be made in a changing situation, where there were many stakeholders interested in the outcomes of the crisis.

4.2.1. Critical decision-making nodes

The networking process in the case of the Madrid terrorist attack was one of the points where crisis governance phases overlapped. As described earlier in the chapter on sense making, critical nodes were formed for that purpose. Since many of those nodes gathered together important decision-makers, they continued to be central also in this second phase of crisis governance.

The most important node was still the improvised crisis cabinet of Prime Minister Aznar, since it was the place where the Government's information policy was decided. The meeting led by Secretary of State for Security Ignacio Astarloa, where the ETA hypothesis was confirmed, however did not have much significance from the political point of view after the mistake about the type of dynamite was made. Besides these two critical nodes, there was also a third one that was formed for operative purposes. It was the node that had the direct responsibility to take care of the first three priorities of the Government: attend to the victims and their relatives, secure the situation, and coordinate the investigation process. In other words, this node was critical for the facilitation of the crisis implementation and coordination below the top-level policymakers, or, in other words, the management level of the crisis. That node was an institutional meeting that was summoned

by Minister of the Interior Ángel Acebes at 11:20, and consisted of the mayor of Madrid Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón Jiménez, president of the Madrid autonomous region Esperanza Aguirre Gil de Biedma, and the superior chief of Police in Madrid (*jefe superior de Policía de Madrid*) Miguel Ángel Fernández Rancaño.[320] In the case of the Madrid terrorist attack and its aftermath, this node did not have much political relevance, since the emergency and security response generally functioned very well in Madrid. If there had been some problems in attending the victims and their family members[321] or in securing the situation, this node would have risen to the epicentre of the political debates later, especially in the phase of learning.

Apart from the institutional meeting led by Acebes, the Government did not summon other official commissions because all the essential public services were functioning normally, and the Ministry of the Interior, City of Madrid, and Autonomous Region of Madrid coordinated the emergency services efficiently[322]. Prime Minister Aznar remained true to his personal leadership style, meeting with the people he considered relevant whenever he wanted, without any unnecessary formalities[323]. However, regarding information policy, Prime Minister Aznar shared the main responsibility for informing the public with Minister of the Interior Acebes. They did also use other people to make public statements, like Minister for the Foreign Affairs Ana Palacio, who appeared in front of the international press, and Minister of Employment and Social Security and Spokesperson for the Government Eduardo Zaplana, who on Saturday afternoon said that the PSOE is spreading false information and the Government had been informing the public with maximum transparency from the beginning of the crisis[324]. Besides these, the presidential candidate and leader of the PP Mariano Rajoy appeared in public several times. This was especially curious because of the PP's situation: Prime Minister Aznar was stepping aside from power, since he no longer stood for the presidency, nor in the elections. Because of this, he

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[320] For example the testimony of Miguel Ángel Fernández Rancaño in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 4, 25).
[321] Some of the family members later that they were not treated with sufficient discretion at Ifema, where the bodies of the attacks were complained taken for identification. There also were some problems in arranging psychological and psychiatric help from the public health care system. Pilar Manjón at the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 23, 7).
[322] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 4.
[323] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 64.
[324] An extraction of Minister Zaplana's statement can be found at "Zaplana 13-M", YouTube [Internet document].

also stepped down from the leadership of his party the PP. Although Mariano Rajoy had been elected the new leader of the PP and he was competing to be the next prime minister before the attacks, he had no power over the policy the Government adapted. Therefore Rajoy would be the one that had to bear the outcomes of the crisis governance of Aznar if it was going to have an impact on electoral behaviour. Rajoy was certainly aware of this, but nevertheless sustained his role, and did not intervene in the Government's policy in public[325].

From the point of view of crisis governance effectiveness, critical decision-making nodes were also formed among other politically significant groups. Although these groups had no opportunity to decide on the crisis governance policy, they could influence it in other ways. In the case of Madrid, the political opposition played a very important role in undermining the credibility of the governance when it started to offer a so-called counterframe to the public. This will be discussed in the next chapter on meaning making, but at this point it is useful to underline the fact that politically relevant decisions were also made in other nodes than official ones. Unfortunately there is not as much information on those nodes and they cannot be named in as much detail as the official nodes.

4.2.2. Decisions and non-decisions

Prime Minister Aznar stayed in his office at Moncloa throughout the morning of day 11, governing the crisis by a telephone and personal meetings. Indeed, he did make relevant decisions quickly after the attack, but these were not in direct accordance with the official priorities of crisis governance. His first visible move that day was that he decided to organize a national demonstration for the next day condemning terrorism. Before making

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[325] Although insignificant from the point of view of the events and actions during the aftermath in Madrid, Rajoy showed small signs of disagreement with the policy of Prime Minister Aznar. For example, in his conversation with the leader of the PSOE Zapatero March 11, when Zaparo said: "he hablado con Aznar […] Me ha informado de que el Gobierno convoca la manifestación, creo que debíamos tener una reunion del pacto [por las libertades y contra el terrorismo] o de la Diputación Permanente" ("I spoke with Aznar […] He informed me that the Government is arranging a demonstration, I think that we should organize a meeting according to the pact [for liberties and against terrorism] or the Permanent Deputation"), Rajoy answered: "Bueno, ya sabes cómo es" ("Well, you know how he is") (Cited in *Diario de Sesiones* no. 22, 43. Original source García-Abadillo 2004). Rajoy had a similar conversation with the leader of Catalonian PP Josep Piqué i Camps on Saturday, March 13, when Rajoy complained about Aznar's request to make a public appearance and condemn the spontaneous demonstrations that were taking place in front of the PP's offices around the country: "Me ha llamado Aznar y me ha pedido que salga en television para denunciar lo que está pasando, que a mí me parece muy grave. Yo tengo mis dudas, pero ya sabes, está como una moto". ("Aznar called me and asked me to appear on television in order to denounce what is going on, which seems to me very serious. I have my doubts, but you know, he is unstoppable") (Cited in *Diario de Sesiones* no. 22, 94. Original source García-Abadillo 2004).

his decision public, he informed at least leader of the PSOE José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. At 10.08 the spokesperson of the government, Eduardo Zaplana, announced that there would be a demonstration the following afternoon, with an official slogan saying: "Con las víctimas, con la Constitución, y por la derrota del terrorismo"[326]. The decision was unilateral and by taking it without consulting other political forces Aznar showed that he did not care about political consensus. Prime Minister Zapatero later criticised his predecessor's decision in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry:

> Lo que no puedo entender ni aceptar ni compartir bajo ningún concepto es que el Gobierno diga y decida en una manifestación conjunta, que todo el mundo apoyó por sentido de responsabilidad, de la solidaridad con las víctimas, del dolor: esta es la manifestación, este es el lema, este es el día, esta es la hora. […] Se hizo, se decidió así. Se dictó así[…].[327]

> What I cannot understand, accept, nor take part in, is that the Government says and decides about a common demonstration that everybody supported for the sense of responsibility, for solidarity with the victims, for the pain: this is the demonstration, this is the slogan, this is the day, this is the time. […] It was made, it was decided like that. It was dictated like that.

Zapatero's criticism focused on Aznar's decision-making style, but the whole idea of the demonstration was problematic from the point of view of many political forces and large sections of the public. One has to keep in mind that the slogan was not politically neutral because it mentioned the constitution, and being the first public decision by Prime Minister Aznar, it demonstrated that he had some other priorities as well as "informing the public with maximum transparency". Some parts of the Constitution had been under increasing debate in Spain, especially among the autonomous regions of Catalonia and the Basque Country, and the PP had included in its electoral campaign that the Constitution should remain untouched, whereas many opposition parties, including the PSOE, were more open to a constitutional reform. Including "con la Constitución" to the slogan was thereby a similar message to the separatists in Spain as the PP had been giving throughout its electoral campaign. Therefore many people had to face a difficult dilemma on the day of the demonstration: Whether to participate and condemn terrorism with the cost of supporting the constitution and its interpretation the way the PP did, or not participate and "accept" terrorism.

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[326] "With the victims, with the Constitution and for the defeat of terrorism." Aznar's speech published in *ABC* 12.3.2004.
[327] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 22, 88.

The idea of a nationwide demonstrations condemning terrorism was also a very curious move from Prime Minister Aznar, since demonstrations had not earlier been used as a part of official Government policy, but as a common political tool for the opposition. Aznar had often personally criticised the opposition for making politics through demonstrations, blaming them for hiding behind placards and banners. The large demonstrations against the war in Iraq a year earlier especially had caused Prime Minister Aznar to depreciate such civic action. Why then did he decide to organize the demonstrations? Perhaps Prime Minister Aznar had in mind the demonstrations against ETA in the case of Miguel Ángel Blanco[328], because then spontaneous demonstrations were effectively used against terrorism and had long lasting effects in the Basque Country[329]. However, from the point of view of crisis governance, the decision to organize a demonstration was a huge mistake by the Prime Minister. He drastically underestimated the political memory of the public[330], and the great discontent with the Government that the participation in the war in Iraq had caused. Aznar's Government had never bothered to justify its participation in the U.S. led coalition in Iraq, and public opinion was not in his side when it came to that topic. By the time the demonstration was held, the evidence was already pointing towards Islamic terrorism, causing people to appraise the meaning of the demonstration situation as a whole. Therefore the demonstration functioned mainly as a place for sharing information, emotions, and suspicions about the possibility that the Government was manipulating the information. If the author of the attack really had been ETA, as Prime Minister Aznar obviously suspected at the moment he made his decision to organise the demonstration, perhaps the effects of the demonstrations would have been positive for the Government's support figures. Aznar took a risk, but this time it led to a failure.

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[328] In 1997 ETA kidnapped Miguel Ángel Blanco, a young politician affiliated to the PP in the Basque Country, and held him hostage in order to blackmail the government. This caused huge sympathy amongst the Spanish, and millions of people gathered around Spain to demand the liberation of the hostage. Unfortunately with no effect: ETA assassinated Blanco two days later with two shots in the back of his head.

[329] For example the social movements Fundación Miguel Ángel Blanco and Foro de Ermua were formed.

[330] Olmeda in his analysis presents an idea that antecedent demonstrations had created a strong anti-governmental feeling among the public. He tracks the influence of significant antigovernmental social movements back to the case of the Prestige and Yak-42 disasters (Olmeda 2005, 11-14). Even though the idea of these events unifying the forces of opposition (Olmeda lists left-wing nationalists, socialists, and post-communist forgetting the evident and rising environmentalists – the Prestige crisis was an oil catastrophe that contaminated large parts of the Galician coastline) is interesting, it is questionable whether a cause-effect line can be drawn to unite these, after all quite different, events and the protests they evoked.

It is important to note that non-decisions are also important in crisis governance effectiveness. Since the terrorist act took place only three days before the general elections, public opinion was in a central role on the evaluation of the governance. People had an opportunity to make the Government accountable for its actions only in a few days´ perspective, meaning that the aftermath of the attack was still going on, and there was not much information about the attack itself, or on how the Government was actually governing the situation. Therefore the governance should have been more visible and consonant with public opinion than it was. At the management level there was high transparency, meaning that the progress of the police investigations was transmitted to public knowledge rapidly, put the same transparency was not applied to the actions of the Government. However, this was not Aznar's strength. His personal leadership style was decisive, but at the same time distant and authoritative. His decision to stay behind closed doors in Moncloa during the first moments of the crisis and not to visit the site of the attack nor the places where the victims were treated, not to use the official Delegate Commission of the Government for Crisis Situations, gave an impression that he was not where the people would have wanted to see him: leading them. Naturally the lack of visibility in the decision-making does not mean that decisions are not made, but for the public it is important to have the impression of leadership, since it plays a part in the appraisal process of the attack and its consequences, and, as stated earlier, due to the proximity of the elections, the voting decision of the people was to be made on impressions rather than with knowledge.

Perhaps the most important non-decision of the Government was that it did not include other significant political forces in the decision governance process. The PSOE especially later criticised Aznar for his decision not to call any meeting in the spirit of the so-called Antiterrorist Pact (*Acuerdo por las Libertades y contra el Terrorismo*) that had been accepted by the PP and PSOE on December 12, 2000. According to the Pact: "combatir el terrorismo es una tarea que corresponde a todos los partidos políticos democráticos, estén en el Gobierno o en la oposición"[331]. Although the Pact was prepared against Basque radicalism and did not require the Government to convene any meeting after a terrorist attack, especially of the kind that would also include other parties than the PP and PSOE,

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[331] "The task to combat terrorism corresponds to all the democratic political parties, whether they are in the Government or in the opposition". First paragraph of the *Acuerdo por las Libertades y contra el Terrorismo* [Internet document].

the leader of the PSOE Zapatero, claims that he proposed a meeting to Prime Minister Aznar during their telephone discussion on the morning of March 11[332], because:

> En esa situación tenía que haber […] una foto de todos los líderes políticos y de todos los partidos juntos. Gráficamente eso es lo que necesitábamos inmediatamente: una convocatorio conjunto, un compromiso compartido.[333]

> In that situation it was necessary to have […] a photo of all the political leaders and parties together. Graphically that was what we needed immediately: A joint convocation, a shared commitment.

However, Aznar denies that Zapatero mentioned the Antiterrorist Pact or that he proposed any meeting[334]. Whether Zapatero or Aznar is right, is meaningless. What is significant is that Aznar decided to manage the situation alone, and he considered that the demonstration would function as a unified response to the attack. Excluding other political parties from the decision-making, even if it were only a formality, encouraged them to draw their own conclusions about the events in Madrid, and appear in public independently of Government policy. Once again a non-decision by Aznar influenced the image of the crisis governance. Furthermore, it also caused unnecessary grievances among the political parties that were all, due to the emotions caused by the attack and the proximity of the elections, eager to appear in public.

4.3. MEANING-MAKING

According to the priorities listed by the Spanish Government, information policy was the fourth main governance priority during the crisis of March 11. This is directly related to the third function of the crisis governance: meaning-making. Boin et al. define this as follows:

> Leaders, along with other stakeholders in a crisis, attempt to reduce the public and political uncertainty caused by crisis. They do so by communicating a persuasive story line (a narrative) that explains what happened, why it had to be that way, what its repercussions are, how it can be resolved, who can be relied upon to do so, and who is to blame.[335]

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[332] Prime Minister Zapatero in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 22, 49)
[333] Prime Minister Zapatero in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 22, 88)
[334] Former Prime Minister Aznar in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 4). It is curious that in the testimony of Prime Minister Zapatero, he states on various occasions that he discussed the meeting with the leader of Mariano Rajoy, and only once says that he proposed it to Aznar himself (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 22. 49; 87-88).
[335] Boin et al. 2005, 69-70.

As the citation insinuated, meaning-making is not simply informing the public "with maximum transparency", but it "presupposes a sure-footed manipulation of symbols that shapes the views and sentiments of the political environment in ways that enhance leadership capacity to act"[336]. This manipulation of symbols for the purpose of facilitating the leadership can also be called framing, since the concept of framing means practically the same thing: it is a "process of selecting and highlighting some aspects of perceived reality, and enhancing the salience of an interpretation and evaluation of that reality"[337]. A central issue in meaning-making is that there is no "agreement" on the meaning of the event, but it is in the making. This means, as Boin et al. noted, that there are also other stakeholders than the responsible political leaders participating in the process. These stakeholders may have their own frames and narratives about the event, and if those frames have a capacity to question the official frame, a framing competition may ensure. If this competition occurs during the actual crisis, it may make it more difficult to govern the crisis, since it can put the credibility of the leaders at stake. Sometimes it can also impair the recovery from the crisis: If the is no general accord on the meaning of the crisis, how can any conclusions be reached?

Boin et al. compare the context of meaning-making to a triangle, where there is a relationship between political actors, the mass media and the citizenry[338]. By political actors Boin et al. mean both governmental and non-governmental actors, and they also recognise that the citizenry itself is a pluralistic aggregate of all kinds of individuals, groups, and subcultures. Although these stakeholders are essential in all democratic political systems, the situation is not as balanced as the triangular model supposes, since it does not take into account the aspect of power, which is of great importance in meaning making. Entman, for example, stated that framing takes place through "cascading network activation", where the administration (governmental political actors) cascades down the frame to other political elites (non-governmental political actors), then again down to the media, which finally passes the modified version of the frame to the public[339]. If Boin et al. assumed triangular power relations in their model, Entman's model requires that the power distribution in the society follows a strictly top-down hierarchy. However, modern

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[336] Ibid.
[337] Entman 2004, 26.
[338] Boin et al. 2005, 72.
[339] Entman 2004, 9-13.

democratic societies are more complex than that: the mass media has enormous power over the meaning attached to a specific event, and the frame it adapts is likely to exert great influence over public opinion. But the mass media is not politically united, and different media often compete against each other; they choose sides, form groups, and propose their own frames independently of the political actors. Recently the Internet has also become an important channel of information, and offers countless forums where people can express their own, personal perceptions of the events at hand. On many occasions the Internet merges the media and citizenry in a unique way, blurring the line between these two. This has meant that the media has lost some of its power in the meaning making process while the citizenry has become more important than ever before, but hand in hand with this, the information has become more fragmentary, alternative and subjective. When the line between the citizenry and the mass media is blurred, the lines of responsibility have also become blurred: it is no longer who is responsible for misinformation and rumours; anyone can publish anything he wants in the Internet.

In order to have a picture on the meaning making process, it is useful keep in mind that it is designed to influence individual appraisal processes. Those in power need framing to legitimately use their power. In situations where there is not much information to make causal attributions independently, information becomes a key tool for the use of power and governance. Following the title of Entman's book, *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy* (2004), information is a projection of power. Normally this takes place through the use of argumentation in the political discourses. The content of the political messages to the public includes components meant to appeal in the appraisal process[340]. Politicians, for example, can frame the event to be personally relevant to everyone, they include a causal attribution in their message, and they may offer the people a coping strategy. These are meant to legitimate the use of power in relation to the event and its perceived, or framed, causes.

Looking at the case of Madrid, there were two essential competing frames. First there was the ETA frame, which was intuitive at the beginning, but as the investigations progressed, it became more and more improbable. However, the Government was behind this frame all

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[340] On the use of "fear appeals", see De Castella et al. 2009.

along, although due to the evidence it could not entirely rule out other possibilities. The Government was backed up by that part of the mass media that is normally politically close to the conservative PP (e.g. *ABC*, *Telecinco*, and radio channel *COPE*), and also the national radio and television channels of the RTVE were also behind the official frame, because they were under government control. The so-called counterframe was formed later than the ETA frame, when the evidence found started to point towards forms of Islamic terrorism. It grouped behind it many different political actors (especially the PSOE and IU, but also some regionalist parties like the ERC, PNV, etc.), media groups (e.g. *El País*, radio channel *SER*, and many important international media, such as *CNN+* and *BBC*[341]), and parts of the citizenry. It was not a directed and united front opposing the Government frame, but a group of independent actors. It was typical of the counterframe that it both attacked the Government frame, and proposed an alternative frame about the origin of the attack. This counterframe could more freely include different sources of information than the official frame, and rumours and deliberate misinformation were used effectively in combination with the evidence found and confirmed facts about the attack. Due to this diversity in the information sources and actors behind the counterframe, it would actually be more appropriate to speak of a category of frames that disagreed with the official frame of the Government than about a single counterframe.

4.3.1. Instinctive blaming – an existing ETA narrative

The need to give the unexpected event a meaning, to fit it into some existing or new narrative, was very strong in Spain. Perhaps because of the proximity of the general elections, many political actors with no governmental responsibilities in the crisis, saw fit to make public statements about the attack. In the course of events those statements turned to deal with the crisis governance instead of the attack itself. Even though all official electoral campaigns had been cancelled, political competition did not stop there. It transformed into a framing competition about the meaning of the terrorist attack, where the ETA frame was put against a counterframe.

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[341] The international media did not have similar political interests in the framing competition as perhaps some national media, but it nevertheless had an effect on the public opinion.

The framing competition did not start from the beginning of the aftermath, since almost everybody was pointing accusing fingers at the Basque terrorists. Even though the sense-making phase was still going on, and there was no evidence about the perpetrators of the attack, some of the first public statements were made. The first prominent politician to speak out was the leader of the PSOE, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, who attributed the attack to ETA on radio COPE at 8:42 in the morning[342], only an hour after the last explosion. At that time he was visiting Televisión Española (TVE) and consulted various media before making his statement[343]. Soon after Zapatero, Lehendakari[344] Juan José Ibarretxe Markuartu issued his communiqué at 9:35, suspecting that ETA was behind the attack, and underlying that: "quienes cometen estas atrocidades, no son vascos sino simplemente alimañas y asesinos"[345], thereby making clear that the Basque Government was standing together with the central government in the crisis. Lehendakari Ibarretxe was the first state official to comment the event, but he was not a representative of the ruling Popular Party, but a member of the PNV. Before the first press conference of the Government at 13:30, similar statements blaming the ETA were also made, for example, by the Basque Parliament at 10:50, the leader of *Esquerra Republicana* (ERC) Josep-Lluis Carod-Rovira at 11:45, and the leader of *Izquierda Unida* (IU) Gaspar Llamazares Trigo at 11:48, who was perhaps the most explicit in his comments, saying in the press conference of IU in Seville that the attack was "por si alguien lo dudaba, la muestra de la verdadera naturaleza de ETA, una organización nazi que tortura y asesina al pueblo"[346].[347]

While practically everyone was blaming ETA in the first hours of the aftermath, Arnaldo Otegi Mondragon, the leader of the illegal Basque radical party Batasuna, which is considered the political wing of the ETA, made a dissonant statement at 10:30, saying that

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[342] March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 22, 17).
[343] Ibid.
[344] Lehendakari is the president of Basque autonomy.
[345] "those who commit this kind of atrocities, are not Basques, but simply evil and murderers." Cited in "Ibarretxe llama «alimañas» a los etarras por querer «dinamitar la democracia»" (Ibarretxe calls the terrorists of ETA "evil" for wishing to "dynamite the democracy"), *ABC* 12.3.2004. According to Chalvidant (2004, 17) the time was 10:07.
[346] "if somebody doubted it, it proves the true nature of ETA, a Nazi organization that tortures and murders people". Cited in "Llamazares dice que la banda terrorista «no logrará dividirnos»" (Llamazares says that the terrorist group "cannot divide us"), *ABC* 12.3.2004.
[347] Timing from March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones*, no. 21, 7-8).

"[l]a izquierda abertzale no contempla ni como mera hipótesis que ETA esté detrás"[348], continuing that the bombing is "un operativo de sectores de la resistencia árabe"[349]. Although Otegi did not have much political credibility – he had so many times said for ETA and Basque separatists whatever was convenient at that moment – he was a person that should have known if ETA had been behind the attack. Because he was also possibly the closest person to ETA who could speak without a hood over his head, his statement was given a lot of publicity both in the Spanish and international media. Furthermore, Otegi was the first politician in Spain that suspected some kind of Islamic terrorism, and as the investigations progressed, his statement became an important argument to the counterframe.

Minister of the Interior Ángel Acebes had the main responsibility for disseminating information about the progress of the investigation to the public. He gave his first press conference at 13.30, blaming ETA for the attack. At that time the ETA hypothesis was based on the *modus operandi*, past events that gave reason to suspect that ETA was willing to mount an attack like the one in Madrid, and false information about Titadyne. Acebes seemed to be sure about the source of the attack:

> En este momento las fuerzas y cuerpos de seguridad y el Ministerio del Interior no tienen ninguna duda que el responsable de este atentado es la banda terrorista ETA, y también estamos asistiendo a un proceso de intoxicación que ha iniciado el señor Otegi de manera miserable para desviar la atención.[350]

> At this point the security forces and corpses and the Ministry of Interior do not have any doubt that those responsible for this attack are the terrorist group ETA, and we are also assisting a process of intoxication that has been miserably commenced by Mr. Otegi in order to deviate the attention.

However, the press conference of Acebes was not solely an occasion to tell the public about the facts of the attack and its victims[351], but since he also responded to Otegi's earlier statement about Islamic terrorism and ETA's innocence on the events in Madrid saying that

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[348] "The *abertzale*-left do not contemplate even as a mere hypothesis that ETA is behind [this]". Cited in "Otegi sólo se limitó a poner en duda que ETA fuese la autora del asesinato masivo" (Otegi limited himself in doubting that ETA would be the author of the massive assassination), *ABC* 12.3.2004. Term *abertzale* is Basque and means radical Basque nationalist movement.
[349] "an operation of Arabic resistance sectors". Ibid.
[350] Extract from the press conference at "Acebes 11-M 13:00", YouTube [Internet document].
[351] At that point there was 173 confirmed dead and more than 600 injured (Olmeda 2005, 19).

it was a mere strategy of misleading the public[352], Acebes was clearly framing the situation by denying alternative narratives. Later in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry Acebes said that: "no me merece ninguna credibilidad ni el señor Otegui [sic] ni la banda terrorista ETA"[353], but if that were really true, why did Acebes attach so much importance to Otegi's statement that he considered it necessary to attack against him, instead of merely "informing the public with maximum transparency"?

Prime Minister Aznar made a short speech to the press in Moncloa at 14.30. This was his first personal appearance in public that day. In that speech, he praised the work of the emergency personnel and promised that terrorism would be defeated through the rule of law, the unity of the Spanish people and a strong Constitution. He also emphasized that the terrorists had targeted the whole nation by saying: "Han matado a muchas personas por el mero hecho de ser españolas"[354], which framed the event as personally relevant for everyone sharing a group identity based on Spanish nationality. He believed that the Government had to take the initiative and facilitate a uniform political and social reaction to the attack[355]. Therefore he decided to organize a nationwide demonstration next day, and according to him, everybody should participate in it in order to condemn terrorism and the attack in Madrid. This appeal framed the event again as personally relevant, and offered a coping strategy to deal with it.

Aznar did not mention ETA by name in his communiqué, but his references to assassins, that "tantas veces han sembrado la muerte en toda la geografía de España"[356], and mentioning his failure to "cambiar de regimen ni porque los terroristas maten ni para que dejen de matar"[357], made it clear that he was speaking about the Basque terrorists. Later he explained his failure to say "ETA" in the press conference with stylistic reasons:

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[352] "El 'terror negro'" (Black terror), *El País* 12.3.2004; Olmeda 2005, 19-20.
[353] "Mr. Otegi nor ETA do not have any kind of credibility for me". *Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 27. Surname of Arnaldo Otegi typed wrong in the original text.
[354] "They have killed many people just for being Spanish". Aznar's whole speech was published e.g. in *ABC* 12.3.2004.
[355] March 11 Committee of Enquiry, *Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 4.
[356] "Have seeded death so many times in the whole territory of Spain." Cited in "Aznar afirma que sólo se debe aspirar a la «derrota» y a la «rendición» del terrorismo" (translation in the footnote 176), *ABC* 12.3.2004.
[357] "change the regime for that terrorists are killing or stop killing." Ibid.

[E]s una cuestión de gusto, o de estilo […] procuro utilizar otros circunloquios: la banda terrorista, los criminales que nos azotan, los terroristas de siempre. Porque pienso que no se deben utilizar unas siglas como una expresión normal que da un cierto estatus y son equivalentes a otras siglas normales. Esas siglas, ETA, son unas siglas criminales y su expresión produce repugnancia. No puede buscarse un equilibrio, no puede buscarse un estatus, una cierta equivalencia; no son igual que otras siglas ni se pueden pronunciar como se pronunciasen otras siglas.[358]

It is a matter of taste, or of style […] I try to use other circumlocutions: the band of terrorists, the criminals that are striking at us, the usual terrorists. It is because I think that abbreviations should not be used like a normal expression, that gives a certain status and are equal to other normal abbreviations. That abbreviation, ETA, is a criminal abbreviation and to express it is repugnant. It cannot be given a balance, it cannot be given a status, a certain equivalence; it is not equal to other abbreviations and it cannot be pronounced as other abbreviations would be pronounced.

Although it was evident that Prime Minister Aznar was talking about ETA in his speech – he later confirmed that impression in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry[359] – his decision not to use the abbreviation ETA was confusing, and incoherent with his earlier use of the word[360]. Furthermore, the confusion influenced the causal attribution of the appraisal process. When the Minister of the Interior had appeared on television just minutes before, seemingly confident about the culpability of ETA, the fact that Aznar did not mention ETA in his speech left room for a simple question: Is there a reason why Aznar did not mention ETA? Maybe he was not sure who had it been? Even if it was a matter of semantics, in itself a small detail in the whole episode, it was an important detail, because among other small details it gave the impression that the information the Government was giving was not consistent, Aznar was not saying everything he knew, and he was not completely honest and transparent. Why else use circumlocutions in the moment of crisis, when the public needed only a direct answer to the question "who was it"? This impression was strengthened, when the leader of the party and candidate for the presidency Mariano Rajoy also used circumlocutions in his official statements, likewise not mentioning ETA by name.

4.3.2. Framing competition began

The counterframe was formed slowly, meaning that it is difficult to say exactly at what point it had grown to be so important that it was challenging the credibility of the official

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[358] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 8.
[359] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 65.
[360] When the Basque terrorists announced a truce with Catalonian Autonomy on February 18, 2004, Aznar mentioned the abbreviation in his speech 7-8 times. According to Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba in March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 12, 24).

frame. Since the most important functions of framing are problem definition, causal analysis, remedy proposal and possible moral judgement[361], merely blaming ETA when there was no evidence can be considered framing. As described earlier, nearly everybody initially thought that ETA had been the perpetrator, meaning that the ETA frame was not yet challenged. When looking at the way the Government was informing about the events in Madrid, an aggressive defence of the ETA frame stands out. Everybody who even mentioned other possibilities about the authority was considered to be "poisoning" the atmosphere, as Minister of the Interior Acebes said. Besides framing, the causal analysis of the culpability of ETA, the Government did also already frame its proposed remedy, or in other words its counterterrorism policy, in its first public appearances. For example, Prime Minister Aznar's decision to organize a national demonstration the next day included a message about the Constitution, which was the core of the PP's counterterrorism and anti-separatism policy. Accordingly, Aznar did also say in his speech in the afternoon of the day 11, that:

> Lograremos acabar con la banda terrorista con la fuerza del Estado de Derecho y con la unidad de todos los españoles. Acabaremos con ellos con leyes fuertes, con unas fuerzas de seguridad y unos tribunales de Justicia firmemente respaldados y decididamente resueltos a aplicar la ley.[…] No hay negociación posible ni deseable con estos asesinos"[362]

> We will finish the band of terrorists with the strength of the rule of law and with the unity of all the Spanish people. We will finish them with strong laws, with the security forces and tribunals of justice that are firmly supported and resolutely determined to apply the law. [...] There is no negotiation possible or desirable with these assassins.

With his reference to negotiating with the "assassins", again meaning ETA with a circumlocution, he stated his well-known opinion that one should not negotiate with terrorists. Whether or not to negotiate with ETA had been under very heated debate when the leader of the ERC Josep-Lluís Carod-Rovira met with ETA in December 2003, after which the Basque terrorists announced a truce with Autonomous Region of Catalonia on February 18, 2004[363]. Naturally it is normal that a government follows the policy it considers most functional even in time of crisis, but this is exactly the point where crisis

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[361] Entman 2004, 26. If compared to appraisal theory on emotions discussed earlier, it can be argued that framing is a political intention to influence the individual appraisal process.

[362] Cited in "Aznar afirma que sólo se debe aspirar a la «derrota» y a la «rendición» del terrorismo" (translation in the footnote 176), *ABC* 12.3.2004.

[363] "Carod-Rovira se reunió con ETA cuando ya era 'conseller en cap'" (Carod-Rovira met with ETA when he was already "conseller en cap". Conseller en cap is a historical title used in Barcelona, nowadays referring to the president of the autonomous region), *elmundo.es* 27.1.2004 [Internet document].

governance meets its biggest challenges, when the crisis is related to terrorism: terrorism is always political, and since the counterterrorism policy failed because an attack occurred, the counterterrorist policy used is easily challenged by alternative policy proposals. Appraisals of the causal attribution and coping potential can easily be turned against a governmental "remedy proposal" if it has not been able to justify its policy related to the appraised causes of terrorism.

One important aspect of the meaning-making process was governmental intentions to control the mass media. Prime Minister Aznar personally called some editors-in-chief of the biggest printed media in Madrid and Barcelona. For example at around 13:00 he called the editor-in-chief of *El País*, Jesús Ceberio, and announced his absolute conviction about the culpability of ETA. He called Mr. Ceberio again later the same day in order to explain the finding of the van with an Arabic cassette, and to emphasize again that the bombing was work of ETA, although another line of investigation had been opened.[364] Later Aznar explained his calls saying that these were the editors-in-chief he was periodically in contact with to discuss terrorism, and he did not consider it pressure when he informed them personally about the progress of in the investigations[365]. Whether the actual content of those calls pressured the editors-in-chief or not – depends on the information of Prime Minister Aznar and *El País*, since none of those directors testified in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry because the Socialist Parliamentary Group of the Congress vetoed their appearance – the mere fact that the Prime Minister called them was a political act because of his position. When the Prime Minister calls and says that ETA was the perpetrator, his authority gives credibility to the content whether he wants to or not. Furthermore, since *El País* made the public aware of the content of Prime Minister Aznar's telephone calls to the media in March 13 – one day before the elections – it gave the impression that the Prime Minister was trying to manipulate the information. At that point *El País* was already taking part in the framing competition, and the publication of that fact was also part of the counterframe according to which the Government was deliberately manipulating the information.

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[364] "El desconcierto del Gobierno sobre la autoría del atentado" (Government confused on the authority of the attack), *El País*, 13.3.2004.
[365] March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 32).

Perhaps the most critical moment of the framing competition was the finding of the Arabic cassette in the van in Alcalá de Henares. The cassette was found earlier that day, and the Minister of the Interior made public the information in his second press conference in the evening of the first day, at 20.30, saying that: "esto ha hecho que acabe de dar instrucciones a las fuerzas y cuerpos de seguridad para que no descarten ninguna línea de investigación"[366]. Although the Government was still emphasizing the ETA hypothesis, the information about another line of investigation paved the way to a framing competition, because it undermined the causal attribution that was included in the official frame. This meant that alternative ideas were given more publicity, and the Government was losing its position as the dominant source of information.

A real boost to the counterframe was a confession made by Abu Hafs Al-Masri Brigades of al-Qaida at approximately 21:30. Although the confession was later proven false, it mentioned that the reason for the attack was Spain's participation in the war in Iraq. This causal attribution rapidly won ground, and led to the following simplistic reasoning: the Government of the PP made the decision on the Spanish participation in the war, and because of the participation, terrorists attacked Madrid. Therefore the Government should be held accountable for its decision that led to the attack in Madrid. Because of this perception and the fact that the Government was still emphasizing the ETA hypothesis even if all the evidence was gradually revealing that the guilty party was probably some Islamic terrorist group, many people started to think that the Government was deliberately trying to frame ETA. This was appraised as a demeaning offence against Spanish citizens, because thousands of people were physically attacked, and self-interested policy at that moment was out of place. According to the Appraisal Theory on emotions, a demeaning offense against "me and mine" is the core relational theme for anger[367].

After the press conference of the Minister of the Interior and the confession by Abu Hafs Al-Masri Brigades of al-Qaida, rumours started to circulate. They were related either to the ETA hypothesis or the Islamic terrorism hypothesis. One of the first rumours was that nine ETA militants had been identified as suspects, and the police was spreading pictures of

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[366] "This caused me to give instructions to the security forces and bodies that they should not discard any line of investigation". Video of the press conference can be found e.g. in "Acebes 11-M (20.23)", YouTube [Internet document].
[367] Lazarus 2001, 64.

them among the hotels and hostels of Madrid. Although this information was false, the next day *ABC* published photos of these nine suspects[368]. Another rumour, equally false but much more important, was the rumour about a suicide bomber that was found among the victims, since that would have been crucial evidence backing up the Islamic terrorism hypothesis. The Minister of the Interior denied this story, but the radio channel *SER* started to broadcast it anyway from 22:00 onwards[369]. Later the rumour expanded to include up to three suicide terrorists, who had three layers of underwear, and who had shaven their entire bodies of hair, and put on some lotion. The use of such details made the narratives more credible than they would be without them, and it meant that the rumours about the suicide terrorist were well elaborated for a framing purpose. Coincidentally at the same time when *SER* was spreading the rumours, forensic pathologists were conducting the autopsies on the victims of the attack at Ifema[370]. According to the director of the forensic investigation, Carmen Baladía Olmedo, no evidence of suicide was found, nor did she comment on the investigation to the media or any political actor not entitled to such information[371]. Therefore it is reasonable to suspect that the rumours on the suicide terrorists were entirely fictitious. The fact that the rumours were made public at the same time as the forensic investigations were being concluded at Ifema, together with the false confession about the attack, also indicates that the rumours were well planned to fit the reality as well as possible.

Although King Juan Carlos had made an unprecedented statement to the people at 20:30 on the evening of the day of the attack, exhorting the people to: "Unidad, firmeza y serenidad por encima de las legítimas diferencias de opinión"[372], there was no longer any sign of political unity on the morning of the second day. The PSOE had adopted a new stance to the crisis that was far from the spirit of the Antiterrorist Pact the leader of the PSOE, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, had been proposing earlier. In his statement Zapatero was quite modest demanding of the Government that: "la sociedad tiene derecho a conocer quiénes

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[368] "La policía distribuye en hoteles de Madrid las fotos de nueve etarras" (Police distributed photos of the nine terrorists of ETA to the hotels of Madrid), *ABC* 12.3.2004.
[369] Olmeda 2005, 22.
[370] At Ifema 155 victims were investigated. After moving away from Ifema, the investigations continued until the March 31 or April 1 (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 2, 27-28).
[371] March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 2, 29).
[372] "Unity, firmness and serenity despite the legitimate differences of opinion". King's speech published e.g. in "El Rey pide «unidad, firmeza y serenidad por encima de las legítimas diferencias de opinión»" (translation in the footnote 175), *ABC* 12.3.2004.

han sido los autores, aunque eso no modifica en absoluto la respuesta que debemos dar"[373],
but he also stated what would have been his remedy proposal:

> [S]i yo hubiera sido presidente del Gobierno, hubiera reunido el jueves a todos los grupos parlamentarios para compartir información, hacer una declaración conjunta y afrontar juntos este desafío.[374]

> [I]f I had been the Prime Minister, I would have reunited all the parliamentary groups in Thursday to share information, make a joint declaration, and to confront this challenge together.

Although Zapatero was not saying that the Government was lying or manipulating the information, demanding the truth insinuates quite clearly that he considered that the Government was not giving all the information it could as quickly as it could. Furthermore, when speaking on the radio channel *SER*, he responded to the journalists that the political response should be varied depending on who had perpetrated the attack[375]. However, it is typical of Spanish party politics that the party leader is not the one who articulates the most explicit and accusatory line of the party: but the "dirty work" is left to someone else in the party. This time it was the Secretary of the PSOE's Organisation, José Blanco López, who launched the attack in his appearance at television. He accused the Government of "haber retenido"[376] the proofs pointing towards Islamic terrorism, and suspected them of "intentar evitar que [la opinión pública] sepa quiénes han sido hasta que pasen las elecciones"[377]. Curiously TVE cut the direct transmission of Blanco's statement before he reached his conclusions[378].

The rest of the opposition parties rapidly echoed and strengthened the counterframe of PSOE. In the Basque Country, representatives of the PSE, PNV, the former Batasuna and Lehendakari Ibarretxe demanded transparency of information and the right to know who was behind the attack before the elections. The Catalonian nationalist parties and PSC repeated the same sentiments. The statements calling for transparency and "truth" did not

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[373] "Society has the right to know who the perpetrators were, even if it definitely does not change the way we should respond". Cited in "Zapatero exige al Gobierno que convoque el lunes a todos los partidos y Blanco dice que «retiene» datos" (Zapatero demands from the Government a meeting for all the parties on Monday, and Blanco says that [the Government] "is holding back" information), *ABC* 13.3.2004.
[374] Ibid.
[375] Cited in Olmeda 2005, 24.
[376] "Holding back". Cited in "Zapatero exige al Gobierno que convoque el lunes a todos los partidos y Blanco dice que «retiene» datos" (translation in the footnote 373), *ABC* 13.3.2004.
[377] "trying to avoid that [the public] finding out who have they been until the elections have passed". Ibid.
[378] Ibid.

have the power to present an alternative idea on the perpetrators, but when echoing one another, they efficiently undermined the credibility of the ETA frame and spread feelings of mistrust in the Government. They were all based practically on one fact: The Government did not immediately inform the public about the finding of the van with the cassette in Arabic – they had waited a couple of hours before doing so it in the main evening news. Although there was no evidence implicating ETA, there was no clear evidence implicating other groups either. So far the cassette in Arabic or the spurious confession from Abu Hafs Al-Masri Brigades of al-Qaida could not lead to any definite conclusions about the authority of the attack.

Since neither the PSOE nor any other political actor proposed at this point any alternative frame regarding the culprits – it was after all dependent on the information the Government was giving – the counterframe was based on three types of arguments: 1) problem definition, according to which the problem was not the terrorists and their act in Madrid, but manipulation of the official information for vote-catching purposes, 2) causal analysis, where a direct linkage from the war in Iraq was drawn to the attack in Madrid and the unilateral decision of the PP's Government to participate in the war, and 3) moral judgement that accused the Government of lying in the moments of crisis, when the victims and Spanish people had the "moral right" to know the truth.

Looking at the counterframe from the perspective of appraisal theory on emotions, the main idea is to put the causal locus into Aznar's policy, instead of the terrorists. Terrorists may have exploded the bombs, but they did so because Aznar's Government had a bad policy (participation in the war in Iraq). This provokes anger against the politicians, who are to be held responsible for that policy. However, the counterframe components that provoked anger did not stop there. The counterframe included a message, that besides the tragic terrorist attack, another "event" was going on, that was personally relevant to everybody: the Government was holding back or manipulating information. This was judged morally, which made it an especially demeaning offence against the people. No clear coping strategy was proposed, but several insinuations were made related to the coming elections. Naturally this influenced the way people made their appraisals of the terrorist attack and its consequences. Furthermore, it influenced people´s responses to the problem that, according

to the counterframe, was not terrorism, but a bad policy for preventing terrorism, and a bad policy for dealing with an attack.

4.3.3. International framing

Framing ETA in the international scenery was also part of the crisis governance. The most significant political efforts were made in New York, where the Spanish representative on the United Nations Security Council, on the initiative of the Minister for Foreign Affairs Ana Palacio, managed to get ETA mentioned by name in the resolution of the Security Council:

> *Condemns* in the strongest terms the bomb attacks in Madrid, Spain, perpetrated by the terrorist group ETA on 11 March 2004, in which many lives were claimed and people injured, and regards such act, like any act of terrorism, as a threat to peace and security.[379]

The resolution was accepted in the Security Council at approximately 17:00 Spanish time. Even though it is normal for the Security Council to condemn significant terrorist attacks, it is extremely rare for it to use the name of the suspected terrorist group when there is no irrefutable proof of its involvement. Since the resolution was unanimously accepted only some 12 hours after the attack in Madrid, it is obvious that no such proof was so far available. Since it was proven that ETA was not behind the attack, the Spanish ambassador in the UN Inocencio Arias later deplored the action in the Security Council:

> Según la información que tenía (el Gobierno), estaba completamente convencido de que los autores eran los miembros del grupo terrorista ETA […] eran las primeras horas de la mañana, estábamos en un estado de shock, la emoción era alta... y nosotros, de buena fe, presionamos al Consejo para hacerlo.[380]

> According to the information (the Government) had, it was completely convinced that the authors were members of the terrorist group ETA […] it was early in the morning, we were in shock, the emotions were intense… and we, in good faith, pressured the Council to do it.

The Spanish delegation naturally did what it was expected to do. The actions in the Security Council were neither spontaneous nor improvised. Former Minister for Foreign Affairs Ana Palacio later explained her instructions to the delegation in the March 11th Committee of

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[379] Security Council resolution 1530 (2004), cited in the United Nations press release sc/8022 [Internet document].
[380] Cited in "El embajador español en la ONU se disculpa por impulsar una resolución contra ETA el 11-M" (Spanish Ambassador for the UN asks forgiveness for pushing through the resolution against ETA on March 11), *elmundo.es* 27.3.2004 [Internet document].

Enquiry, saying that not only did the Government believe that ETA was the behind the attack, but that she also thought that if ETA was mentioned in the resolution of the Security Council as a terrorist group, then the international press would also more easily refer to them as "terrorists" instead of the quite typical "separatists"[381]. Prime Minister Aznar had always tried to get ETA listed as a terrorist group, and even if he had succeeded in it in the EU, it was not considered as a terrorist group worldwide. Therefore the March 11 attack offered a great opportunity for the Spanish Government to get ETA labelled as a terrorist group in the UN, too. Although the main motivation was simply to condemn the terrorist attack, this other motivation to get ETA named is significant, because it clearly demonstrates the intentional framing campaign the Government was executing. Spain used all the possible means in the Council to blame ETA for the attack. Apparently Russia and Germany were opposing the use of the acronym ETA in the resolution, but both of them suddenly changed their minds. It is not known why Russia did not use its veto, but the German ambassador to the UN changed his mind after the German Vice Chancellor and the Minister for Foreign Affairs Joschka Fischer made a personal call to him.[382] Former Spanish Prime Minister Aznar said later in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry that the whole episode related to the Security Council's resolution was the work of Minister Palacio and Ambassador Arias[383]. However, the intervention by Minister Fischer makes it likely that Aznar was not as inactive in international politics as he claims to have been.

Another relevant action of international framing of ETA was made with a telegram. At 17:28 the Ministry for Foreign Affairs sent a telegram confirming the complicity of ETA the Spanish embassies and consulates around the world, giving at the same time instructions to:

> [A]provechar aquellas ocasiones que se le presenten para confirmar la autoría de ETA de estos brutales atentados, ayudando así a disipar cualquier tipo de duda que ciertas partes interesadas puedan querer hacer surgir.[384]

> [M]ake the most of emerging opportunities to confirm the complicity of ETA in these brutal attacks, helping that way to bring to an end any kind of doubts that certain interested parties may want to arise.

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[381] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 135.
[382] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 136.
[383] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 66.
[384] Cited in "Palacio instruye a todos los embajadores para que confirmen la autoría de ETA" (Palacio instructed all ambassadors to confirm the culpability of ETA), *El País* 13.3.2004.

Former Minister for Foreign Affairs Ana Palacio denied later in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry that she had ordered the telegram to be sent. She said that she signed the telegram as a part of the bureaucratic procedures of the Ministry, since "en el momento que hay una posición oficial, se manda esa posición oficial"[385]. She also said that she was only aware of the "philosophy" of the telegram, not the exact content[386]. Whether or not Minister Palacio was actually aware of the content of the telegram, she had authorized it according to the normal protocol of the Ministry, and it was at her direct responsibility. Nevertheless the existence of that telegram, especially the fact that it was leaked to the public on March 13, was embarrassing to the Government. It gave once again the impression that the Government was pressuring other governmental and non-governmental political actors to support the ETA frame and participate in the framing competition. It is quite significant, that not only former Minister Palacio but also former Prime Minister Aznar avoided taking direct responsibility for these efforts to frame ETA claiming in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry that he did not give Minister Palacio nor any Secretary of State instructions to send such a telegram[387].

In addition to the actions mentioned above, Minister Palacio also considered it necessary to appear in the international media. Although her appearances had no direct influence on the framing competition that was already going on in Spain, the fact that she was emphasizing the ETA frame more strongly than Minister of the Interior Acebes in Spain, gives a strange picture on the information policy of the PP. For example, Minister Palacio appeared in a *CNN* interview on March 12, at 19:30 in the evening, saying that ETA was the main suspect of the attack, but she did not mention the important fact that the Government had already opened another line of investigation. Again on the day of the elections, March 14, she was still emphasizing the complicity of ETA in her appearance on *BBC*, although the evidence and the arrests the day before were clearly pointing at the Islamic terrorism. In the March 11 Committee of Enquiry Minister Palacio explained that both her statements were understood badly because of the translation, and all she did was follow the position of the Government.[388]

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[385] "At the moment there is an official standing point, it is forwarded". *Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 134.
[386] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 153.
[387] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 21, 65.
[388] *Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 143-146.

Since Prime Minister Aznar did not give instructions to Minister Palacio on the foreign policy, it is possible that the Minister for Foreign Affairs really worked according to her personal judgement. Her actions and statements were not well synchronized with those of Minister Acebes, and therefore it seems that Spanish foreign policy during the aftermath was not in tune with events as well as it could have been. However, the foreign policy is not separated from the rest of the policy of the Government, and the actions of Minister Palacio were also noticed in Spain. Her intentions to get ETA framed in the international politics were so obvious, that they naturally served as easy proof of the counterframe: The Government was trying to manipulate information, and convince everybody of the guilt of ETA.

4.3.4. Governmental credibility undermined

During the second day, the Spanish Government was put under more and more pressure because of the counterframe. The previous night there were rumours of suicide terrorists and a confession by Abu Hafs Al-Masri Brigades of al-Qaida that effectively made the ETA hypothesis appear dubious. In order to answer the questions about those behind the attack and comment statements of other politicians, Prime Minister Aznar gave a press conference at 11:30 in the morning. He was apparently irritated by the questions casting doubt on the information policy of the Government. To the questions related to the meaning of the "type of terrorism" Aznar responded, true to his perceptions, saying that the causal locus of the attack was not relevant because all terrorism is the same:

> Más allá de cualquier especulación, interesada o no, ninguna sociedad democrática puede admitir que hay terrorismos de distintos géneros. El fanatismo religioso o el fanatismo étnico solo marcan diferencias en sus coartadas, pero obedecen al mismo impulso asesino, destructor y genocida.[389]

> Beyond any speculation, partial or not, no democratic society can admit that there are different types of terrorism. Religious fanaticism and ethnic fanaticism only differ in their pretexts, but they obey the same murderous, destructive and genocide impulse.

Such semantic quibbling at the moment of crisis, like his earlier use of circumlocutions, was not what the public needed in the meaning-making phase. Furthermore, it was curious

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[389] Cited in "Aznar no aclara si el autor de los atentados es ETA o el terrorismo islámico" (Aznar does not clarify if the perpetrator of the attacks was ETA or Islamic terrorism), *El País* 13.3.2004.

that when the ETA hypothesis was still the primary line of investigation, Prime Minister Aznar avoided making any comment on the possible source of the attack. To the accusations of information manipulation he answered evasively that: "Nosotros juzgamos sobre hechos determinados contrastados"[390], following: "No hay ningún aspecto que conozca el Gobierno que no se haya puesto en conocimiento de la opinión pública"[391]. In order to demonstrate his willingness to share all the information, he mentioned that he had been in contact twice with the leader of the PSOE, Zapatero, and the editors-in-chief of the main newspapers in Madrid and Barcelona. This did not convince the public of the transparency of Aznar's Government, but the fact that the Prime Minister had called the editors-in-chief of big newspapers gave the impression that he had tried to influence their way of doing their jobs.

Before the main event of the second day, a national demonstration to condemn the attack organised by the Government, Minister of the Interior Ángel Acebes appeared briefly in public at 18:00 to report on the development of the investigations. He explained once again that the modus operandi of the attack was very similar to the foiled attacks of ETA in 2002 and 2003. He also told the public that the previous night the police had found a sports bag containing explosives, a detonator and a mobile phone. Although he said that the dynamite in the bag was type Goma 2 ECO, he did not attach importance to this, nor say that ETA had not been using it since the eighties. Then Minister Acebes also commented that the confession made by Abu Hafs Al-Masri Brigades of al-Qaida made the previous evening, had been analysed and considered unreliable. In conclusion, he said that "no hay en estos momentos ningún motivo para que [ETA] no sea la principal línea de investigación"[392], confirming at the same time, that "no se desatienden otras líneas"[393].

Very soon after the Minister of the Interior gave his press conference, at 18:30, a person who remained anonymous made a phone call to the newspaper *Gara* in the Basque

[390] "We make judgements based on determined and corroborated facts". Ibid.
[391] "There are no aspects the Government knows that have not been brought to public knowledge". Ibid.
[392] "At this moment there is no motive for that [ETA] would not be the principal line of investigation". Cited in "El desconcierto del Gobierno sobre la autoría del atentado" (Government confused about the perpetrator of the attack), *El País* 13.3.2004.
[393] "No lines of investigation are abandoned". Cited in "Acebes insiste en señalar a ETA como la primera sospechosa" (Aznar insists on maintaining ETA as the primary suspect), *ABC* 13.3.2004.

Country, saying in that he had an informative note to "Euskal Herria"[394]. The note said simply "La organización ETA no tiene ninguna responsabilidad sobre los atentados de ayer"[395]. *Gara* is often ETA's channel for making public statements such as acknowledging responsibility for its attacks. Only ten minutes after the information about the note, Minister of the Interior Acebes voiced his opinion on the credibility of the note: "No nos lo creemos"[396].

With the information about the cassette in Arabic, the confession of an Islamic terrorist group, and ETA's denied of its involvement, people in Spain participated in the nationwide demonstrations that the Government had decided to organize to condemn the attack. The function of the demonstration from the point of view of the public is analysed in Chapter 6, but from the point of view of the counterframe the demonstrations served as a fruitful ground to spread alternative ideas. People gathered together in order to demonstrate their solidarity with the victims and to condemn the attacks, but behind all the official slogans, rumours started to circulate. There was neither need, nor possibility to check the facts behind them at that point. The Government had lost its credibility in the eyes of many people, and there was a need for alternative information on the attack. That is when the counterframe started to gain ground, and the true "slogan" of the demonstration became "¿Quién ha sido?"[397]

4.3.5. Counterframe took over

On Friday many political actors, most of all the PSOE, started to demand the truth from the Government and present their counterframe in public, making the main newspapers vacillate between the competing frames. *ABC* had accepted the official frame of the Government, and widely published on the brutal history of ETA, and praised the antiterrorism policy of the PP. *El País, El Mundo,* and *La Vanguardia* in Barcelona were more critical, and they discussed the different possibilities more openly. The main channel

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[394] The term is Basque and refers to the Basque Country which is wider than the Autonomic Basque Country is politically, including also those zones of Spain and France that are often considered Basque (Navarra in Spain, Labourd, Basse-Navarre and Soule in France. Names in Spanish and French according to the oficial language of those provinces).

[395] "The organization ETA does not have any responsibility for the attacks of yesterday". Cited in "El desconcierto del Gobierno sobre la autoría del atentado" (translation in the footnote 392), *El País* 13.3.2004.

[396] "We do not believe it". Ibid.

[397] Title of *El País* on its article on the demonstrations 13.3.2004.

for the counterframe was radio *SER,* which had many commentarists and journalists continuously broadcasting their opinions about the events. However, on Saturday even the print media was leaning towards the counterframe, or at least they ceased to maintain ETA as the main suspect. *ABC* also raised the possibility of Islamic terrorism, and *El País* was inclined to suspect that the Government was averse to admitting other hypotheses than the about ETA, because this could have political repercussions, especially in the coming elections[398]. The radio channel *SER* was again the most aggressive demagogue of the counterframe, and it circulated rumours more freely than other media. For example, at approximately 15:00, it broadcast that the CNI had dedicated 99 percent of its resources to investigate Islamic terrorism, and from 18:30 onwards it broadcast live from the demonstrations at the PP's headquarters together with *CNN+*. At the request of the Government, the director of CNI responded to the rumour of *Cadena SER* at 16:50 that day saying that no lines of investigation had been closed[399]. In fact the CNI was totally dependent on open source information during the aftermath, since it did not receive direct information from the police before March 16[400], meaning that CNI was left out of the investigation. Another rather transparent and dysfunctional response to the counterframe was RTVE's decision to change its programme on the Saturday evening (March 13), suddenly showing a documentary *Asesinato en febrero*, which is about the assassination of Fernando Buesa Blanco (PSE-EE) and his *ertzaina* bodyguard Jorge Díez Elorza. The document claims that the assassination was in order to gather support for the PSE in the coming elections, and showing it in such a critical moment, in prime time when other channels were reporting news about the flash-mobs in front of the PP headquarters, was surely intended to participate in the framing competition.

The counterframe took over so extensively in society that many people decided to take political action on the Saturday evening. Spontaneous demonstrations were held in front of the PP headquarters in Madrid and other cities, where people gathered together to demand the truth from the Government. At approximately 20:00 the Minister of the Interior held a press conference, where he told the public about the arrests that had been made some four hours earlier. He said that the arrests had been made because they had sold the SIM-card

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[398] Editorial "Después de la matanza" (After the slaughter), *El País* 13.3.2004.
[399] Former director of CNI Jorge Dezcallar de Mazarredo in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 7, 40).
[400] Ibidem (11-12).

that was used in the detonation system, and although the line of investigation related to Islamic terrorism was advancing strongly, he added that no other line of investigation had so far been ruled out because there could be cooperation between ETA and radical Islamic groups[401]. However, the Government had lost its credibility and the demonstrations against the PP becoming increasingly aggressive. The leader of the PP and presidential candidate Mariano Rajoy issued a statement to the people participating in the demonstrations at 21:15, saying that:

> Comparezco ante la opinion pública para informar de estos hechos gravemente antidemocráticos, […] que tienen por objeto influir y coaccionar la voluntad del electorado en el día de reflexión.[402]

> I appear in front of the public to inform them about these severe antidemocratic actions, […] that have as their object to influence and coerce the will of the electorate during the reflection day.

Rajoy did not blame anybody directly for convoking these demonstrations, but he said that:

> A lo largo de de día de hoy, dirigentes de partidos políticos, que prefiero no mencionar, han realizado manifestaciones públicas, que sin duda han influido en esta convocatoria que esta teniendo lugar. El Partido Popular ha denunciado estos hechos ante la Junta Electoral Central […]. Estamos esperando a que se tomen medidas pertinentes que aseguren que el proceso electoral se va a celebrar en el día de mañana en libertad y sin coacciones.[403]

> Throughout this day, leaders of political parties, which I prefer not to mention, have realized public manifestations that without a doubt have influenced this convocation that is taking place. The Popular Party has denounced these actions to the Central Electoral Comittee […]. We are waiting for pertinent measures to be taken to ensure that the elections shall be celebrated tomorrow freely and without coercion.

Even though Rajoy asked other political forces to explicitly condemn the demonstrations against PP, his wishes were not followed. At that point the PSOE calculated that the counterframe was winning, and it was a well-timed situation to attack even more strongly against the Government. The spokesperson of the PSOE, Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, appeared on television soon after Rajoy, at 21:30, saying that the civic response to the attack has been admirable, but:

> Los ciudadanos Españoles se merecen un Gobierno que no les mienta.[…] El Partido Socialista conocía las líneas de trabajo de las Fuerzas y Cuerpos de Seguridad del Estado. A pesar de ello, por sentido del Estado, por respeto a la memoria de las víctimas, hemos

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[401] "Uno de los cinco detenidos compró en Alcorcón el móvil hallado en una bomba"(One of the five arrested bought in Alcorcón the cell phone found in one of the bombs), *ABC* 14.3.2004.
[402] Rajoy's appearance available in "Rajoy 13-M", YouTube [Internet document].
[403] Ibid.

estado callados cuando desde el Gobierno se hacían descalificaciones y afirmaciones que no siempre se han correspondido con la verdad. Nunca, nunca, utilizaremos el terrorismo en una confrontación política.[…] [E]ste abominable crimen no admite ninguna clase de juego politico.[404]

The Spanish citizens deserve a Government that does not lie to them.[…] The Socialist Party knew the lines of work of the State Security Forces and Corps. In spite of it, for the sense of the State, for the respect for the memory of the victims, we have been quiet when the Government was making accusations and affirmations that did not always correspond with the truth. We would never, never, use terrorism in a political confrontation.[…] [T]his abominable crime does not permit any kind of political games.

Then Rubalcaba also referred to the demonstrations that were going on, asking people to remain calm, because it was a day of reflection, but then he repeated at the end of his statement that the people want to know the whole truth, and that it would be revealed.

The rhetoric of Rubalcaba is a perfect example of a typical counterframe argument on the last day before the elections. From the perspective of appraisal theory on emotions, it includes all the elements that are required to provoke anger in the target audience of the speech: 1) it has an appraisal that the situation is personally relevant to the perceiver ("Spanish citizens deserve a Government that does not lie to them"), and 2) an appraisal that the actions of the Government are a demeaning offence against the people ("out of respect for the memory of the victims", "Government was making disqualifications and affirmations that did not always correspond with the truth", "this crime does not permit any kind of political games"). These elements can also be found in the speeches of other politicians who supported the counterframe. For example, the IU claimed that the PP had planned an "informational *coup d'état*", and that both Prime Minister Aznar and presidential candidate Rajoy were behind this "strategy of lies"[405]. The IU with the PNV also denounced the PP to the Central Electoral Board in case of a possible electoral offense.

Although Rubalcaba's appearance on television was a response to Rajoy's appearance moments earlier, curiously *Telecinco* in its evening news showed these statements in reverse order, giving the impression that Rubalcaba first blamed the Government for lying, and then Rajoy asked the people to remain calm. This was merely one more example of this

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[404] Cited in "PSOE, IU y nacionalistas aprovechan la jornada de reflexión para hacer campaña contra el PP" (PSOE, IU, and the nationalists are taking advantage of the reflection day campaigning against PP), *ABC* 14.3.2004. Entire appearance also available in "PSOE Rubalcaba en la jornada de reflexión, 13-M" (PSOE Rubalcaba on the reflection day), Youtube [Internet document].
[405] Ibid.

competition over the meaning of the attack. And that competition had not ended before the Spanish people had to go to vote the next day.

4.4. CONCLUSIONS ON CRISIS GOVERNANCE

Crisis governance was not successful in the aftermath of the Madrid terrorist attack. Some parts of it, especially the management of emergency services, did succeed very well, but in general Aznar's Government was not able to exercise power over all relevant political forces. This resulted in competition over power in the form of framing of the meaning of the attack, and how people should respond to it.

Looking at the crisis governance, there were some aspects that later had significance for the individual appraisal processes, and outcomes of the crisis. It was quite natural to suspect ETA of the attack at the beginning of March 11, when the total dimensions of the attack were still unknown. People tend to rely on their worldviews, and Basque terrorism was the type of terrorism that had been the problem in Spain for decades. It is often difficult to question old beliefs, and this was what happened in Spain at the official level: situational assessment was tied to the existing ETA narrative on terrorism. Those cues that could have led the officials to reach other conclusions were ignored. Naturally it is easy to judge the sense-making and decision-making errors with the benefit of hindsight but the biggest problem of sense making was not narrative fallacy or biased sense-making. It was the inability to recognise the errors that were made. For example, the misunderstanding about Titadyne was possibly a human error, but when it was corrected by the police, higher level decision-makers ignored its relevance, although it had been the sole substantial proof of the involvement of ETA.

The decision-making style in the process of the crisis governance was authoritative and exclusive. Aznar did not interact with other political forces, but took all the relevant decisions and non-decisions behind closed doors. This was incoherent with the priority to be transparent. Added to the fact that he did not convoke the established crisis committee, but used an improvised combination of leading decision-makers, gave the public the impression that there was something to hide. A major error was to organise a nationwide

demonstration against terrorism with a slogan mentioning the polemic Constitution. This decision caused dissent in large parts of the Spanish society, most of all in the autonomous regions like Catalonia, Basque Country and Galicia. However, an even greater error of Aznar's Government was to exclude the political opposition completely from the decision-making process. This forced the PSOE and other opposition parties to question the crisis governance *per se*, and attack with the counterframe against the information policy of the Government. This with other smaller details in the governance process, such as the efforts of Minister of the Foreign Affairs Ana Palacio in the United Nations, and the semantic ambiguity of Prime Minister Aznar's own rhetoric, it was not very difficult to the counterframe to undermine the credibility of the official frame by claiming that the Government was not telling the public all it knew, and that this was because of political interests.

Many evaluations of the aftermath of 11-M have accused the media for participating in the framing process on one side or the other. It is clear that the media did indeed participate, but it did not add much to the framing campaigns that the politicians were already mounting. The failure of the crisis governance was therefore not because the media was biased, nor because other political forces undermined the Government's credibility. The failure was, as already said, the exclusive nature of the governance process. This irritated the political opposition, and motivated it to attack the crisis governance. Yet it is must be underlined that the opposition mounted this attack extremely well. It appealed to the appraisal process by claiming that the Government was lying to the public because of self-interest. Looking at the argumentation of the comments of many opposition politicians, especially during Saturday, March 13, many of them contained components that provoked anger in the targeted audience of those messages. This seems to have been effective, since politically the most significant response was motivated by anger.

5. PUBLIC RESPONSE

In this chapter the primary aim is to explain how the public response was formed in Spain in the aftermath of the Madrid terrorist attack. A secondary aim is to specify why people responded in a rather radical way to the crisis governance. In the preceding chapter the chronology of the aftermath was already described, and in this chapter the same course of the events is analysed from the point of the view of the public. This means that the public is given a voice to explain how they felt during the course of the events, and why they decided to take political action. This is done by using primary material of personal testimonies and narratives from the people taking part in the events in Madrid.

Public response formation is analysed by applying the ideas that were presented in Chapter 3 in the case of the Madrid terrorist attack and its aftermath. Since the appraisal theory used is here understood as a non-linear process, it is impossible to apply it maintaining at the same time the idea of a chronological course of events. The aftermath of the terrorist attack was a sequence of specific acts, decisions, pieces of information, social gatherings, etc. that all influenced the appraisal process. Therefore a similar division into functional phases has been made for narrative purposes, as was used in the chapter on crisis governance, but with the difference that the phases are based on trauma response functions. This decision is done to make the analysis easier to read and more descriptive. Although the aftermath can be seen as a short period of time, the appraisal process was constantly ongoing. Since the appraisal process is non-linear, it means that people may make reappraisals endlessly, going back to change and modify their earlier estimates when new information emerges, or new events take place. This is not possible in the external world: what is done cannot be undone. Despite the decision to use the trauma response phases in this narrative of the public response, the analysis itself is based on appraisal theory on emotions.

The functional division of the public response is based on the following sequential trauma response phases: 1) shock, 2) reaction, 3) processing, and 4) reorientation.[406] Due to the time framing of this study, only the first two of these phases were relevant in the immediate

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[406] Saari 2000, 41-73.

aftermath of the terrorist attack[407]. As discussed in the Chapter 3, acts of terrorism are traumatic events, where the appraisal on the causes and nature of the violence makes terrorism different from other traumatic events. Since within the scope of this study it has not been possible, nor necessary, to actually make a clinical diagnosis of individual experiences[408], trauma is understood here in a broad sense. This means that milder forms of emotional response, like example sadness and sympathy for the victims through an indirect exposure to the traumatic event, are also seen as a sufficient emotional response that may motivate people to take political action. As already presented in the section on the direct and indirect relevance of traumatic events and psychological victim categories (3.2.2.), people may be affected by an act of terrorism for of many reasons, most of all because of its symbolism, which appeals to the group identity. Furthermore, since the attack in Madrid was unexpected, and surprising in the scale of its violence and its causal locus, it led to an appraisal that caused shock among other emotions. Therefore the trauma response phases offer here a suitable basis for making an analysis without leaving the original framework based on appraisal theory.

Because individuals do react differently to traumas, the time scaling of the response may also vary widely between individuals: each individual has personal capacities to cope with trauma, and the severity of a traumatic event is experienced differently. This means that there is individual overlap between trauma phases. For example, the shock normally lasts from a couple of hours to a day – in some extreme cases even longer –, but in the case of Madrid it generally took one day to pass on from the shock phase to the reaction phase. This means that while some people were still in a state of shock on the day of the attack, others started to show symptoms of a reaction phase. The underlying hypothesis is that the sense-making phase of the crisis governance was of major significance to these differences. People were receiving new information about the event throughout the conducting of this study, and they made their appraisals according to the changing knowledge on the attack itself and according to their perception on the crisis governance. Many personal reasons

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[407] It would be interesting to study how the processing and reorientation phases affected in the Spanish politics after the elections of March 14, 2004, but due to the longer time perspective, it is difficult to make any causal analysis of their influence.
[408] For example Spezio & Adolphs (2007, 79) have claimed that demonstration of affective response requires a clear link to one or more physiological signals, and cannot be based solely on verbal responses. This is naturally required of the neuroscientific approach that Spezio & Adolphs wrote about, but from the point of view of this study physiological no signals of emotional response can be required.

also caused individual differences. For example, it was not an easy or quick task to find out whether all the friends and relatives in Madrid were well or not. It took approximately 18 hours to perform all the post mortem examinations to find out how many people were killed in the attack, and two days after the attack there were still some 50 persons reported missing[409]. One tragic factor extending the trauma response was the fact that many people in the trains were foreigners and immigrants, and it took a long time to get the information to their family members, not to mention the problems with illegal immigrants, who were afraid to go to Ifema to recognise relatives because they were afraid of being expelled[410].

5.1. SHOCK PHASE

The first reaction to a traumatic event is shock. The Dictionary of Psychology defines shock as any experience of extreme surprise caused by some sudden and unexpected horror, outrage, or any violent impact[411]. In plainer language the word is often used interchangeably with confusion and panic, but in psychology it refers the state of mind when all the senses are hyperactive because something life threatening is happening and the person experiencing the shock needs all his senses to save himself. A person in shock is more capable than normal of observing details in the environment, which often may seem afterwards to have been an unrealistic or dreamlike situation. Some even describe the experience later like a slow-motion film, being able to name specific colours, odours, facial expressions etc. related to the accident. Besides enhanced perception, in a state of shock people normally lose their ability to feel emotions. Sometimes people who are most affected by the traumatic event, may seem surprisingly indifferent. For example, a parent who has lost his child in an accident may act calmly, when a bystander witnessing the same accident bursts into tears. The capacity to feel physical pain is also many times diminished. There are numerous histories of wars and tragedies, in which a severely injured person has been capable of acting almost normally for a while, like walking several kilometres to

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[409] "Las cifras de la tragedia" (The tragedy in numbers), *El País* 12.9.2004.

[410] The Government decided in the morning of March 12 to grant citizenship to all the victims of the attack and their family members who were not Spanish, partly because of the difficulties in the identification process, partly because of indemnifications that the Spanish Government decided to pay to the victims would then be easier for every victim to reach. Among the 191 dead, there were 51 foreigners from 16 different countries ("Las cifras de la tragedia" (translation in footnote 409), *El País* 12.9.2004).

[411] Colman 2001, 675. The word itself comes from the French noun *choc,* which was a term used in warfare meaning a sudden attack to enemy causing confusion among them (Le Petit Larousse 2004, 241).

safety with a broken leg. These characteristics of shock all fulfil the function of survival in the event. All the disturbing emotions and feelings are shut of the mind in order to be able to perceive every detail and act accordingly in the dangerous situation. Even if the function of the shock is to make people to act coherently and effectively, people lose some of their ability to make decisions. The flow of information to the mind may have a paralysing effect, and some may concentrate their energy on seemingly irrelevant tasks, as for example on the tasks that were interrupted by the traumatic event. Most people can maintain their ability to act whatsoever, and they only need some advice on making decisions. Only about 20 percent of the people in shock loose their ability to act because of other psychological states of mind like panic, hysteria, dissociation, paralysis or apathy. As noted earlier, the shock normally lasts from a couple of hours to a day, but in some rare cases it may last longer.[412]

The shock phase is rarely relevant from the political point of view. Since the very function of shock is to promote physical survival, politics is something secondary at that point. In shock, it is not yet important why the traumatic event has taken place, because of whom, or whether it could have been prevented. However, when the imminent threat has passed, people start to search for answers to these questions, and then the role of politics, especially from the point of view of crisis management, may become important. Because it is characteristic of shock that people have a heightened capability to perceive details, some aspects of political crisis – or terror – management can later be remembered and given political importance. Small details, like a couple of compassionate words, may later have a huge impact to the individuals touched by the crisis, meaning that the first public actions of important politicians are normally remembered and given importance. Due to the impaired capability to make decisions in shock, people often have an increased need for authority. This means that the actions of the political leaders, even though they are not directly responsible for the emergency work in the field, are of importance. In "regular crises" the importance is normally purely symbolical, but when the event has nationwide effects, for example because of its symbolism, the top political leaders are often the ones to disseminate information to the public, and therefore they may also be of informative importance. If the official information is delayed or does not seem credible, people rapidly

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[412] Saari 2000, 42-52.

start to seek their own answers, theories and make their own interpretations of events[413], which may severely damage the future credibility of the officials providing the information.

When the trauma is caused by an act of terrorism, one of the main questions is always to find out who the perpetrators were, and why they attacked their direct target of violence. In the vocabulary of appraisal theory, people need to ask themselves how the attack is personally relevant, how the ego is involved in it, what is the causal attribution of the event, and is it possible to cope with the situation. Since there is often no direct information from the terrorists themselves, people have to rely on other sources, mostly on the media and governmental officials when making their appraisals. This is where crisis governance influences individual appraising most.

5.1.1. The Stark Reality

As the explosions occurred in Madrid early in the morning, it took a long time to realize what had actually happened, and whether it was personally relevant or not. As already explained in the section on the sense making (4.1.), at the beginning of the crisis the severity of the attack remained unclear: there was no knowledge of the number of dead or injured, not to mention those indirectly affected by the attack. The only obvious fact was that the explosions were a result of terrorist action.

Practically everyone who lived in Madrid was certainly touched by the attack and its immediate consequences. Atocha Railway Station is situated right in the centre of Madrid, and many of the injured were treated there in emergency tents or in the open air. There were not enough ambulances to get the victims to hospitals, but many taxi drivers and bystanders helped spontaneously. Sirens and the sound of helicopters above the city were heard everywhere, since most of the hospitals around the city participated in the emergency services, and helicopters patrolled in the skies. Mobile phones did not always function because of the overwhelming number of calls. There were false alarms of other bombs around the city, and many schools and kindergartens close to the explosion sites were evacuated. Traffic was in many places at least temporarily blocked, for example, the

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[413] Saari 2000, 50.

shortcomings in the train transport affected directly roughly 270,000 *madrileños*[414], all of whom could have been reasonably thinking that the attacks could equally well have been executed in those trains that they were waiting for. Similar thoughts related to the personal relevance of the attack were also common among others who witnessed the operations of the emergency services, since the terrorists could have also attacked other forms of public transport, or generally places where many people congregate, offering a vulnerable target to those wishing to harm as many people as possible.

Even if the people were not affected or witnessed the attack or the emergency services directly in Madrid, they could follow it on television and radio, seeing an endless flow of tragic images from familiar places. Since the attack occurred in trains coming from those suburbs that are popular among immigrants and workers coming from elsewhere in Spain, the effects of the trauma were centrifugal, making the attack a national crisis. Everybody who had friends or relatives in Madrid became worried about them, and they needed to know whether they were safe. The pseudonym Angelopoulus aptly describes how friends and relatives were worried about people in Madrid, and how was it to wake up in the morning with the news about the attack:

> Me despertó mi padre asustadísimo. A la mujer de mi hermano Ángel le pilló cerca. Por suerte no paso nada. Ahora la ciudad esta conmocionada, no se habla de otra cosa. Me llamo algún amigo de fuera de Madrid asustado, saben que Atocha esta cerca de Lavapies. Pobre Lavapies también hoy la gente habla bajito y mira al cielo donde sobrevuelan helicópteros. La ciudad colapsada. Silencios, miradas, caras tristes, personas que andan rápido con los nervios a flor de piel. Cualquiera que se cruza tiene una incertidumbre. Dicen a esta hora que quizás hay más coches preparados para explotar. Todavía no sabemos todo.[415]

> My father woke me up very frightened. The wife of my brother Ángel was close there. Luckily nothing happened. Now the city is shaken, nobody speaks about other things. A friend of mine from outside Madrid called me frightened, they know that Atocha is close to Lavapiés. Poor Lavapiés also today the people speak low and look up to the sky where helicopters are flying. The collapsed city. Silent moments, looks, sad faces, people who walk rapidly with their nervousness showing. Whoever passes is uncertain. They say now that there may be more cars prepared to explode. We do not know everything yet.

Angelopoulus was not targeted directly in the attack, but he or she, aptly describes, how the attack and the response to it was apparent around the city. An indirect experience, in other

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[414] "Las cifras de la tragedia" (The tragedy in numbers), *El País* 12.9.2004. Madrileño is a person from Madrid in Spanish.
[415] VV.AA. 2004, 22. Outward appearance of the text as in the source.

words the case that there is no physical pain or loss of a relative or a friend, may not be as severe as a direct experience, but depending on the appraisal process, the emotional response may nevertheless be very strong. This is aptly described by the Pseudonym ¿?¿?¿?¿?, who wrote about her personal feelings in the morning of the March 11:

> Al principio me ha empezado en la boca del estómago, pero a medida que transcurría la mañana, sola en casa y con la radio a cuestas por cada rincón, la impresión ha ido ascendiendo por la espalda y se me ha anclado en las cervicales. Creo que soy una ciudadana en estado de shock, he permanecido así hasta ahora, incapacitada para llevar a cabo ninguna actividad intelectual de las que tenía pendientes, y casi ninguna mecánica, salvo alimentarme y responder a las llamadas de los amigos de fuera de Madrid…[416]

> First it started in the pit of my stomach, but as the morning passed, home alone and within reach of the radio everywhere, the impression has been rising from the back and it has anchored in my neck. I think that I am a citizen in a state of shock, I have stayed like that until now, incapable of completing any intellectual activity that I was supposed to do, and almost none of the basic ones, except getting myself feed and answering the calls of friends outside Madrid.

The description shows well what an appraisal is, and how it is directly related to emotions. The shock in an indirect case is more a result of conscious reflection, than an automated psychological response, as in the case of being physically attacked. An individual hears about a traumatic event, makes an appraisal and emotions follow accordingly[417]. Physiological symptoms may in such cases be different from a classic shock, since the emotion does not come as suddenly as in a direct experience and is not immediately life-threatening, but only later after realising all the dimensions about the event. Nevertheless, many behavioural aspects of this indirect experience are very much related to a shock. A feeling of being unable to think of other things, to accomplish normal daily tasks (except very basic ones, like eating, although even the sense of hunger probably disappears), and fear about personally important people are all related to shock. However, nobody described any sensations of elevated level of perception, "hypersensitivity" directly, but as can be seen from the examples used here, people were observing their surroundings, especially other people, in detail. The fact that everybody remembers exactly where he was and what happened when he heard about the attack also indicates that the mere information about a traumatic event can cause a shock reaction.

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[416] VV.AA. 2004, 26-27.
[417] Lazarus 2001, 39-40.

5.1.2. "Today everything was different"

During the first moments after the attack, people mostly concentrated on worrying about themselves, their friends and relatives. This means that there was not much political activism, at least organised, during the first day. As one passenger on the underground wrote, the predominant emotion during the whole day was paralyzing fear:

> Hoy todo era distinto. Nadie leía, los ojos se fijaban en un punto indeterminable, [...] en todos los rostros se dibujaba la desconfianza y el miedo. [...] El miedo de saber que, desgraciadamente, nadie, en ningún lugar, sea quién sea, está libre de una muerte injusta.[418]

> Today everything was different. Nobody was reading, and eyes were fixed on some indeterminable point, [...] fear and distrust were drawn in every face. [...] The fear of knowing that unfortunately nobody, nowhere, no matter whom, is exempt from an unjust death.

Similar emotions of fear, because of appraised personal relevance of the attack, were also expressed by the pseudonym Angelopoulos, cited earlier:

> El horror es impredecible. Puedes encontrártelo a la vuelta de la esquina. Sin aviso previo, sin motivo alguno. El horror provoca angustia, vértigo, nausea. Te paraliza, porque se te hace imposible de digerir. Desgarra y quema.[419]

> The horror is indescribable. You can rush into it behind the corner. Without previous notice, without a motive. The horror provokes anguish, vertigo, nausea. It paralyzes you, because it is impossible to deal with. It tears and burns.

Despite the uncertainty and fear of being randomly attacked, people took action on the day of the attack. After ascertaining the situation of friends and familiars, many people started to help the injured. Thousands of people in Madrid tried to get close to the explosion sites and help. Many of them had brought blankets, pillows, medical equipment, water, or something else that they might find useful with them.[420] Thousands of people also went to donate blood[421]. Spontaneous solidarity with the direct victims of the attack was very common in Spain. Even if the people were not able to help those who were affected, they gathered together and showed their solidarity otherwise in the central *plazas* or other common meeting places. Countless "minute´s silence" were held around Spain (and around

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[418] *S.n.* "La foto del miedo" (The photo of fear), in *blogia.com* [Internet document]. Also published in VV.AA. 2004, 26.
[419] VV.AA. 2004, 21.
[420]"Escalofrío de 11-S en pleno Madrid" (Madrid is shivering of fear like in 9/11), *ABC* 12.3.2004.
[421] In Madrid alone 4,600 donations were made that day, and 2,500 bags of blood were sent from the rest of Spain to Madrid ("Las cifras de la tragedia" (The tradegy in numbers), *El País* 12.9.2004).

the rest of the world as well[422]), and people congregated spontaneously even in the smallest villages.[423] In Madrid people gathered in the surroundings of Atocha to leave messages of condolence to the victims, light candles, mourn, and to be with other people and share the feelings of fear and uncertainty. At that point it was difficult to make any causal attribution. Many people believed that it was ETA, but during the evening, more and more people started to suspect that it had been some Islamic group. Because of this uncertainty about the causal locus, people were mainly shocked and afraid. Other emotions rose little by little, with small details that were revealed in the police investigations, and when following the crisis governance led by Prime Minister Aznar.

Although people were not politically active during the first day, the shock phase was not politically irrelevant. As was already described in the section on crisis governance, political decision-makers were actively trying to frame the situation right from the beginning. They gave press conferences, they expressed their opinions, assessments, they condemned the terrorists (especially ETA), and they blamed or disapproved of the accusations of other politicians. The Government adapted an aggressive stance blaming ETA for the attack, and informed the public according to their positions. Sense making and decision-making processes were under way, and the public could observe everything that was said or done in public. They did so because they wanted to know why the terrorists had attacked them, and who they were. When people gathered together, they also shared information, and they expressed their emotions and opinions. Rumours were born and spread, and the public information about the police investigations was evaluated. However, the main attention was still on personal survival. People talked about themselves, how they had experienced the attacks and their effects, where they had been, who they knew among the dead or injured, who could have been there, who lived close or was close, and what those friends and relatives had experienced. This eagerness to talk about the traumatic event can be considered to be one of the first signs of moving on from the shock phase to the reaction phase. It was also a crucial part of the appraisal process, since the topics people discussed

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[422] At that time I was in Paris, and participated in the gathering in front of the Spanish Embassy, where roughly a 1,000 people had come together. They were mainly people from Spain, students and workers, but many non-Spanish like me also participated just to show their sympathy to the Spanish people. I did not notice any political manifestations, although the topics discussed were all related to the possible origin of the attack, and the words and deeds of the Government.

[423] "Cientos de miles de ciudadanos llenan las calles de toda España de rabia e indignación"(Hundreds of thousands of citizens with rage and indignation fill the streets in all of Spain), *ABC* 12.3.2004.

were mostly related to personal relevance, causal attribution, and the implications that could be drawn from the attack.

Another sign of moving on from one phase to the next was that some reaction peaks were already expressed during the aftermath. In the transition emotions may swing from one extreme to another quite rapidly and the state of mind is not very stable[424]. People were not yet acting in order to exert political influence, but if they were given a meaning, besides of expressions of sadness and fear, some also expressed their frustrated anger at the unjust attack. Since the dominant belief soon after the attack was intuitively that the perpetrator of the attack was ETA, the rage was first directed at the Basque terrorists. Some people who were gathered together close to the explosion sites and mourning places were shouting phrases like: "Muerte a ETA y a quienes le apoyan!", or as one man stated directly: "si entre las víctimas hubiera algún familiar mío, no les quepa la menor duda que los asesinos no llegarían a tener un juicio"[425]. Anger was coming to the surface.

5.2. REACTION PHASE

After the shock phase comes the emotional reaction. The transition from one psychological phase to another is individual, and both the time required and symptoms vary. Normally it happens gradually, meaning that there may be some emotional reaction peaks during the shock phase, as seen above. However, in order to leave the shock phase entirely behind it is necessary for the person in question to feel that the immediate threat has passed. In the case of terrorism this may take some time, since many times there is a fear of subsequent terrorist attacks, and attacks on the rescue personnel. This is also the purpose of the terrorists when they make subsequent attacks on the same target.

The main function of the reaction phase is that the person affected by trauma allows himself to feel and become conscious of what has happened. Often this happens through an

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[424] Saari 2000, 52.
[425] "Death to ETA and all its supporters!", "If among the victims there is some relative of mine, there is no doubt that the assassins will get their judgement". Citations from "¡Muerte a ETA y a quienes le apoyan!", *ABC* 12.3.2004.

overwhelming emotional turmoil, where one emotion can rapidly succeed another[426]. This emotional reaction can sometimes cause psychosomatic reactions, like nausea, chest pain, shivering, and muscular ache. Insomnia, flashbacks, nightmares, and inability to concentrate on any task are also typical symptoms that normally disappear when the person moves on to the next phase of trauma response. This takes place in two to four days, but in some cases the process may take much longer.[427]

In the reaction phase what has happened becomes more important, why, and how one can cope with the situation, than it was during the shock phase. In other words, appraisal processes start, when people feel that they are no longer under an immediate threat. If the traumatic event has been circumstance-caused, or the estimated degree of intentionality is low in a human-caused event, people tend to accept their losses relatively rapidly. In these cases the most common emotions are related to the loss: sadness, distress, frustration, etc. Sometimes there may be also self-recriminations, blame, shame, and guilt related to the loss of a friend or relative, when the person estimates that he himself has caused the event, or that he played a part in the final outcomes[428]. Even if there is no reason to blame oneself for anything, these feelings are common. However, as was already discussed in the section on causal attribution (3.3.1.), in the case of human-caused events estimated to have been perpetrated on purpose to hurt and cause casualties, the reaction generally includes strong feelings of anger, hatred, aggression, and sense of injustice. The more demeaning to the moral ideals and identity the offence is seen, the more likely the core relational theme of the appraisal will lead to anger.

Reprisals or blame-games may prolong the recovery process. On the individual level a person who directs his negative feelings caused by a traumatic event into a political battle uses the action as a tool for self-protection at the cost of not advancing from bitter blame-gaming to the next phase of trauma recovery[429]. This often happens when the victim denies his loss and pain, or feels that justice has not been done to the person(s) whom he holds guilty of the traumatic event[430]. Using the vocabulary of appraisal theory, the person in

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[426] E.g. Young 1989, 142-143.
[427] Saari 2000, 52-60.
[428] See e.g. Roseman 2001, 70-71.
[429] Saari 2000, 53.
[430] Saari 2000, 81-84.

question uses a coping strategy that makes it difficult to adjust to the changed situation. Retaliation is often hard to execute, especially when group symbolism is involved. There have been cases when people attack some ethnic, religious, ideological, or national groups, when the assailant has used symbolism related to that group identity. However, a revenge on the whole group is normally impossible, which may lead to prolonged hatred and frustration. When the traumatic event has touched a community or a nation through the symbolism of the event, recovery requires that there is at least a generally accepted closure to the event. Any retaliatory action can cause cleavages inside the community or nation in question, and there can be no general adjustment to the experienced traumatic event.

5.2.1. Causal attribution

The reaction phase may be politically very important, since those feelings of anger and aggression are easily channelled into political activity. Causal attribution and other implications become important here, since people normally direct their emotional reaction to those whom they hold responsible for the traumatic event. They may start making phonecalls to politicians, mobilize gatherings, and demonstrations in order to demand justice. Sometimes these spontaneous efforts can even lead to longterm campaigning, generated new social movements and organisations.

The motives for political action may also be sinister: anger provokes a need for revenge. If those responsible for the traumatic event are not easily caught or brought to justice by the system, or if the causal attribution is not clear, a scapegoat effect may emerge. This means that other individuals or bodies that are more easily accessible through political action are blamed. In the case of terrorism this often happens using similar logic based on the symbolism than the terrorists have used: the vengeance is directed at the symbols somehow representing the terrorists. For example, rage against some ethnic or religious group may arise after an attack when a member of that group is involved.[431]. This can also explained

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[431] A good example of this is also from March 2004, but from Kosovo. On March 17 and 18 violent rioting took place all around the province after three Albanian children were found dead in a river. Albanians automatically blamed the Serb minority of the accident (the accusations proven were false later), and as a consequence during the rioting burned down 550 homes, and at least 27 orthodox churches and monasteries, leaving approximately 4,100 ethnic Serbs, Roma, Ashkali and other non-Albanian minorities destitute. For further information, see "Failure to Protect: Anti-Minority Violence in Kosovo, March 2004", Human Rights Watch 2004 [Internet document]. Similar retaliation, based on religious symbolism, took place in the Netherlands after the film director Theo van Gogh was brutally murdered for religious motives by

with the concept of group identity: Vamık Volkan has noted that in crisis situations it is typical to bolster ones self-esteem by seeking a sense of security among the cultural group to which one feels one belongs, or in other words, from the group identity. As have been already discussed, this group identity is normally based on ethnicity, religion, nationality or ideology.[432] Common sense seems to lead to similar conclusions, since when the authority of the attack was still unknown in the aftermath of the March 11 attack, the pseudonym Angelopoulus wrote on the significance whether the perpetrator of the attack was ETA or al-Qaida:

> Que triste que la mayoría de gente con la que hablé nos alegremos de que no haya sido ETA. Nuestros vecinos marroquíes lógicamente desean que no haya sido Al-Qaeda. La amenaza ahora es el racismo, el estado de sitio contra la inmigración. Nadie quiere ser marcado por el dedo de la utilización de la ignorancia de forma interesada.[433]

> How sad that the majority of the people that I have spoken with, we are glad that it has not been ETA. Our Moroccan neighbours logically hope that it was not al-Qaida. The threat now is racism, the siege against immigration. Nobody wants to be blamed for using ignorance in an interested manner.

Angelopoulus was clearly worried about a general rise of racism against Muslim immigrants if some Islamic terrorist group proved to be behind the attack. However, the Basques were similarly worried about the possible culpability of ETA, and not completely without reason: An off-duty police officer had stabbed and shot a baker in Pamplona, Navarra (next to the Basque Country Autonomous Community, often considered part of the greater Basque region) when he delined to put a poster against ETA in the wall of his establishment in March 13. Although the politically motivated murder in Pamplona remained a unique case[434], it is entirely possible that if ETA had been behind the attack in Madrid, the animosity against Basques would have caused more similar attacks. Many people were worried about this, and the relief that Angelopoulus describes above when it resulted that it was not ETA was not uncommon. Perhaps it was easier to imagine that

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Mohammed Bouyeri, a young radical Muslim, on November 2, 2004. After the murder, the Dutch Centre on Racism and Xenophobia recorded a total of 106 violent incidents against Muslim targets in November, and the National Dutch Police Services Agency recorded 31 attacks against mosques and Islamic schools between November 23, 2004 and March 13, 2005. The retaliation caused a counter-retaliation, and churches were attacked 13 times. Numbers from: "Theo van Gogh (film director)", Wikipedia [Internet document].

[432] Volkan 2004, 23-55.

[433] "La infamia", cited in VV.AA. 2004, 43.

[434] Possibly because of the publicity the murder of Angel Berrueta had in the aftermath of the Madrid terrorist attack, the family of the murdered victim had received anonymous threats as much as three years after the event. "La familia de Angel Berrueta continúa recibiendo amenazas de muerte" (The family of Angel Berrueta continues receiving death threats.), *Gara* 02.04.2007 [Internet document].

behind such an atrocity was a group from a culturally more distant background than the Basques.

There may be other psychological reasons, although very similar ones, for the scapegoat effect as well as the reliance on group identity. Pyszczynski et al. explain the effect by a lowered tolerance in general: After a traumatic event it is normal for emotional endurance to decrease at least temporarily. This sensation of insecurity and vulnerability can cause lowered tolerance towards those who do not act according to moral rules.[435] Although moral rules are very much dependent on the culture, and thereby the theory of Pyszczynski et al. is just another approach to the same idea as presented by Volkan, it can also explain why sometimes the scapegoat effect is directed in-group, rather than out-group. As explained in the section on the appraisal theory and causal attribution (3.3.1.), in cases of terrorism people may blame the circumstances or specific policies for causing terrorism instead of blaming the terrorists who are threatening their lives. Political authorities can be blamed, because they have been unable to prevent the attack, they have caused terrorism through their policy-making, or their governance during the crisis is regarded as "intolerable". This last case means that the same kind of policy-making is no longer tolerated anymore in the aftermath of a crisis than was before it. Politics is often considered to be at the limits of moral norms because it may involve suspicious trade-offs (according to common saying "necessity makes strange bedfellows"), but it is nevertheless considered necessary. If the general tolerance of breaking or bending moral rules is lowered because of a traumatic event, it also means that the tolerance of political games is lowered, giving thereby less room for policy-making in crises than in normal situations. This seems to be the case especially with regard to the prevailing political authorities. As the case of Madrid shows, when the opposition broke the moral rules by spreading rumours and appealing to public emotions with their framing, it was not judged as easily as when the Government held back information for a few hours. Similar policies were not treated equally because of different expectations and responsibilities. However, the crucial issue seems to be the perceived motivation. In Spain many considered that the Government was manipulating the information because they wanted to win the elections (self-interest), and according to that view, the opposition undermined the credibility of the Government because they thought

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[435] Pyszczynski et al. 2002, 102-104.

that the "The Spanish citizens deserve a Government that does not lie to them" (common interest), as the spokesperson of the PSOE, Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, formulated it in his appearance on the reflection day[436]. This means that intolerance related to moral rules is very selective. Therefore the idea is not at odds with the common perception that appealing to the threat of terrorism makes it easier to implement such policies that would not be considered legitimate without the fear of terrorism[437], like for example torture, etc.

5.2.2. Appraised symbolism and the confusing demonstration

As was already discussed in the section on crisis governance, the Spanish Government thought that organising a national demonstration the day after the attack would show the terrorists that the Spanish people were united together against terrorism. For example, the leader of the PP and presidential candidate Mariano Rajoy emphasized the importance of participating in the demonstration saying: "Ir a la manifestación avisa de que la sociedad española no acepta chantajes"[438]. This, together with many other similar statements, was an appeal to the personal relevance of the attack, and a proposal for a coping strategy. However, appealing to the Spanish national identity was too much for many people, even though they were against terrorism. Although most of the politicians in the opposition remained silent, some dissenting statements were made, especially among the IU and regionalist parties. The most problematic detail in the demonstration was its official slogan which was in favour of the Constitution which had been under demands for reform. It aroused controversial emotions, since many people thought that the Government was trying to force people to show their agreement with the Constitution by asking them to show their solidarity with the victims. However, average citizens do not have to act as politically correctly as the politicians, and the "unity" of the Spanish people remained only in the official rhetoric.

The demonstration started in all Spanish cities on March 12, at 19:00. It paralysed the whole country. Many shops and even offices closed early in order to give the people an opportunity to participate in the march. Despite the heavy rain in most parts of the Spain,

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[436] Citation in the chapter 4.3.5.
[437] e.g. De Castella et al. 2009; Robin 2004, 25.
[438] "Going to the demonstration shows that the Spanish society does not accept blackmail". Cited in "Rajoy: 'España acabará con la lacra asesina del terrorismo'" (Spain will put an end to the murdereous blot of terrorism), *El País* 12.3.2004.

the marchers gathered around 11 million demonstrators, which was more than every fourth Spanish citizen, making it both quantitatively and proportionally the biggest demonstration so far in democratic Spain. In Madrid alone, there were around two million participants in the march, which is two thirds of the population of the city and one third of the population of the Community of Madrid[439]. Among the demonstrators in the capital there were many members of the Government, statesmen from other countries (e.g. the president of the European Commission Romano Prodi, the Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, the Portuguese Prime Minister José Manuel Durão Barroso, the French Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin, and the German Minister for Foreign Affairs Joschka Fischer)[440], and for the first time ever in a political demonstration, members of the Spanish Royal Family[441]. The opposition parties also participated in the demonstration as they had agreed the day before. For example, the leader of PSOE José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero marched in the same line with Prime Minister José Maria Aznar and foreign statesmen.

Whereas the frontlines of the march stayed together, the rest of the march was suitable ground to express all kinds of feelings and circulate rumours. The reasons for this varied. The main feelings that day were clearly sadness and uncertainty. Candles were lit and people wore black armbands. The majority of the people just marched slowly under their umbrellas, asking why the attack had happened, why somebody hated them so much that such an atrocity was considered necessary. The matter of concern on peoples lips was however: "¿Quien ha sido?"[442]. The heavy rain only amplified dark feelings: "No llueve, Madrid está llorando"[443]. It seemed to be socially desirable behaviour to participate in the march – for many just to demonstrate solidarity, but also for some to show that people where united, despite the attempts to politicize the demonstration with the slogan. Nevertheless, there were also participants, who did not express sadness, but other, more aggressive feelings.

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[439] Since many of the trains came from the provincial cities outside the city of Madrid, it is likely that a lot of people from the outskirts participated in the demonstration organised in the capital. Numbers from "Madrid", Wikipedia [Internet document].
[440] "Millones de personas manifiestan contra el terrorismo" (Millions of people demonstrate against terrorism), *elmundo.es* 13.3.2003 [Internet document].
[441] Prince Phillip, Princesses Helen and Christina. Ibidem.
[442] "Who was it?" A title in *El País* 13.3.2004.
[443] "It is not raining, Madrid is crying". Cited in "El dios de la lluvia lloró sobre Madrid" (The god of rain cried over Madrid), *El País* 13.3.2004.

Emotional reaction started to come to the surface in the demonstration. Because of the unclear causal locus of the attack, people directed their emotions at different targets. Perhaps the most common form of reaction was frustrated anger against whoever the perpetrator had been. People were shouting angrily: "en ese tren íbamos todos", "no estamos todos, faltan 200", "ayer morimos todos", "no más muertos", "la sangre derramada jamás será olvidada", "no hay cojones sin pistolas", "ETA y Al Qaeda son la misma mierda", "asesinos"[444], thereby showing that they were just as intimidated by the terrorists as the direct victims of the attack, and that they felt united at least in the pain, loss and anger, if not in all the possible symbolism of the attack. As has been argued, this identification with the direct target of violence is exactly what makes terrorism effective, but this group of demonstrators showed that the identification does not have to be related to politics, but may be simple sympathy based on being human. This group did not care as much about the causal attribution as the other groups in the demonstration because the damage had already been done, and 191 lives had been lost, no matter what the cause of the attack had been.

Some parts of the demonstration directed their anger at the Basque terrorists, who were still officially the main suspects, although evidence to the contrary had already been found, and a counterframe had been presented to compete with the official frame. Since this group thought that the causal attribution was clear, the frustration was not as visible as in the previous group of demonstrators. These groups of people were shouting anti-ETA slogans and often other slogans appealing to the Spanish national identity. They were simple and familiar from countless numbers of earlier demonstrations against ETA: "ETA no", "basta ya", "puta Batasuna", "España unida, jamás será vencida"[445] etc. Politicizing the attack was not uncommon among these protesters, and many of them were carrying national symbols like Spanish flags[446], some of them with a black band symbolizing mourning, others not.

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[444] "We were all in that train", "not everybody is here, 200 are missing", "yesterday we all died", "no more deaths", "blood shed shall never be forgotten", "No balls without pistols", "ETA and al-Qaida are the same shit", "murderers". Cited in "Millones de personas manifiestan contra el terrorismo" (translation in footnote 440), *elmundo.es* 13.3.2003 [Internet document].

[445] "No ETA", "it is enough", "whore – Batasuna", "United Spain shall never be defeated" (a version of the famous communist slogan: "el pueblo unido jamás será vencido") Cited in "Millones de personas manifiestan contra el terrorismo" (translation in footnote 440), *elmundo.es* 13.3.2003 [Internet document].

[446] The use of the constitutional flag is often considered problematic in Spain, especially in the autonomous provinces with a strong regionalist identity. Although the combination of red-yellow-red stripes originates from the Naval Ensign of 1785, many people associate it today with the rise of nationalism and defeat of the 2nd Republic in the Civil War of 1936-1939, because Franco's regime changed the Republican flag (red-

Among these "anti-ETA, pro-Spain" protesters were mostly political conservatives and nationalists. Signs of extremist nationalism were actually observed, although they were quite rare. For example, pseudonym El Pirata Roberts describes his personal experience from the demonstration in Madrid:

> Es verdad, había pancartas de "No a la Guerra", había grupos que se paraban frente a los carteles electorales de Rajoy y coreaban "por vuestra culpa, España está de luto", y miles de manifestantes portaban lemas relativos a la paz. Pero la tónica dominante era la de las pancartas que exigían la pena de muerte – "Referéndum ya" – , los lemas que aludían a la unidad inquebrantable de la patria – "Con nosotros, quien quiera; contra nosotros, quien pueda. ¡Viva España!" – , las exigencias de "justicia implacable", el silencio atroz entre gritos aislados de impotencia – "Asesinos", "Hijos-de-puta", "ETA, cadena perpetua", y sobre todo "Viva España", grito especialmente coreado.

> Recorrí la mani desde Retiro hasta el Círculo de Bellas Artes. […] Mucha de la gente que desfilaba conmigo procedía de los barrios altos[…]. Es posible que esto influyera para que yo haya visto la versión más ultraderechista de la mani: gente haciendo el saludo fascista ¡con banderas constitucionales!, un grupo igualmente constitucional pegando a un magrebí en Manuel Becerra, un paraguazo en la cabeza de una amiga por gritar "Es fascista el que no vote". En fin, que en mi sector predominaba la gente a la que hasta el jueves le habían importado un pimiento los habitantes del Pozo del Tío Raimundo, especialmente los inmigrantes. Es probable que desde Atocha la composición de la mani fuera bastante distinta.[447]

> It is true, there were "No War" placards, there were groups that stopped in front of Rajoy's electoral posters and chanted: "because of you, Spain is mourning", and thousands of demonstrators carried slogans related to peace. But the dominant tone was the one of placards demanding capital punishment – "Referendum now" – , slogans that alluded to the unyielding unity of the fatherland – "With us, whoever wants to; against us, whoever dares. Long live Spain!" – , insistences of "implacable justice", atrocious silence between isolated cries of impotence – "Murderers", "Sons of bitches", "ETA, life imprisonment", and most of all "Long live Spain", an especially chanted cry.

> I marched in the demonstration from Retiro to the Círculo de Bellas Artes. […] Many people who marched with me came from the rich neighbourhoods […]. That is possibly the reason I saw the most extreme-rightist version of the demo: people making the fascist salute with the constitutional flag!, an equally constitutional group beating up a Moroccan in Manuel Becerra, a blow with an umbrella to the head of a friend of mine for shouting "He that does not vote is a fascist". In the end, in my sector there were more of those that, before Thursday, could not care less about the residents of El Pozo del Tío Raimundo, especially about the immigrants. It is probable that from Atocha the composition of the demo was quite a lot different.

Although violence was very rare in the demonstration, the description of Pirata Roberts shows well how extreme emotions were on the surface, and how the national demonstration

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yellow-purple) back to its present day colours. During Franco's regime it was also forbidden to use regionalist, more traditional flags, which naturally caused irritation.

[447] Cited in "Impresiones sobre la manifestación en Madrid" (Impressions from the demonstration in Madrid), VV.AA. 2004, 61-62.

to express the unity of the Spanish people, was in fact splintered into small groups of different, even extreme, opinions.

Third and politically the most important target of anger, from the point of view of the public response to the attack, was the reaction that was directed against the Government. Since the march was practically carrying the electoral message of the PP – the statement in favour of the constitution – participation in the march caused some people great ideological contradictions. In the slogans this was seen especially in Barcelona, where regional identity is strong. There some people had made their own placards against the official one: "Barcelona con Madrid, Barcelona por la paz, la Constitución es otro tema", or simply "¿Qué pinta la Constitución aqui?"[448] Similarly, many considered that the official information related to the causal attribution of the attack was dubious, and they believed that the Government was trying to manipulate the information for their own benefit. Such suspicions were common amongst the supporters of political opposition and especially strong in those autonomic regions of Spain that had for long anticipated a Constitution that would allow them more local independence. These groups did not trust the conservative Government in the first place, and the attack had only intensified their distrust and reminded them of the past "bad policies" of the Government. For example, in the capital of Catalonia, Barcelona, the Minister for Economic Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister Rodrigo de Rato and the leader of the Catalan PP, Josep Piqué were attacked so aggressively by a group of demonstrators calling them "asesinos"[449], that they had to withdraw from the march. Similar attacks, although not as strong, against the representatives of the PP also happened elsewhere, including Madrid[450]. An apt description of this kind of point of view was written by pseudonym Javier N, who criticized the Government for politicizing the attack, but at the same time proposed a coping strategy that was equally very political:

> Yo también estoy en contra de la constitución, pero pienso ir. Como nos quedamos en casa, sólo irán los del PP con sus banderas de Eppaña y discursos patrioteros. […] Todos los que

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[448] "Barcelona with Madrid, Barcelona for peace, Constitution is another topic", "What has the Constitution to do with this?" Cited in "Cataluña se vuelca" (Catalonia revolts), *El País* (Edition in Barcelona) 13.3.2004.
[449] "murderers". Cited in "Rato rechaza encabezar la marcha en Barcelona tras ser abucheado" (Rato neglects being in front of the march after being booed at), *ABC* 13.3.2004.
[450] For example the wife of Prime Minister Aznar, Ana Botella, stated later that it was a real ordeal to participate in the march, because some organized groups, as in the demonstrations against the war in Iraq, insulted them. In Cué 2004, 9.

estamos contra el PP y sus políticas de rancio nazionalismo [sic] tenemos que tirarnos a la calle, no les podemos dejar instrumentalizar a su favor un atentado que han provocado. Tenemos que tirarnos a la calle, a exigir responsabilidades por estos muertos aún calientes. Se lo debemos a los civiles iraquíes, a los civiles españoles, a esos obreros y estudiantes que habrían ido a las manifestaciones contra la guerra. Pero el PP no les hizo caso, ahora hay que hacérselo pagar, que paguen un precio político.[451]

I am also against the Constitution, but I am planning to go. If we stay at home, there will be only supporters of the PP with their flags of *Sppain* and patriotic speeches. [...] All of us that are against PP and its politics of rancid nazionalism [sic] have to go out onto the streets, we cannot let them to use an attack that they have provoked to their favour. We have to go out onto the streets, to demand responsibes for the dead whose corpses are still warm. We own it to the Iraqi civilians, to the Spanish civilians, to those workers and students that would have gone to the demonstrations against the war. But the PP did not care about them, and now it must pay the price, they should pay a political price.

When Javier N referred to the dead victims in his proposal for a coping strategy saying that they "would have gone to the demonstrations against the war", he "took away the voice of the affected" and categorized them as a political option that suited his ideas, just as Pilar Manjón criticized that many politicians had tried to do in her speech in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry that was cited in the section on the ego involvement and victimization (3.2.4.). More importantly, Javier N, like so many others in Spain who shared a similar perception with him, made a causal link between the war in Iraq and the terrorist attack in Madrid. This linkage made it possible to revitalize the feelings of distrust and frustration against the Government that large parts of the Spanish society felt when they were in vain opposing the war and Spanish participation in it just a year before the attack in Madrid. This was the core of all so-called counterframes, and when it turned out that an Islamic terrorist group was behind the attack, which was at least partially motivated by the war in Iraq, it fitted the political perception of the anti-war activists perfectly.

Because of the strong politicization of the demonstration by the Government and its supporters as well as by the opponents of the Government, many "neutral" participants in the march felt simply confused. Although the majority of the marches around the country went silently and without important incidences, it was difficult to avoid expressions of rage and aggression. This made it difficult to really feel solidarity, or even form an opinion of the events. As one demonstrator stated later: "La manifestación [...] había sido difusa.

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[451] "Contra la manifestación" (Against the demonstration), *sindominio.net* 12.3.2004 [Internet document]. Also published in VV.AA. 2004, 59. Spelling Spain with two p-letters meant the Spain governed by PP. It was a reference to a popular TV parody *Los Morancos* that caricaturized the patriotic behaviour of PP supporters. Spelling the word *nacionalismo* with the letter z is an obvious reference to Nazism.

Nadie pudo decir lo que quería"[452]. Similarly another participant who was confused because of the slogans people were shouting, asked his friend: "¿Pero esta mani es contra ETA o contra el PP? No entiendo nada", who replied: "Lo que pasa es que si al final es Al Qaeda la culpa será de Aznar, por meternos en una Guerra que nadie quería"[453]. The counterframe appealing to the causal attribution and its implications was starting to gain ground.

5.3. POLITICAL ACTIVISM

The official demonstration on March 12 was enough for the majority of the Spanish to show their solidarity with the victims and condemnation of terrorism. To them, coping with the attack did not require more political activism. Nevertheless, for some parts of the public it only served as an occasion for to give and receive different political opinions, or as a confusing situation, where "nobody could say what they wanted". To them, the appraisal process was indicating a different causal locus, and a different coping strategy.

Saturday, March 13, was the day before the general elections, which is traditionally called "reflection day", meaning that it has to be free from all kind of electoral campaigning. Since the aftermath of the terrorist attack was already politicized because of the on-going framing competition, it was impossible to ignore party politics, and the reflection day was not respected. Saturday was also important from the point of view of police investigations, since the SIM-card that was found from one of the unexploded bombs had led the police to make the first arrests related to the attack. Police raided the *locutorio* that had sold the SIM-card at approximately 16:00, and arrested five people. Just a few hours earlier Minister of the Interior Ángel Acebes had held a press conference where he said that police investigations were progressing, and the attack could have been made in collaboration of various terrorist groups, thereby still keeping ETA in the picture. Naturally at that point the relevance of the raid was still unknown and the police were still investigating the Basque

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[452] "The march […] was diffuse. Nobody could say what they wanted" Ángel Calle in Cué 2004, 18.
[453] "But is this demo against ETA, or against PP? I don't understand anything", "The thing is that if it is ultimately al-Qaida, it is Aznar's fault, because he put us in a war that nobody wanted." Cited in "¿Quién ha sido?", *El País* 13.3.2004.

terrorists[454]. However, the emphasis given to ETA seemed to be forced, especially when there was no single evidence backing it up, but many were indicating the other possibility: it was some Islamic terrorist group.

On Saturday, most parts of the media were already behind the counterframe, and all the rumours that had been circulating had had their effect. At 19.40, the local television channel TeleMadrid announced that they had received an anonymous call saying that close to the central mosque in Madrid there was a hidden videocassette with a confession about the culprits of the attack. According to TeleMadrid, the informant spoke with an Arabic accent. The police found the cassette at around 20.30, and quickly analysed it. At 20:00 the Minister of the Interior appeared on television to report the arrest of five immigrants, and again late at night announcing on the results of the analysis of the video confession. However, the Government had already lost much of its credibility, and when the evidence was pointing more and more clearly at some Islamic terrorist group, the counterframe that had made a causal link between the attack and the decision to participate in the war in Iraq had successfully challenged the official frame. This made it easy to appraise the Government as the causal locus. Due to this causal attribution and the moral judgement that was included into the counterframe, large parts of the public, especially those who had actively opposed the war earlier, decided to take action.

5.3.1. Mobilization

At approximately the same time as the police made the first arrests in Madrid, in the Basque Country a group of regionalist activists started a demonstration against the central Government. Likewise, in Madrid people started to receive messages to their mobile telephones proposing a seemingly apolitical coping strategy for the people upset about the crisis governance of the PP, which after all turned out to be very political in practise. Probably the most common SMS was this one: "¿Aznar de rositas? ¿Le llaman jornada de reflexión y Urdazi [sic] trabaja? Hoy 13M, a las 18h. Sede PP C/Génova, 13. Sin partidos. Silencio por la verdad. ¡Pásalo!"[455] It is not known, who prepared the message, but a

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[454] According to the testimony of Minister Acebes in the March 11 Committee of Enquiry (*Diario de Sesiones* no. 11, 41-42.

[455] "Aznar taking it easy? They call this a reflection day and Urdazi [sic] is working? Today, 13M, at 18h. PP headquarters, Génova Street 13. No parties. Silence for the truth. Pass on!" For example Cué 2004, 14.

journalist from *El País*, Carlos Cué, in his book *¡Pásalo! Los cuatro días de marzo que cambiaron un país* told an interesting story about the origin of the polemic SMS[456]. According to that story the author of the message, whose name was not revealed, was a man who was not affiliated to any party, but had close ties to the IU and anti-war movement. He was upset about the information policy of the Government and the official media houses because they showed an onesided image of the demonstrations in Friday, March 12, omitting all anti-war and anti-Government slogans. After consulting two of his friends, he sent the message to 12 people, and his friends to 8 and 10 people on the Saturday afternoon. Rapidly the message was spread to thousands and thousands of people. Whether the story is true or not, it aptly describes the appraisal process that was most common among the protesters: The attack itself was tragic, but the really demeaning offence against the *citizenship* (ego involvement through membership of the political system) was the intentions to distort the truth for votecatching purposes. Pseudonym B.S. aptly describes the diffusion of the message:

> El mensaje que recibí en torno a las tres de la tarde anunciando un concentración silenciosa por la verdad frente a la sede del PP en la calle Génova. PÁSALO. Así terminaba el mensaje que recibí. Así comenzaba algo que con el paso de las horas iba difundiéndose minuto a minuto. Por cada mensaje que la gente recibía, se enviaban diez, quince, veinte mensajes más. Hubo gente que recibía hasta diez mensajes de grupos de gente diferente: familia, trabajo, lugar de estudios, gente del colegio, del barrio, y esos mensajes se multiplicaron hasta el infinito, propagándose como las llamas de un incendio por efecto del viento.[457]

> The message I received at approximately three in the afternoon announcing a silent demonstration for the truth in front of the PP headquarters in Genova Street. PASS ON. So ended the message I received. So began something that with time kept on spreading minute by minute. For each message that the people received, ten, fifteen, twenty messages more were sent. There were people who received up to ten messages from different kinds of groups: family, work, place of study, people from school, from the neighbourhood, and those messages were multiplied to infinity, like a fire that is spread by the wind.

Some people, who received the message, modified it to fit the local needs. Genova Street is in Madrid, and since the message circulated around the country, it was in many places made to correspond with the local geography. Completely different messages were also sent, and it is not clear whether they were inspired by the original message, or whether they

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Alfredo Urdaci was the director of TVE, and writing it with the letter z was, according to Cué, a joke referring to Letizia Ortiz Rocasolano, the bride of Prince Phillip.

[456] Cué 2004, 10-15.

[457] Cited in "Lo que pasó el sábado en Madrid" (What happened Saturday in Madrid), VV.AA. 2004, 69-70.

had nothing to do with the other messages. For example, this message was sent to people in order to get them to read foreign media on the Saturday morning: "Conéctate a bloonberg.com [sic] y new york times, todo el mundo escandalizado x la manipulación y mentiras del pp. Pásalo"[458]. This message was not tied to any particular place, but it tried to mobilize people to protest by making a noise on the Saturday night:

> Se está convocando una cacerolada para hoy (sábado 13 marzo) por la noche a las 22h. Contra el terrorismo, contra la guerra, por la libertad. Se ruega la mayor difusión posible, gracias.[459]

> A *cacerolada*[460] is being organised tonight (Saturday, March 13) at 22h. Against terrorism, against the war, in favour of liberty. Greatest possible dissemination requested, thank you.

The use for messages in mobilizing people to take action is a perfect example in practice of Bruno Latour's model of power translation, presented in section 3.4.2. People had the opportunity to do whatever they wanted with the proposed coping strategy, or in Latour's words, with the power impulse. Therefore the ultimate power to react was in the hands of the person who received the SMS, and he could make the use of power "real" by responding to the encouragement of the SMS. At the moment a person received the message, he became an actor, and if he transformed it or stopped it against the *pásalo* imperative, in the parlance of Actor Network Theory he was then a mediator. Accordingly, by sending it forwards, the person was simply an intermediary.

5.3.2. Response climax

Circulating text messages had a huge impact on the public, because receiving them from many sources demonstrated that many people had appraised the circumstances similarly. At 18:00 on the Saturday evening there were only a few demonstrators in front of the PP headquarters in Madrid, but the crowd kept growing steadily. According to the police, in Genova Street there was approximately 3,000 demonstrators, but the highest estimates were of some 5,000 participants[461]. The demonstration in Barcelona did not fall far behind the numbers in the capital. In the rest of the country protests were smaller: in Palma de

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[458] "Connect bloonberg.com [sic] and new york times, the whole world is scandalized about the manipulation and lies of pp. Pass on". Cited in VV.AA. 2004, 66.

[459] VV.AA. 2004, 67.

[460] Cacerolada means a demonstration where saucepans (*cacerolas*) are banged to make noise.

[461] "Manifestaciones convocadas mediante mensajes de móvil exigen la verdad sobre el atentado" (Demonstrations that were organised with text messages demanded the truth over the attack), *El País* 14.3.2004.

Mallorca some 1,000 participants, in Valencia 500, in Seville 300, in Granada 100, and in Bilbao about 100 persons[462]. If compared to the official demonstration was organized a day earlier, the number of participants in these flash mobs remained very small.

A smaller number of protesters does not mean that the significance of the flash-mobs could be belittled, because what they lacked in numbers, they made up for in aggressiveness. Pseudonym B.S. describes the flash mob in Madrid as follows:

> [L]a calle Génova era un hervidero de gente gritando de rabia y pidiendo explicaciones al gobierno de la nación. Había gente que lloraba, otros expresaban su indignación a gritos: "mentirosos", "asesinos", "te dijimos no a la guerra", "vuestra guerra, nuestros muertos", "no estamos todos, faltan doscientos", "mentirosos, vosotros tenéis chofer, nosotros cercanías", "lo sabe todo el mundo menos nosotros", "los muertos no se utilizan", "basta la manipulación" y "queremos salir en La Primera". La prensa que se encontraba tras el cordón policial era mayoritariamente extranjera, y había un gran despliegue de antenas parabólicas de cadenas televisivas europeas. De las calles adyacentes y bocas del metros salía cada vez más gente de todas las edades y razas que se unían a la concentración, que de silenciosa al final no tuvo casi nada porque se nos hacía difícil permanecer callados cuando se pretendía celebrar un minuto de silencio. Siempre alguien lo rompía con algún grito: "mentirosos", "asesinos". Las lágrimas y la indignación se propagaban de igual modo que la información. La gente estaba pegada a sus transistores y los móviles sonaban sin parar para transmitir información a la gente, que a su vez propagaba las noticias, que corrían de boca en boca. Cuando Rajoy declaró a los medios que la concentración era ilegal e ilegítima, y acusó a sectores de del PSOE de haberla organizado, la multitud rugió y contestó: "nos han convocado los asesinados", y "la voz del pueblo no es ilegal". Cómo íbamos a ser ilegales, cuando el gobierno seguía mintiendo, ocultando información y violando los derechos más elementales del pueblo: el derecho a la libertad de expresión y al derecho a la información; mientras en TVE 1, Cine de barrio.
>
> En Génova pasaban las horas y los ánimos se iban encendiendo cada vez más. Seguía llegando gente, y no se veían banderas de partidos políticos ni sindicatos. Sólo pancartas improvisadas con cartones y bolígrafos. Tampoco la gente cantaba; todo eran gritos de dolor e indignación. […] Cada vez que algún miembro de la sede se asomaba a la ventana la gente rugía y pedía la verdad, y mientras, seguían llegando noticias de concentraciones espontáneas en todas las ciudades de España. […] Rugimos más aún: no nos vamos, sal al balcón, da la cara, PP responsable, PP culpable, vuestra guerra, nuestros muertos, vosotros tenéis chofer, nosotros Cercanías, vosotros, fascistas, sois los terroristas. Diez de la noche, y la gente sale hacia Sol tomando las calles sin permiso.[463]
>
> Genova Street was boiling hot with people shouting out of rage and demanding explanations from the government. There were people crying, some expressing their indignation by shouting: "liars", "murderers", "we said no war", "your war, our victims", "we are not all here, there are 200 missing", "liars, you have your chauffeurs, we have the suburban train", "the whole world knows about it expect us", "you cannot abuse the victims", "enough with the manipulation", and "we want to be broadcast at channel one". The press that was there behind the police cordon was mainly foreign, and satellite dishes

[462] ibid.
[463] Cited in VV.AA. 2004, 70-71.

were widely deployed by European television channels. From the adjacent streets and underground stations more and more people of all ages and races were coming to join the demonstration, which in the end was not at all silent, because it was difficult for us to keep quiet every time a time a minute of silence was intended. There was always somebody who broke it with a cry: "liars", "murderers". Tears and indignation were equally spread as information. People were stuck to their radios and the mobile phones were ringing all the time to transmit information to the people, who then passed the news on, and circulated it from a person to another. When Rajoy declared to the media that the concentration was illegal and illegitimate, and accused the sectors of PSOE for organising it, the crowd roared and answered: "we were convoked by the assassinated", and "the voice of the people is not illegal". While we were going to be illegal, when the government was still lying, hiding information, and violating the most elemental rights of the people: freedom of speech and right for information; while in TVE 1, *Cine de barrio*[464].

In Genova Street the hours were passing by and the spirit was warming up all the time. People kept on arriving, and no flags of political parties nor syndicates were seen. Only improvised placards made out of cardboard with ballpoint pens. People were not singing either; it was all shouts of pain and indignation. […] Every time that some member of the headquarters looked out of the window people roared and demanded truth, meanwhile news on other spontaneous demonstrations from every city in Spain kept on coming. […] We roared even more: we shall not leave, come out onto the balcony, face the consequences, PP responsible, PP guilty, your war, our casualties, you have got chauffeurs, we have got Cercanías, you fascists are the terrorists. Ten o'clock in the night and the people leave towards Sol taking to the streets without permission.

B.S aptly describe, how the crowd identified ideologically with the direct victims when some were shouting: "we were convoked by the assassinated". It is a similar, erroneous, supposition that was made by the pseudonym Javier N when he thought that the dead victims would have done the same as he did: gone to demonstrate against the PP.

Besides expressing their anger and frustration, it seems that people were very much dependent on the information. They were constantly following news, and then circulated and commented them with each other. This means that people were still making appraisals and reappraisals with the new information. However, this was also a very suitable ground for rumours, and indeed, for manipulation with deliberate misinformation. There was no way to check the reliability of every piece of information and since the common denominator among the protesters was their belief that the Government was not telling the public the whole truth, all the rumours related to the Government's "misbehaviour" were believed without normal criticism. For example the following rumour was very common among the protesting crowd:

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[464] Cine de barrio was a programme on TVE showing classic Spanish films, traditionally broadcast on Saturday evenings.

> [E]l gobierno elaboró un documento declarando el estado de excepción, ordenando el despliegue de la policía militar y aplazando las elecciones hasta el otoño. Ésta era la amenaza de Rajoy en la denuncia de las manifestaciones. Hicieron llegar el documento al Rey para que lo firmase[.][465]

> [T]he government elaborated a document to declare a state of emergency, to order the military police to take over and to postpone the elections until autumn. This threat was at Rajoy's denunciation of the demonstrations. They sent the document to be signed by the King[.]

There was no basis for this rumour, but it seemed to fit perfectly the most paranoid forms of the counterframe.

In the spontaneous protests the anger was directed solely against the Government, not against the terrorists who had mounted the attack. This means that in the appraisals the causal locus was situated into the Government for having executed a bad policy, and since the Government seemed to be manipulating information, it was interpreted as a sign that the Government was aware of the causal attribution. In many slogans the Government was directly considered as an enemy. As in the history told by pseudonym B.S. (cited above), the Government and the whole Popular Party was "guilty", "fascists", even "terrorists". This kind of scapegoat effect was close to an apocalyptic perception of the situation. Not only did the government fail to protect the nation, but it was seen to be guilty of the Madrid atrocity, the ultimate "evil" – the devil that had to be "exorcised" out of power. This testimony is from the Barcelona demonstration:

> [L]a gente seguía gritando con rabia y dolor consignas contra el PP, contra la manipulación y contra la guerra. […] Había gente en las aceras que sonreían complacientes – como diciendo: "ya era hora" – a la vez que aplaudían a los manifestantes, como los pitaban, abrían las ventanillas y les aplaudían y como se palpaba un ambiente de unión ante un enemigo común.[466]

> The people kept on screaming furiously and painfully against the PP, manipulation, and war. […] There were people on the pavement smiling with compassion – like saying "it was time" –at the same time applauding the demonstrators. There were hundreds of people who joined in spontaneously, drivers blowing the horns of their cars, lowering their windows and applauding, all united in a palpating atmosphere against a common enemy.

Many people afterwards described the situation as reminiscent of the 1981 failed *coup d'état* attempt[467], and restlessness that surrounded those days. Memories from the days of

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[465] Cited in VV.AA. 2004, 112.
[466] "QSVT" in VV.AA. 2004, 76.
[467] In February 23, 1981, some 200 civil guards assaulted the Congress of Deputies and took the deputies as their hostages. This was followed by a military uprising in Valencia. King Juan Carlos appeared on television

the Franco's dictatorship were still in mind, and no references to those times were spared when shouting slogans.

Apart from the flash-mobs against the Popular Party, there weremany other gatherings and restless movement in the cities, especially in Madrid. This makes it difficult to estimate the real quantity of the political protesters in the flash-mobs during the night before the general elections. For example, in Madrid, besides of those three to five thousand people in front of the PP headquarters, there were thousands who had gone to Atocha to light candles and leave notes there, with no intention of participating in a political demonstration. Many people did also "demonstrate" in their own way and without a clear political message. For example, there were a lot of people banging saucepans in the streets, doorways, balconies, plazas etc., or tooting the horns of their cars for no other reason. The pseudonym B.S. who had participated in the flash-mobs in Genova Street describes the activity elsewhere in the city:

> Yo me voy a Lavapiés para cenar un poco y ponerme algo de abrigo porque ya no siento las manos del frío. La plaza esta vacía, y al llegar a la calle Cabeza nos encontramos con una chica joven que, en la puerta de su casa, aporrea una cacerola con la cabeza alta y el semblante grave. Tímidamente salen a los balcones vecinos que salen a aporrear las cacerolas. Primero es un suave tintineo, después comienza un zumbido ensordecedor que se expande por todo el barrio. Bajamos a la plaza, que comienza a llenarse de gente que aporrea sus cacerolas, sartenes e instrumentos con fuerza. Aparece una cámara de televisión alemana, mientras la plaza y las calles están llenas de gente protestando sin palabras, y en un momento precioso parece que seguimos todos el mismo ritmo. Un ritmo fúnebre y contundente, seco, duro, lleno de rabia y solemnidad.

> En Sol hay cientos de velas encendidas, y decenas de ramos de flores y carteles, cartas, gritos de papel donde la gente demuestra su solidaridad y su cariño. La gente se arrodilla, enciende más velas, y todo está en silencio. […] El pueblo llora, el gobierno miente. Lucía no te olvidaremos nunca. Papá te quiero. […] Porque si la gente expresaba la rabia ante la mentira en la calle Génova, allí [en la Puerta de Sol] se concentra el dolor, el silencio, velas encendidas y flores congeladas del frío que hace.

> Esto es lo que sucedió en Madrid la víspera de las elecciones. Y si en los medios no se quiso recoger esta toma de las calles por parte del pueblo madrileño, por lo menos que se difunda por la Red lo que pretende ser acallado y ocultado. Porque algo ha cambiado desde anoche: ya no tenemos miedo.[468]

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later that night condemning the coup, which has later been considered the main reason why the rest of the military did not rise to support the *golpistas*. The next morning the deputies were freed, and the attackers arrested. People followed the situation on the radio while transmitted the course of the events almost in real time. For further information, see e.g. Medina 2006; Busquets et al. 1981.

[468] Cited in VV.AA. 2004, 71-74.

I leave to Lavapiés to dine a little and to put something warm on, because I cannot feel my hands anymore for the cold. The plaza is empty, and on arriving at Cabeza Street, we meet a young girl who is banging a pans in front of her home, head high, looking serious. Neighbours come out shyly on their balconies to bang pans. First it is a soft jingle, then balconies in every street start to open, and it turns to a deafening buzz that expands to the whole neighbourhood. We go down to the plaza, which starts to fill with people banging their pans and strongly sounding instruments. A German television camera appears, meanwhile the plaza and the streets are full of people protesting without words, and in one precious moment it felt like we are all following the same rhythm. A heavy and gloomy rhythm, dry, hard, full of rage and solemnity.

In Sol there are hundreds of candles, tens of bouquets and posters, letters, yells in the form of paper where the people show their solidarity and care. The people kneel down, light more candles, and everything is silent. […] The people are crying, and the government is lying. Lucía, we shall never forget you. Daddy I love you. […] Because if the people were expressing their rage against lies in Génova Street, [Puerta de Sol] was a concentration of pain, silence, burning candles and flowers freezing in the cold.

This is what happened in Madrid prior to the elections. And if the media did not want to reflect how the people of Madrid took to the street, I hope that it is at least spread in the Internet what they have tried to conceal and get silenced. Because something changed last night: we are not afraid anymore.

As the pseudonym B.S. described above, one important motive to go out onto the streets was that people needed to be together in order to regain the sense of security that had been violated by the terrorists. This was a coping strategy, which is often related to offences against group identity[469].

Among the protesters who participated in the flash-mobs, the symbolism related to the personal relevance of the attack was understood differently than many politicians had intended to frame it. There were no slogans referring to national group identity, but slogans like "you have got chauffeurs, we have got Cercanías", indicate that there were people who understood the symbolism of the attack as a question of social class, that is to say ideologically. This appraisal on the personal relevance and ego involvement through the ideological group identity (those who identified themselves with the political opposition) was related to the causal locus, where the Government was held responsible for the attack because of its policy. The Popular Party is a centre-right party which in the eyes of the left wing is considered to have policies that are ignoring the poorest parts of society. According to this view, the decision to participate in the war in Iraq was made in spite of knowing that it could cause a terrorist attack in Spain, but since the terrorists always attack public

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[469] E.g. Volkan 2004.

transport, higher social classes (i.e. the PP voters) who do not use it, are very likely safe. Reaching a conclusion like this requires a strong, ideologically coloured worldview that easily causes a bias in the appraisal process.

Because it was a reflection day, politically motivated flash-mobs in front of the PP's headquarters were denounced as illegal, and they were paid a great deal of attention in the media that supported the counterframe. The police was following the flash-mobs as soon as they started. At the beginning of the flash-mobs, there were possibly more police officers protecting the headquarters in Genova Street than protesters, but the crowd grew rapidly, and the police did not try to stop them. People inside the headquarters were stuck inside the building and afraid because of the angry mob, and as described in the section on the crisis governance, soon the leader of PP, Mariano Rajoy, appeared in public asking people to stop the demonstration. Rajoy's message to the people was rapidly followed by the spokesperson of PSOE, Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, who said that the people deserved a Government that did not lie to them. These statements did not have much effect on the protesters, who continued their spontaneous demonstration all night long.

5.4. CONCLUSIONS ON THE PUBLIC RESPONSE

An analysis of the public response in Spain after the Madrid terrorist attack supports the hypothesized theory on the effects of terrorism. Emotional response followed the appraisal of the event. The causal attribution especially played a significant role in the public response. People needed to know who had attacked them and why. They therefore needed information about the attack. This was one of the main priorities of the crisis governance, but since the counterframe challenged the official frame, people were confused and started to search for alternative explanations to what had happened. There were also other psychological factors that influenced the way people made their appraisals: since the attack was unexpected, it was a shocking event. According to the trauma response phases, people needed to know that they were safe, before they let the emotional reaction come to the surface. In Spain these phases are seen clearly, the transition from private to public response took some time. Furthermore, people became more sensitive to some aspects of the politics that they normally tolerate: continuing normal political games in a situation that

was considered abnormal was understood as morally wrong. However, since the focus was on the Government and its actions, political blame-gaming from the opposition was tolerated. This means that the same moral standards were not applied to the whole political field. Naturally the responsibility of the Government in the crisis governance was different from the responsibility of the opposition, so it is normal that the expectations are different for these two.

When people started to mobilize, Bruno Latour's ideas on networking describe the situation well. People sent messages that included a proposal for a kind of coping strategy, and everybody had the power to pass those messages along or not. Although the networking was mostly spontaneous, it seems that some of the earlier networks made it easier to gather large masses of people rapidly. Most important of those networks was based on the earlier *No a la guerra* movement, that opposed the war in Iraq. Similarly, the *Nunca maís* – movement that had opposed the Government after the Prestige crisis, offered significant existing networks for the flash-mobs.

In the official demonstration organised by the Government on Friday, March 12, public response was still fragmented into smaller groups according to the appraisals people had made so far. The most important group, although the most silent one was the group that did not show very much political interest. Within this group, it was not so important where the causal locus was, but the main motivation to participate in the march was to show solidarity with the victims. Besides this vast majority, there were also two louder groups. Within one, the personal relevance of the attack was related to Spanish national group identity, and the anger was exteriorized to whoever the terrorists were. Within this group the partisanship towards the PP and other parties that include nationalistic ideas in their ideology was strong, and most people did not question the official frame of information. However, there was also another group that was still growing in numbers and strength in their response. This group questioned the official information and made a completely different appraisal of the situation. According to that appraisal, the attack was made because the Government had implemented a bad policy – participation in the war in Iraq – that justified an attack in Spain. But the appraisal did not stop there. Due to the crisis governance, this group appraised that the Government was more interested in winning the elections than informing

the public with maximum transparency. This reappraisal of the situation became more important in the mobilisation than the original terrorist attack was.

On the Saturday night, this latter group reached its maximum. Among the protesters many were supporters of the political opposition, because due to the high bipolarity of the Spanish political field, partisanship caused an ideological bias in the appraisal process. These people considered that the personal relevance of the attack was not so much based on national symbolism as on ideological symbolism. The Government had ignored the possibility of a terrorist attack because it would most likely be targeted at the poorer social classes, or in other words, those unlikely to vote for the Popular Party. However, the most important motive for protesting was the crisis governance. It was estimated that the Government was self-interested, and lying to the public to win the elections. This was appraised as a demeaning offence against the citizens of Spain, causing an emotional response of anger.

6. ELECTORAL ANALYSIS

On the fourth day after the attack in Madrid, March 14, there were general elections in Spain. All the protests that had been organised against the Government the previous night had stopped, and people used their political energy for voting. At the general elections, people voted for the bicameral Parliament (*Cortes Generales*), and in Andalusia for the President of the Autonomous Government (*Junta de Andalucía*), and the equally bicameral Parliament of the Autonomous Community (*Comunidad autónoma*) of Andalusia. However, the main focus was on the elections of the lower house of the Parliament, the Congress of Deputies (*Congreso de los Diputados*), because the Government is formed from the winning party in those elections. In the elections for the Congress of Deputies people voted in practice for the Prime Minister, since the voting system was based on closed lists of each party or coalition. The winning list was going to form the Government, and the leader of that coalition or party would be Prime Minister.

Almost all opinion polls had predicted, that the Popular Party would continue ruling the country after the elections. However, the attack in Madrid changed the situation drastically, and there was an electoral oturn. The opposition party PSOE won the elections with a clear margin. Now what could explain the unexpected change in the voting behaviour of the Spanish? It seems clear that the terrorist attack had an influence, but what kind of influence was it? Did the Spanish voters surrender to the threat of Islamic radicals since they voted for a party that had promised to withdraw Spanish troops from Iraq? Did they vote in favour of the opposition, or against the Government? How much did the emotional response weigh in the decision on the vote? These are the main questions I try to answer in this last empirical chapter, which is the third unit of analysis in this case study. As an explanatory tool I shall use some statistics and opinion polls that were made in order to answer the same questions as above.

6.1. ELECTORAL OVERTURN

Before the attack in Thursday morning, all the opinion polls had been predicted a victory for the PP over the PSOE. The Centre for Sociological Investigations (*Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas*, CIS) collected the biggest sample of 24,109 respondents in its opinion poll. The CIS was established to study Spanish society, assigned by the Ministry of the Presidency[470]. According to this barometer, the PP was going to win 176 (42.2 %) seats of the 350 seats in the Congress of Deputies and the PSOE 131 (35.5 %)[471]. Most of the other polls estimated the results to be more or less similar. The *Instituto Opina*, which conducts surveys related to public opinion and marketing, was the one that predicted the smallest margin between the two biggest parties. The *Instituto Opina* is an independent enterprise, but it often makes surveys for media like *El País,* which is often considered to be a supporter of centre-left in the political field. The *Instituto Opina*'s sample was 3,000 respondents, and the estimate was that the PP was going to win between 163 and 171 (41.5 %) seats against 134 – 143 (36.5 %) seats of the PSOE[472]. Given that there is always an error marginal of some percentage units in these opinion polls, the victory of the PP seemed nevertheless evident.

The prognoses did not satisfy the ruling Popular Party, since in the elections of 2000, they had won 183 (44.5 %) seats against the 125 (34.2 %) seats of the PSOE, thereby having an absolute majority in Parliament. The difference between these two parties had been decreasing during the second period of Prime Minister Aznar due to several political drawbacks. The most important of these were the *Prestige* crisis, the YAK-42 disaster, and the decision to send Spanish troops to the Iraq War, which caused vast protests around the country against the foreign policy of the Government (explained further in the section 6.2.3.). Although these drawbacks seemed to have faded from the public discourses, it was possible that PP could lose its absolute majority in the Congress of Deputies.

When the first results of the general elections came late on the Sunday night, they were nothing like what the opinion polls had predicted. An electoral turnaround had happened.

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[470] CIS homepage [Internet document].
[471] First published 4.3.2004. Comparison of different opinion poll results for example in "El PP se centra en Cataluña en busca de un voto oculto clave en la mayoría absoluta" (PP focuses on Catalunia in search for a crucial hidden vote to get the absolute majority), *ABC* 7.3.2004.
[472] Published 5.3.2004. Ibid.

The PP managed to gain only 148 of the 350 seats (37.71 % of the valid votes), whereas the PSOE had won 164 seats (42.59 % of the valid votes). The PSOE won the elections with a clear difference to the PP, but it was not able to gain an absolute majority. This gave a lot of importance to smaller parties in the policymaking of the newly elected Zapatero Government. Here are the overall results:

	Votes	%	Seats	%
PSOE	11026163	42.59	164	46.86
PP	9763144	37.71	148	42.29
CIU	835471	3.23	10	2.86
ERC	652196	2.52	8	2.29
EAJ-PNV	420980	1.63	7	2
IU	1284081	4.96	5	1.43
CC	235221	0.91	3	0.86
BNG	208688	0.81	2	0.57
CHA	94252	0.36	1	0.29
EA	80905	0.31	1	0.29
NA-BAI	61045	0.24	1	0.29
Total	24662146	95.27	350	100
Other parties	821358	2.14		
Blank votes	407795	1.58		
Nullified	264137	1.01		
Total votes	26155436	100		

Table 4. *Electoral results for the Spanish Congress of Deputies 2004. Voting turnout was 75.66 percent of the total electorate.*[473]

In order to analyse the reasons for the turnaround, including the role of the terrorist attack, it is necessary to take a closer look at the Spanish electoral system, and normal voting behaviour.

6.2. ELECTORAL TRADITIONS

6.2.1. General elections – What did the people vote for?

The term "electoral system", here refers to the combination of norms that traduce the votes of the citizens given to different candidates to seats in the representative institution. In Spain, the institution that is now under focus is the Congress of Deputies.

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[473] Figures from the electoral database of the Spanish Ministry of Interior [Internet document]. In some other tables the votes and the seats of the PP and UPN-PP are counted separately, as well as those of IU, ICV-EUIA and Entesa. The full names of the parties are given in the list of abbreviations.

In general, there are four fundamental elements in electoral systems, which are district, vote counting formula, vote modality and legal threshold.[474] In the case of Spain, electoral districts are divided into 50 plurinominal provinces and 2 uninominal districts, namely Ceuta and Melilla. From each plurinominal district at least 2 representatives are elected, meaning that 102 out of the 350 seats are distributed geographically. The number of the rest of the representatives from each district is calculated proportionally, depending directly on the population with the right to vote. The mean number of representatives from each district is 6.7 and the median 5. This relatively small number of representatives per district makes the system favourable to big and locally strong parties, since especially in the smaller districts only the representatives from the two most voted lists are able to win seats. This effect also affects in the voting behaviour, since it makes it practically useless to vote for small parties, or parties that that are nationally quite big, but locally small[475]. The electoral vote counting formula is d'Hondt's Law, which also favours strong parties. D'Hondt's Law is known to cause relatively big changes in the final distribution of seats, even though the variation in the vote is small. The vote modality is closed and blocked lists. This makes the political system very party-centric, since the candidates and their order are elected inside every party. It also makes the party system leader-centric, because the leader of each party practically gives the face to the party. Knowing that the winning party leader will be the head of the Government, that is to say Prime Minister (*Presidente del Gobierno*) and that there is no possibility to influence the order of candidates within the lists, people normally make their voting decision based on the candidate for the presidency. The legal threshold in the elections is 3% of the valid votes of the district. This does not have much of an effect in practice because of the strong and bipolar party system.[476]

In the general elections, people also vote for the majority of the members of the Senate, which is the upper house of the *Cortes Generales*. Senators are elected from the provinces of Spain by voting directly for the preferred candidates. This voting is nominal. From every peninsular province, the four most supported candidates are elected. From the bigger islands (Grand Canaria, Majorca and Tenerife), three senators are elected from each, from the rest of the islands (Ibiza-Formentera, Minorca, Fuerteventura, Gomera, Hierro, Lanzarote

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[474] Anduiza & Liñeira 2006, 75.
[475] The IU suffers from this. Nationally it is the third biggest party, but it still has fewer seats than many locally important, usually nationalist parties, like PNV, ERC and CiU.
[476] Anduiza & Liñeira 2006, 81-83.

y La Palma) people elect in the same nominal way one senator, and from Ceuta and Melilla two senators. With this method, altogether 220 senators are elected. Additionally, legislative assemblies of each of the 17 autonomous regions elect one senator each, plus one senator per every million habitants in the region's population. In 2004, there were 259 senators in the Spanish Senate.[477]

Official electoral campaigns last two weeks, even though the indirect rally normally begins much earlier. The last day of the campaign period is the so-called reflection day, which is meant to be apolitical in order to give the people a chance to think peacefully about their vote. However, unpaid commercials in the media are permitted, as well as political debates between the candidates. The latter right especially has not normally been used, since the Prime Minister – who is normally the leader of his party – usually does not want to participate in such debates.[478] In 2004 the elections were exceptional, since Prime Minister Aznar had decided to step down from power, and he was not standing for re-election. Instead of the Prime Minister, the leader of the Popular Party and the presidential candidate was Mariano Rajoy. However, Rajoy did not participate in any debates either. In the General Elections of 2008, this tradition was changed, when Prime Minister Zapatero did confront Rajoy in live debate.

There is a possibility to vote when abroad or by post. This is not a very widely used practice because it requires long-term planning months before the actual voting. In March 2004, out of 26,155,436 voters only 557,533 residents in Spain cast postal votes and 295,934 residents abroad. This means that 3.3 % of the total electorate voted before the terrorist attack. The postal votes are not counted separately, but put in the ballot box on election day in polling station to which the voter belongs.[479] It is therefore impossible to know the statistics of these votes before the attack.

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[477] Homepage of the Spanish Senate [Internet document].
[478] Michavila 2005, 7-9.
[479] Ibid.

6.2.2. General political tendencies

Since the electoral system in Spain in many ways favours strong parties, the Spanish party system over the years has become dominated by the two biggest parties: the centre-right Popular Party and the centre-left Socialist Party. At the same time the importance of other national parties has slowly decreased. This is shown both in the percentage of votes for other parties as well as in the percentage of parties outside Parliament have gained. Below is a table illustrating the development of votes to the strongest parties:
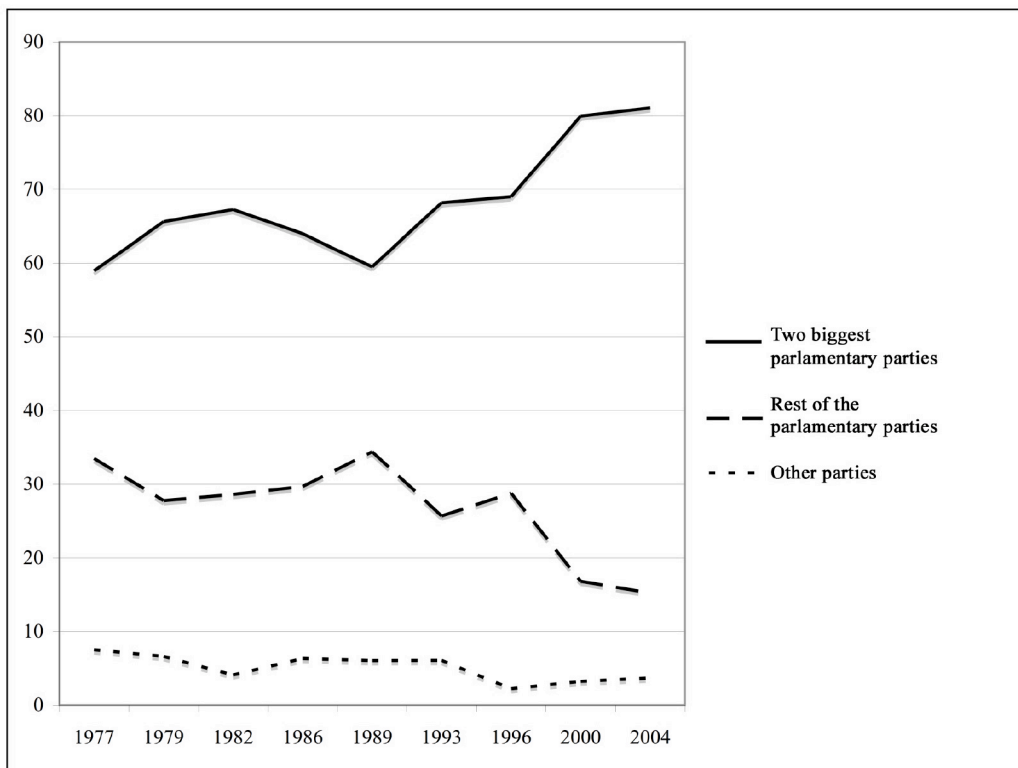

Table 5. *Percentage of votes in the general elections of Spain cast for parties nationally.*[480] *In the elections of 1977 and 1979 the two biggest parties were the Unión de Centro Democrático (UCD) and the PSOE. In 1982 the second biggest party after the PSOE was the Alianza Popular (AP), and 1986 the Coalición Popular (CP), which preceded the PP. Since then, the two biggest parties have been the PP and the PSOE.*

According to the Economic Theory of Democracy, in a two-party system parties tend to position themselves close to the political centre in order to seem attractive to the maximum

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[480] Prepared by the author. Figures from the homepage of the Spanish Congress of Deputies [Internet document].

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number of voters, at the same time maintaining some distance[481]. This is also true in Spain to some extent. Although carrying the socialist label in its name, the PSOE has not wanted to be strictly a "class party", but more like a "catch-all party". Many years in the Government positioned the PSOE clearly and permanently in the centre-left. The same can be observed in the actions of the PP. In the beginning it was clearly a conservative party, collecting some of the votes from the political elites and supporters of the earlier regime, but when the CDS and the UCD started lose their support, the PP moved closer to the political centre.[482] However, there seems to be some correlation between social class and voting behaviour. The PSOE gains more votes, together with the IU, from the lower social strata, meanwhile the PP gains from the upper social segments.[483]

In Spain the voters tend to simplify political cleavages between parties to a simple ideological left – right dimension.[484] This simplification is shown in many ways. First, the most important reason in deciding which party to vote for is the political ideology it represents. Only after this comes the personality of the party leader and the political programme the party proposes to implement, followed by earlier actions and perceived capability in governance. This can be seen in this table:

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[481] Big ideological clusters further away from the centre of ideological spectrum can bias this effect. Downs 1957.
[482] Jaime Castillo & Sáez Lozano 2001, 164-178.
[483] Ibid.
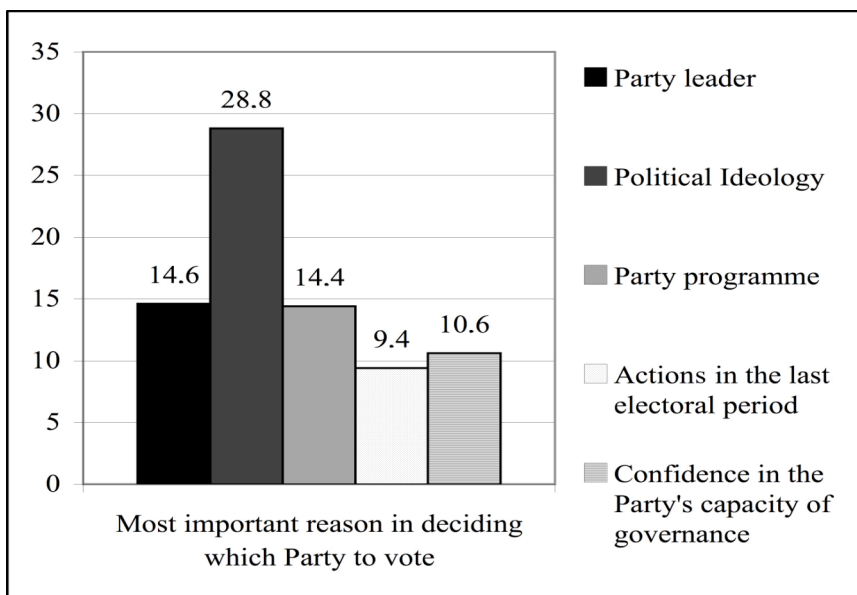[484] For example Jaime Castillo & Sáez Lozano 2001, 170.

Table 6. *The five most important reasons for deciding which Party to vote for.*[485]

Second, it is noticeable that the actions during the last electoral period come only in fifth place. This could indicate that the voters do not follow day-to-day politics very much. According to the study by Martínez and Méndez, the simplification of the party system has also led to relatively low interest in the political programmes of the parties. For example in 2000, 42 percent of the voters interviewed had not consulted the electoral programme of any party.[486] One conclusion that could be drawn from this is that the perceived locus of these two parties on the ideological spectrum is further away from the centre that the parties actually are[487]. That is to say that both parties are considered more radical than they are according to their policies. This polarisation is also reflected in the common day discourses on politics. It is not uncommon that one of the first questions when starting to talk about politics is: "¿Tu cuál eres, de izquierda o derecha?"[488] There is little or no middle ground.

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[485] Prepared by the author. Figures from CIS study no. 2588 (realized January 2005). The original question was: "De las siguientes razones, ¿Cuál es más importante para Ud. a la hora de decidir su voto?" (Of the following reasons, which is most important to you in deciding about your vote?) [Internet document].

[486] Martínez & Méndez 2004, 120.

[487] See for example Montero 1994.

[488] "Which one are you, leftist or rightist?" Likewise one often has to answer another important question related to national vs. regional identity: "¿Tu cuál eres, de Madrid o de Barça?" (Which one are you, Madrid or Barça?) This question refers to supporting football clubs Real Madrid or Barcelona C.F. Real Madrid is in name, royal, symbolising the kingdom and central power of Madrid. It is not uncommon that nationalists also wear symbols of Real Madrid, besides symbols like the Spanish flag and crest. Barcelona on the other hand is almost like the national team for Catalonia, which is the biggest and strongest autonomic region in Spain. Some Catalonians would like to separate completely from the power of Madrid and form a sovereign state.

Third, studies have also demonstrated, that there is high volatility inside left or right block parties, but relatively low inter-block volatility[489]. The volatility in general has been around 10 %[490]. This, too can be interpreted as a result of the simplified ideological spectrum.

Besides political polarization, a characteristic part of Spanish politics is the importance of small regional parties. This is possible because of the electoral system. Practically every autonomic community has one or more regionalist[491] parties that are able to challenge at least one of the two biggest parties in the electoral district in question. In the milder forms of regionalism, like the Canarian Coalition (*Coalición Canaria*), parties are for more autonomy or independence against the central government in Madrid, and in other political aspects they may include a huge variety of different political opinions. The Canarian Coalition, for example, gathers together conservatives, separatists, nationalists, and former communists. In the regions with the most radical local identity, especially in the Basque Country and Catalonia, the situation is far more complicated. This has also been reflected in the party system inside these provinces. For example, in Catalonia there are right-wing regionalists like the CiU as well as left-wing regionalists like the ERC, but also their own socialist party the PSC, the environmentalist party *Els Verds* (EV) and many others. The outcome of this has been that in Parliament there are practically the PP and the PSOE forming the two biggest groups, IU, as the third so called national party, and representatives from the most important regionalist parties. The electoral system also guarantees, that the IU normally gets fewer seats than many of the regionalist parties, even though it has far more votes nationally. For example in 2004, the IU and the CiU had almost the same numbert of votes nationally, but the IU won only 2 seats compared to 10 for the CiU[492]. However, if neither of the two biggest parties has an absolute majority in Parliament, these small parties may have relatively much power.

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[489] Jaime Castillo & Sáez Lozano 2001, 69.
[490] Michavila 2005, 8.
[491] These parties normally call themselves nationalists. However, the concept of nation is complicated, and the use of the term has been under huge debate in Spain recently. In order to make a distinction between the nationalism of the centralist parties (i.e. PP) – which consider that all the Spanish people constitute one nation and that the centrally governed state system should be the legitimate model of geographical power distribution – and the "nationalism" of the regionalist parties (i.e. PNV, ERC, PA, etc.), the term nationalism refers here only to the state level idea of a nation, whilst the term regionalism is used describing the latter form of ideology.
[492] Many times the votes of ICV-EUIA and Entesa have been summed to the votes of IU, since they form a coalition with IU.

The participation rate in the general elections has normally been quite high in Spain. It has vacillated between 68.04 % (1979) and 79.97 % (1982), having an average of 73.92%. In the elections of 2004 the turnout was 75.66 %, which was little higher than the average and quite much higher than in the earlier elections, where the turnout was 68.71%. Meanwhile the turnout has been stable, the number of blank votes has been slowly increasing. Although voting blank remains marginal, it reflects the number of people who are protesting against politics in one way or another. The number of spoiled ballot papers has also been increasing slowly in the past two elections. However, the growth has been so small and reasons for giving a nullified vote vary a lot, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from this.

6.2.3. Prime Minister Aznar's period

In 1996 the socialist Government suffered heavily from various corruption scandals; Spain was in the middle of an economic crisis, and the Popular Party, led by José Maria Aznar, promised to change things. The first term of office showed that Prime Minister Aznar was as good as his word: Spain grew rapidly into one of the biggest economies in the European Union. If the victory in the elections of 1996 was a tight one, in the elections of 2000 the PP won a historic absolute majority in the Congress of Deputies. However, looking at Aznar´s second term with the benefit of hindsight, one has to think that perhaps Lord Acton was right in stating famously that "power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely". With an absolute majority in the Congress, the Government of Aznar seemed to care less than before about the public opinion, and he showed the most authoritative side of his leadership style.

Before the 2004 elections, there were a couple of political crises that caused a downfall in the support of PP to decline. The following table describes the development of the direct intention to vote for the PP or the PSOE between the elections of 2000 and 2004:
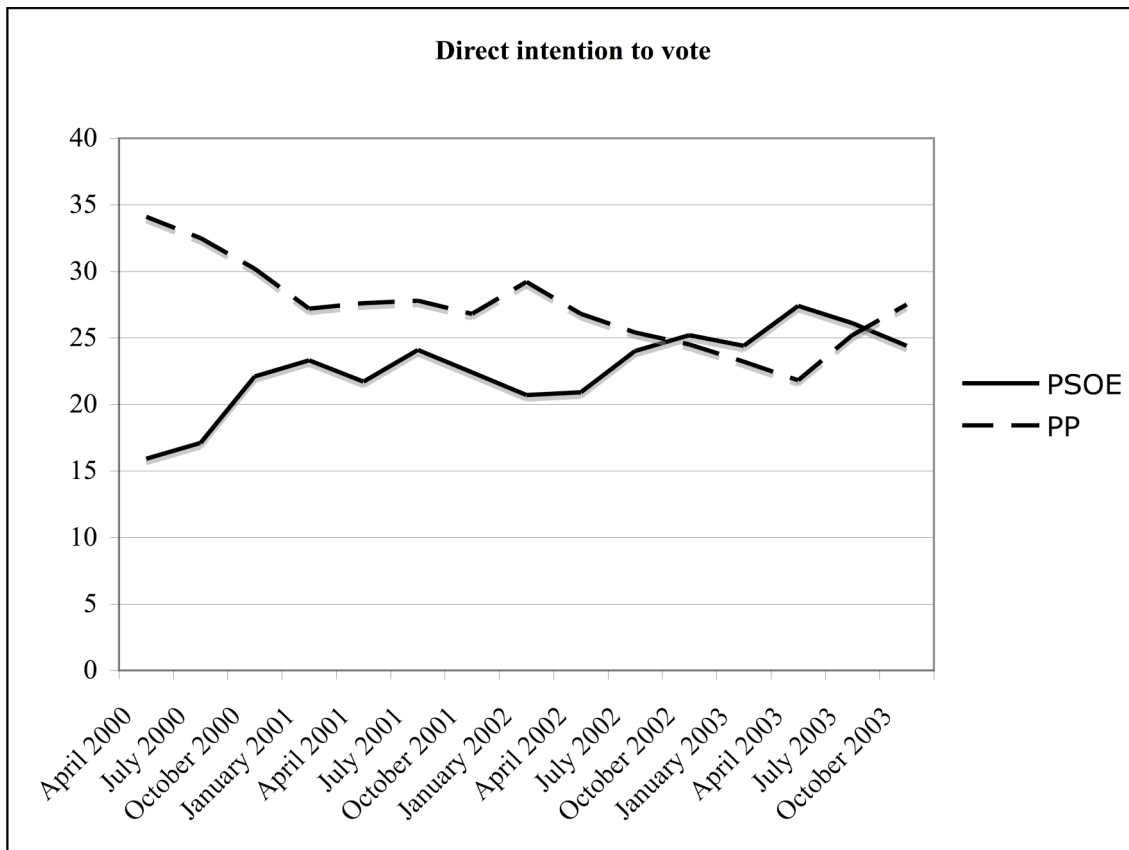
Table 7. *Direct intention to vote for the two biggest parties.*[493]

As the table shows, the second period of Aznar's Government was not a success if measured by its popularity. The opposition politics of the PSOE certainly played a role in this course of development, but the overall turning point was the *Prestige* disaster in November 2002, followed shortly by the decision to send Spanish troops to the war in Iraq against almost unanimous public opinion.

In the *Prestige* disaster the Government took an erroneous decision to take the leaking tanker further away from the Spanish coast, but because of bad weather and the objections of France, they ended up towing the tanker first up north, then south, and finally towards a harbour in Spain. After three days of changing decisions, the tanker broke up 200 km's from the Galician coastline and leaked its remaining cargo, 50,000 tons of crude oil[494] into

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[493] Based on the figures of CIS opinion polls. The original question in these questionnaires was: "Suponiendo que mañana se celebrasen elecciones generales, es decir, al Parlamento español, ¿a qué partido votaría Ud.?" (Supposing that the general elections, meaning the Spanish parliamentary elections, were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?).

[494] 27 000 tons of the original 77 000 tons had already leaked out of the tanker out.

the sea. This was an ecological catastrophe to a region known for its rich marine life, and the political shortcomings of the ruling authorities on both the regional and national level (the PP also governed the Galician Autonomous Community at that time), including an obvious attempt to lie to the public, and a clear indifference in the face of the final ecological catastrophe, led to nationwide mobilizations against the Government of Aznar. The most famous movement that was organized was the so-called *Nunca Maís* (Never again), which gathered together many people interested in environmentalist issues.

The *Prestige* disaster would probably have been forgotten rapidly outside Galicia, whose coastline was severely damaged for years to come, if Aznar had not have been so openly preparing a task force for an invasion to Iraq with the Americans and British so soon after the *Prestige* crisis. Aznar wanted to increase the importance of Spain in world politics, and tried to do so by bringing Spain close to its trans-Atlantic ally. However, this was a very unpopular move, especially when it became clear that the price for Aznar's promonence in world politics was sending Spanish troops to Iraq. As a cynical reminder of the risks of foreign military operations, on May 26, 2003, an aeroplane, model YAK-42 coming from Afghanistan and full of Spanish soldiers, crashed in the Turkish mountains. Altogether 75 people died in the accident. The case of the YAK-42 did not cause as much political debate as the *Prestige* disaster, but the political management was not a success either. There were problems in getting the bodies back to Spain, and when they finally arrived, it emerged that there was some confusion in the identification process. Perhaps the biggest issue was why the Spanish Ministry of Defence had bought the model in the first place, since there had been numerous problems with it.

Due to the participation in the war in Iraq and governance failures with the *Prestige* disaster and YAK-42 accident, the Government decreased its popularity so much that the direct intention to vote for it fell below the support for the PSOE. However, public memory seems to be short, since after one year, the PP had regained its support, and, as already stated, it seemed evident that it was going to win the elections of 2004.

6.2.3. Terrorism as an issue
Traditionally the economic situation has been one of the most important factors in directing the vote in Spain. The voters tend to punish governments when the economy is poor, and

support them when it is growing.[495] For example, one explanation for the electoral victory of the PP in 1996 was the economic crisis Spain was suffering from under the Government of the PSOE. In 2000, the PP was able to win with an even larger margin than in 1996 because the economic situation had turned to promising growth during its term in office. The economic dimension has been especially visible in the form of employment rates. However, another issue that has long been a problem in Spain has sometimes overshadowed the economic situation: terrorism. This can be seen in the CIS longitudinal study of public opinion below. People were asked to name the principle objects Spanish society should fight against, and the results can be seen in this table:
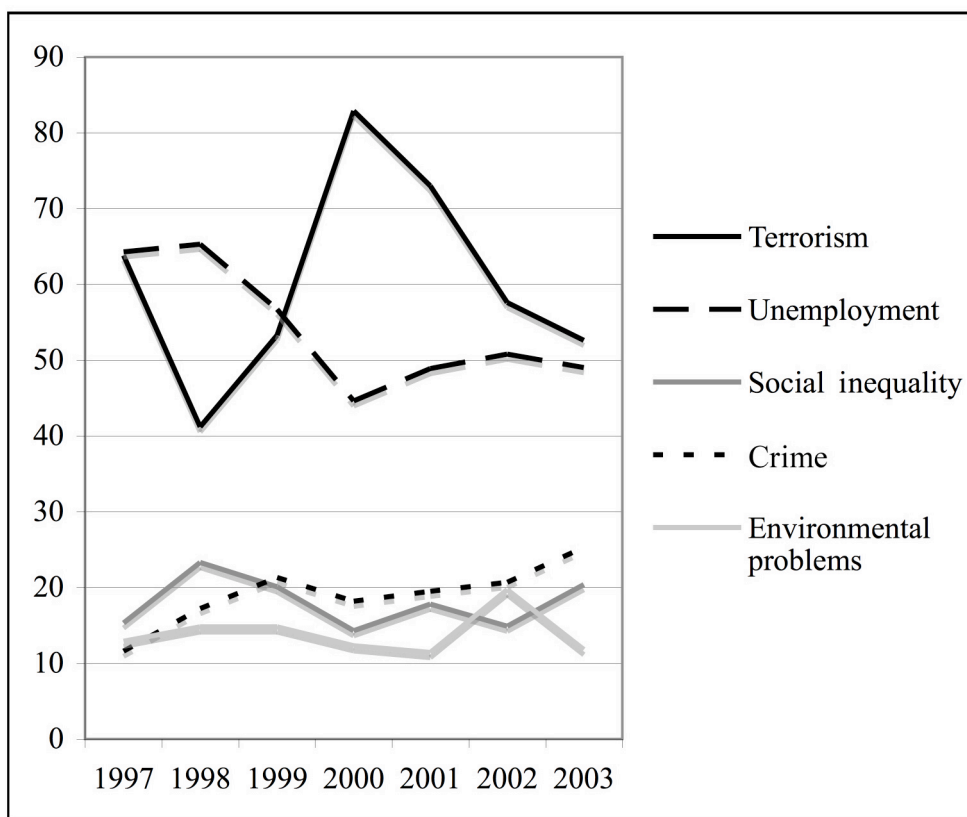

Table 8. *Principal objects against which Spanish society should fight.*[496]

There are two objects above the rest: the fight against the terrorism and the fight against unemployment. Whilst unemployment is related to the economic situation, terrorism is sometimes considered a more important issue in Spanish politics.

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[495] Crespo & Martínez 2006, 109.
[496] Prepared by the author. Figures from the CIS opinion polls conducted every December [Internet documents]. Original question is: "¿Cuáles cree Ud. que debería ser los principales objetivos de la sociedad española en los próximos años?" (Which do you think that should be the principal objects of Spanish society in the years to come?). Two responces were allowed.

As was already briefly discussed in the section on terrorist incidents and concern about terrorism (3.2.1.), the rate of concern about terrorism seems to follow quite rapidly the terrorist attacks that take place. In the case of Spain, terrorism meant until 2004 most of all ETA, and in the table this is shown clearly. In 1998 ETA announced a truce and stopped its political violence. Therefore the public no longer considered the fight against terrorism to be as important as before. However, at the end of 1999 ETA broke its truce and during 2000 made a total of 48 attacks killing 23 people[497]. That was the bloodiest year of ETA since 1991, when they killed 46 people. Especially after a couple of peaceful years, the sudden violent campaign was shocking, and terrorism was regarded as a more important problem than before. In 2001, ETA killed 15 people, and a new, from the Spanish point of view more remote, form of terrorism invaded the consciousness of everybody in the form of the September 11 attacks. Again in 2002 and 2003, ETA's terrorist campaign experienced serious obstacles from a tough antiterrorism programme of the Government, and the number of its attacks diminished to 5 killings in 2002 and 3 in 2003. On the shorter-term influence of terrorist attacks a table was presented in the section 3.2.1.

6.3. VOTING DECISIONS AFTER 11-M

6.3.1. Influence of the attack on the electorate

It has now been demonstrated that terrorism has been considered as an important political issue in Spain. But how much did it directly influence voting decisions? More specifically, how much the attack in Madrid influence the voting on March 14? One way to find out is to ask the people who voted. CIS did this little after the general elections[498]. According to the survey, 21.5 % of respondents said that it influenced much or to some extent. Counting from the total amount of votes, which was 26,155,436, some 5,623,400 voters were consciously influenced by the attack when making their voting decision. Further questions in the survey tried specify how the attack and its aftermath influenced the voting decision. 53.8 percent of respondents said that it confirmed the voting decision already made before the attack (some 3,025,400 voters), 21.9 percent that it mobilized them to vote even though

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[497] More details of these attacks for example in the web page of *El Mundo* on ETA [Internet document].
[498] CIS study no. 2559 [Internet document].

the reported had decided not to (some 1,231,500 voters). Only 13.5 % of those who reported that they had been influenced by the attack changed their voting behaviour because of it. However, 13.5 % of the 21.5 % of the total number of voters would be roughly 759,200 voters, which is not an insignificant number. If that number of votes had been cast for a single party, that party would have won 8 to 9 seats in the Congress of Deputies. Looking at the difference between the votes for the PP and the PSOE, which was 1,263,019 votes, if the 759,200 voters had changed their vote for the PP to a vote for the PSOE, that alone could explain the turnaround. In the general elections of 2000, the PP received 10,321,178 votes, which was 558,034 votes more than in 2004. However, it may not be so simple. The voters of the PP are typically more partisan voters, than the voters of the PSOE. This means that it is more likely that a great part of those 759,200 voters changed their intended vote for some other party to a vote for the PSOE, instead of changing from the PP to the PSOE. Again, partisanship was taken into account in the survey by CIS. The results show that the influence was different among the voters of different parties:
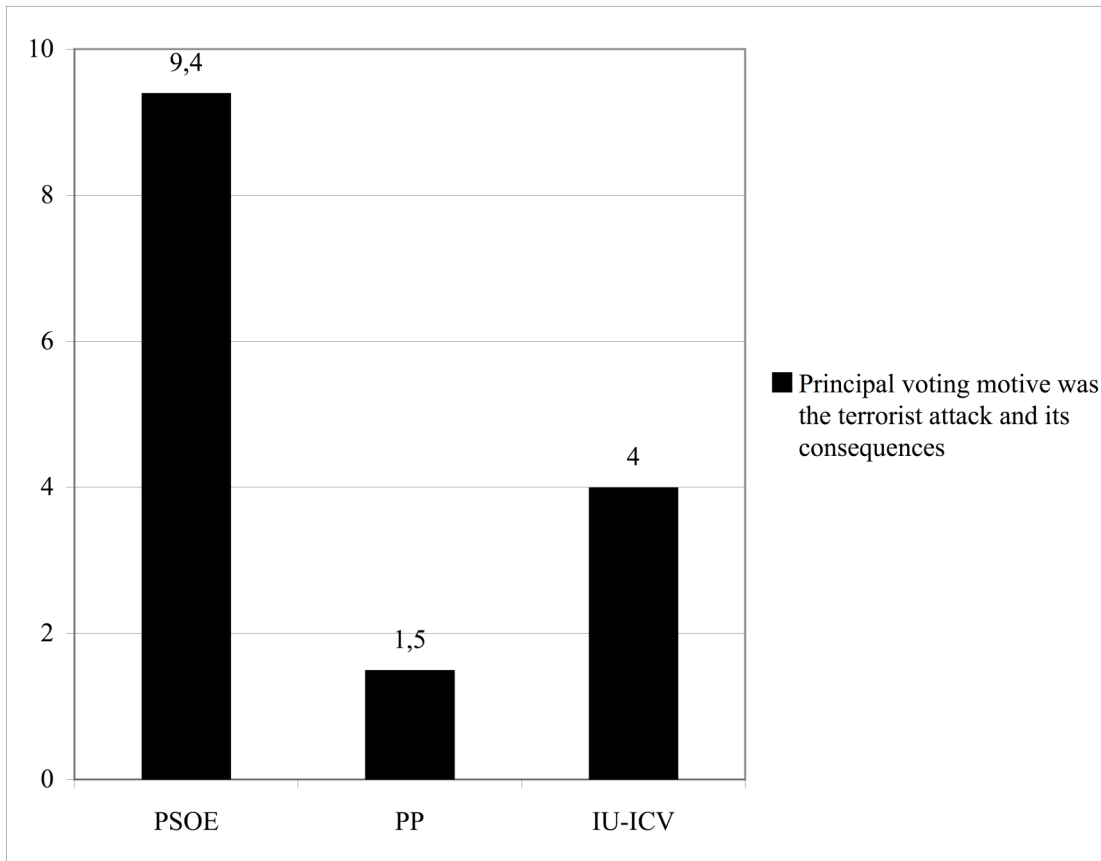
Table 9. *Percentage among the voters of the three biggest parties whose principal motive in making the decision was the terrorist attack and its consequences.*[499]

The voters of the PSOE were more motivated by the terrorist attack than voters of the other two biggest parties. If 9.4 % of the voters of the PSOE say that their principal motive for voting for the PSOE was the terrorist attack and its consequences, means in numbers that about 1,036,500 voters of the PSOE chose the party because of the terrorist attack.

When assessing the importance of the CIS survey results, it should be noted, that the information is self-evaluative. As has often been noted in relation to surveys and interviews, people do not tend to explain their action through fear or commotion[500]. This is also reflected in the survey by *Vox Pública*[501]. According to that, only 3.4 % of the respondents estimated that the attack influenced in the voting decision because it made people afraid, and 1.7 % that it was a vote of rage or commotion. Other explanations for the influence of the attack were related to causal reasoning with no interference of the

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[499] Prepared by the author. Figures from CIS study no. 2559.
[500] Uriarte 2004, 18.
[501] Published in *El Periódico* 25.4.2004. Also in Michavila 2005, 15.

emotions, like punishing the PP for its participation in the war in Iraq, or for manipulating information, etc. But did the people let the emotions affect their decision-making? And if so, how? How can the unexpected turnaround be explained? These questions are answered in the next section.

6.3.2. Different reasons for the overturn

In the survey by the CIS no distinction was made between the attack and its aftermath. Therefore they cannot answer, how the crisis governance influenced decision-making. Nor did respondents state, why they chose to change their voting decision. It is only known that it influenced a significant number of voters, most of all those who finally chose to vote for the PSOE. But can it be concluded, that the PSOE won the elections because of the attack and its consequences? This seems to be a troublesome question for the PSOE and its supporters. Therefore the overturn has often been explained by ruling out the entire possibility that the attack and its aftermath were beneficial to the PSOE. Therefore all the different explanations have to be taken into account. The most common ones are[502]: 1) a latent change[503], 2) punishment for participation in the war in Iraq, 3) information manipulation by the Government and against the Government[504], and 4) the commotion caused by the terrorist attack[505].

The first explanation, latent change, is based on an assessment that the turnaround was not a result of the terrorist attack, but an outcome of an existing desire to change the Government in any case. The most important argument supporting this hypothesis is the increased voter turnout compared to earlier elections. Since the PP lost 558,034 votes compared to the elections of 2000, and the PSOE at the same time gained 3,107.411 votes, the turnaround can be largely be explained by the mobilisation of the normally absent voters. Comparing the result of 2004 to the results of 1996, the argument gains more strenght. Again the number of votes for the PP (9,716.006) was relatively close to the polls of 2000 (10,321,178) and 2004 (9,763,144), which means that the PP voters are partisan voters from election to election. At the same time the PSOE voters are potentially more

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[502] Michavila 2005, 9-23.
[503] E.g. Alonso Zaldivar 2004; Cué 2004.
[504] E.g. Olmeda 2005.
[505] E.g. Uriarte 2004.

volatile, since in 1996 the PSOE got 9,425,678 votes, in 2000 when the turnout percentage was low, the number was 7,918,752, and in 2004 higher than ever before, 11,026,163. This leads to the conclusion, that higher turnout is more favourable to the success of the PSOE, than it is to the PP. This could mean, as for example Alonso Zaldivar has claimed, that the Madrid attack did not *per se* cause the electoral turnaround, but caused the mobilisation of the normally absent PSOE voters[506]. However, even if the high abstention rates can normally be interpreted as a loss to the PSOE, absent voters are, as their name suggests, reluctant to vote for anyone. It is erroneous reasoning to claim that those who do not vote would vote for some specific option if they did. Therefore it is mere wishful thinking to count absent voters as potential voters of some particular party. Despite the possibility that they could be mobilized in every election, there is no guarantee that they would vote for the PSOE more than the PP, or any other party. There are many reasons for not voting, such as lack of interest in politics, protest, relative satisfaction with the political situation, etc.

The other argument that the hypothesis on latent change is based on, is reached by calculating the electoral results of earlier and later municipal and European Parliament elections. However, electoral success in those elections does not show any clear underlying change in the power relations between the PP and the PSOE, and most of all, due to a different electoral system, it is impossible draw any reliable conclusions from these results[507]. For example, in municipal elections the candidates of the PP are normally less united than in the General Elections, and thereby the votes of PP likewise do not reflect the national situation completely. The hypothesis on the latent change also ignores the fact, that according to all polls before the Madrid attack, the PP was heading towards a clear victory. If the change requires a terrorist attack to happen, it cannot be very latent.

The second hypothesis is very common in Spain, especially among the political left. The main argument is that the Government was voted out because of its participation in the Iraq war, not because of the terrorist attack. This theory is very attractive to the socialists, since it gives the credit for the electoral change to the opposition politics instead of to the terrorist action. It is true that the war in Iraq was very unpopular in Spain, and there were huge social mobilisations against the war all over Spain, as well as in many other parts of the

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[506] Alonso Zaldivar 2004, 3.
[507] Michavila 2005, 11.

world. The PSOE was from the outset opposed to the Government's foreign policy, and demanded that Spain should stay out of the "Coalition of the willing". At the same time the attitude of Aznar's Government against the public opinion was regarded as indifferent in vast parts of Spain: It concentrated more on international prominence than on winning public opinion in Spain[508]. In Table 6 the period of the beginning of the war is also seen as a significant decrease in direct intention to vote for the PP. Logically, at the same time the support for the opposition grew. However, the opposition to Spanish participation in the war was not so unpopular as the war itself, since, according to the CIS opinion poll, soon after the war started 60.7 % of the population agreed much or to some extent with sending military troops to Iraq, and 68.2 % wanted Spain to participate in the post-war reconstruction project[509]. Moreover, the same table also shows how the PP support recuperated quite soon after the beginning of the war, and by the end of the year the PP was already leading the PSOE with a small marginal. Nevertheless, the drop in the support of PP because of the war was not unimportant when the terrorist attack occurred. As Javier Noya has observed, the Government´s indifference to public opinion when promoting the war created a unique opportunity for the terrorists[510]. The war itself was not sufficient to cause a turnaround in the elections, but when the attack occurred, all that came rapidly into mind. Causal attribution in the appraisal process played a significant part in this. Since many people did make an appraisal, that bad policy in relation to the war in Iraq caused the attack, the most efficient coping strategy would be to vote for a party that offered an alternative policy, which in this case was withdrawal from the war in Iraq. If this hypothesis is true, it would mean that if the PSOE had supported the war in Iraq, the turnaround would not have taken place.

The third way to explain electoral turnaround is related to the crisis governance after the attack. According to this hypothesis, there was a direct intention to frame the attack through the public media both by the Government and the opposition. The framing process together with other relevant decisions and non-decisions played a more important role in voting decisions than the attack itself. This hypothesis is not so much based on the electoral statistics, but on the course of events on the political scene as well as on the testimonies at

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[508] For example Noya 2004, 4.
[509] CIS study no. 2508, April 2003 [Internet document].
[510] Noya 2004, 1.

the grassroots level. Following the political information policy of the Government, which has been described in previous chapters, the Government did have a strong emphasis on the ETA hypothesis all the way, even if the evidence it was based on was narrowing as the investigation progressed on. In the beginning it was normal to suspect ETA due to Spanish history with terrorism, but then the stubborn perseverance with it certainly changed to somewhat "compulsive" behaviour, which in the eyes of the public was interpreted as a purposive intent of manipulation. However, it is impossible to say whether the actuation of the Government was purposive, or was based on political bias or narrative fallacy. Being purposive or not, the Government did inform the public more or less on time about every advance the police made, even if they were contradictory to the ETA hypothesis, and they did not lie about the facts. The biggest error was being so stubborn about the emphasis on the ETA hypothesis, and giving too little weight to the information that pointed towards the real perpetrators of the attack.

The fourth hypothesis is based on the commotion caused by the terrorist attack itself. One very apt sample of this hypothesis is Edurne Uriarte's interpretation: The reaction of fear and anxiety directed the civic response paradoxically away from the terrorists themselves towards a government that was not able to protect its citizens. The post-attack situation of upheaval and fear made the citizens vulnerable to manipulation, interiorize absurd theories, search hysterically for a scapegoat and escape the problem in the future.[511] Uriarte's view is sound, since it explains the scapegoat effect, framing process and social mobilisation with the emotions hightened by the attack. However, the underlying statement behind Uriarte's theory is that she is judging the behaviour of the masses as being unable to act rationally in the moment of crisis because of the emotional turmoil. The role of emotions in making social judgements can actually be quite the contrary Uriarte claims. As for example George Marcus has found out applying neuroscientific knowledge to political decision-making, people are able to act rationally just because they are emotional. Emotions enable rationality.[512] More specifically, it can be assumed that individuals in a negative affective state are more likely to engage in causal reasoning about the affect-eliciting event, than individuals in a positive affective state[513]. The hypothesis of commotion may not be as

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[511] Uriarte 2004, 35.
[512] Marcus 2002, 7.
[513] Schwarz & Bless 1991, 61.

simple as the old-fashioned perception on the emotions would let to believe. This is discussed in the next chapter.

6.3.3. Emotional "commotion" in further analysis

According to Marcus, emotions enable rational decision-making. He presents in his book on the emotions in democratic politics how the emotional system is understood in neuroscience[514]. It is based on three different subsystems, which are the fight-flight system[515], the disposition system, and the surveillance system[516].

The first system attends to sensory data available from the initial crossroads of the senses, the thalamus. Signs of imminent threat trigger this system into action through two optional behaviour models: fight and flight. This system is like a reflex: it is so automatic that there is no need to think which option to choose in the moment of danger. Thereby its importance to the decision-making process when it comes to political behaviour is not very relevant. However, it generates a sensation of either rage or terror, which are useful as prompts to conscious awareness, especially when providing information to the mind.

The disposition system is related to the learning and execution of habits. The basis of this system is in procedural and associative memories, which are needed to make a reference to a particular action or behaviour. The disposition system relies on emotional markers to mark the success or failure of each element at each stage of the plan of action as it unfolds[517]. In other words, it gives pleasure for accomplishing tasks as well as learning, and a feeling of dissatisfaction when the task has not gone as well as was known to be possible. In a decision-making process this systems is related to a simple heuristic method. It is useful in times of no change, because it is not needful to always consider all the options carefully. Decisions are made more or less as always. In politics this can be also seen in loyal voting behaviour: one votes for the same party as always, since that solution has served the voter well.

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[514] Marcus 2002, 67-78.
[515] The term was first introduced to psychology by Walter Bradford in 1929 in his book *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage.* Colman 2001, 275.
[516] Disposition system and surveillance system are also known as behavioural activation system and behavioural inhibition system.
[517] Marcus 2002, 73.

The third system Marcus presents is the most relevant to this analysis. It is the surveillance system. This system is, as its name suggests, the one that makes a change of behaviour possible. It monitors the current plan of action and compares it to the sensory streams making an immediate feedback out of this comparison. This process is not a conscious one but emotional: contradictory or alarming messages lead to elevated levels of moods. These moods are experienced as anxiety. Putting it more simply, in the case of threat or a novel intrusion, anxiety is felt, and the individual starts to search for a way to avoid the anxiety by changing his behaviour. Applied to political behaviour, Marcus has found that the reliance on partisanship drops substantially among anxious voters compared to non-anxious ones, and anxious people are more attentive to actual characteristics and political programmes than when they are calm[518]. This means that the anxiety actually obliges people to question and criticise old habits and found a solution to act politically so that the anxiety can be alleviated. In this process information plays a crucial role. However, this rationality is tied to the context. People are able to act more rationally related to the cause of the anxiety, true or interpreted, but at the same time other factors lose some of their importance. In the case of a terrorist attack, this means that people rationally search for a solution that lowers the threat of terrorism in the future, thereby decreasing their experienced anxiety, but they no longer care so much about other possible issues.

Marcus' theory does not exclude rationality, but it enables it. This means that decisions are tied to the knowledge in hand. If that knowledge is partial or dubious, people start to search and create alternative theories[519]. This is where the role of emotions is also linked to the appraisal theory. People need knowledge to make appraisals. This requires a careful assessment of the situation, an analysis on the causal attribution, and an estimate on the best coping strategy. As Schwarz and Bless have noted, individuals are unlikely to take any risky decisions in problematic situations[520]. This means that people in the moment of crisis avoid both heuristic model of decision-making and searching new and risky options, and instead prefer to take a step back and escape the cause of anxiety and negative feelings if possible. In the case of the Madrid terrorist attack there was a lot of confusing information

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[518] Marcus 2002, 103.
[519] Compare to Saari 2000, 50. People in the moment of crisis tend to have a greater need for knowledge. They need to know what has happened, why, are their familiars well, is the threat gone, etc. This can also be interpreted as an outcome of suddenly increased anxiety. In order to make decision what to do, people need information.
[520] Schwarz & Bless 1991, 60.

circulating because of the framing competition. This was perhaps one reason why people decided to vote for an alternative. According to this hypothesis on risk avoidance, PSOE was voted for, because it was possible, not yet sure, that the attack was made because of the participation in the war in Iraq. It was a vote for a retreat, escape from the problematic situation. The decision was not based on fear, but on a careful calculation of the possible coping potential with the threat of terrorism. This does not mean that people were not afraid of the new threat, since the result of the appraisal process most likely in this case was fear, but it means avoiding further fear because of the threat, retreat was estimated to be the best response. According to the appraisal theory, this was necessary to regain the sense of security. Staying in Iraq would have made people appraise the threat of terrorism otherwise, since the threat would not have disappeared. In this case, fear could have had long-term implications.

Now that it is a question of the voting decision, it is a question of politics. This means that the role of leadership cannot be left out of the analysis, because it can be enormous in this information searching and decision-making process. At best, a leader can satisfy the needs of the people in crisis by providing them all the information possible and securing the overall situation. As was discussed in the section on crisis governance, the leadership in Spain failed, and people had to search for different explanations as to what had happened. This gave the political opposition an opportunity to challenge the credibility of the governance. Again, risk avoidance explains the vote for the PSOE. Since the governance itself was considered dubious, it was reasonable to choose the alternative.

Emotions and moods have other effects in the decision-making process than creating a need for information and increasing criticism. The mood congruity effect that was already mentioned in section 3.1.2., describes how in different moods, people tend to perceive and judge situations differently[521], which may cause a bias in the appraisal process. Basically the rule is that in negative moods, people tend to perceive the environment, social situations, etc. more negatively, than in neutral mood, and when in positive moods, perceptions tend to be more positive. This phenomenon is familiar to everybody and there

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[521] Bower 1991, 31-53.

are lots of sayings related to this, like for example: "smile and the whole world smiles with you", "cry and you cry alone", etc.

In the case of terrorism and terrorist attacks the mood congruity effect can mean that negative emotions of sadness, distress, frustration, fear, etc. which are common emotions related to the appraisal process of acts of terrorism and their consequences, may cause people to perceive the situation in a more negative way. Making an appraisal in a negative mood makes people more critical and negative on their political evaluations. Therefore there may have been a negative bias in the appraisal of the crisis governance, which means that people focused on the mistakes, delays, miscalculations, insecurity, and non-decisions, and drew negative conclusions on them.

6.4. CONCLUSIONS ON THE ELECTORAL ANALYSIS

It is evident, that the terrorist attack and its aftermath influenced voting behaviour. The CIS survey on the influence revealed that a significant number of voters were aware that the attack and its aftermath influenced them. However, there is no agreement on the influence of the attack and on the influence of the crisis governance separately. This has led to different explanations for the electoral turnaround. While the hypothesis on the latent change is merely wishful thinking, although it cannot be denied that the popularity of PP had declined in the second period of Prime Minister Aznar, other three explanations are also valid. It is necessary to keep in mind that the electorate is not a solid "whole" that makes the decision similarly, but it is a sum of individuals using different kinds of decision-making strategies in a situation that they may appraise very differently due to the information available, possible biases, or other limitations of the appraisal process. Therefore some parts of the electorate estimated that the causal locus of the attack was the bad foreign policy of Aznar's Government, and voted for the alternative that had the power to remove the Spanish troops from Iraq if elected. Similarly some estimated that the crisis governance was so dubious that the Government should not continue in power.

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The role of the emotions in voting behaviour may be complex. According to Marcus' theory, emotions make it possible to be critical and rational. Furthermore, appraisal theory on emotions is based on reasoning and rationality, meaning that emotions are rather the consequence of reasoning, than the opposite of it. The main function of the emotions is therefore to force people to search information, and best coping strategies. However, they may cause a bias in the appraisal process. Especially in negative mood, people tend to evaluate things more negatively. This means that political situations are also evaluated in this "cynical" manner. Since confusion and uncertainty are often related to risk avoidant decision-making, in the complex situation of the aftermath of the Madrid attack, people simply took a voting decision that offered them the best way to regain their sense of security and avoid fear of future threat. Although there may be different opinions related to the functionality of this strategy, meaning that if the threat of Islamic terrorism in Spain really faded away when the troops were withdraw from Iraq, from the point of view of the individuals, this was rational considering the information people had at the time of voting.

An interesting question is whether the same kind of electoral turnaround could have happened in a different kind of political system. For a bipolar system like that in Spain it is characteristic that the party winning the elections forms the Government alone. This gives power to the Government, which is often personalised in the Prime Minister, but at the same time it makes it easier to blame the Government alone if something goes wrong. In a pluralistic party system this would be not as clearcut. First of all political opposition is often included in the decision-making, and it shares some of the responsibility for the decisions. This generally makes opposition to the party in power softer. In the eyes of the electorate the effect is similar. It is harder to blame one party for decisions that have been made jointly.

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.1. THE CASE OF 11-M AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

One of the first research questions in this study was related to the influence of the terrorist attack in Madrid on voting behaviour a few days later. As discussed in the previous chapter on the general elections, it is evident that the attack influenced the voting decision of a significant number of voters. The PSOE would not have won the elections without the terrorist attack. The influence was strongest among those who voted for the PSOE. A large number of floating voters mobilised during the aftermath in favour of the Socialist Party, which indicates that situational appraisals made people avoid supporting the ruling Popular Party. If the appraisals on the causal attribution had been different, these non-partisan voters might have chosen another party. It is also reasonable to assume, that if PSOE had been promoting a similar foreign policy in relation to the war in Iraq as the PP, electoral overturn would not have happened.

Since the terrorist attack was able to influence voting decisions in Spain, the next question is naturally, what does this mean for democracies in general? Even though simplistic views of the causal chain do indicate that the terrorists were successful in directing a democratic political system, looking more closely shows that this was not the case. Crisis governance was much more important to the final electoral turnaround than the attack alone. Prime Minister Aznar's Government had not legitimized participation in the war, and in the aftermath of the attack it would have been too late to do so. However, the main mistake was to exclude other political forces from the crisis governance. After being excluded, the political opposition started to question official governance by appealing to public emotions, and since the actions, decisions, and non-decisions of the Government were not all completely congruent with the established priorities, the counterframe challenged the official frame rather easily.

The appraisal process played a significant role in the course of events. People in Spain were in need of information because the appraisal process requires it. As is often typical of crisis situations, information is limited, fragmentary, and even contradictory. This was clearly reflected in the public response. Depending on the causal attributions people made during

the aftermath, blame-games started. Group identities based on national and ideological symbolism were in this case the most important ones that people used in drawing conclusions on the personal relevance of the attack. Although the majority of the Spanish finally used an aversive coping strategy, meaning that they were mostly sad because of the tragic event and loss of lives, some also used appetitive strategies. This was especially common among those who appraised the situation according to the frame offered by the opposition, meaning that the ideological symbolism was relevant. Prime Minister Aznar's Government was held responsible for causing the attack, although indirectly, and since in the crisis governance the Government was framed by the opposition to be partial and self-interested, its information policy was appraised as a demeaning offence against the citizenry. This led to an angry response, rapid mobilisation of the existing networks (most of all *No a la Guerra* and *Nunca Maís*), the formation of new networks, and finally to anti-Government protests in the streets.

Appraisal processes were also present in people´s voting decisions. Whereas aversive coping strategies were not as prominent in the protests against the Government, in the voting decision they definitely exerted influence. Voting for a withdrawal from Iraq was one of the central motives for the non-partisan voters of the PSOE in their decision-making. The mood congruity effect made the people go through the appraisal process in a negative mood, and risk avoiding voting strategy was strong. Following Marcus' ideas on the emotional system and voting decision, anxiety caused by a changed situation motivated people to search for new information about the political situation, in this case about the terrorist attack and its possible causes and consequences, which made this risk avoidant strategy a rational choice. Both of these psychological points of views are consonant with appraisal theory.

7.2. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONTEMPLATIONS

As discussed in Chapter 2, there is no agreement on the definitions of terrorism. As I have argued, many of the existing ones have shortcomings, regarding the emotional reaction that an act of terrorism can possibly cause. This is an important aspect of the phenomenon of terrorism in general, since it would make it easier to understand why terrorism has much

more severe effects politically than many other, equally lethal traumatic events, such as natural disasters. Many psychological studies on the effects of terrorism have partially answered these questions, but the gap between individual trauma response and political effects persists.

In this dissertation I have proposed that appraisal theory on emotions can help in understanding how and why people in some cases respond to terrorist attacks differently than in others. A common perception in terrorism research is that the rally-around-the-flag effect is a monolithic response in a crisis situation that either exists or does not. However, the Madrid terrorist attack and its aftermath clearly demonstrate that this is not always the case. The reason for this differing response is in the individual appraisal processes. After a terrorist attack, people evaluate its personal relevance to self, and according to this evaluation, they make further assessments of the response. This is a cognitive process, where information is plays a crucial role. Political leaders can try to influence this process through framing, but that is a difficult task in open societies. Aznar's Government tried this, which only made the situation worse to the Popular Party from the point of view of electoral success. It is important to note, that the appraisal process is very comprehensive. People do take into account the intentions of the perpetrator, the primary and secondary causes of the event (perpetrator vs. circumstance related causal locus), symbolism related to group identities, political structures, likelihood of future threat, personal and social coping potential and options, etc. All these elements play a part in the emotional response that an act of terrorism may evoke. According to this emotional reaction, and whether the coping potential is estimated strong or weak, people adapt appetitive or aversive coping strategies to the problem, in this case an isolated act of terrorism, or a long-term terrorist campaign.

One highly significant factor in the Spanish electoral turnaround after the attack was that people were offered a credible option in foreign policy in relation to the causal attribution of the attack. If the PSOE had supported similar foreign policy than the PP, no turnaround would have occurred. Furthermore, due to the party system in Spain, the choice was only possible when offered by the main opposition party: other parties cannot present any credible choice of policy, since it is unlikely that they could execute that policy. This fact leads to several contemplations. First, people are interested in foreign policy when it is personally relevant to them. Even if, during times of normality, people may be easily

manipulated by the elites in matters related to foreign policy, in a crisis this is no longer the case if the crisis is related to foreign policy. Naturally the cohesion of the political elites plays a role here, which leads to the second contemplation: The political party system is highly relevant to the outcomes of a mass casualty terrorist attack. In a bipolar party system like that in Spain, it is more likely that the crisis will lead to internal political disputes than in pluralistic party systems. This requires that the main parties offer significantly different policies in relation to the assumed cause of the attack. If the policies are very similar, the rally-around-the-flag effect is more likely to occur, since no other option is available, and the leaders tend to choose appetitive strategies in their response rather than aversive, since they prefer to maintain a strong public image of themselves. Similarly the timing of the attack is important. If elections are near, people are more likely to use their political power through elections, whereas if the option of using voting in the response is absent or too remote, the rally effect is again more likely to occur. Pluralistic party systems are also probably less vulnerable to mass casualty terrorist attacks, since in a system where the government is led by a coalition, no single party or leader is so easily blamed, even if the causal attribution points towards policy choices. Third, if the above contemplations are true, there is a temptation to conclude that the level of direct democracy is related to the possible responses to a terrorist attack, meaning that if the people have a choice to influence the chosen response policy on the national level, it should be rather aversive than appetitive. However, within the limits of this study this conclusion remains merely speculation. The causal attribution here plays a pivotal role. If the public blames the attacker and feels that their own government has done nothing wrong in order to provoke the perpetrator, an appetitive and completely "democratic", i.e. legitimate, response is then likely to be supported. Another pivotal factor here is the perceived national capacity to respond to the attack. In stronger world powers people may be more prone to support the use of force than in weaker countries, since people also take into account this factor in their situational appraisals. This could partially explain why an appetitive strategy was supported in the U.S.A. after 9/11, but an aversive one in Spain after 11-M.

This dissertation is mostly based on qualitative material that has been analysed focusing on its content and message in order to trace how the process of forming political responses to the attack in Madrid went. This is an effective way to analyse the subject of this study, and to answer the research questions. However, the interpretative perspective in the data

analysis can be seen as a weakness of this study. Choosing primary material that answers the research questions more directly would have allowed the research to stand on more solid ground. For example, personal interviews during the aftermath would have offered possibly significant details about the way people moved from one emotional state to another. However, this was not possible in this case for several reasons. First, there are ethical issues in approaching people in order to interview them in the immediate aftermath of a traumatic event. The interviewees may often be eager to talk, but they may not realise completely at that time the way that the material is to be used, and for what purpose. Second, a common problem with interviews is that the interviewer plays a significant role not only in the interpretation of the data, but in its creation. He steers the interview, which may cause the conscious and unconscious expectations and hypotheses to lead to specific results. The interviewee may also respond accordingly to what he or she thinks that the interviewer wants to hear. Third, conducting a scientifically apt interview with a relevant questionnaire on the course of events in focus, is practically impossible. Most of the research questions in this study arose little by little following the case of the Madrid terrorist attack and its consequences, which means that the exceptionality of the case was recognised *a posteriori* to the events. This is the practice in most of the studies made on contemporary history. The cases are only recognised as *historical*, when some time has passed, and when that happens, it is already too late to gather direct data from the protagonists themselves. Naturally it is possible to make interviews after the events have taken place, and the turmoil has subsided. The problem with such data is then that people continue to make their appraisals with the new, post case information, which then influences the way they perceive past events. For the scope of this study such material has to be carefully interpreted, as was done with the testimonies of the March 11 Committee of Investigation.

One typical question related to all single-case studies is often: can the results be generalized? The case of terrorist attack in Madrid and its aftermath was in many ways an exceptional case. It was so close to the elections that the influence of the attack was evident, but otherwise the political context was very complex. Since there is no comparable case in real world politics, doing a counterfactual thought experiment[522] altering one fact

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[522] See e.g. Tetlock & Belkin 1996.

each time, for example hypothesizing that it had been ETA after all, could have been a useful way to test this theory. However, the greatest limitation in drawing any conclusions from this study is the fact that the Government did try to frame the origin of the attack. This is a factor that certainly influenced the political responses, but as already noted, in the data on public opinion used in this study, the "consequences" of the attack do also include the crisis governance. Therefore it is hard to estimate how the response would have been, if Aznar's Government had been able to inform the public in a way that did not raise doubts about its impartiality, and no "demeaning offence" against the Spanish public had been committed. Would the foreign policy options presented by the two biggest parties alone have made people choose aversive strategy and vote for the PSOE? Would the protests have been as strong as they were? These questions make generalizing difficult from the case studied to other cases. However, the approach used here is certainly good enough to explain single outcomes in the case[523], meaning that it explains why in the case of Madrid, political responses were as they were.

Some hypotheses presented in this study require still further research. For example, in the section on psychological victim categories (3.2.2.) I hypothesized that those categories may offer a basis for political activism, but within this study it has not been possible to prove how much people in each category really participate in the political action. A survey among the organisations of the victims of terrorism would offer interesting knowledge on this. It could also reveal if some coping strategies are more common among one type of victims, than among other types. The role of personal relevance through the interpreted symbolism also requires further studies. For example, how much strong national sentiments influence the appraisal process in comparison to weak national sentiments? Is there a difference between the types of symbolism? Does religious symbolism influence the appraisal process more than ethnic or ideological symbolism? Hopefully many of these questions will be studied in the future in order to enhance our understanding of the complex nature of terrorism and its consequences in different kinds of political contexts.

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[523] Gerring 2007, 190-192.

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