

REPRESENTATIONS OF LABOR PROTESTS AGAINST PRIVATIZATION IN
TURKISH PRESS: THE CASES OF SEKA AND TÜPRAŞ

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ABSTRACT

REPRESENTATIONS OF LABOR PROTESTS AGAINST PRIVATIZATION IN THE TURKISH PRESS: THE CASES OF SEKA AND TÜPRAŞ

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The main objective of this study is to analyze how labor's protests against the privatization in Turkey, are reconstructed in news. So, news discourse on labor protests against privatization of SEKA and TÜPRAŞ investigated in five newspapers of Turkey. During analysis, on which reconciliations meaning in the news are constructed was probed by both identifying the linguistic and narrative aspects of the news. Therefore discourse analyses will be applied to study how and on which level a pro-privatization ideology production is realized in the labor protest against privatization news. So, construction of a hegemonic ideology in Turkey by joining various discourse elements, and if there are any conflicts between parties in this construction was investigated.

Key Words: Labor Protests, privatization, new right, news, discourse

ÖZ

ÖZELLEŞTİRMEYE KARŞI GERÇEKLEŞTİRİLEN İŞÇİ EYLEMLERİNİN TÜRK BASININDA TEMSİLİ: SEKA VE TÜPRAŞ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışmada Türkiye’de özelleştirmeye karşı gerçekleştirilen işçi eylemlerinin gazetelerde haberleştirilme yapısının çözümlenmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Bu amaçla seçilen beş gazetede SEKA ve TÜPRAŞ’ın özelleştirmesine karşı girilen eylemler hakkındaki haberlerin söylemi incelenmiştir. Haber metinlerinde anlamların hangi uzlaşımlar etrafında üretildiği haberlerin dilsel ve anlatsal özellikleri çerçevesinde çözümlenmiştir. Ayrıca, haberlerde Türkiye’de egemen ideoloji haline gelmiş olan yeni sağ ideolojinin çeşitli söylemsel öğeleri kendine eklemleyerek oluşması ve sabitlenmesi, neleri dışlayarak veya neleri dahil ederek inşa edildiği, bu inşa sürecinde taraflar arasında nasıl bir mücadelenin olduğu ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimler: İşçi eylemleri, özelleştirme, yeni sağ, haber, söylem

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this study is to analyze the way in which labor protests against privatization are (re)presented and constructed in newspaper articles; and to examine the role of these operation in New Right's attempt of hegemony in Turkey. Arguing that the 'visibility' of labor protests in Turkey has increasingly diminished in the post-1980 period as an outcome of important policies implemented both at national and international levels, the study sees an overall assessment of these policies in general and privatization practices (and ideology) in particular as an integral part of its overall problematic.

It is my contention that the phenomenon of 'invisibility' of labor protests is not only peculiar to mass media; but also the issue has not been adequately problematized by communication studies in Turkey. Thus, this work, by taking its limits into consideration, must be read as a moderate attempt to fill this gap. The basic reason behind this 'loss of interest' on labor protests (and even the workers themselves) is working classes' deprivation of means and conditions of social and political practice. Since the post-1980 constitutional and legal arrangements aimed at scattering and dispersing working class as an organized entity, and to some certain extents archived at doing this; labor protests in particular and working classes in general began to be conceived as 'insignificant' political subjects unworthy of presentation by mass media and of problematization by communication studies. Taking not only the problem of (re)presentation but also the "silence" surrounding this issue as an ideological operation *par excellence*, this study will try to show how ideological constructs are enabled and materialized in and through 'media in capitalism.'

In this study, labour protests against privatization between 1997 and 2006 will be analyzed. Since within the given period of time Turkey has experienced a rapid process of privatization which had disastrous effects on working and living conditions of working classes, the study limits the problem of representation with anti-privatization, rather than attempting a comprehensive analysis of 'representation of the working classes' in general. The roots of privatization process, which has been presented as the ultimate solution to economic and social maladies that Turkey has been facing, can be traced back to ANAP's (Motherland Party) economic policies. Privatization, for Özal, the leader of ANAP, more than being a mere technical process, denoted a drastic economic, social and political transformation. As argued, privatization was an integral moment of New Right's attempt at

hegemony. The discursive elements and principles of the New Right, and peculiar forms of articulation of these elements within the Turkish context, all worked for “justification” of privatization (Dursun, 2001). Of course such a significant structural transformation could not be carried out without the consent of the masses (the ones who will be most affected by this process), or at least appeasement, neutralization, or repression of popular sectors. This study will try to display, how in news, ideology is constructed by the translation of each and every political action of working classes that do not give their consent to privatization and/or try to stop it.

Within the given period, when the overall discourse of the newspapers is analyzed, the biased and partial production of meaning working within neo-liberal discourse can clearly be denoted. It is my contention that analysis of the production and discursive construction of the news plays a vital role in this process. As opposed to the *liberal approach*, which sees the process of production of news as a process of representing society like a mirror in a “neutral” and “impartial” manner; this study argues that *critical approach* provides the analysis with a more meaningful and valid theoretical framework regarding the news, since it insists that production of news is not a process of neutral representation but, on the contrary, of ideological construction. Therefore, this thesis, as a study on the construction of meanings and ideology, analyzes the relationship between the problem to be investigated and the method of analysis accompanying this investigation within the theoretical framework provided by the critical approach.

In liberal approach, which can be defined as the dominant stream in communication studies, media is positioned as an area of plurality, and as the fourth force that monitors the shared social interests. Social power, in the paradigm, does not stand for an asymmetrical and unequal relationship within which a privileged sector of society (i.e. owners of means of production and property) is favored. On the contrary, it is grasped as a set of formal relations among free and equal ‘individuals’ within a given societal context. The critical approach itself, of course, cannot be taken as a monolithic whole. Although they share a common ground, i.e. a radical critique of above noted asymmetrical relations and the place of ideological operations in constitution and re-production of these relations, there are various strands of thought and viewpoints. For example, while one current of critical approach, which can be called as *reception studies*, stresses the importance of production and reception of media texts; the *political economy* approach focuses not primarily on the process of production and reception of meanings, but on the political and economic milieu

within which those texts are produced. Thus, while for the former, discursive analysis of the texts and reception(s) of those texts by audiences lie at the heart of its critical project; the latter questions the ownership structures of media organizations, their relations with governments and other political and economic organizations, or, in more general terms, their function in reproduction of capitalist relations of production. Since in this study I will try to analyze both the issues of representation of labor protests against privatization in media and the privatization process itself, I will try to benefit from the insights of these two different currents of critical approach. The main reason behind following such a theoretical strategy is to go beyond a functionalist approach to the issue that I will discuss. In other words, merely focusing on the political economy side of the issue will only give us the answer to the question 'why'.

Without disregarding the importance of this question and possible responses given to it, this study also aims at showing 'how' the process itself worked. Thus, in this study, discursive text analysis is taken as the major theoretical tool for understanding the 'how' side of the problem. Therefore the discourse analysis, as applied in this study, will try to show, through which 'verbal mechanisms' and 'significations' a pro-privatization ideology is constructed in the news on labor protests against privatization. So, construction of a hegemonic ideology in Turkey by articulation of various discourse elements, and if there are, any conflicts between parties in this construction shall be investigated along with their reasons. In this study, the conceptual framework of ideology shall be based on approaches used in critical communication studies - those especially influenced by Althusser and Gramsci. Within this framework, the works of discourse analysts like van Dijk, Fowler and Fairclough will also be used in this study.

Among many researches, Ayşe İnal's book *Haberi Okumak* (Reading the News) (1996), which regards news as a discursive construction, and overall role of this construction in constitution of power relations, can be considered as one of the most influential studies within communication studies literature in Turkey; and also an inspiration for my study. Also, Çiler Dursun's book on discourse analysis of TV news on privatization, *TV Haberlerinde İdeoloji* (Ideology in Television News) (2001) has also extensively been utilized by the author, specifically regarding the identification of the analytic categories. Studies on the representation of workers in media are very limited. A prime example among the few would be Dursun's paper "Türkiye'de İşçi Sınıfının Medyada Temsili: 1970-1971" (The Representation of Working Class in Media in Turkey: 1970-1971) (1998) and Sazak's

published PhD thesis *İşçi Sınıf ve Medya* (Working Class and Media) (date not available). Dursun, in her research, investigates the problem of working class representation through specifically focusing on textual construction of the news. Dursun, focusing on one of the most popular daily papers in Turkey, *Hürriyet* (exclusively on the prints one week before and after the protests), limited her analysis with the period before privately owned TV networks were launched. The results from this study display an extremely negative picture of media with regards to the representation of working class. Media which works in favor of the dominant classes, uses a language which is in some cases contradictory, sometimes manipulative, but mostly fixed for its purposes. Sazak's study includes quantitative analysis of syndicate news between 1984 and 1994 in *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Sabah* and *Hürriyet* newspapers. This study displays that frequency and concentration of news are reduced due to neo-liberal economic policies of 1990s. I have tried to utilize both of these insightful theses throughout my study.

This study will investigate news on labor protests against privatization published between January 1, 1997 and December 31, 2006 in five major newspapers of Turkey, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *Radikal*, *Cumhuriyet* and *Yeni Şafak*. Throughout the analysis, reconciliations of meaning in the news will be traced by identifying the linguistic and narrative aspects of the news with regards to the problem of construction of privatization ideology. Analysis performed within this framework shall be explained primarily by narrative qualities of newspaper articles. Second stage of the analysis will be study of the lexical choices and sentence structures of the news in order to show the relationship between language and ideology. Thirdly, the images and the production of meaning through images will be problematized. To investigate the themes that are developed in relation to privatization and worker protests, a qualitative thematic analysis will be performed. In the fifth stage, how power relations are continuously and intricately produced and reproduced within the news discourse will be shown and conflicts will be displayed by analysis of antagonisms and exclusions.

In this study, along with the general portrait of the analyzed periods, these assumptions are opened to debate: In the news on labor protests against privatization, a closure has occurred within the framework of neo-liberal discourse relating to privatization. However, in articles in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, it can be said that there exists a struggle on and tension within the discourse. Within the framework of closure of meaning, social consent is realized

through mediation of political power's hegemonic discourse by newspapers. Sometimes newspapers realize it by being the primary descriptor.

In the first chapter, the relation between ideology and the media will be evaluated through exploring the main arguments of critical approach. The interaction of ideology, language, discourse and meaning will be displayed theoretically. Taking the news as a discourse, not as a genre (van Dijk, 1988, 1999), the evaluations of linguist critics on the discourse of the news will be explained. The second chapter will briefly deal with the birth of the New Right ideology and the New Right and privatization policies in Turkey. Also, media and journalism in Turkey shall be discussed in that chapter. The third chapter includes analysis practices within the context of the subjects in the previous two chapters. Analyses developed within this framework are collected under the headings: "the narrative structures of the news" "the linguistic characteristics of news", "meanings produced by images", "thematic analyses", "dichotomy and exclusions".

CHAPTER II

IDEOLOGY AND THE MEDIA

2. 1. THE RELATION BETWEEN IDEOLOGY, LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE

The relationship between ideology and media has been an issue problematized by critical approaches since the beginning of mass communication studies. Each of these approaches – ranging from the critical theory of the Frankfurt School to structuralist media studies, from Marxist political economy to Cultural Studies – have constructed their theories upon a radical and transformative critique of the already existing social and communicative formation. They have focused on ideology and the relation between media and ideology since ideology is considered as a central mechanism in the reproduction of the relations of production and the exploitative relations between the dominant and the subordinate classes.

The radical redefinition of ideology came from Gramsci, who in turn provided a fertile ground to the media studies. According to him, ideology should not be regarded as a mere reflection of relations in economic level and an expression of the ruling class. Ideology cannot be defined as “system of ideas” or “false consciousness” of social actors; it is an organic and relational whole which cements a historical bloc in line with some basic articulatory principles and materialized in institutions and apparatuses. In that way, Gramsci has realized a rupture from the reductionist ideology problematic. Such a conceptualization of ideology is crucial in his formulation of the concept of hegemony, which implies the way that ruling class gets consent of individuals it controls for its own domination.

According to Gramsci, one of the hegemonic strategies is the construction of the common sense. This is the ideological construction process in which ruling class’ ideas are made to appear as common ideas. In Gramsci’s view, hegemony is related to the area of civil society and repression is related to the state. However, in a capitalist society, in the organization of hegemony, ruling class can make use of civil society, as well as state’s agencies. So, for Gramsci, civil society organizations such as the media and church or the state, are areas for class struggle.

The structuralist approach also provided an analysis of the media texts, which mainly focused on the expressive and representative processes within a political and ideological

framework. The critique of the deterministic understanding of ideology (ideology as an epiphenomenon, a simple reflection of the economic base), nourishing from the Gramscian understanding of ideology was the departing point of the structuralist critique. With no doubt, Althusser's article, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* (which was originally published in 1971), lied at the heart of this project. Althusser's analysis of the problematic of ideology was based on the idea that ideology, as a material practice, is a part of the state's role in the reproduction of the relations of production, which also works as a repressive apparatus. Ideology has a material existence because it exists in apparatuses (repressive and ideological apparatuses of state) or practices, by calling individuals as subjects. In this framework, ideology does not represent the real world but the individuals' relation to it. According to Althusser, subjects realize themselves within social categories (Althusser, 2001: 109-120). When subjects regard themselves as the addressee and respond to the call, they become a part of their own social and ideological construction. In other words, according to Althusser, ideology is in the subconscious and always institutional (Eagleton, 1996).

Althusser has firstly defined three levels of social unity as economic, political and ideological and argued that economic level is not the only determinant but it is the determinant in the last instance. So, Althusser's departure from economic determinism led him to conceptualize ideology as a dynamic and social process in which individuals consider, act and understand themselves and their relation with society. Such a perspective has important implications for the analysis of media. For instance, İnal (1996: 61) argues that since media texts are to be analyzed as ideological discourses, it becomes an inseparable part of the process of the constitution of the subject. Yet, the ideological effect of the media can not be defined as a false-consciousness imposed from above to manipulate social behavior because ideology has been redefined as an ongoing and expanding set in which all class practices are included, rather than a set of ideas imposed by a class on another.

Another attempt to develop an alternative approach to media texts came from the British Cultural Studies and especially the works of Stuart Hall. The British Cultural Studies, cherished from the Marxist theory, has been initiated as an attempt to explain the relations among culture, industry, democracy and class in terms of media, popular culture and literary texts in the postwar Britain.

Stuart Hall, one of those who studied ideology within British Cultural Studies, begins his theoretical analysis by leaving the negative concept of ideology in Marxism. While Hall considers ideological forms different from ideas, beliefs and values; he defines ideology as the field of relatively autonomous construction, regulation and struggle with its own mechanisms (Hall, 1985). The constructed, regulated and struggled over ones are social practices, consciousnesses, discourses and their tools of representation.

According to Hall, there is not a single hegemonic ideology, but some signification patterns of interrelated ideological discourses. Hall emphasizes that what he refers as the pattern of “dominant ideology repertoire” does not consist of a single discourse, but a plurality of dominant discourses (Hall, 1994b). According to him, not only the practices are discursive; the existence of power relations and social practices should also be emphasized (Hall, 1985).

In Hall's view, it is not enough for the dominant class to hold the control of the economy. The hegemony of the dominant ideology should be developed and maintained through the ideologies that exist in super-structural levels (Hall, 1994b). Hall argues that hegemony is not enduring; it is the constant articulation of various definitions of reality within a definite dominant ideology in society (Dursun, 2001). Gramsci's evaluation about the complicated process of consent is a significant theoretical concept for Hall, because only through legitimacy and consent, the dominant classes can construct hegemony. According to him, what is accepted as common sense, in other words consensus, facilitates the categorisation of the world in a meaningful way (Hall, 1994b). In short, it would not be wrong to claim that dominant ideologies function by structuring consent and consensus.

According to Hall, who evaluates the ideological role of media, the means of mass communication fulfill a more “ideological” task rather than just providing the necessary images and representations for classes and groups to construct a meaning/value/practice about other classes and groups and for societal totality to be comprehended as a pluralist whole (Hall, 1994b). This ideological task is fulfilled with the purposes of reflecting something more than the world of the ruling class, a “plurality”; to include its own realities and exclude the others by specifically selected meanings during the construction of social knowledge; and, to be effective in the production of consensus and construction of legitimacy (Hall, 1994a). At this point, also Hall identifies media as one of the “ideological state apparatuses”.

2.2. THE NEWS DISCOURSE

Theories on communication, either liberal or some variants of Marxism, have evaluated the language as an environment which transfers events with the transparency of a glass and means of mass communication as means which reflect events like a mirror for a long time (İnal, 1995; 1996). While this reflection is the image of the social reality” for liberal theoreticians, it simply mirrors the “capitalist class’ interests” for some Marxists. In other words, while the liberal approach regards news and its formation as "free flow of news”, some Marxists regard it as a “biased and prejudiced flow of news.”

However, as İnal argues, language does not transfer events with transparency as a glass. The means of mass communication refract the events which are transferred to news as a prism, in other words they reconstruct them (İnal, 1995; 1996). Therefore, since every word and thought requires the mediation of language; a common reality, and in consequence an ultimate objectivity and impartiality is impossible (İnal, 1995).

An important step has been taken in language through the binary set the French philologist Saussure has formed as the “sign” and “referent”(Saussure, 2001). This linguistic model refers to the world of signification and the “real” world, and evaluated the reality as an ontological problem; a problem related to the referent (İnal, 1995). In addition, Saussure’s evaluations on the concept of sign which is crucial in the construction of ideology and discourse, and his priority of langue in the differentiation of langue and parole has formed the starting point of arguments on language in structuralist and post-structuralist lines of thought. The cultural studies developed after 1980, while dealing with the media texts, have combined the theses of Voloshinov and Bakhtin who have been influenced by Saussure, Barthes who have wrote on the construction of bourgeois reality within language, Althusser, and most of all, Gramsci (İnal, 1995:114).

While the concept of discourse provides a wide area in understanding the relationship between language and ideology, it also appears as the centre of alternative approaches to the problems of theory of ideology. In terms of media studies, the discourse concept, when evaluated together with ideology, provides a starting point in revealing the role of the media texts and particularly the news in the social formation of power relations.

As İnal (1996: 93) also states, the transformation of structuralist theories within the context of sociology, political science, linguistics and psychoanalysis have a great impact on the contemporary common usage and acceptance of the concept of discourse. The various influences of these disciplines intersect in the concept of the “subject”. Subject is constructed within language and discourse. Discourse analysis is a method related to the process of the construction of various power relations in language. Yet, discourse is not only a concept that is used in the analysis of media texts or literary texts; on the contrary, it is a theory and methodology used in evaluating daily speech, etc. (van Dijk, 1999).

Evaluating news as a discourse requires questioning of the particular social and discursive formation in which it exists. Discourse is not a type of analysis which isolates itself from the context of texts. In that sense, it is different from content analyses and structuralist textual analyses. While discourse analysis tends to give an explanation for the formation of existing power relations within language and discourse, it also proceeds from the criticism of these relations. For this reason, it does not evaluate the subject as a category in isolation from the formation of discourse. On the contrary, it takes the subject as a process of interpretation and emphasizes that the subject positions are formed within the communicative process. In other words, “Discourse is the process of the subject. The subject does not precede discourse.” (İnal, 1996:96).

According to Thompson, conducting a discourse analysis means to study the verbal constructions within the functioning of ideology. At this point, the explanation of ideology within discourse is evaluated as understanding ideology within the context of linguistic structures which reflect an articulated structure. This evaluation is significant in configuring the materiality of ideology. Thompson argues that for meanings to be activated in the continuation of the relations of domination there is a constant shift in the area of object, in other words the referential (Thompson, 1984). Therefore, interpreting discourse as ideology builds a meaning which explains how “these multiple referents” and their complexities contribute to the continuation of the relations of domination (Thompson, 1984). Thus, to deal with the analysis of a discourse is to interpret an area that has been interpreted before. In Thompson’s words, the analysis of a discourse cannot be a mere analysis, it is also the construction of a possible meaning and the reflection of this meaning (Thompson, 1984).

Studies conducted on the discourse of news are directed to reveal the way that the dominant social meanings constructed in the text, the way information is produced and to reveal the

subject positions of this information. The titles used, lexicalization, syntax, the relationship of coherence and causality formed by the succession of sentences, the thematic structure that is formed by the succession of themes, visual materials and the naming of these through language are all aspects that are involved in the analysis (İnal, 1996; van Dijk, 1999).

Van Dijk, who is one of the researchers dealing with these studies, distinguishes news as macro and micro structures. Van Dijk divides the macro structure into two; thematic and schematic analyses. In the thematic analysis he analyses topic, headline, sub-headline, spot and lead (van Dijk, 1988:31-44). According to van Dijk, who emphasizes that news are made up of a hierarchical structure like novels and stories, the fact that news production is a kind of work that is repeated every day under the pressure of the limitations such as professional principles and time, makes this structure functional (van Dijk, 1988:27). Accordingly, the headline and the introduction of news also function as an introduction to the text together with summary part. Analysis of a piece of standard news that is made up of headline, spot and introduction indicates that there is a hierarchy from the general to particular, as the most important news is given priority there is a hierarchy towards the unimportant detail. However, according to van Dijk, news topics and the lead which reflect the unity of meaning in a discourse are both in the category of that information which the reader remembers the most and attribute a subjective feature. Information that is presented as the most important in an event is the most significant one in a journalist's mental model. For this reason, a reader who does not have contradictory information about the event will accept it in the way journalist defines. In other words, according to İnal who argues that the frame into which the event is fit is formed through the topics, sub-headline and respective sentences, based on her numerous researches about the printed-press in Turkey, "the reader is moulded into a shape even before he/she reaches the details" (İnal, 1996). On the other hand, the "schematic analysis" that is established in the sections of case and interpretation, is another form of macro analysis valued by van Dijk. Because, case contains information about the event and evaluates the way the main event is considered. It may contain contextual and background information. As mentioning of the previous events makes it easier for the event to be understood, its lack allows for the standardization of the event. While the result involves the evaluation of the consequences of main event, news sources and the comment sections which involve the verbal reactions of parties form the last part of the macro analysis.

Micro structure consists of an analysis of the syntax structure, lexicalization and news rhetoric. Van Dijk starts to put forward the ideological nature of news through an analysis of sentences being long or short, single or compound, passive or active. The successive sentences, preferred verbal choice which reflects the ideology of the newspaper, and lastly, the quotations of the parties and the witnesses of a given event which involve the comments and verbal reactions that foster the capacity of persuasion of the news, photographs which provide evidence of the reality of event and graphics, numbers and quantitative data which make up the rhetoric of the news; all are the elements of the micro structure of news.

Van Dijk's argument about the news discourse, which is used in the analysis, is that there is a lack of information about the background and contextual information. News production process and professional journalism ideology which translate events to news on the grounds of similarity are closely related to the lack of contextual information. The standardization of event by detaching it from its context produces a fiction of past and future which fits the dominant frameworks. Therefore, "the gaps left in the news are filled in through this particular standardization and an intertextual reading" (Inal, 1996: 99). The events are defined, re-conceptualised and located in an already existing social world for an assumed reader group. All this signification process is based on the assumption of compromise society, while at the same time helping it to be so. Because, it translates the perspectives of primary definers and their case definitions into the public idiom.

Fairclough, (1992: 105-110) on the other hand, explains the process of translating the perspectives of primary definers into public thought by the usage of headline, expressions that can be read as both the voice of source and newspaper. The headline of the news he had chosen as an example from *The Sun* newspaper, and the entire source of which he owns reads: Call Up Forces In Drug Battle. Here, there are no quotation marks; it is not clear who has uttered this sentence and who has made this call. According to Fairclough, *The Sun* mixes its own voice with the source of the news. Furthermore, he states that in this process of mixing, the voice of the document is transformed into the terminology of the newspaper itself; because, there are no concepts as "call up", "battle", "fight off", "invasion", and "massive" in the document, but they exist in the news. Fairclough further states that the events having the importance to be translated as news are produced by a limited number of people whose voices are the most in the media discourse and who are referred to as trustworthy by the journalists. However, while their voices are translated into the newspaper version of popular language, there is a sort of mystification as to whose voice and whose

position is represented. Fairclough states that, strong groups are represented as speaking in a similar way with the language that readers use; thus news media undertakes an ideological function through spreading the voice of the power in a disguised manner.

In a similar manner, Van Dijk explains how most clichés and stereotypes reappear under the same conditions and about same events. For instance, news about the Third World recalling the concepts of poverty, lack of democracy, dictatorship, violence, cultural and technological backwardness; news that include portrayals of ethnical, racial minorities and immigrants as problem-makers and threats to the welfare society, or news that give priority to illegal, criminal acts; news that represents the excluded groups either as active agents by positioning them as primary subjects or as non-existing actors through passive sentences, and creating negative connotations about them by using the syntax of the sentence (van Dijk, 1999: 366-375). Van Dijk states that, all the processes of news production (connection with its sources, interviews, representation, reported speech, headline and their connotations, etc.) have social and ideological positions. According to van Dijk, receiving information and making conclusions about events depend on the discourse of the news. Instead of viewing this situation within concepts such as direct or indirect influences, van Dijk (1999: 371) emphasizes that the news media has a structural influence and explains this argument as follows:

Structural influence implies the basis of selective information which is shared as a society, and objectives, norms and values and the interpretative frames which are related to these. Thus, the power of the media involves the exclusion of the alternative sources, alternative information and other related subjects in the translation of the world events.

Therefore, according to van Dijk (1999: 367), the news media is not merely a speaker for the bureaucratic or the symbolic elite in any given event, but also “a hereditary part of the social power structure”.

In short, by constructing the reality in a certain way, the discourse of news produces a closed narrative which determines the limitations and context of public information, standardizes events and detaches them from their context by reproducing them within the framework of common sense, and therefore locating the events within poles in which differences, details and relational characteristics were eliminated: “In news, the dominant discourses are represented and the text is enclosed around these dominant discourses” (Inal, 1996: 99). As Hall states, the ideological enclosure of the news discourse is news, which

“accepts the premises that should otherwise be questioned as settled facts” (Hall, 1999a: 104) and therefore speaks from the already known social informative positions. However, this does not seem as if it has a closed nature, because by establishing similarity between situations and events, it stabilizes their meaning. And this stabilization process is formed within a discourse that is “naturalized” (Hall, 1999a: 105) and constructs a perspective in which the subjects attribute meaning to the world. In van Dijk’s (1999: 342) words, the news discourse provides “strategic control over information”. Therefore, news refers to the information which is already known and creates its impact of reality.

While classifying television genres, Eliot, Murdock and Schlesinger (1986) place them into an axis of open/closed text and regard news partially different than other texts because they have a more closed feature. News depends on the presentation of ideas reflected by specific individuals; that is the ideas of those people or institutions in power. As Eliot, Murdock and Schlesinger mention, these individuals are police, politicians, etc. Hall specifies these people as primary definers. In this respect, journalists are secondary definers who translate the definitions of the primary definers into the public idiom. Therefore, in news, the dominant discourses are represented and texts are closed around those discourses. Although the alternative explanations are not totally discarded in news texts, the representation of these discourses within the context of news is still problematic. The contradictory explanations within text are rather dissolved in the dominant discourse instead of being stabilized into a plausible position. In other words, these explanations do not reach a point where they can frame the events. Another point of differentiation Eliot, Murdock and Schlesinger emphasize is related to the differentiation about the program formats being ‘loose’ or ‘tight.’ While a loose reading allows for alternative readings, a tight reading is not open to these kinds of readings. Thus, in the news discourse, the text closes both within the dominant discourse and to alternative readings.

The problem of the local coherence within the text requires taking a look at the semiotics of various means of communication. The common point of news in media is that it is made up of reported speech. In fact, this quality is a reflection of the fact that text is a reconstruction of the dominant discourses. These reported speech, the structuring of which change according to the semiotics of these devices, are given within quotation marks in the printed press, if they are direct quotations. Indirect quotations are given without quotation marks, while subliminal quotations are given in ways in which the cited word turns into the “voice” of the text (İnal, 1996).

The causal relationships established between events in news generally do not follow a chronological order. The news plot may begin with an explanation of the details about event or a sentence quoted from the sources may rise to headline. The framing of event translated into news is given in the lead (İnal, 1996). In newspaper texts, the headline, sub-headline, respective sentences, spot paragraphs and photographs form this lead (van Dijk, 1988:53).

Lexicalization and syntax have significant roles in news that take place in all means of communication. As mentioned above, language is a means of struggle. The existing power relations in a society are constructed and carried out in language and discourses. The closing of the news texts is closely related to the verbal and syntactic choices. Van Dijk, who views news as a discourse rather than a genre, also refers it as a product of the dominant discourse and states that ideology is expressed and reproduced in discourse. Discourse studies, which is the starting point of the antagonism of two different groups such as “Us and Them”, necessitates the analysis of the context, contradictions and power relations that are formed through the historical, political and social history of the conflict and struggle within the discourse, the specification of positive and negative ideas related to “Us and Them”, clarification of the presumed and implied information and the analysis of the lexicalization and syntax structure of the groups’ viewpoint (van Dijk, 1988: 61-63).

It is possible to speak about the segmented flow for the newspapers, which Ellis mentions about television and radio. In other words, also newspapers are organized in such a way that they allow readers to comprehend the unity and order of importance at once. The most important news is placed in the certain places of the first page. The emphasis as to what is important is related to the page order different than the flow in time. Although there are many similarities between newspapers, each published material, even if partially, has a peculiar page organization system (İnal, 1996). In other words, there are differences and similarities in terms of placing the news within the unity of the newspaper. The readers know what and where to look for.

The visual images in the news, in other words the signifiers that are formed within the signs used by the news, turn into referents. While the reality effect in visual media is achieved by the identification between the signifier and the referent, it stems from the identification between the signifier and the signified in the printed-press (İnal, 1996). The “reflection of reality” which has a significant role in the news discourse relies upon this identification. As Hall states, the reflection of the supposed reality through news photographs in journalism

subdues the selective and interpretative characteristics and ideological function of the photographs (Hall, 1973). The perspective of the camera forms the perspective of the viewer. As Fowler states, the location of the camera for the audience forms the authority (Fowler, 1991). However, the authority mentioned here is a type of authority formed by a discourse in which specific power relations and interests are formed outside the authority of the narrator. The location of the camera on the side of the protestors or the police determines the relation of audience with reality. To sum up, the dominant discourses are naturalized within the news discourse and the dominant ideology is reconstructed (Eliot, Murdock and Schlesinger, 1986; van Dijk, 1988; Fowler, 1991). In this process of naturalization, the camera angles and the visual text formed by visual images presents the aspects of the event that became the subject of the news to the audience.

2. 2. 1 The Representation of Labor in The Media

In some foreign media studies, laborers have been analyzed in terms of their representations in television genres such as news, television series and movies. For instance, in Britain where the labor plays a central political role, media's approach to industrial conflicts (Morley, 1978); or the analysis of the representations of problem and solution definitions about economic crises in media in terms of subjectivity/objectivity claims (GUMS, 1980; 1982) have been the subjects of research.

In addition, the way that lifestyles of labor are represented in television, cinema, literature and theatre, the differences within this process of representation and the relationship of these differences to cultural, economic, political and social processes have been the subject of various cultural studies which focused on certain periods (Laing, 1986, quoted in Dursun, 2004). In the studies conducted in America, where the labor is not viewed as a political actor, the representation of labor in movies, TV-series and documentaries have mostly been analysed through a comparison between today and the 1960s. In these studies, the relationship of new social movements to class formation is presented as the main problem (Aronowitz, 1992:198-208). Studies on the representation of labor were mostly conducted through textual analysis. In the analysis of social representation, especially television texts have been dealt with the role they play in production and reproduction of concepts.

In the Britain, which has been transformed by the New Right ideology, the researchers have tried to demonstrate how the legitimacy of the state is ensured by the Thatcherite

government and the Conservative Party through a particular representation of unemployment and social insecurity due to privatization and economic re-structuring and the active role played by the news media in this ideological structuring (Hall, 1978; GUMS, 1980, 1993; Fowler, 1991). Among these studies, the Glasgow University Media Society which made a textual analysis of the representation of the long-lasting worker strikes in the media as a result of the privatization of the state-owned mines as well as conducting empirical research on how these texts are received, and The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies are of particular importance.

Fowler, in his study on the news related to the miners' strikes in Britain, concludes that frequently used terms such as, "picket lines" and "marches" and "tough new power, "racial hatred" "thugs" were used in an attempt to form a frame of events, reasons of which are ambiguous and results of which are horrifying. As Fowler states, the news forms an dichotomy of "Us and Them" and the "ordinary folk who have the role patient are terrorized by a deviant out-group of thugs" (Fowler, 1991: 140).

Philo, who is one of the members of GUMS, in his study "Seeing and Believing" has shown the photographs of the British miners' strike, which were later published in the press, to different groups (the police, university students, etc.) and has asked them to write news plots based on these photographs from different points of view (trade unions, police, BBC, etc.). The result of this study is significant in the sense that it emphasizes the various ways used in framing news and using the readers-perspectives to produce meaning in news (Philo,1992:148-150).

CHAPTER III

THE NEW RIGHT IDEOLOGY AND THE MEDIA IN TURKEY

3.1 THE NEW RIGHT IDEOLOGY IN THE WORLD

The New Right ideology in the West, reflects a reaction to the welfare state which has been institutionalized after the World War II; this reaction has been resulted from the economic, social, cultural, and political problems which were rooted in the deepening conflicts within the Western modernization. In consequence, the New Right ideology refers to rightwing transformation with the promise of putting an end to these problems (Özkazanç, 1995).

After going through a period of reconstruction, especially under the negative circumstances created by the crisis of the word capitalism in the 1970s, the Right left its mark in this historical period. In turn, this led to a restructuring with a radical transformation, which was not only limited to the traditions within Right but which was multi-layered, as a result the political equilibrium of power has been disturbed. As the main motive of the New Right has been to reverse certain modern historical tendencies; it has attacked to welfare state which has been in progress since the 19th century. This particular feature allows New Right to be defined as an attempt to articulate liberalism with conservatism against a synthesis of liberalism and democracy which had reached to a peak in the welfare state (Özkazanç,1995, 1997). In this period or re-articulation, corner-stones of post-war social democratic consensus such as Keynesian economy, social security, social justice, and equality; with the main premises of liberalism; free market liberalism, self-interestedness and competitive individualism started to lose their grounds, while notions of tradition, order, authority, and discipline of conservatism were getting stronger. The New Right ideology, both in the USA and Britain, involves the old notions such as glorification of family, fundamentalism, moral renewal, racism and anti-communism alongside with neo-liberal notions of anti-statism, free-market economy, productivity and selective welfare policies favoring one segment of society. In addition, these notions are articulated in a way that old notions articulate with new ideological principles. For instance, advocacy of a strong and centralized state is presented as a safety-belt for market economy to function properly (Tünay,1993).

It was evident that there was a crisis related to the formula of free market economy strong state within the welfare state. In order to cope with the contradictions resulted from the

disturbance of the equilibrium of capital and state in the political system, a neo-liberal solution, as a new hegemonic project in which the authoritative-populist ideologies gained significance in the advocacy of social compliance, to economy has been brought into the agenda (Özkazanç, 1995). Thus, while the economic policies have been relaxed, issues such as privatization, cutting down the public spendings, tight monetary policies and stagnant budget were put into the agenda; in addition there were attempts to break down the power of labor through laws directed against the trade unions and increasing unemployment. In addition, in order to take decisions related to reconstruction rapidly and effectively, it was observed that the process of political decision making was centred around a single person, (such as Reagan, Thatcher and Özal). Also, in this process, on the one hand the number of Professional personnel increased, and on the other hand the repressive mechanisms of the state were strengthened. The developments in the economic and political levels were accompanied by discourses about individualistic competitiveness and inequality along with discourses defending the community and isolation. The social base of the New Right's hegemonic Project was a conservative "silent majority" which was constrained by the results of 1960s social radicalism and the capital adapted to the globalisation process of capitalism (Özkazanç, 1995). While the welfare state meant bureaucratic control and economic unproductiveness for those in the first group, it could be defined as an environment of utopic equality and excessive "tolerance" the necessities of which could not be met for the sake of independency for the second group. Moreover, it was able to appeal to those layers of society, complaining from the extreme bureaucratic interventions of welfare state, through its discourses emphasizing the notions of anti-statism, individualism and civil society.

Towards the end of 1980s, with the global transformation following the dissolution of the Eastern Block, the New Right highlighted its emphasis on "civil society" and "anti-statism" with a more general discourse on "democracy" which was reduced to free market and periodic elections. In the countries, where international economic crisis of the 1970s were experienced, the New Right has given authoritarian-fascist regimes established through military coups which did not abolish the basic bourgeoisie democratic institutions (Özkazanç, 1995). After the World War II, the import-substitution based regimes, developed in line with the social welfare state in the West, were shaken by the rapid social conflicts resulted from the inner conflicts of this economic policy and the 1974 crisis. In the 1980s, the attempts of the military coup to end the Left-wing social movements and to restructure economy on the basis of export-orientation, determined the grounds of New

Right with “a return to democracy.” As Özkazanç (1995) states; “The common characteristic of the New Right transformation which took place in different geographies such as Latin America, Asia and Turkey were formed by this continuity/rupture dialectic between the New Right and the military regimes that were its successors.”

3. 2. THE NEW RIGHT IDEOLOGY AND PRIVATIZATION IN TURKEY

On the morning of September 12, 1980, The Turkish Military Forces announced that they had taken over the government on the grounds that the agencies of state were not functioning properly (Zürcher, 1998:205). However, prior to the coup, along with the crisis caused by the accumulation policy based on import-substitution, Turkey faced a serious hegemony crisis that shook the foundations of legitimacy of power and regime. As the socio-ideological polarizations were reflected upon the organizational structure of state, state lost its character to be a ground on which functional hegemonic projects of capitalism could be developed (Özkazanç, 1995, 1998). Therefore, the coup turned out to be a supported step and was claimed in the name of restructuring the societal power balance of the classes, economy and the state (Özkazanç, 1993). The attempt to establish hegemony after the coup, did not only aimed to take over the power, but also extended towards the productive areas of hegemony; such as education, media, and mostly the exploitative relationship between labour and capital (Tünay, 1993:12).

The military government achieved its purpose of realizing “authority and maintenances of the state in a rapid way” through its extended and excessive repression, different from the coups that had taken place before, attempted to shape the state in an authoritarian-fascist manner. The New Right Özal government came to power after the 1983 general elections and the military government abandoned the import-substituted development strategy and adopted the stability programme on the January 24, 1980 which initiated a neo-liberal structural adaptation policies. This model aimed at achieving free interest, foreign exchange rate and increasing the export rate through low wage policies along with reducing spending, privatization, and decreasing the intervention of state to economy. The most significant interference that affected the civil governments after the 12th September regime, was an intensive legislative activity directed towards the basic laws, starting with the 1982 Constitution. The background of these laws is a perception of state reduced to strong and effective executive in opposition to a perception of pluralist, participative, democratic politics based on fundamental, political and social rights and freedoms. Developments such

as putting limitations on fundamental rights and liberties, limiting the association of political parties with the masses, the domination of repressive elements of state, increasing power of executive against legislative and increasing power of the Prime Minister within executive, and the damaging of the principle of 'state of law' set the basis of the new authoritarian regime which was also claimed by the Özal administration.

In other words, the ideas of a market society and market itself were defended in the 1980s as they had never been defended before in the history of Turkey. Judicial and cultural interventions increased in order to establish market and develop it in this period (Özkazanç, 2005). The aim of the neo-liberal political administration worked in parallel with the West, was to open way for market powers so that wealth would be established. Consequently, politics similar to the Western ones, such as establishing an entrepreneur and competitive culture, and privatization came to the agenda. In this period, the “economic administration” was put into implementation in three basic ways. Firstly, the political administration had to respect and be in compliance with the natural process of economy; secondly, it had to be capable of doing the necessary institutional and cultural arrangements to extend the market sphere and lastly, it had to rearrange itself in compliance with the principles of economy (Özkazanç, 2005). However, this attempt to restructure economy in neo-liberal way resulted in “forming a relationship between the political power holders and the market sphere through avoiding judicial and bureaucratic cooperations.” In fact, during the Özal government, the bourgeoisie had realized primitive capital accumulation through illegal and unjust ways such as incitement of the individuals and decrees, which were adapted to the law, besides other ways such as fictitious export and defrauding the venues (İnsel, 2004). Therefore, the state’s intervention towards the economy and the society had not decreased, but on the contrary it had started to be increasingly “centralized”, “individualized” and “politicized.” In sum, the relationship between the state-society and state-economy has triggered serious hegemonic tendencies towards a crisis (Özkazanç, 1998).

The strategy of ANAP to come to power, which would be the foundation of the success of Özal’s authoritarian-populist policies, relied upon a tendency that oscillated between an effort to appear both on the side of the military government and the “civil society.” The most obvious indication for legitimacy of authoritarian state tradition revealed itself in enrichment of the anti-political discourse of 12th September with an economic emphasis, along with the promise that there would be a breakaway from the previous decades, rather than developing an obvious discourse on the coup itself (Özkazanç, 1995). One strategy

which allowed the ANAP to be a part of the election process without being vetoed by the military government, was the emphasis especially put on the external support given to the architect of January 24 (Çavdar, 2004:258). On the other hand, this economic discourse formed the basis of a civil society which deported the period prior to 1980 and the coup that was accepted as a natural continuance of this period viewing it as a part of the “old” period. Thus, ANAP managed to gain the support of masses against the state-centred discourses of other parties through its liberal discourse that relied upon an apathetic attitude towards the other parties, “compromise and tolerance in politics”, and the claim that the problems in economy which were reflected as the greatest problem of Turkey could be solved with the application of “coherent” and “consistent” measures. The emphasis put on social and economic problems that were aimed to gain the support of especially the “middle class”, avoidance of issues such as the pre-1980 period, the coup and the opposition parties allowed for the solidification of ANAP's “civil” image. In the formation of such an image, Özal's attitude differed from the traditional state seriousness; and presentation of this attitude through Americanized tactics to the media had a great role (Özkazanç, 1995). After all, one reason of permanency of Özal's engineering ideology was the reduction of politics to management techniques (Bora, 2005). This permanency resulted in the presentation of the media as an area that replaced “immediate” political activity and relationships and a settled politics that centred on the media in Turkey (Bora, 2005).

In the appropriate atmosphere provided by the continuity of the September 12 authoritarian regime, Özal has been able to establish the necessary conditions for the Rightwing powers to construct a new hegemonic centre which was to be merged with the principle purpose of creating a synthesis between nationalism-conservatism-free market and social justice. In Özkazanç's words, one articulating element in this structure is Özalism's economist principle (Özkazanç, 1995). It has been suggested in various critical analysis that Özalism, which defends the idea that all political crisis before the 1980s in Turkey were caused by economic problems, was not hegemonic in the long term due to the lack of or the failure to form class related-social oppositions that could guarantee the validity of this discourse (Tünay, 1993:19-20). However, despite this, as Özkazanç states, “Özal has been able to enrich this discourse that reduced politics to economic activity, with the help of a sort of populism in terms of state/ citizen-nation antagonism.” One side of this discourse was occupied by bureaucrats who tried to determine all aspects of this antagonism, “industrialist businessman who were used to making money through the state” and “labourers who worked at so and so” (Kozanoğlu, 1993) that caused inflation; the other side was held by

“smart and hard-working businessman who made money on their own”, “consumers-citizens who had the right to buy good quality goods for reasonable prices” and “a middle-class crushed under the weight of inflation that was caused by unproductive economy” (Özkazanç, 1995).

Özal owned his real power to “young and new liberal professionals who were educated and who had a Western lifestyle, business settings whose economical status rose in the 1980s and were of rural origin with a conservative background” along with succeeding in “articulating himself those various rural groups, such as the slums by developing a living environment for them” (Özkazanç, 1995).

On the other hand, Özal’s hegemonic project included those groups that were subjected to the repression of government by being marginalised by the new accumulation model, officials and laborers that relied solely on their wages to survive, certain ethnic and cultural minorities such as Kurds and Alevis, which altogether formed the Left-wing. Wage earners and the poor who did not become a part of the “making a pile” game were sentenced as “parasites who expected everything from the state instead of working and making money” and “radicals who wished to return to pre-1980s period” (Özkazanç, 1995).

The privatization debate put on the agenda within the framework of the new Rightwing political economy caused the public sphere to be fragmented and to be transformed. Therefore, the privatization trend that marked the 80s carried a significance beyond being a precaution against the tendency of the decreasing profit rates. Proponents of privatization claim that since developing this practice would result in more qualified and diverse goods and services, it is for the benefit of the public; they still believe it to be so. However, the withdrawal of the state from production of public goods/services with privatization reflects the diversity of goods in parallel with national fragmentation and the ineffectiveness of nationwide standards. The constraints practised in public spending have deepened the process of social polarisation which allowed those with sufficient money to attain qualified, personal service, whereas those without the sufficient amount of money to become slaves of nonqualified public services, contrary to the claim that an increase occurred in each individual’s right to choose (Özkazanç, 1997).

The idea of fragmentation in the public sphere is closely related to the inclusion and exclusion style of the government. Contrary to the case of welfare state, the New Right

brought to the fore a “two-nation” hegemonic project which divided the nation into two. “While the active, responsible, hard-working and respectful citizens constituted the “real nation”, the others excluded hegemonically were marked as irresponsible, self-interested, state dependent, lazy and rebellious” (Özkazanç, 1997). However, this project has not gained any functionality in Turkey. The main reason for the failure of this project was the limited size of the first nation in Turkey, for which the New Right was incapable of providing enough benefits. The export-oriented economic policy could not provide enough benefits for the first nation, let alone some parts of the second nation.

The initial serious practices of privatization in Turkey was realised by ANAP government under Özal leadership. The first exercises in privatization started with the issuing of income partnership-certificates. This was followed by methods in which the right to manage, market goods and distribute devolved to corporate or real individuals in return for a certain price, rather than the ownership in State Economic Enterprises (SEEs) came into the picture (Irmak, 1992). In 1984, the Housing and Public Cooperation Administration was founded for the purpose of dealing with the devolution processes. And the Administration was assigned with the task of directly selling, renting and giving the right of management either the whole of the SEEs or parts of them. The privatization process was initialized in 1985 with the semi-completed enterprises that belonged to the public and the ownership of eleven of those were devolved until 1988 (Irmak, 1992).

The New Right ideology which defended privatization was initially founded on the frame that “the national economy adaptation program was to be totally implemented and that the necessities of the free market order were to be met”. With the condition that liberalism was to be applied with all its aspects, this was a parallel frame of Özal discourse. In the initial period of the foundation of the discourse, it was not emphasized that there were applications caused by the changes in the international economic system. It was not underlined that one of the pre-requisites for Turkey to be a part of the recreated global market were applications related to privatization; instead, the attention was directed to the idea that privatization was rather a promise or a solution to the needs of the national capital and market. Another branch of structural compliance which was as significant as the adjustments that would allow the capital activities to be free was privatization which would make state smaller and increase the market efficiency. The next step was to present the privatization policies, which were clearly more in connection with the New Right within a “having no alternative, universal and unobjectionable” economic frame. In this process, the dissolution of the

Eastern Block and the initiation of certain privatization activities in those countries were as effective and determinant as the emphasis put on the financial burden caused by the SEEs. In other words, statements related to privatization were built upon a causal relationship between inflation, budget deficit and the public sector. Besides, it was claimed that the SEEs functioned with backward technology that cadres were occupied by partisans and that illegitimate applications were increasing; these claims were put forward for the sake of privatization, but they ended up being added to reasons that were “non-ideological” (Kafaoğlu, 1994). To sum up, the Picture presented as to the need for privatization was mostly built upon national dynamics.

However, at certain points, the process of structuring privatization in Turkey oscillated between domestic and international dynamics. While especially prior to the agreements signed with the IMF, the emphasis on the need for the state to lessen its intervention on economy was forwarded, the emphasis put on the international dynamics as determinants were given as support for Turkey to be a developed country. Thus, presenting privatization as an international exploitation and capital transmission project was avoided and the real reasons behind privatization were disguised. In other words, while privatization was being related to domestic conditions and dynamics, the reasons for privatization were stated to be “public shortages which caused inflation, unemployment and illegitimacy”. However, while privatization was connected with international dynamics and conditions, the reasons for the need of privatization were blurred or presented as “having a national economy that was free from state and the development of national economy through implementations that were in total compliance with the competitive global system.”

3. 3 MEDIA IN TURKEY AND IN THE WORLD

If one of the important aspects of a new unipolar world order based on the New Right ideology and neo-liberal politics that have been dominant since the 1980s is the globalization of money market, then the other is the globalization of the media (Kaya, 1999:635). The main political methods in the hegemonic process of the New Right such as privatization, deregulation and increasing monopolisation have been applied to the area of media as well. Communication and therefore all of the communicative systems have changed worldwide and media started to have an important place in the new accumulation strategy of capitalism. The new world order first of all requires a communication network that is capable of establishing global control in the military area. The functioning of the

global money market also depends on such a communication network; and the technology which allows for these circumstances is an advanced satellite communication system. The financing of this costly satellite communication system was possible by making the satellite communication a part of mass consumption (Kaya, 1999: 636). And the only way to achieve this was the privatization of telecommunication, in addition to radio and television (Alemdar & Kaya, 1993). This is the reason behind the change in the areas of radio and television all over the world, and primarily in Europe, in the 1980s. As a result of the privatization policies, the public monopolies in the areas of radio and television have been abolished and public broadcasting services received a big blow. Thompson (1996: 190) states that the media industries in the West are commercial or semi-commercial institutions that are determined by the financial and political pressures in the competitive atmosphere of the other sectors and that technological innovations have played a great role in the great changes observed in the past few years. According to Thompson (1996: 193), this change has brought the increasing concentration of the media industries and their globalization, the increasing diversification in the media industries and the general tendency of “deregulation” in the area of publishing to the agenda in political and economic levels. In fact, the tendency which is called as concentration by Thompson covers other tendencies besides deregulation.

In parallel to these processes, many USA and EU-based big media companies established a world-wide domination and thus the foundations of global media have been established. Since the 1980s, media companies have realized horizontal and vertical unifications primarily in the USA and then in England, France, Germany and Italy.

Besides the structure of ownership, the composition of the capital invested in the area of media has changed. Media institutions which were unified with the capital that came from sectors other than media started to operate totally according to the rules of the market and produce and disseminate any kind of information. Mass communication which has functioned as a commercial and industrial activity from the very beginning has become one of the widest and most dynamic economic sectors. Today, media has become an area of investment with high profit rates, along with its power of influence in social and political levels (Kaya, 1999: 636). In other words, after the 1980s, policies such as privatization and deregulation, and increasing monopolisation resulted in an abandonment of public broadcasting principles and the media became almost totally subjected to the mentality of market.

The content of the information and news transfer, the rate of which in the total media output have receded compared to period prior to 1980s, have changed in the market conditions (Kaya, 1999: 637). The reason for this is that; search for profit became the primary purpose in all programs and productions with a social and political content, and especially in the news bulletins. Regarding the news as a standard commodity has banished journalism's quality to be a different public service. The "dispatching news" function of the press to "enlighten" the public by providing information and to contribute to its independent formation has left its place to a function called "infotainment", which is a word derived from the words "information" and "entertainment" (Tılıç,1998; Kaya,1999). Behind such presentations which have been given a magazine quality, there is an attempt to disguise the methods of misinformation and disinformation. As Kaya (1999: 638) states, the aforementioned development should not be seen as "non-politique" gaining grounds within daily life. In reality, this is an "anti-politique" activity which restricts the participation of masses in politics. It is essentially political.

The media, which has become the main tool of ideological control and reproduction, is becoming a problematic issue in terms of a democratic social life. Since media defines the conditions of the world that we live in, it will be providing answers to the question of what kind of a world we all want to live under the pressure of profit-making. While a communication system that is capable of providing information for an increasingly complicated daily life becomes more and more distant, the time the public can allocate for politics becomes more and more limited due to the increasing media consumption and the public interest is kept away from any kind of political issue and problem (Kaya, 1999, 1994).

A new structural transformation period was initiated in Turkey which had undergone economic, political and social crises, after the 24th January economic stability measures and the 12th September 1980 *coup d'etat*. While this period reshaped Turkey's political system in an oppressive, restricting and anti-democratic way, it also sought for hegemonic discourses (Kaya, 1999). As it has been stated before, Özalism, which had left its mark upon the country for a certain period of time, had a significant place. With the implementation of liberal economic policies in the 1980s, the media started rapidly to get organized in accordance with the consumption economy. Therefore, audience/readers were categorized as consumers rather than citizens and every value was produced through commercial mechanisms. The main argument of the proponents of free market, who demanded to end

the state monopoly in radio and television sectors, was based on the vision that an individual's free choice could only be guaranteed under the market mechanism. Competition was seen as a supporting tool in individual choice of information and the way of gathering it. While publishing was transferred to the rules of the market, the cultural and collective concerns of the pre-1980 period left their places to economic concerns. The audience defined through economic concepts was indeed conceptualized as independent and rational individuals who reach information with their own preferences through media as a means of transmission and supported policies which they felt close to (Özkazanç, 2005). Claiming to provide different services to different identities, media was seen as totally ripped off its political identity in this vision. The real aim here was to adapt to the new world order under the name of "great transformation" accompanied by the globalization rhetoric of the New Right literature (Tünay, 1993).

Therefore, the year 1980 is a great turning point for Turkey in terms of mass communication as it was in many other areas¹. While the dominant powers who were not able to find another way but the military intervention in the face of the deepening crisis, were intensely using TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) as a tool of propaganda, they also initiated the development and spread of the mass communication system. The new inputs of the 12 September government to the mass communication system were the rapidly increasing use of video and TRT's transition to colored and multi-channel broadcasting. Video usage as an alternative mass communication device was blocked by TRT's colored broadcasting, increased broadcasting duration and by establishing a second channel. New and more radical transformations became a part of the agenda with Özal's "transformation" program. Indeed, economic modernization strategies which were export-oriented and based on the market have allowed for the transition to an economic life which depended on an advanced information infrastructure. A number of sources were used for such a transformation (Kaya, 1999: 641).

¹ "The development of mass communication in Turkey has almost always taken place in periods during which needs for symbolic legitimacy were in the agenda. In other words, there was a relationship between the periods during which problems related to ideological control and reproduction increased and the leap points of mass communication devices developed" (Kaya, 1999:639-41).

The most significant aspect of the changing media environment was about ownership and the nature of the invested capital. The first significant change was surely the abolishment of the public monopoly on radio and television. Thus, numerous privately owned radio and television channels were established without any legal pre-arrangement.

Although radio, even television broadcasting seem possible with less costly and stable capital investments due to the technological advancements, competition and the technology used in this area has a great cost of establishment. Therefore, it is either necessary to have a great capital or support in order to make a profit in this sector. In short, the accumulated capital of those who are not professional journalists has dominated the media.

The reason for the changing composition of capital invested in media is with no doubt the prestige and power provided by the ownership of a media company and the potential to develop the financial interests of the capital in other fields (Kaya, 1999; Adaklı, 2006). Actually commercials are an implicit or explicit way of achieving this aim. However, what is more important is that companies participating in a bid are able to promote their own campaigns in the channels they own (Kaya, 1999: 644). The second important factor contrary to the previous situation is that from now on the capital to be invested in media has the potential to bring a high profit right away. This is one of the rarely mentioned but a highly important effect of the deep-rooted technological advancements. Besides the commercial organizations' production and marketing of authentic newspapers, magazines and TV broadcasting, by providing goods and services they also expand their areas of activity and increase their profit rates. Nowadays, when the word media is uttered, what needs to be understood from the term is not a company that own more than one publishing agency, but companies which take goods and services production as their field of activity in areas related to media or areas which are or assumed to be in relation with the media (Kaya, 1999:644).

Besides these big television-channel companies which broadcast nation-wide, many television channels of different sizes started broadcasting with the initiative and support of municipalities, political parties and even universities. Due to the continuation of TRT's broadcasting monopoly in the legal sense, the channels which were broadcasting nation-wide had to rent satellites from some European countries like Germany, Britain and France and broadcasted in an illegal way; these channels existed in this illegal way in the media

market until the new Radio Television Law, in 1993, tried to get support from the public about multivoiced television broadcasting.

It can be seen that the aforementioned formations influenced and changed the structuring and functioning of media organizations. In the attempt to organize new administrative models suitable to the circumstances, the most significant change has been the advance of the management principles about broadcasting principles. It is inevitable for these organizations having a wide range of activities to follow a broadcasting system that is in accordance with a certain market strategy. In order to achieve such functionality, the broadcasting managers participated in executive boards, etc. of the media companies and are held responsible for administering the broadcasting according to the market strategies determined by the management (Kaya, 1999). Such new identities held by the general broadcasting directors also serve as a means of legitimating their prosecution of activities on behalf of the government or bureaucracy. Meanwhile, the decision making process about programming or “editing” for which all of the institutional hypothesis suggest for a “liberal and democratic communication has been sacrificed in the name of an understanding that it will not be subject to any kind of influence that will be caused by the tenants, sponsors, those who give commercials or those who control the public funds (social power), to “market conditions” (Kaya, 1999). In other words, the existence of bankers and businessmen in the media sector should be handled in terms of their investments to enlarge and strengthen their own companies as well as their tendency to use the media while organizing their relationships with their rivals and the political power (Adaklı, 2006). While the new liberal discourses with a claim of reduction in the public intervention accompanies these developments, their relations with government and state were becoming more complex. This process of complication does not only result from the “great power” attributed to the media. Indeed, the risk of surviving only through the commercial incomes provides the necessary grounds on which an interest based connection between the political powers and the media can develop (Kaya, 1999).

When problems about the relations with political powers arose, television channels and newspapers started broadcasting with a negative attitude and became a threatening aspect, in the period of privatization during which they did not experience any problems, they were not holding back from behaving in an “adherent” manner (Kaya, 1999:647). These clear and daily changes in the news policies which tended towards self-interest, led to certain criticisms suggesting that there is a “press sold to the government” even within the media

(Demirkent, 1995). In fact, during the first years of the Turgut Özal period, who is the symbol of the New Right ideology in Turkey and viewed parallel to Reaganism in the USA and Thatcherism in England, the press had to deal with sanctions such as paper assession, along with limitations in traditional public functions (Adaklı, 2006: 150). Policies directed towards the abolition of the freedom of expression determined the playground of media in the Özal period which has brought forward the rhetoric of the New Right. Özal, with the image of “a technocrat who deals with numbers rather than ideology” (Ahmad, 1999:232) has remained apathetic towards the issue of political freedom by implying that he is more interested in economy rather than politics which involves the problem of democratic rights. As Ahmad states, Özal’s slogan is “first economy, then democracy.” However, the dominant aspects of the Turkish press which faced various practices of the oppressive regime have initiated a new type of relationship model with Özal towards the end of the 1980s (Adaklı, 2006: 151-152). The argument about the increasing paper costs between Özal and Hürriyet newspaper was ended by the owner of Milliyet newspaper Aydın Doğan on behalf of the whole press; this reconciliation started the reconstruction of the sector. This symbolic peace has become a step in the process of press’ transformation into an industrial, political and ideological complex what has been termed as media (Adaklı, 2006: 151).

Özal, who gave the impression that he had been in a constant struggle against the press, with his attachment to the IMF programs, has allowed Turkey to have a more compatible press with the new economic policies. Özal’s direct interaction with the private sector owners and administrators with “The bright and young businessmen who knew how to earn money easily and rapidly, with an adherence to the ideas and projects of Reagan’s USA” around him (Ahmad, 1999), has provided a new style to Turkish politics. The main consequence of wealth transferring mechanisms such as inducements, conveniences provided in the import and export sectors, privatization, etc. is the removal of these operations from the control of the public. The press, who had always put down Özal would now reverencing him (Kaya, 1994). Many newspaper administrators and columnists have played a role in the promotion of his new projects and have taken the responsibility of building a process through which Özal was turned into an icon in the period of his Prime Ministry (Adaklı, 2006). Journalist Soner recalls an event about a journalist who was transferred to Güneş newspaper with a high wage in the 1980s that a close source to the owner of the newspaper has said: “We have given him so much money not for his journalism, but his acquaintance with Evren Pasha” (Özsever, 2004: 151).

This situation also points to the fact that news reporting has gone under a major transformation. The content of news gains an interventionist nature to the daily political developments. It is possible to find examples where the general broadcasting policies are in line with the political powers in all television channels and newspapers. In a country like Turkey where media is shaped by opportunities such as paper, official announcements, the low loans of state banks, budgets allocated for advertisements, investment inducements provided or not provided by the political powers, it is significant to scrutinize each of the relationships between the political powers and certain media companies merely for these reasons. In terms of news reporting, it is stated that the monopolization and concentration process in the media sector in Turkey has primarily influenced the “freedom to obtain objective news” and it is emphasized that what is to be presented as news in the media depends upon the personal decisions of the media directors (Sönmez, 1996). It is also pointed out that the self-interested interventions and restrictions on the right of audience and reader to be correctly informed also prevent right kind of political decision-making. The significant point here is that it was accepted as 'normal' for the media directors to intervene with their own companies' policies for the sake of daily interests and abuse this power which depends on the consent of the public provides for the continuation of an incomplete and twisted process of information for the public and the making profits through this continuation.

In some situations, the clues presented by the media companies while mentioning their ideological frameworks that determines their general policies, make it easier to pin-point the main lines of this construction. For instance, Zafer Mutlu, who has worked as the general broadcasting coordinator of Sabah newspaper in 1995 has stated that, “Sabah newspaper exists with the aim of making money. This paper does not aim to enlighten the Turkish people” (Özsever, 2004: 145); Mutlu’s words clearly show the newspaper’s ideological standpoint. In addition, the big media companies in Turkey have general directors who say “I do not want to see news about laborers.” (Özsever, 2004: 145). This situation is not only peculiar to Turkey. In a report of the Royal Press Commission of Britain, in 1991, it was asserted that in a great part of the 20th century, the news and comments related to the labor movement had a very little support compared to the Right-Wing opposition and that in general the news related to the labor movement is reflected in negative terms (Tılıç, 1998).

One of the common points of concentration in the media is the international integration with the global media companies. This process initially started with “imitative” publications of

magazines and then continued with the printing of the originals in Turkey. In the later years, the “sector” has been moved to a new level through the foundation of sub-organizations or divisions in terms of global media and integration (Kaya, 1999: 646). The Doğan group with CNN Türk holds the primary position (Kaya, 1999; Adaklı, 2006).

As it has been stated above, when the principles and values which shape the profession changes, practices and produced goods also change. The first aspect to be mentioned is that the distinction between news and commentary is totally abolished. While the news is given within the commentaries, the news turns into magazine news for the sake of ratings or circulation. Naturally, it is not possible for entertaining programs or quiz shows or even documentaries to be left out of this tendency. In addition, the competition between the organizations which aim to attain the biggest rate in terms of average reader/audience turns into similitude instead of differentiation. Another aspect of the Turkish media which gives news a feature of magazine is that as commentators, it constitutes a large number of individuals who are either columnists or people referred to as “anchorman”; these individuals think that they have the right to speak about all matters and determine the course and approach of news as presented in the USA and England (Kaya, 1999: 650).

3. 3. 1. ECONOMY AND NEWSPAPERS IN TURKEY

As mentioned above, in the 1980s with the initiation of liberal economic policies, the media has started rapidly to organize in accordance with the models of consumption-driven economy in the global level. Thus, the audiences/readers were situated as consumers rather than citizens, while all kinds of values were being created through commercial mechanisms. In the area of radio and television, the main argument of those proponents of the free market who wanted the monopoly of the state to end was based on the assumption that an individual’s free choice could only be guaranteed by the market mechanism. Competition was seen as a tool which was beneficial in terms of what kind of information the individuals wished to have. While publishing was handed over to the power of the market rules, the cultural and unifying apprehensions which had been achieved eighty years ago left their places to economic uneasiness.

One aspect of the increasing power of the neo-liberal hegemony in the 1990s in Turkey was a cultural intervention centered in the media (Özkazanç, 2005: 643). The Istanbul media, which had contributed to the foundation of the authoritarian market society in the 1980s,

gained an economic and political importance it had never had prior to this period with the transformation it underwent in the 1990s. It played a role both in the formation of a market consciousness and in shaping moral/cultural sensitivity which came along. This new economic and political power depended on media's assigning itself the role of new aristocrats who had a mission to embellish the society's neo-liberal order with a new morality (Bali, 2002). Thus, a bourgeois hegemony targeting the lower and middle classes and which was characterized by an individualistic understanding that was defined through consumption was organized by the media (Özkazanç, 2005: 643). The media members, who were now a part of the power, constructed the main route to a neo-liberal morality and culture through new interests and discomposure which they have brought forward, using the aspects of their own personal lives. This "White Turk tendency" was directed at forming a new middle class both as single individuals and as a community (Özkazanç, 2005: 643). This tendency toward forming a community resulted in middle classes efforts to reach a higher class and the higher classes to distance themselves from a majority of the public in social, political ways, as well as physically and spatially. For the concept of home as the privileged location of private life suggested by media also included the "sharing of an 'elite' lifestyle" by similar ones in protected apartment-sites. In this sense, the biggest problem of the "White Turks" was that they could not meet with people from their own class at the places they visited to spend their free time (Bali, 2004). An "elite" group who disliked meeting with these kinds of people took refuge in their homes. As a result, the attempt of the media to manipulate the conflicts within the power struggle of the "White Turks" was a determinant factor in the general policies of the 1990s (Özkazanç, 2005: 644).

The 2000s have started with the break out of a deep economical crisis of the twenty-year-old neoliberal order. After the November 2002 general elections Turkish politics entered a period of rapid renewal. In fact, the reforms initiated after the crisis of February 2001, legal arrangements and the EU policies of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) which ended the past decade's period of coalitions show that a new period consisting of the restructuring of the liberal thought have started (Özkazanç, 2005: 649). One of the significant indicators of this renewal period was the questioning of the neoliberal market fetishism in the media which was formerly its organizer. The first questioning took place in terms of results of the February crisis over the "Other Turkey" discussion and accelerated in time. In other words, the press rapidly adapted itself to the crisis environment. The journalists who have been enlisting the best examples of the Far-Eastern cuisine and telling about the highest credit card limits were now talking about their credit card debts and the psychological conditions

of their friends who got fired because of the economic crisis (Bali, 2004). Therefore, within the frame of the discussion on “Other Turkey”, there was a rupture in the liberal perspective of the media and neo-liberal sensitivities peculiar to Turkey were presented once more. In fact, the term “other” defined not only one group, but also referred to peasants who were oppressed and put down in the city, the poor who was mistreated by the rich, the laborer oppressed by his/her boss, the university student beaten by the police and the Kurds insulted by Turks. The aforementioned discussion was initiated by Serdar Turgut with the increasing sensitivity of the media towards the social impacts of the 2001 crisis and caused the questioning of social and economic policies which led the country to experience such a crisis by some columnists. This questioning also led “the media into a conflict in itself within the frame of criticism that was directed to its own discourse.” Those who spoke within the hegemonic economy discourse defined their opponents as actors who relied upon ideological concerns instead of the material reality. However, a lack of confidence became evident in this discourse, which still had the same standpoint through an increasingly more violent style. In fact, the condition of Turkey reflected the fact that it was now impossible to paint such a positive picture ever again. However, as a consequence, all of the neo-liberal writers, despite the increasing poverty and misery, were still supporting the need for the program. It was evident that Turgut, who criticized the policies of the IMF, and pointed out “Other Turkey” as the group experiencing poverty, had an interest in the issue because of the rationalization of the system (Özkazanç, 2005: 651). Indeed, “it was impossible to understand and define those people who had no sense of time, were even late for the revolution and who earned their living through their own efforts” (Turgut, 21 July 2000, *Hürriyet*). Therefore, Turgut's target was the capitalist groups for the sake of rational decisions necessitated by capitalist market system.

Within the framework of what has been explained above, it is seen that in the 1980s, in Turkey, an “economy press” which consisted of daily newspapers and weekly magazines emerged (Bali, 2002). According to Şemsi Yücel, who was the general director of publishing of the *Ekonomik Panorama* (Economic Panorama) and then *Ekonomist* (Economist) magazines, the magazine news were designed in a way to answer the aspirations of the youth raised under the “entrepreneurship” and “free market” discourses of Özal. They aimed to become rich easily and that was the most important reason to increase the sales rates of magazines (Kozanoğlu, 1993). In fact, “the people had awoken to an outside world, wanted to earn much and live under good conditions, refused to live in

poverty as public servants, wanted to start their own businesses for not to accept their fates.” (Bali, 2002: 225).

The economy press which started to develop in the 1980s attained its pace and dynamism in the 1990s. Daily newspapers such as *Dünya* (World), *Barometre* (Barometer), *Liberal Bakış* (Liberal View) and *Finansal Forum* (Financial Forum) targeted the elite of the business world (Bali, 2002). However, the main change took place in the magazine sector. Many magazines such as *Para* (Money), which aimed at “showing a direction to the investors” and *Power*, which was meant for “people of certain power to read with pleasure” and others such as *VIP*, *FIRST*, etc. widened the sector’s horizons. Kürşat Başar, who was the general publishing director of *Power* magazine defined their reader profile as “administrators, bosses, business women and especially the young generation”. He answered the question on why the magazine was named as *Power* in such a way that it pointed out to the reasons why the people in the media sector were politically and economically powerful: “Because the people who are involved with this magazine are those who have the power in Turkey, as this is the case all over the world” (Kızıltoprak, 1994, in Bali, 2002: 226).

These magazines which pointed out the ways of earning a high income were followed by magazines such as *Esquire*, *Cosmopolitan* and *Gurme* which told people what kinds of clothes they should wear with the money they earn, what to eat, whom to make love to.

Sabah newspaper which realized the Özal period’s necessities much sooner and more clearly compared to the others, started its publication life in 1985 under the guidance of “the newly rising values” (Bali, 2002). “The newly rising values” concept summarized a lifestyle which was the monopoly of only a very wealthy class that was identified with eating at luxurious restaurants, wearing quality clothes, owning luxurious cars and travelling abroad, which the middle class also tried to reach in the 1980s. In fact, Zafer Mutlu, the general publishing director of the time, defined the rising values as not being content (19 October 1992, *Sabah*). The presentation of this situation, being discontent with limited things, as a social value continued in the later periods of the newspaper under the *Gusto-Style* page. The *Gusto-Style* page which gave place to issues such as “the best restaurant of Paris” and “the latest model of BMW” was also received an excitement by the paper’s columnists (Bali, 2002:208). The paper which aimed at addressing all types of readers regardless of their political views with concerns of circulation increased its number of writers and also widened the range of news presented to the readers. Thus, it entered a new period which

supported “the right for multi-voice, and various colors and voices to exist together” (Ergun, 22 April 2007, Sabah). Kozanoğlu explains the circumstances surrounding Sabah newspaper as thus:

Just as the developments in the Soviets have collapsed the structure that required a strict reconstruction and left a dangerous space hidden under the image of Yeltsin instead, the period between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s has dislocated the Republican culture in Turkey. And the resulting gap was occupied by professionals that showed this gap “as if it is occupied.” A colorful screen that was embroidered with the model statures of the 90s covered the gap. It was as if the gap had disappeared. Sabah is the newspaper of that Yeltsin gap and the colorful screen in Turkey. Thus, the paper sold enormously (Kozanoğlu, 2001:113-120).

The concern of having a high circulation resulted in the publication of various newspapers that addressed different political tendencies within the same media company. The best example could be the Radikal newspaper that addressed the liberal-left group, which was published by the Doğan Media Group. Mehmet Y. Yılmaz, who was the first general publishing director of the paper, claimed that they aimed to address a group of cosmopolitan and educated city elites who have university-degrees and who closely followed the economic and cultural activities and are familiar with the Western culture (Bali, 2004: 216-18), had defined the projected reader profile as; “We are going to have an intellectual reader profile that is sensitive to the problems of Turkey” (13 October 1996 Yılmaz, Radikal).

Towards the 2000s, Radikal felt the necessity to renew itself (Bali, 2002: 217). It changed its logo from blue to red, however due to the reactions from its readers, the color was changed back to blue and it defined its aim as to be “the big newspaper of the new generation” (Yılmaz, 1 March 1998, Radikal). The paper’s Sunday supplement Radikal İki also attracted attention of the intellectual groups and the university youth.

Among the newspapers which hire columnists of totally opposite ideas within its own framework was Hürriyet. The reason for this preference primarily depended on the idea to remain faithful to principles such as “being a democrat”, “treating everybody equally” and “to live within diversity”. The best explanation for this situation was given through Cüneyt Ülsever’s definition of “supermarket”, who was the Islamic writer of the paper².

² ... “(Özkök) In the conversation we had on the day I was offered a position here, he stated that the aim of a mass newspaper such as Hürriyet was to literally create a supermarket. “People of all convictions will be in the paper, but the reader will read whatever he/she wants to read.”

“(Özkök) ... He said: “you may disagree with me or others. This is the reason why we have hired you anyway” (Ülsever, 30 September 2000, Hürriyet)

Hürriyet's advertisement prior to the 2007 general elections also reflects the Picture which Özkök presented to Ülsever: The meeting of the young football player who only thinks about the team he supports, the intellectual daughter of the house who is "only" interested in the problems of the country and her brother once a leftist but now a "successful businessman" represent Turkey and thus Hürriyet. Therefore, in Özkök's words, "Hürriyet is Turkey" (Özkök, 22 July 2007, Hürriyet).

The second reason was based on the inclusion of the minorities, homosexuals, environmentalists, feminists and the Islamic groups to its reader profile, with the concern of both keeping up with multiculturalism and increasing circulation (Bali, 2004). In fact, as Gürbilek states, many areas which are defined through terms such as "individual", "generation", "private life" and "sexuality" were uttered in the 1990s. "It became the object of a verbal explosion, decomposed and then embraced with words" (Gürbilek, 2001: 40).

Hürriyet, in terms of its content, turned out to be the representative of the capitalist Western culture in general. Hürriyet, which had taken up a unique role in the period of politicization started in the 1960s, defended the priority of values such as individualism and compromise. In the Cold War period, it reproduced a discourse against the socialist thought that is identified with the Soviet Union. None of these pointed out the problems related to the state or the government. When the state or the governments were criticized, it generally acted out with the aim to direct readers against certain legal arrangements that protected the interests of the public and incentives such as influencing the liberal bureaucrats. In his column dated January 13, 1980, Nezh Demirkent comments on the readers' expectations as thus:

"... the readers do not show much interest to 'politicized' publishing agencies anymore. While newspapers who defend a certain line of thought can barely keep their position, the magazines have high circulation and the most serious newspapers prefer to address new readers through their magazine supplements. For the reader is in need of those publishing organs that give good news rather than the bad."

Demirkent's words stated above present the reader's interest towards the media in a constantly politicized society in which there is an increasing rate of political violence as merely the reaction of reader.

However, the "readers' expectations" which are used by mainstream newspapers such as Hürriyet and Sabah as a result of the "apolitical" attitude that impartiality in reality construct one of the discourses of journalism which could have high circulation only with

the condition that it is free of politics (Adaklı, 2006). Violence and especially political violence have become both the main ingredients of journalism and also have functioned as ideological devices that exalt magazine alongside an American way of life in the politicization of the reader. Those newspapers which have mentioned the democratic characteristics of the USA and Western Europe which were systematically imposed under the name “free world” in the 1970s, the development of free press and the authoritarian structure of publishing in the countries of the Eastern Block have become the enforcers of the Cold War in the popular level. The address shown to each “new value” of Hürriyet and Sabah which were mainstream publishing agencies has always been the capitalist relationship within the USA and Western Europe.

In the period during which the powers of the Western media giants were shaken down, newspapers such as Hürriyet and Sabah, which in reality reflect the structural characteristics of a capitalist administration, have searched the roots of problem in the relationship between the employer and the employee and naturally in the attitude of the trade unions (Adaklı, 2004). The new conservative program of the Thatcher government in the 1980s has caused the miners to go on strike and also to direct the press officials to go under long boycotts in Britain; Hürriyet, which was the dominant power in the Turkish media has interpreted this situation as the struggle of the British trade unions against new technologies (Demirkent, 1982 – Hürriyet 3 August 1980). In fact, Demirkent in his Hürriyet columns often states that “the trade unions oppose innovations because of their limited perspective” and that “they cause uneasiness by avoiding seeing the high costs.”

Cumhuriyet which was founded upon the wish and order of Mustafa Kemal during the War of Independence aimed at spreading the Republican ideology, in other words Kemalism, since its foundation. In fact, as Duran also states Cumhuriyet newspaper has published and continues to publish news with the attempt to “exculpate, exalt and elevate” the ideology of Kemalism by presenting it as news and applying it to the content of news. In this respect, the statist structure of the newspaper easily becomes apparent in the paper’s articles or columns.³

³ In fact, prior to the World War II and afterwards, the newspaper was openly supporting the Nazis; in certain German documents, it was claimed that the newspaper was providing financial support to do Nazi propaganda. Yunus Nadi’s son, Nadir Nadi had already declared his affection for Hitler while he was in Venice in the articles he had written for Cumhuriyet. Cumhuriyet newspaper’s presentation of the Kurdish riots which took place in 1925 and 1938 were realised through a perspective of traditional, statist and official ideology. Cumhuriyet, which served as the propaganda agent of the

The discourse related struggle between the Conservative and Kemalist ideologies' antagonistic characteristic have also been emphasized in the newspaper's discourse starting in the 1980s and especially after Refah Party's (Welfare Party) gaining the power after the 1990s. In fact, the pursuit of practicing Islam in the public arena since the foundation of the Republic⁴ had caused Islam to have a vital and stronger revival in public since the 1950s (Timur, 1997). This revival had gained a more dominant and extensive characteristic through the articulation of Islam into state policies and ideologies starting from the 1980s. While the greatest obstacle against the Turkish Republic to fully realize itself in terms of Kemalism has been seen as the conservative movements, what proved to be an obstacle for the Islamist ideology to become the new state has been Westernisation and Kemalism as its expansion. In this respect, secularism as one of the principles of Kemalism, was started to be emphasized much more in the 1990s by newspaper against political Islam which was based on a feeling of "religious brotherhood." Finally, with AKP's victory in the 2002 general elections, the newspaper has solidified its approach even more.

The newspaper has recently adopted "*ulusalcılık*"⁵ which is a concept coined by the leftist groups to express their own characteristics with the aim to differentiate themselves from especially the "nationalists" alongside an emphasis on secularism. According to the newspaper, the difference between '*ulusalcılık*' and nationalism is that while the nationalists give priority to their nation for emotional and heroic reasons, '*ulusalcılık*' is viewed as an economic lucidity which protects the national interests rationally. However, the rationality of '*ulusalcılık*' expired in time and became another term that refers to nationalism. Its only emphasis turned out to be the recreation of the word nation, within the frames of the republic and having a "secular" notion. The newspaper strongly embraced '*ulusalcılık*' which involves a manipulative content towards hegemony; in fact, when '*ulusalcılık*' that connotes a leftist and secular attitude brings together those who identify and refer

single party period declared Nazım Hikmet, who had to leave Turkey, as a traitor. Recently, the newspaper led campaigns against Yaşar Kemal and Orhan Pamuk (Duran, 10.07.2007 Bianet).

⁴ Islam is a religion which especially emphasizes the application of religion in the public sphere. The reason is that, while Islam promises Moslems a world that is righteous, it also requires that one has to follow a social and political project that would organise the public sphere in compliance with the necessities of the religion.

⁵ Nationalism is used as the English translation of both *milliyetçilik* and *ulusalcılık*. But I will use *ulusalcılık* here to distinguish it from *milliyetçilik*.

themselves as nationalists within its own superiority, it could present itself more strongly and receive acceptance. In addition, since 'ulusalcılık' is defined more fully through the use of a language that resembles anti-imperialism compared to nationalism and due to the fact that it can represent its own position in a more persuasive, rational and sympathetic manner, it was subtly able to gain points over the vulgar nationalists. In this respect, the newspaper has kept up with this “national entrepreneurship” spirit that was not only limited with the sale periods but in such a way that it could interfere with the legal processes after the initiation of privatization. This spirit, in the legal process to prevent the privatization of Tüpraş became apparent with the advices given by İlhan Selçuk in his column, firstly towards the judges of the Council of State and then to the unions which filed the law suit. While with the expression “if we keep on acting in this manner, Tüpraş won't be left to the state or the national entrepreneur!. We will either hand the oil institution to the Arab or the like!..”, it was being expressed that Tüpraş should be left to the national capital, there was a serious amount of support given to Koç Holding as the owner of Tüpraş. However, this fight was for making the domestic capital dominant over foreign capital refers to anti-colonialism rather than anti-imperialism. In fact, imperialism is the sum of economic and political relationships and the global way of organization of capitalism. It is not possible to be against imperialism without being against world-wide capitalism. If this is achieved, then one becomes “nationalist”, or more correctly “*ulusalçı*” rather than “a person with a leftist view who is “*ulusalçı*” as the newspaper assumes.

From the first day of its publication, Yeni Şafak has become one of the newspapers in which the Islamist ideology is produced in a continuous and systematic way. The term “Islamist” itself is used to oppose everything Kemalism represents and especially in opposition to secularism of Kemalism. In its most general definition Islamism refers to giving meaning to all aspects of life through consorting to the Islam religion. The Islamist media to which Yeni Şafak newspaper is also a part of is defined in a different manner compared to the other press and publishing companies due to the emphasis given to personal and social levels dominated by a religious lifestyle. However, this definition results in the blurring of the differences within the Islamist media. In this respect, the most significant difference/characteristic of Yeni Şafak newspaper is its attempt to construct its settlement with the Kemalist system upon more rational grounds (Dursun, 2004). In fact, while it is struggling against Kemalism or anything else that is a part of the existing system, it includes certain agreements related to various subjects that come into being after a certain selection process (Dursun, 2004). For instance, the events which took place and expanded after the

declaration of the National Security Council, to which Refah Party was also a part of in 1997, resulted in the closing down of the party and has been evaluated by the newspaper as an indication of “Turkey’s incapacity to substitute a new system in its own structure” (29.02.2000). In fact, the newspaper holds that the existing system/Kemalism is equivalent of militarism and anti-democracy and this equality facilitates its presentation of Kemalism through a plot of negativity. Kemalism under consideration is not the Kemalism that has been changing and going under transformation, but one that is stabilized with the initial characteristics and non-changing. In this respect, the newspaper has determined the alternative system that was suggested against Kemalism which is referred as “an out-moded belief system” (Ilicak, Yeni Şafak, 2000), since the beginning of the 1990s in which privatization policies have been initiated, as a state criticism parallel to questioning of state mechanism and functioning; demands of system change; problematization of politician-mafia-bureaucrat relations as a result of the Susurluk Incident. This questioning of the state has been realized in relation to the founding dynamics of the Republic and its ideology and institutions. In this respect, it will not be wrong to say that the newspaper has become the mouth piece of those Islamic parties that were powerful in the political arena after the 1990s, although it did not have any organic ties with any party as a media agency. In fact, the newspaper clearly expresses its support especially to the AKP government’s political and economic policies both in its news articles and columns.

CHAPTER IV

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS ABOUT LABOUR PROTESTS AGAINST PRIVATIZATION ON HÜRRİYET, SABAH, RADİKAL, CUMHURİYET AND YENİ ŞAFAK

This section will cover the analysis of news and it is composed of five steps. Firstly, the narrative structures of news will be explained. Secondly, lexicalization and syntax will be analyzed in order to project the relationship between language and ideology. Thirdly, images and the basic narratives produced by these images will be explored. The fourth step consists of a thematic analysis aiming to reflect which themes are developed in relation to privatization and labor activities against privatization. The final step involves an analysis on antagonisms and exclusions which ‘reflect’ and constitute the power relations at one and the same time. The purpose of the analysis is not to compare the various news discourses of the given papers; however, the most significant and important points will be compared at the end of the analysis.

In the sections on textual analysis, along with the routine practices of reporting and journalism, the collection of narrative elements that are “not routine” according to the Turkish perception of journalism in news, and the closure of the struggle areas within the news texts during the construction of a ‘common sense’, will be provided through examples. In fact, it can be argued that in the news texts about privatization issue – even though the news are about anti-privatization activities – a neo-liberal discursive closure takes place instead of a discursive struggle. Within the context of this discursive closure, social consensus in the news texts is built within the framework of hegemonic discourses of the power holders in the society on the one hand, and is realized through the functioning of the media as the primary definers in terms of news strategies, on the other.

4. 1. THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURES OF THE NEWS

In this section, the way the newspapers present the anti-privatization protests will be analyzed. The narrative of news includes composition of the verbal and visual grammar, the interviewees and formal and contextual presentation of their opposites (GUMG, 1993). Although the presentation of news differs from each other, some common narrative

elements⁶ are shared by all. The news narrative and the elements of presentation of the newspapers may be listed as follows:

4. 1. 1. Reported Speech and Quotations Marks

In news, the emphasis on the claim of objectivity, which is indicated as the professional code of journalism, is made by frequent usage of reported speech and quotation marks. By this way, there is an attempt to make the reader feel that what is being told is the smoothly mediated and undistorted representation of the ‘news source’. However, the quotation marks used in the presentation of expressions evolves into a technique which allows the journalist/news reporter to recede from the event (İnal, 1996). In other words, the quotation marks enable the identification of institutional sources with “objectivity” and make the news more reliable in the eye of the reader, besides their technical purposes.

This ‘beyond technicality’ can fully be understood through scrutinizing the news in its full length. For instance:

Öztaşkın, the director of Petrol-İş, while claiming that they would struggle against the privatization of TÜPRAŞ until the end, added that “The selling process has been brought into a position where no more debate is possible on the issue; this has been done through the proposal that the price and the buyer should be local. However, this area cannot be left to the hands of profit incentives. (21.09. 2005, *Cumhuriyet*)

Cumhuriyet, which starts the news with a summary, ends the news as such:

Öztaşkın, who has stated that in the case of the sale of TÜPRAŞ, Shell which had a vertical integration in oil sector would have a say about the matter, added: “In the firm, which will be founded, the share-holding structure may change. TÜPRAŞ is in a position where it is the only oil exporter in Turkey...In the medium term, there is a risk of cartel prices in the distribution field. (21.09. 2005, *Cumhuriyet*)

It is possible to see a similar example in *Radikal*. The news about the statement made by Petrol-İş union on privatization of TÜPRAŞ starts with the statement of Director General, Mustafa Öztaşkın, within quotation marks:

... Öztaşkın, has stated that the decision had to be applied within 30 days in order not to cause any more damage to the buyer firm and continued: "As a syndicate, we will be doing our best for this decision to be applied. Bringing such decisions to the

⁶ Narrative structure analyses are formalist because they focus on the forms of texts rather than questions about content and ideological judgements. As it focuses on form, it is a theory having its own limits and should be supported by other methods as methods of analysis. For this reason, it has to be considered together with other methods of analysis.

public also makes them announcements...We do not wish to work illegally in an area that is illegal itself. (08.02.2006, *Radikal*)

The news ends with the statement of the lawyer of the union, Gökhan Candoğan, once again in quotation marks:

...Candoğan has claimed that the 45 day extension period is not legal, and stated: 'This is against the law. This extension period is not a part of the laws, articles and conditions. We have filed a lawsuit about this situation...
...These should be questioned.' (8.02.2006, *Radikal*)

In the light of the examples given above, it may be said that the news-reporter, by the help of quotations, present the news, as if he/she has no 'information' about the news and has no relation with the real course of events.

This is mainly sustained by enlisting quotations one after another which gives the reporter a chance to isolate him/herself or recede from the facts. Another example is from *Hürriyet*:

Öztaşkın, in his statement released to the AA news reporter about the stay of execution of the decision related to sale of 51% of Tüpraş's shares by the Council of State's Council of Administrative Law Division has said that "All proceedings have been subjected to stay of execution now... (2.02.2006, *Hürriyet*)

In organizing the news through a set of reported speech, the aim is to stress the fact of immediacy and objectivity of the news⁷. Accordingly, if the news reporter does not include his/ her own "interpretation" in the news, he/she works within an ethical framework; if not, his/her ethical stand-point is undermined. Thus the ethical criteria, while defining 'rights' and 'wrongs' of journalism as such, relies on the myth that news can be objective and can reflect the reality in an unproblematic manner. On the other hand, a closer analysis of the news shows that this 'myth' only has the function of preserving the journalist's professional identity. When the process of news production is grasped as a selection, and since every act of selection is at the same time exclusion of other possible alternatives, the clear differentiation between interpretation and objective news becomes problematic.

On the other hand, reported speech and quotation marks identify the 'unknown' (the common people) with subjectivity and thus give a quality of precariousness. In other words, the representation of the views of the institutional speakers who exist within the status quo and those who serve the continuation of the status quo come to the fore as a significant

⁷ For more examples on that see Appendices A.

strategy within the discursive structure of news. The addition of the subjective views of certain institutions' members into news in a routine manner results in the structuring of these views in an objective way, and this in return causes to underrate alternative events and individuals. The usage of individuals and institutions as news sources has a significant place in production of news. As it can be understood from the examples, the newspapers' main source of news shows itself in its attachment to the primary definers, in other words to the accredited sources through the quotations used in the news. As Dursun also expresses, the media do not create news issues by itself, but generally "trustworthy" institutions form the basis of certain news issues (Dursun,2005:84). The majority of news, which deals with the labor movement, consists of the statements made by the government, political parties and union speakers. These individuals become "news encouragers", (Moltch and Lester quoted in İnal, 1995), while the journalists remain as transmitters/narrators. In other words, the only chance for the laborers, who are the subjects of the event, is to be the subject of the news either when they are involved with political, legal or cultural events that are referred to as crimes, or when there is a need for material in order to enrich the magazine content of news. The last point will be dealt in the next chapter.

4. 1. 2. Personification

Another narrative method that is adopted in news is personification. The labor movements, which become the subject of news as a result of personification, are presented merely as the actions of certain persons/individuals, since it is much easier to define the individual alone than to define structures, groups or institutions. As a result of personification process, events/phenomena are interpreted as outcomes of actions of symbolic persons. The whole process of personification 'masks' the deeper social, economic and political dimensions of the issues concerned. For instance, in the case of privatization of TÜPRAŞ, the news related to labor resistance and legal attempts against privatization have been constructed through focusing either on the general director of Petrol-İş, Mustafa Öztaşkın or on the branch-directors of union as symbolic persons. The same logic is also applied in privatization process of SEKA, by personification through focusing on statements of general director of Selüloz-İş, Davut Bozkan and Director General of Türk-İş, Salih Kılıç. Thus, in the news, the main subject is not the workers themselves, who are the ones at the core of course of events, but rather Öztaşkın, Kılıç and Davut. For instance, in *Hürriyet*, dated 11.10.2005, news related to the strike of Tüpraş employees was presented as such:

Employees who work in Tüpraş's four oil refineries in Aliğa, Kırıkkale, Kocaeli and Batman and in Yarımca Petro-Chemistry Enterprises have decided to launch a half-day strike and protested the sale of Tüpraş...

The general director of Petrol-İş, Mustafa Öztaşkın, has stated that the partnership of Koç- Shell could change any moment ... he has expressed that. ... Öztaşkın, ... has claimed that there is a strategy involved. Öztaşkın has stated that...." (11.10.2005, *Hürriyet*)

As it can be seen in the news text the half day strike of the employees who work in four oil refineries of Tüpraş and Yarımca Petro-Chemistry Enterprises has been turned into news with the usage of expressions taken from the press conference of the Petrol-İş union and director general, Mustafa Öztaşkın's statements. Certainly, the activities of the union have the quality of news. However, while the headlines and summary involve the strike of the Tüpraş workers, there is no further statement about this issue within the news text. The main body of the news text involves the consecutive statements of the director general without any reference to the headline; and, therefore, turns into a text which involves the press conference of the director, rather than the strike itself.

Another example can be given from *Sabah*'s news entitled "İzmit Seka is being closed down" which refers to workers who had locked themselves in the factory to protest the decision of the Privatization Board dated November 8, 2004 to close down SEKA;

Workers who protested the closing down of SEKA İzmit Enterprise locked themselves in the factory. Director General of Türk-İş, Salih Kılıç has stated that "Türk-İş will continue to provide all kinds of financial and moral support for SEKA workers who have established a unity and integrity in the labor movement.

Türk-İş director general, Salih Kılıç,...paid a visit to the SEKA workers. Kılıç has expressed...the decision taken on the "closing down" of SEKA...congratulated the workers for their struggle.

...In the visit by SEKA administrative board members, assistant general directors and directors, the SEKA workers have shouted various slogans against the government. Later on, Türk-İş director general Kılıç served the workers baklava, who were singing the 10th and 50th year marches. (20.01.2005, *Sabah*)

The news text on the strike that was initiated by about 750 workers against the closing down of the business has been constructed around Türk-İş General Director Kılıç's statements on support of Türk-İş to the strike and his service of baklava to workers. The reason for the strike in the news text is being stated as the closing down of the factory. However, there are no reasons provided as to why the SEKA workers are against the closing down of the factory; thus, there is no statement about the demands of the workers during this process. The workers had stated that the significance of SEKA in terms of İzmit was not only due to the fact that it provided employment but also it increased the

general income of the city (*Post Express*, 46). Since the factory owned the first sports-team of İzmit, owned a magazine and a newspaper; and established cinema and theater in İzmit, SEKA was presented as an integral party of social structure of the city. With the exclusion of such and similar reasons/announcements from news, the social and economic reasons proposed against privatization and the opposition against privatization itself are being avoided; and news texts containing the actions and remarks of Kılıç, who has been turned into a symbolic personality in the SEKA strike are being created.

4. 1. 3. Disengagement

Another practice used in the construction of news is the disengagement method. This situation can be observed in the categorization of different issues in *Hürriyet* in the shape of current news, economic news, agenda news, world news and sports news; in *Radikal*, as news from Turkey, foreign news, economy and business news, cultural and art related news and sports news; in *Sabah*, as current news, political and economy news; in *Cumhuriyet*, as foreign news, economic and cultural news; and lastly, in *Yeni Şafak*, as current, economic, world, political and sports news. The fragmentation of public information to produce news makes it difficult for the reader to develop a meaningful and integral perspective in terms of the world that he/ she lives in. The news related to the labor movement against privatization is presented in *Hürriyet* under the economy section, however, whenever there is police intervention against the protestors or whenever the laborers organize mass movements along with the unions, parties and civil society organizations, the news is presented on the cover page, but the continuation of the news is given under the economy section. For instance, the event related to the 750 SEKA workers refusing to leave the factory has been given under the economy section, but the police intervention on February 18, 2005 to the factory has been given as cover page news on February 19, 2005 with the title “Police intervention to the Seka resistance” and the news continued on the economy section. On the other hand, *Radikal* newspaper has placed the resistances mostly under the economy section along with a special section titled Turkey. While the Seka strike was being presented in both of the sections, the news related to Tüpraş activities could only have a place under the economy section. It is possible to speak of a similar situation for *Sabah*. To give an example, while Türk-İş’s refusal to leave the factory on March 4, 2005 against the privatization of SEKA has been presented under the section of current news, the police intervention to SEKA was presented on February 19, 2005 under the heading “Intense Day at SEKA” under the economy section. A similar situation can be observed in *Yeni Şafak*. While the strikes were

given under current news at times, at other times they were evaluated as news that was related to economy. *Cumhuriyet* which showed certain differences from the other newspapers presented the strike news under the 'News' section, however the press conferences of unions were presented in the economy section of the newspaper. Certainly the aforementioned strikes are significant in the economic sense, they are mainly economic or their nation-wide significance cannot be undervalued. However, the presentation of news within such categories causes the strikes to gain a nonpolitical character which have nothing to do with the agenda. Therefore, the categorization of news under respective pages basically ignores the multi-faceted dimensions that any given element bears. Thus, each solution to a given problem can merely be solved within the alternatives that are given with this particular categorical frame. That is, economic problems should be solved with technical economic formulas, as political ones should be solved with political ones and police related conflicts to be solved once again in the same manner. With this approach, the problems related to the strikes are presented as issues that can only be solved by finding a solution to the economic crisis and the solution to the crisis is presented as the implementation of privatization policies.

Another point to be emphasized is that, within this categorization of the news, the economy section has a more problematic place compared to the other sections. The reason is that the news given under the economy section requires the usage of a language that is more professional in terms of its subject. In addition, the news presented under the economy section is that which emphasizes the necessity of privatization. More evidence to this issue will be provided in following parts of this study. Therefore, any event, development or statement, when find their place in the newspapers are always surrounded by or located into a discursive framework that stresses the “necessity of privatization.” The presentation of strikes in the economy section is an extension of the “market and market society” notion which had developed with the neo-liberal administration in the 1980s. It is the realization of the “economic management” understanding which forms the corner stone of competition and entrepreneurship, thus privatization.

4. 2. THE LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEWS

The aim of this part is to evaluate lexicalization and syntax and elaborate closures of meaning in a micro level, which were mentioned in the above part. In fact, as İnal (1996, 1995) argues, lexicalization and syntax play a significant role in the closure of meaning and

in achieving a rigid textual structure. These findings regarding the language of news will also help us to de-code the symbolic representation of the social world in the news (Fowler, 1991: 71).

The sentence structures used in news are divided into two as *active* and *passive*. The active sentence structures are used when actor is included in the news and when this actor is assigned with a clear responsibility. The passive sentence structures are used when the actor is eliminated or if no responsibility is ascribed to him/her (Fowler, 1991). There is a role of ideology in the transformation of syntax from active to passive. In syntax analysis one other important transformation activity is “nominalization”. Through eliminating the participant and erasing the verb, nominalization disguises the power relationships. In other words, it may be stated that it has a potential quality to “mystify and reificate” (Fowler, 1991: 29-80).

As Thompson states, among the various functions of ideology, “reification” has a crucial place. Reification is the presentation of power relations as natural and timeless, and thus it masks the historical and social characters. Ideology as reification, for Thompson, works through nominalization and making passive. Accordingly, the actual bearers, or subjects of historical and social developments are completely removed from the scene. This is a crucial operation in constitution and re-production of power relations (Thompson, 1992).

In this part, the analysis will be made on what kinds of sentences are organized as active, passive or nominalized in the news of labor protests against privatization. Along with this analysis, lexicalization generally adopted in news and the linguistic elements in the process of construction of meaning will also be shown.

Fowler states that passive sentence structures are used in headlines where the agents are not physically present and where his/her identity can be estimated through the context. Upon having a look at newspaper news, it can be observed that certain agents are not emphasized consciously, whereas in some news, the agents are highlighted. As for the labor protests that are the subjects of this study, the agents are stated clearly through active sentence structures in *Hürriyet*, *Sabah* and *Yeni Şafak*. For instance:

The Tüpraş workers have **gone on** a strike (27,3,2006 *Hürriyet*)

The workers in all oil refineries, especially in Tüpraş’s İzmit Refinery have **gone on** a strike for an hour (28,2, 2006, *Hürriyet*)

SEKA workers **are not leaving** the factory. (4,10,1998, *Hürriyet*)

Oil sector laborers have mobilized against the privatization propaganda of government. The workers who are affiliated with the Petrol-İş Union **have announced** that they do not wish to be associates with Tüpraş. (21, 3, 2000, *Yeni Şafak*)

The workers protesting the closing down of SEKA İzmit Enterprise **have locked** themselves in the factory. (20,1, 2005, *Sabah*)

About 500 thousand workers that are the members of Türk-İş have locked themselves in their work places. The workers **are planning to** stay within the factory until the morning. (04.03.2005, *Sabah*)

As it has been stated in the previous chapter, it would not be wrong to look for the reason why the workers are shown as agents within the active sentence structures such as “the reason for the current inflation is the workers who have gone under strike God knows where” in a period of political and ideological transformation. In fact, “the workers of loosing SEEs” or “striker workers in Paşabahçe” have been named as “parasites” feeding from other sections of the society. Therefore, each and every action of working class have been subjected to negative attributions as even their existence have been regarded as a problem for the 'benefit of country'. In other words, the workers keep their “responsible and guilty” position that is placed within the social, political and economic structures, in news as well. As a matter of fact, as it has been stated in numerous researches, these strikes are not becoming subjects of news because of the aims of the individuals and groups participating in this action, but according to the tension and violence that takes place or is predicted to take place during the course of the action (İnal, 1996). Therefore, the presentation of the agent of the labor strikes through an effective syntax points out the worker who has been marked with the potential to “commit a crime” right from the start.

Concerning the labor strikes, the same situation, that is, the pointing out the agent within the active sentence structures is applicable to workers’ representatives and the directors of unions. For instance:

The director general of Petrol-İş Syndicate, Mustafa Öztaşkın, has **paid a visit** to the 217 workers who have locked themselves to the factory plant after the decision of closing down of İstanbul Gübre Sanayi A.Ş. (İGSAŞ) in Kocaeli's Körfez district. (16 12,006 *Hürriyet*)

Türk-İş, has **decided** not to leave their work place to protest the decision of closing down the İzmit SEKA factory on March 4, Friday” (2,3,2005, *Sabah*)

Petrol-İş director general, Mustafa Öztaşkın, has **expressed** that, Tüpraş had been the 'savior' of the 1994 ve 1999 crisis, and needs investments and the expansion of its public function rather than privatization. (21,3 2000, *Yeni Şafak*)

However, the other agents such as the gendarmerie or the police which represent the security forces that have acted against the protests are being placed within passive syntax.

In the İzmit enterprise of SEKA, for which the High Board of Privatization have taken the decision of closing down, the supporter spouses and children of workers who locked themselves in the Mechanics Workshop, have been **taken out of the factory** as the decision making period of Provincial Administrative Court of Ankara has ended today (24,2, 2005, *Hürriyet*).

... Three people who have attempted to continue their resistance **have been put in jail** upon the cutting of their chains with an iron clipper in the event scene (5,3, 2005, *Hürriyet*).

The civil servants who wanted to march to Güvenpark from there **were prevented** (1,12, 2001, *Hürriyet*).

Three people who tied themselves with chains to the pole in front of the İstanbul District Directorship of Labor and Social Security Ministry, to support the SEKA workers **have been put in jail** (4,3,2005, *Sabah*).

As it can be observed in the examples above, the actions of the union representatives like the workers are given in active sentence structures. Through this active syntax, both the names of unions and positions are mentioned and also their views and actions are customized. In other words, an impression that alternative approaches and evaluations can be applied to the existing condition is being created. However, through presenting the actions of the security forces within passive sentence structures, the actors are abolished and thus, the actions are removed from being subjective and placed into an “objective” position; therefore, the action or the explanation is placed in an indisputable position. In other words, as the object is not revealed, it is implied that decisions are not personal but settled terms. Because, it is implied that the main motive behind the actions of the security forces is to preserve law and order; in that way the actor is shown as guilty 'person or people' and the social reasons of the crime have been ignored.

Cumhuriyet stands in a different position than the others, out of the situation described above. In the paper, the actors of the labor strikes are presented both within an active sentence and in passive syntax. For instance:

Along with laborers coming form İzmir, laborers from various cities such as Kırıkkale, İzmit, Balıkesir to Aliğa were befriended by laborers of Pektim and Tüpraş and **marched** from Aliğa Branch of Petrol-İş Union to the Demokrasi Meydanı (Democracy Square) (20.04.2003, *Cumhuriyet*).

The workers of Kırıkkale TÜPRAŞ Refinery **did not accept** the Koç Group committee into the institution early in the morning. (15.11.2005, *Cumhuriyet*)

It has been **pointed out** in the demonstration that ... TÜPRAŞ had provided a contribution of 8.2 billion Dollars to the Treasury and it is one of the 5 greatest oil refinery companies in Europe. (2.9.2005, *Cumhuriyet*)

Or, agents such as the security forces are presented within active syntax contrary to the other newspapers:

... during the demonstrations that slogans are shouted out, while the attempts of police forces to end the demonstration through **baton** have failed, the pancarte hung to the door of the factory saying “Jartel plus Bauxite=48 million dollars, SEKA 40 million dollars” draws attention. (19.07.2000, *Cumhuriyet*)

The syntax used in *Radikal* are similar with those of *Cumhuriyet*. The agents of the labor demonstrations are given within active syntax and in addition, the security forces are shown as actors both within active and passive syntax:

“Petrol-İş **will continue** its struggle against the privatization of Tüpraş through movies that will be shown on TV in 81 cities .” (22.07.2005, *Radikal*)

... the workers in Batman and Kırıkkale oil refineries and those in İzmit oil refinery where the headquarter is located **went on** a strike. (24.11.2005, *Radikal*)

The police forces and the gendarmerie **carried out** an operation to the İzmit SEKA Factory for which a closing down decision had been taken where 734 workers and their supporting relatives refused to leave (24.11.2005, *Radikal*)

The police interfered to that group and **put** about 30 people in jail. (21.02.2005, *Radikal*)

Or:

Precautions were taken just about the same time against the possibility for the workers to block the İzmir-Çanakkale highway. (28.01.2006, *Radikal*)

It would not be wrong to state that the differences observed both in *Cumhuriyet* and *Radikal* are the extensions of the political identity these newspapers identify themselves with. In fact, both of the newspapers 'talk' through the political and cultural practices of their readers; thus, they differ from the other newspapers in terms of the syntax used.

Nominalization is important in the ideological functioning of language as much as the abolishment of the actor through passive syntax. In the construction of hegemonic ideology, as the main factors have been the linguistic processes, in some cases it functioned as

reference to certain agents and the disguising of these agents, and also through abolishing verbs thus what one does to the other; by disguising the relation between the sides of action.

In the analysed news articles, this process is mainly observed in the headlines:

SEKA expanded in Turkey. (5,3, 2005, *Hürriyet*)
The people of Dalaman do not let go of SEKA (2,8,2000, *Hürriyet*)
The workers do not want any shares (21,3, 2000, *Yeni Şafak*)
16 arrestments in SEKA (7,3,2005, *Sabah*)
The workers are raising their voices (8, 6, 2003, *Radikal*)

News headlines leave the interpretation process about which event/circumstance the news is related to, to the reader. That is, what is going on in Turkey? Is there a plan concerning the construction of new factories or do the SEKA workers or the administrators have certain demands from the government? If demands are the case, then what are these about? Another question could be about which people have been arrested from SEKA? In other words, the realization that the content of the news involves the workers actions against privatization is in direct proportion with the effort spent by the readers to read and understand the text. However, as İnal has also mentioned, instead of expecting an understanding that requires such effort and time, it would be more correct to evaluate this situation within a framework of “just taking a look at” plot (İnal, 1995).

It is possible to state that the lexicalization of newspapers take place within the hegemonic discourse. For instance:

“Labor **has stopped life**, has stumbled upon the barrier on the street.” (14,8, 1999, *Hürriyet*)

The group members who have shouted out slogans after the press conference lateron left the area **without causing further events**. (20 February 2005, *Hürriyet*)

What **has delayed?** (14,8, 1999, *Hürriyet*)

When all of the workers and civil servants did not comply with the strike decision in İstanbul, **daily life went on its normal course**. (14,8, 1999, *Sabah*)

The action taken by the workers and civil servants to protest the international arbitrage, social security reform and the minor increase in civil servant wages has resulted in bus and train services to halt, the municipal services to delay, the formation of garbage piles at certain places and all services except for the emergency and intensive care units of hospitals **were paralysed**. (14, 8, 1999, *Sabah*)

The members of Petrol-İş dispatched afterwards **without any disorder** (17.02.2004, *Radikal*)

The implicit hypothesis in these sentences is that; groups such as civil servants and laborers have the potentials to cause disorder and their gatherings may cause delays in the functioning of public life. The impacts created by words such as 'peacefully', 'labor', 'delay' vary according to different discourses. However, the important point here is not the formation of these words within the hegemonic discourse, but the re-formation of these discourses by the newspapers in their own language and as Hall and Fowler state, turn them into public idioms. These examples clearly show that, the newspapers are not a direct transmitter of the hegemonic discourses. “The narrator of the news displays his/her conditions within these discourses through lexicalization and emphases adopted” (İnal, 1996).

Cumhuriyet differs from other newspapers in terms of its lexicalization. In fact, the paper prefers to use lexical structures that support the strikes of the workers or those which are in opposition with privatization.

The workers **look after** SEKA (8,3, 2000, *Cumhuriyet*)

Struggle until death

See the **victims** (21,4, 2002, *Cumhuriyet*)

The workers will not let the sale of Republic Factories (7,10,1998, *Cumhuriyet*)

SEKA **was left to** natural death (13,1,1999, *Cumhuriyet*)

The law has also confirmed **the scandal** in TÜPRAŞ (17.01.2007, *Cumhuriyet*)

Cumhuriyet's lexicalization is in parallel with the determinations done in the its syntax. In its wider sense privatization involves liberalization and freedom; and the criticism directed to it by the 'ulusalçı' perspective of the newspaper is related to the way it is applied. This situation which will be discussed later on; is considered by the newspaper as a damage done to 'interests of the country' through privatization which has gained acceleration after the 2001 elections. For this reason, in terms of the analysed linguistics characteristics, the newspaper clearly displays its positive attitude to labor strikes.

4. 3. MEANINGS PRODUCED BY IMAGES

As the methods of articulation in the production of certain written and visual discourses together are no more viewed only as technical issues and seen from the angle of ideological arrangements, the usage of news reporting in terms of its language has gained a significant position.

As Worth emphasizes, in news films, the pictured events are shown as in a visual relationship with “the real world” as opposed to the verbal events (quoted in Tuchman, 1978). It will not be wrong to argue that this situation is also applicable for the printed press. In other words, pictured news is in a visual relationship with “the reality” as opposed to written news. Taking this relationship as the starting point, the way that the world outside news is constructed within the frames of the news with the exclusion and inclusion of certain elements and mainly the meanings that are pointed out by certain referents in the construction process can be discussed.

As Fiske expresses, the iconic sign that is included in the referent groups is the type which is similar to the reference in terms of its structure. Maps, hat and shoe signs on the doors of toilets that signify the male and the female are examples of iconic sign. Index sign is a kind of reference that has a direct existential connection with its object. One example that could be given to this is smoke being the index of fire. A third type of symbol is a kind of sign that has a connection with its object as a result of convention, agreement or rules. Numbers, words, the red cross, the red crescent or the country flags are all symbols (Fiske, 1990: 47-48).

In newspaper news all these three types of sign are used. However, mainly, news is produced in a way to support the understanding of the reader as index sign. In other words, the attention is drawn to the material relationship between the signifier and the signified. Photographs published in relation to the event show that the news reporter was indeed at the event scene and that the event occurred as it is explained in the news.

While the reader is reading the news, perceives news as pure information and signified rather than sensing that the signs within news are produced in an active manner. However, news is a type of organizing information as well. In this organization process various visual strategies that are based on agreements are used. In other words, news images are organized within a frame of certain codes of agreement and not according to wish. The readers acquire information in line with her/his way of encoding through cultural aspects. The encoding of these signs depends on the efficiency of the viewer/reader which is attained through experiences about various readings. For instance, in news, the photograph of a person claimed to have committed a crime is shown with shots taken above the knees or with a black line set across the eyes or those accused of being the member of an illegal

organization are portrayed with a close head shot and their eyes are not covered (İnal, 1996). What is aimed with the usage of these strategies is to produce an effect of reality in the target news. The reality effect is achieved through acknowledging the signifier (seeing) and the reference (object) in equal terms. For instance, the image of the SEKA factories or the image of the worker (his/her photograph) is evaluated equally with the factory or the worker itself.

Another aim of using visual strategies is that the images present themselves not as symbols or signs which are directed by a set of compromises, but as current representations. In this way, it will repeat and further continue to state its emphasis on objectivity and neutrality. However, the written or visual representations that these images project are the result of the compromises and social designs shared in that particular culture (Tuchman, 1978).

Even though there is an emphasis on up-to-dateness, the images used in the analyzed newspapers, are used again and again for news with similar contents. For instance, the photograph about the news on the application made for the out-ruling of the decision for the privatization of TÜPRAŞ, by Petrol-İş Union in *Hürriyet* newspaper, dated March 2, 2005, has been used once again in the same paper's news related to the TÜPRAŞ cases on December 15, 2005 and April 24, 2006 and on September 1, 2005 in the news related to the worker strikes against the privatization of TÜPRAŞ⁸. It is possible to see the same photograph in the news on the support of workers and their family members against the privatization of SEKA in *Hürriyet* newspaper on February 22 and 24, 2005⁹; another example can be seen in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper's news on the 35 days long strike of the workers against the decision to close down SEKA on December 13, 1998 which was used in the same paper's news related to the strike program of the SEKA workers against the privatization of the factory on March 8, 2000. Yet another example can be seen in the usage of the same photograph in both *Radikal* and *Hürriyet* newspapers which belong to the same media company. In both of these newspapers, the same photograph appears in the news related to TÜPRAŞ workers' press conference in front of High Board of Privatization on March 8, 2006 in *Radikal* and on March 7, 2006 in *Hürriyet*¹⁰.

⁸ That see Appendices B/ 1, 2 and 3

⁹ That see Appendices B/ 4 and 5

¹⁰ That see Appendices B/ 6 and 7

In order to evaluate the meaning produced by the images in the news, it is necessary to briefly mention the compromises and codes within the frames and recording criteria of the cameras. The technological definition of the smallest unit of meaning is “frame” (Seiter, 2001). Contrary to the series of images on television, the only aspect that allows for the production of meaning is image.

The distance between the camera, and the subject and the event are expressed through framings. There is framing which has gained recognition mainly from television that has determined meanings. Tuchman takes these compromised terms from Hall and suggests six basic categories for them. The first is referred to as “intimate distance” recording to show the details; the second as “close personal distance” to define the individual; the third as “far personal distance” which is equivalent to shooting that is above the waist; the fourth as “close social distance” to define shooting above the knees; the fifth as “far social distance” to define a recording of full profile; and lastly, the sixth as “public distance” to suggest a general shooting (Tuchman, 1978:116-117). Different distances have different meanings. Far personal distance, close social distance and far social distance are generally used to emphasize more official events and circumstances. Tuchman refers these as “talking distance.” He terms close personal distance and intimate distance as “touching distance” (Tuchman, 1978:118). If a dramatic impact is wished to be achieved, then a person is framed as in close-up technique. Far and public distance decreases the emotional involvement between the reader/viewer and person.

In addition, Tuchman directs attention to the possibility that different camera angles may cause a “distorting” effect. Distortion results from the shooting angle which blocks the reader’s perception of the event or the central figure. The most commonly used angles are those which involve the bird’s eye view which is taken from above and the worm’s eye which is taken from below (Tuchman, 1978:112). Therefore, the people are not shown as individuals, but as a part of a mass that is great or small in quality. The newspapers especially use these types of shooting angles in the depiction of mass worker strikes; because, what is emphasized in the news is the information that is related to the number of participants.

Editing is also done on the images achieved from those which are not related to shooting angles. The most significant characteristic which the newspapers use in terms of editing is those differences that are done on the framing. For instance, in *Hürriyet* dated March 27,

2006, the photograph used in the news on the strike of the Tüpraş workers against the privatization of Tüpraş was used in the same paper in the presentation of the news on Petrol-İş's law suit for the annulment of procedures that would allow for the privatization of Tüpraş, by narrowing its frame. Another example is the photograph used in *Cumhuriyet*, dated April 9, 2003, concerning the news on the strike against the privatization of Balıkesir SEKA; the frame of the photograph has been narrowed and used once again in one of the news in *Cumhuriyet* on May 14, 2004 concerning the privatization of SEKA.

In order to be able to see how these visual strategies in news produce certain meanings concerning the labor protests against privatization, it is necessary to categorize news in terms of subject matter. It is possible to mention three types in terms of subject matter:

News related to the labor strikes against privatization

News related to the legal struggle of the unions against privatization

News related to the rallies organized by the unions, political parties and civil society organizations.

In relation to the subject matter of this news, when one considers the semiotics analysis about the construction of which meanings through which ways, he/she would realize that meanings are constructed through certain angles of shooting and fiction or symbols. When especially the news related to the labor strikes is observed¹¹, it is possible to see that shooting angles, which are equivalent to full profile shot and to which Tuchman refers as far social distance shots, are used. However, this kind of shot can be achieved through a narrow angle as to provide a collective view/image. Thus, while on the one hand the relationship between the laborers and their environment is provided, on the other hand the focus point shifts to the scenery. In such an image, the solidarity and the weakness of the workers are emphasized and a dramatic atmosphere is created. This atmosphere makes readers think that workers will eventually agree with the idea of privatization, which in other words means that they will surrender to the "powerful one." Another shooting angle used in this news is the close personal distance which compasses individuals. Although this type of a shot gives information about the relationship of the workers with their environment, the closeness of the distance between the worker and the camera distract the workers from their social context. The majority of the frame presented to the reader consists of the psychological state of the worker/s.

¹¹ That see Appendices B/ 8

The director generals or administrators of unions appear as symbolized individuals. The news related to the activities of the unions directed against privatization, their meetings with the government, press conferences or the legal procedures are usually presented through¹² above the knee, narrow shots of the union directors or administrators. These photographs cannot be placed in any context, and they provide support to establishment of a power struggle between the individuals rather than the struggle between the proponents and opponents of privatization. The social conflicts are presented in news related to the labor strikes are reflected through the conflicts among the individuals. Therefore, according to Hall who claims that there are ideological values evident in the final analysis of elements within news, it should be pointed out that the formal characteristics of the images determined by these elements transform social validity into faces, explanations and subjects (Hall, 1973).

Another image used in this news category is the photographs of the factories, which would be privatized, taken through far shots or the symbols of the institutions¹³. Both of these do not give information about the news being related to privatization or to any kind of activity that is against privatization.

The marches organized by the unions against privatization are presented through shooting angles which are termed as the bird's eye view. As Tuchman states, this kind of shot causes a "distorting effect" in the readers' perception of the event and the central figures.¹⁴ Therefore, the workers are not displayed as individuals, but as a part of a mass that is great or small in quantity. Because, what is attempted to be emphasized is the information about the number of people participated.

In addition, the photographs used do not carry any qualifications related to the characteristics of the activity performed. However, the main point that differentiates news

¹² That see Appendices B/ 9 and 10

¹³ That see Appendices B/ 11 and 12

¹⁴ That see Appendices B/ 13

photographs from the others is that fact that, news photographs should be taken in a way that does not necessitate any further textual explanation. In other words, the news photograph should be able to provide information about the event presented as news and/or be a witness to it. However, in the analyzed newspapers, it is questionable whether the photograph related to the news belongs to the event that is being depicted. In fact, even in news related to the rally decisions of unions, photographs belonging to earlier rallies and marches have been used.

In all of these categories, *Cumhuriyet* shows certain differences from the other papers. *Cumhuriyet*, which does not make use of any visual aids in the presentation of news related to the legal procedures against privatization, has depicted news on the labor protests against privatization and mass rallies through close and far personal distance shots. These distances which are referred to as touching distance by Tuchman creates an emotional common ground between the readers and the strikers.

All of these framing and compromises that can be made on the images reflect that the narration of the event is being constructed during the recording of the image and that after the shooting process it is subjected to certain preference and organization procedures.

4. 4. THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Content analysis has been adopted many times to determine the durations and frequencies of various subjects developed within news. In recent years, content analysis methods are improving, through collecting useful data in various aspects. Especially the analysis of Glasgow University Media Studies (GUMG) on the question of bias in news, have yielded remarkable results. If the individual result of each study is left aside, acquired result refers to the basic foundations of social relations that construct society, either in an explicit or implicit manner (Philo, 1992).

In this chapter, the intention is not to provide a content analysis of news. However, this method will be adopted to reveal the construction and development of some specific key subjects within the framework of labor strikes against privatization. In this study, the attempt is to analyze the ways of meaning production in the process of ideology construction, thus the way that subjects are expressed within their own contexts and their relation to social processes will try to be analyzed in relation to the news about labor

protests against privatization. Otherwise, the information provided by counting the number of words and photographs is not regarded as useful data for the study. Even though this method is not sufficient enough to provide a total ideology analysis, it would be useful through the analysis, in revealing the meanings preferred in news, the meanings tried to be hidden and the methods adopted to hide them.

In other words, through thematic analyses, it would be possible to get data about the themes around which discourses are developed, and also it would be possible to have an idea on the way that discursive closure is realized about these themes. Content categorization of newspapers will be performed similar to visual analysis, that is:

News on labor protests against privatization

News on legal actions of unions against privatization

News on rallies by unions, rallies organized together by unions, political parties and civil society organizations.

Among these three categories, news on legal action against privatization is greater in number. Assuredly, the quantity of the news on rallies cannot be quite compared to the news on legal processes. However, news on protests, i.e. news on the strike of SEKA workers in which they “refused to leave their working place” for about a month, were very few compared to news on legal processes. *Cumhuriyet* newspaper is the first that followed and made news on the facts in these three categories. *Cumhuriyet* is followed by *Hürriyet*, *Radikal* and then *Sabah*. The last one within these categories is *Yeni Şafak*, in which there is nearly no news on labor protests except for rallies.

Yet, the abovementioned order is not constant all the time because it is possible to come across with exceptions. For example, the “Protect Your Job, Your Bread, and Your Country” rally on the May 17, 2003, organized by Türk-İş union was on the news in each newspaper with the exception of *Sabah*, but press-release of TEKEL workers on the February 2, 2005, in front of the High Board of Privatization did not take place in any newspaper.

One of the important points in the thematic analysis is the fact that the protests about privatized SEKA and Tüpraş most of the time could find places as news in *Hürriyet*, *Radikal* and *Sabah*, but the protests against the privatization of Tekel and Şişecam were almost ignored when compared to the first two institutions. Among the newspapers

analyzed, *Cumhuriyet* is the only paper that presented news on protests against privatization in all institutions.

None of the newspapers subjected to content analysis, with the exception of *Cumhuriyet*, followed the commonly accepted journalism principle of 4W and 1H adapted to presentation of stories related to an event or phenomena. In other words, questions related to the actors, time, starting time, duration and purpose of event are not responded, or when responded they remain ambiguous as “despite the ruling of the High Board of Privatization, İzmit SEKA Workers are still on the strike”. At that point, what is tried to be stressed is not an expectation of a text constructed by responding these questions in a row; but the lack of texts locating the relation between facts and phenomena in a cause-effect relation and a text involving the answers to those questions. As an example, news on SEKA protests in *Hürriyet* on October 6, 1998, with the headline “Workers Do Not Leave Seka”:

Following the decision of High Board of Privatization last weekend, stating that the SEKA İzmit Enterprise is being shut down, the workers locked out the factory, and are currently folkdancing to protest in front of the enterprise to pass time until events unfold themselves to finality. General Secretary of Türk-İş Federation Bayram Meral arrived at İzmit on Saturday and informed that High Board of Privatization have started to re-evaluate the decision. Meral also stated that he had held a meeting with the Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz, yet SEKA workers were unsatisfied with these declarations and continued their protest. Workers of other factories supported the shutting down of Seka İzmit Enterprise, a symbolic factory that was in service of Turkish paper sector and industry since 1936 .

Another aspect of this news is that it represents the event by adding “magazine” quality. For example, news on the rally of Türk-İş union at Kızılay Square in Ankara focuses on the inadequacy of the rations given to the police forces surrounding the square. Or, in the news on factory lock out to protest privatization of SEKA, it is written that the children of the workers are “unable to attend schools, are crying, are either too sad or afraid”. Another example is that the protest of the workers is reported as workers unable to celebrate the Muslim festival of the time. For example, on February 22, 2005, *Hürriyet* newspaper carried the SEKA protests with the quotation “Fathers at SEKA protest, kids off-school”

The workers, have been carrying out their protests against the decision of the Board Privatization since the eve of the Eid and have locked themselves in the Mechanics Workshop, their children can not attend to schools. Even though they were required to attend their classes, the children of the workers came to the SEKA İzmit enterprise yesterday in their school uniforms to support the strike. The kids told that they felt uneasy since their fathers have started strike and that they were unable to concentrate on their lessons and so they have preferred not to go to school. Sinem Mollaoğlu (12), cried claiming that ‘Now I can’t even understand the lessons. I am afraid the police may come. I can’t go to school’. SEKA worker Fahrettin Karateke

says that their girls do not want to go school since ‘their psychologies are upside down. The kids do not want to go to school.

News on *Radikal* newspaper, on January 22, 2005 sets another example:

Workers protesting the SEKA İzmit Enterprise are celebrating the Eid bitterly. 750 workers on strike locked out the factory on the eve of the Eid, congratulated the occasion with their visiting spouses and children on the second day of the Eid. Ökkeş Sayan (40), working at the SEKA İzmit enterprise for 17 years, and the father of three children, said that they are determined to stop the closing down of the factory. By claiming that the end of SEKA would be the end of the workers, Sayan added that “They are closing our workplace and stealing our bread. This is burying us alive”. Erdal Baydar expressed his wish that Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan should declare that factory would continue to operate.

As it can be seen from the examples above, the news on protests foreground the dramatic aspects. The situation at hand is constructed not in a causality relation of phenomena are removed from their context. This “magazination”/ infotainment undergo an information directing process and convert it to disinformation. In other words, information/news is disinformation and reduced to “bitter celebration”, “tear in [the] eyes” of a worker’s 6th grade student child, therefore customized.

Especially in news on legal action by the unions against privatization or in news on protests of workers of institutions to be privatized, what a person or a union is fighting against is reduced to a single problem. Sometimes what workers protest is portrayed as solely the problem of employment, not the privatization itself. Sometimes news conveys the impression that the legal action is against illegal practices of the Board Privatization in the sale of the institutions that are to be privatized, not against the privatization itself.

Also in this news, contrary to the supposed “objectivity” principle, reporters' subjective comments are expressed. For example, the reporter of *Sabah* states the protest in Kızılay Square was “despite all expectations” not disorderly. Also in the news on July 25, 2002, about the workers who do not leave the Şişe-Cam Factory at Paşabahçe to protest the closing of the factory, the reporter chooses expressions like “what employers call ‘occupation’, Kristal-İş Union interprets as lock-out”. The strike of the workers of Harb-İş Union who work at American Army Base İncirlik is represented as an unwanted tension “for nothing” between the USA and Turkey.

4. 5. DICHOTOMY AND EXCLUSIONS

The most important element determining a meaning is the conflict in a discourse which shows the existence of power relations. The antagonisms articulated in newspapers are in fact the expressive of the present antagonisms within the social structure. Yet, news discourse represents these antagonisms as isolated from their social context.

“Us and them” dichotomy, seemingly an aspect of the social discourse, is in fact continuing with the production of good and bad dichotomy. Yet this dichotomy is observed to be produced within a closure that is reconciled and relates to discourse within the subject matter of the news. This reconciliation on what is reality facilitates the choosing of the terminology about the opposition between good and bad (Dursun, 2001).

As Ellis states, conflict in television news are not resolved, similar to the condition in drama and sit-coms, therefore news are founded on recurring problems (quoted in Fiske, 1987). This approach is observed by some as an important point from which to explain the so-called paradoxical nature of the news (Fiske, 1987).

Hartley (1982:115) states that certain stereotypes are produced on the foundations of the present antagonisms. According to Fowler (1991: 17), these stereotypes are necessary to construct the world. The basic antagonism is “us and them”. In the news, “us” is the news institution, culture, nation, public, newsreader and family; “them” are strikers, foreign power, bureaucracy and accessed voices (Hartley, 1982: 115-116). Those out of public reconciliation are represented as “perverts” or “those who hold the fort”, and so marginalized or oppressed (Hartley, 1982: 116). In news on labor protests, these oppositions build the difference between “those who initiate negative action” and “those who are supporters of change”.

According to Fowler, this is the return of the paradox, since it is necessary to define the people or parties outside the consensus *within* the consensus itself (Fowler, 1991). The press has a basic role as a facilitator in the grounding, legalizing the certain values of consensus (Fowler, 1991). While constructing consensus, negative attitudes are sampled as “their” qualities. Supporters of “negative” values are represented in two ways: If the difference from the norms is not marginal, the certain person or parties are evaluated as part of tolerant plurality. However if the difference from norms and “positive” values is great, then us and them opposition is built (Fowler, 1991: 49:54).

In fact, when news about worker protests against privatization are observed, it can be seen that during the process in which privatization is constructed as social reconciliation, through several indirect approaches the “us and them” antagonism is being constructed as well.

In this process of ideological construction of privatization in newspapers, while some of the dichotomies are constructed within the language of newspapers themselves; in the construction of some antagonisms, the declarations of politicians, businessmen/capitalists, representatives of mass organizations are determinants. The antagonisms constructed in news, in fact, depend on a basic antagonism, the one of ideology.

Finding the clues on how neo-liberal discourse is visible or rendered visible within the newspapers that are the study of area of this thesis are important to display how newspapers reproduce the antagonisms already existing in society.

The separation of part and how it located itself within this antagonism is evident in *Hürriyet's* lexicalization while creating the news. For example, it is implied the rally of Labor Platform to protest social security draft bill and arbitration law is given in this newspaper on August 14, 1999 as an obstacle to the lives of people other than the workers, and this displays the us and them antagonism: “Labor Platform went on a one-day strike yesterday to protest the Social Security Draft Bill and Arbitration Law, and the regular course of daily life in Turkey is delayed”. Following this summary introduction, the first paragraph underlines the point:

One day strike of Labor Platform, organized by 15 unions to protest Arbitration Law and late retirement *nearly stopped life* nationwide.

Next, under the caption of “What Went Wrong?” the result of strike in Ankara is given as such:

Turkish Telekom stopped working completely.
Breakdown of phone lines was not fixed.
Postal service was not available.
Suburban train was not working.
Hospitals denied service except emergencies and births.
Officers of tax offices slowed down service.
The garbage was not collected.

The picture drawn in the news portrays Telekom workers quitting their job “completely”, and the services “denied” in hospitals. They do not convey the aspects of the strike. On the other hand, it should be observed that instead of saying that the PTT workers were on strike

as well, “what went wrong” is listed. What is underlined is that breakdowns in communications are not fixed.

Whose “lives” are stopped with the strike of the workers is revealed in the news as such:

Strikers protesting the government with banners and slogans gave hand-outs **to the public, too**. (5,11, 2001, *Hürriyet*).

Or,

About 10 thousands joined the nation-wide rally of the Labor Platform in İzmir. While the mass was protesting the IMF and Government with slogans, **some citizens** joined the event with empty pans, grocery bags, dry bread and plastic slippers. (2,12,2001, *Hürriyet*).

As can be seen from the discourse of the news, workers are not placed within the definition of “public” or “citizen”. They live their separate lives in a different place, away from public or citizens. And their social protests create obstacles or causes problems in the everyday lives of the citizens or public.

Another antagonism in the news of the *Hürriyet* reveals itself in between the statements of the union representatives and the statements of representatives of the government or the state institutions. Since while workers or unions claim and defend something, government and state institutions state, explain and express something:

In the declaration of DİSK, it has been **defended** that privatizations were performed without considering the economic and the social issues and it was added that ‘Decisions of DİSK, and Committee of Presidency of Türk-iş must be supported (2, 3, 2005, *Hürriyet*).

Yılmaz (TMMOB) suggested that the strike of the workers in the factory is not to defend factory, and **claimed** that the attitude of factory workers is “a total resistance against the government that has given away her own private asset. Yılmaz underlined that government did not consult the public while taking these decisions and practices and **defended** that the promises to IMF “did not concern the public. (7, 2, 2005, *Hürriyet*)

Kılıç **claimed** that the last investment to SEKA İzmit enterprise was realized in 1980, and since then enterprise have been under constant process of scaling down and machines have been sold. (7,2, 2005).

Minister of Finance, Kemal Unakıtan **explained** yesterday that they have decided to hand over the İzmit Seka Enterprise, that was shut down by court order, to the Metropolitan Municipality of İzmit “under the condition that no profit will be gained and the they will be recorded to the land registry”. Unakıtan **stated** that İzmit Corporation fulfilled its economic life, and **said** that ‘Seka is the corporation with the greatest loss and the most fund consuming one. (11,2, 2005).

Another example is seen in the news about the decision made by the court about the closing of the SEKA İzmit Enterprise. Privatization Administration explains the “damage” to the economy of the country by SEKA with quantitative data. This declaration is given with the sub-line “Damage 48.5 Trillion Liras” and reconstructed in the language of the newspaper and turned into public knowledge.

While net sales of SEKA in 2003 were 113.3 trillion liras, the **loss** was 161 trillion liras, and 48.5 trillion liras of it was caused by İzmit Enterprise. In the first half of the last year, the total **loss** of SEKA was stated to be 36.1 trillion, while the **loss** of İzmit Enterprise was 15.1 trillionliras. (28, 2, 2005, *Hürriyet*).

Hürriyet is biased and it can be seen in news on police operation against workers locked out in İzmit SEKA factory. Even though the event is referred as “Police Intervention to SEKA Resistance” in the titles, the news text points the finger to the relatives of workers and union leaders as the cause of the “uproars”. In other words, the resistance against the police who have entered the factory caused chaos and injuries.

At 17:15, Riot Police started to enter both through the head office and factory entrance. When spouses and children supporting the workers who locked themselves out in Mechanics Workshop, along with union leaders **tried to stop the police** and an uproar took place. While screaming women and children were dragged to the floor, some got injured. At that moment Tarık Kılıçkaya, worker in the First Paper Unit fell from the factory roof and broke his right leg’s ankle. (19,2, 2005, *Hürriyet*).

Similar approach can be seen in *Radikal*, belonging to the same media company. For example, the attempt of police to take SEKA workers out of the factory is conveyed with the same news text appearing in *Hürriyet*. Therefore, the meaning of the news in *Radikal* is that the reason why women and children got injured is the women and the children themselves. In other words, if the relatives of the workers have not resisted to police entering the factory, there would be neither any problems, nor “uproar”. The article did not question the method of police intervention, and subtly moving the responsibility to the workers and their relatives, therefore within the “us and them” antagonism, the newspaper is implying that it stands on the side of security forces.

The place of the newspaper is hidden in the words between the lines, both in *Radikal* and in *Hürriyet* news. The words chosen in the statements of Government and union representatives show that the newspaper is accepting some approaches and is distancing itself from others clearly. For example, the statement of Kemal Unakitan is conveyed as such:

Minister of Finance Kemal Unakıtan ... **underlined that SEKA completed its technological life, lost** 3 million 987 thousand YTL in 1998... 48 million 484 thousand YTL in 2003, and last year 31 million 225 thousand YTL. (2,2, 2005).

However, in the same news, the Selülöz-İş Union workplace representative Şahin Avcı's answers to Unakıtan's statement are conveyed as: "Avcı **argued** that the figures Unakıtan used do not reflect the reality".

With respect to the other examples, how this antagonism is produced and reproduced in *Radikal* is seen more clearly with the following news on February 3, 2006, about the privatization process of Tüpraş. The related article is about the decision of the Council of State to stay the execution of sale of Tüpraş, transfer agreement of which to Koç Holding Energy Group is already signed. Within the news article having the sub-headline of "Tüpraş Hurts the Stock Market", the decision of stay of execution following the legal action by the Petrol-İş Union is considered to "damage" the market economy.

Istanbul Stock Exchange **responded violently** to the decision of stay of execution to the Tüpraş sale. Even though the stocks opened with buyers in the morning sessions and also the stock market raised up to 45 thousand 844 points in the first session, **following the news on the Council of State's Council of Administrative Law Division decision** of stay of execution the block sales of Tüpraş to Koç-Shell consortium, went to a state of **downfall**. After the news hit the news agencies, Tüpraş being the first, the **stocks** of Aygaz and Koç Holding were **closed to operation... Due to this decision, the daily loss of IMKB** is 409 points. Stock exchange finished the day with 44 thousand 841 points level. The transaction volume dropped significantly **due to the negative atmosphere** and was 1 billion 800 million YTL. (3, 2,2006, *Radikal*).

The antagonism created in *Radikal* is seen in news related to the mass activities organized by the unions. For instance, in the news piece dated December 15, 2006, related to the strike started by the labor platform to protest the social policies of the government, the events which developed under the heading "Life has not been Interrupted" are narrated in terms of cities. The contribution of the heading to the already existing common assumption or one that is attempted to be built up by the newspaper is that activities such as these "interrupt life" with the intervention of some others but not ones of workers or civil servants.

The same situation is true for *Sabah* as well. The heading of the news piece related to parry of the workers and civil servants who came together to protest the social security reform is narrated under the title "Cities are Paralyzed" as thus:

The general strike which was started yesterday nation-wide by the Labor Platform organized by the labor and civil servant unions **affected** especially the **metropols**. The

protests of the workers and civil servants against international arbitrage, social security reform and the limited raise in the civil servant wages has resulted in the **delay of the bus and train rounds, delay of the municipal services, crowding of garbage at certain places and the paralysis of all activities except for the emergency intensive care units in hospitals.** (2,9, 2001, *Sabah*)

The newspaper re-stresses the differentiation it portrays with the “citizen” and “public” definitions which it claims to support strikes of the workers:

The alternative programme prepared by the LABOR and civil servant unions and the nongovernmental organisations has been **circulated to the public** through protest marches in many places of the country. **Many citizens** protesting the economic crisis **supported** the Emek Platform’s mass press conferences primarily in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir and many others such as Gaziantep, Samsun, Adana, Antalya, Diyarbakır, Bursa and İzmit. (1, 4, 2004, *Sabah*)

The antagonisms in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper function differently than the other papers. In other words, as shown in the section analyzing the linguistic structure, the newspaper’s lexicalization and emphasis are stated through the opponents’ language and discourse. For instance, the newspaper makes use of the quotation taken from the Director of Türk-İş, Kılınç “the silent cry of the workers” as the heading in the news piece about the Ankara march of workers to protest the privatization policy of government in the SEKA enterprises:

The silent cry of the laborers marching towards Ankara to protest privatization of the SEKA:
See the **victims.** (10,7, 2007, *Cumhuriyet*)

Yet in news piece about workers who shut themselves to the factory upon the decision of privatization about SEKA is narrated through using one of the placards used by the workers during the rally as the heading:

May the fundholders vote for you in the elections.

Cellulose and Paper Factories İzmit Enterprise.. The door of the factory has been furnished with writings such as, "Closing down SEKA needs heart, "The 62nd year of SEKA, the symbol of our Republic” , "**May the fundholders vote for you in the elections**”, "SEKA cannot be closed down.(6, 10, 1998, *Cumhuriyet*)

It is possible to give many more examples related to the newspaper. Because, *Cumhuriyet* locates the proponents of privatization and its opponents within a more definite framework than the other papers. In fact, the paper both supports and strengthens the struggle of the workers, unions and politicians against privatization.

In another piece of news concerning the rally against the privatization of Petkim and Tüpraş in İzmit Aliğa, the rally is presented with the heading “**The Laborers** are in the field” and

the strike continues with the intro, “The workers who **revolted** against the attempts of the AKP administration to privatize the business enterprises through actions such as not leaving the work-places, said “**No to the privatization operation.**” (20 April 2003, *Cumhuriyet*) The important point here is that the newspaper is constructing the concepts and the definitions used in the production of the news through the discourse of the group realizing these activities.

4. 5. 1. News and Article on Privatization in the Newspapers

The determination of antagonisms created in news is possible by a micro level analysis carried through only news related to labor protests. In fact, in order to understand what has meant through the narration given above, these words should be located and then evaluated within the existing political discourses of the newspapers. For this reason, taking a look at other news pieces and the interpretation of the columnists, especially writers of economic news in the period during which the privatization activities were most active (which is the time period analyzed in this study) will facilitate the perception of the political views of the newspapers, thus around which terminology of antagonism between good and bad is created.

When taken within this framework, it can be observed that *Hürriyet* has made much news on privatization within time period covered in this study. What are turned into news through reported speech and quotation marks are the evaluations that are related to the privatization policies of the administrative institutions, the applications initiated through these policies and these applications themselves. For instance, a section of the news, dated 5 July 2003 which involves the statements of State Minister, Ali Babacan is as follows:

Babacan, who has stated that they aim for a private sector based expansion, has contended that the consolidation of political and economic stability will open the way for both domestic and foreign investments. Stating that they would be restoring the investment environment through the reforms that they will be initiating, Babacan said that “As much as foreign capital, we should not be ignoring capital that has been alienated in Turkey as well. As the government and the bureaucracy we shall not be standing in the way of the private sector.

Alternatively, declarations which expressed the inefficiency of the privatization related applications have been made into news: the news piece that was headed “While thinking about scoring, we have been scored against” the evaluation of the Director of the Turkish Exporters Council about the functioning of economy is as thus:

The Director of Turkish Exporters Council (TIM), Oğuz Satıcı, has stated that they have been giving importance to issues such as of the state's getting smaller in Turkey in the recent years, the reduction in public spending, formation of a market economy, the betterment of investment areas, however, he claimed that no significant steps have been taken in these areas.

Satıcı has added that, "On the contrary, we have expanded the state even more. The political instabilities have turned the investment environment into a more distorted and precarious state. We have turned the debt issues into a spiral that is difficult to get out of. While thinking about scoring, we have been scored against. (31,7, 2003 *Hürriyet*)

Just like Satıcı's statements, the complaints of the private sector on the inefficiency of the required attempts to form a market economy are often made into news in the economy section of the newspaper.

When the privatization related news of *Radikal* is taken into account, there is a similar situation with *Hürriyet* as well: For instance, the acceptance of the demand of stay of execution in case of sale of Tüpraş by Petrol-İş Union by the Council of State is made into news on 30.06.2000 with the heading "Another barrier against the privatization of Tüpraş." The expression "another barrier against the sale of Tüpraş which had been expected to be the greatest privatization act of 2004" repeated in the news text clearly displays the advocacy of the newspaper for privatization. Another piece of news which refers to the necessity and significance of privatization is as follows:

The Treasury relieves with Tüpraş

The Treasury will be doing 13 quadrillion domestic liquidation and 900 quadrillion foreign liquidation in May. It will be paying 10.8 quadrillion to the market, but in return will be debted 8.8 quadrillion ... It has been predicted that from the Tüpraş privatization that is foreseen to take place in May, 1.4 quadrillion liras of income will be provided. (1, 5, 2004, *Radikal*)

In this piece of news, the incomes are presented as a requirement for the treasury to pay for its debts rather than an aspect that would facilitate the payment of its debts. In fact, the significance of the sale of Tüpraş is emphasized with the heading of the news concerning the payments that the treasury would be making to the market.

While another piece of news given with the heading "The number of workers decreased but production increased" states that the privatization activities "have not been good for workers", it also suggests that "production for per worker has increased due to the advances in technology" and explains how an increase in the production occurred after the privatization of the various institutions of the SEEs. *Sabah* newspaper's evaluation of the

decision to the stay of execution of the sale of Tüpraş by the Council of State in terms of the effect it has produced in the market economy just like *Hürriyet* and *Radikal* clearly displays its discontent about the decision. The news presented under the heading “the first reaction is from the rising dollar rate” signals to other and even more “negative” reactions and continues as thus:

The decision of stay of execution for the sale of Tüpraş has resulted by an increase of 20 thousand liras in the Dollar currency rate to 1 million 560 liras. It has been stated that, with this annulment there will be an increase in the lack of confidence towards privatization activities and that the markets will be affected negatively. (25, 5, 2004, *Sabah*)

On the other hand, *Yeni Şafak* expresses its support of privatization is primarily supported by the privatization policies and activities of the AKP government. For instance, in the issue dated April 26, 2005, one of the economic news pieces of the paper states that the delays concerning the sales of the SEEs in terms of privatization has damaged the state budget. The news emphasizes that “According to the data received from the High Board of Privatization, trillions of liras” are being transferred to “the consultancy expenses of domestic and foreign firms for the privatization activities” and displays the “necessity” to extend the privatization process in terms of an annual expenditure listing. Another example can be given from an interview with the Director of Board of Privatization, Metin Kilci on the privatization of Tüpraş and Erdemir, which was presented under the economy section of the paper. The introductory lead in which Kilci states how these privatization related biddings are “successful” and “plausible” is as follows:

In Turkey which has seen directors who have allowed for the High Board of Privatization to be privatized as a SEE, while Kilci has performed the greatest privatization activities in the hiptot of the Republic, he still emphasizes the need for the political support, political stability behind privatization and the resulting economic recovery. His answer to those who blame him of treason is very clear: “I serve to this country much more than they do. I add to the prestige of my country. (20,9, 2005, *Yeni Şafak*)

The approach of the economy columnists towards the privatization policies present a much facilitating view as to define the newspaper’s political identity. In other words, the evaluations of the columnists come to the fore as an area in which the transformations in the capitalist economic system and the New Right policies brought forward for these transformations taking place in visibility. It is possible to see in columns a clearer view than the news texts, through the construction of certain meanings the dynamics of privatization have been redefined, why and how its reasons and consequences are blurred and more importantly how construction of the cause and effect relationships are changed.

The article of the economic columnist of *Hürriyet*, Ercan Kumca, headed as Privatization and Competition has the introduction of “Türk-Telekom is finally getting privatized” (26 June 2005), or in another article he argues that “privatization” is one of the most important parts of structural reforms in economy. Through privatization the role of public sector in economy will decrease. “Competition and productivity in economy will increase.” As the public debts will be paid by income of privatization, “public debt will decrease.” (21 October 2004). These show that he takes the necessity of privatization as granted.

According to Erdal Sağlam, another economy columnist of the newspaper, “it is evident that Turkey has initiated the privatization activities much earlier than the other countries has been left behind in the process.” Sağlam, who sees the reason why Turkey has been left behind as “the struggle of the directors of those institutions to be privatized not to lose their power” complains that the politicians are “after cheap demands” and that they do not give much importance to “the privatization of businesses such as Sümer Holding, SEKA and Et-Balık Association which have a pervasive business net-works where many people are employed.” In Sağlam's perception, cheap demands are, “not closing enterprises a majority of which may be dangerous, re-opening of some closed enterprises, new employments to SEEs that are unproductive and within the process of privatization, all of which would hinder privatization.” The consequences of these demands are explained by Sağlam under the heading “8 Trillion for Work” as follows:

The number of workers that are employed in businesses subject to privatization which are either closed down or about to be closed down is 6 thousands 691. 3 thousand 836 of these workers are employed in Sümer Holding and 1410 of them are employed in SEKA. There are 768 workers only in one of Sümer Holding's businesses in İstanbul which used to produce shirts and these workers go to work everyday, play backgammon, knit wool and then go back home. The same situation is true for the 104 workers in SEKA's Karasu enterprise and 500 workers in Murgul Bakır enterprise. The spending for workers in this situation is 8 trillion liras per month. (25, 11, 2003, *Hürriyet*)

The meaning produced in both Kumcu's and Sağlam's articles is that privatization is an urgent and even a late solution to Turkish economy's structural problems and a technical method for global economic policies.

The production of meaning which suggests that privatization is almost “a scientific reality” which is impossible to oppose due to its technical rationality and without any attachment to the New Right ideology, constructs the ideas and behavior of those people or institutions

against privatization as irrational in Sağlam's article titled "if the workers get shares" on March 23, 2000 as follows:

If the Tüpraş workers would like to have shares of the business they work in, they will be able to buy shares for a cheaper price with a rate less than 30 % the market prices. While director of the Privatization Administration, Uğur Bayar paid a visit to the refineries, he invited people "not to buy shares" with the comment that "The workers are being bribed."

... In short, the union members should not take part in cheap plots like these...

... If a Tüpraş worker has money, and the Director of Privatization states that 'The buyer will profit', and buys even more shares than the common people because he can buy them cheaper and will profit more, then what can you do?

Even if a worker has no money, a relative, or an acquaintance, gives money and says 'Buy for us' and if worker does this what will you do?

OR, what if some person offers a deal to a worker who has no money saying 'I will give you the money to buy the shares, and 5 % of the 15 % discount' and the workers in need of the money accepts this and buys shares, what can you do?

What happens to a person's authority when he gives his workers the order "not to buy shares" and tries to apply sanctions upon the reversal of what he has said? Can this person tell his workers 'do this' once again?

Have no doubt in your mind that when the names of the share buying workers are announced, the syndicate will give a blind excuse for it.

It can be observed that, the economy commentaries of *Radikal* are making comments about privatization produced around which SEEs will be sold first, whether privatization is applied properly. For instance, one of the *Radikal* economy writers, Mustafa Baysan evaluates the existing privatization attempts as thus:

In the significant decrease in the privatization incomes, the difficulties in the choosing of methods are to be applied have an important role. Due to the mistakes done in the choosing of these methods, the privatization becomes difficult for us to attain our objectives concerning economic and social prosperity. A technical tool which could have been used to develop the methods of the state economic enterprises (SEEs) has become invalid after all these wrong applications. Privatization is actually a technical business administration tool which can be used to increase the efficiency in productivity and profit of the activities in state enterprises. (4, 2, 2004, *Radikal*)

Aysan, in another article mentions the wrong applications about privatization of SEKA and how these mistakes affected the national economy as thus:

I know that those people who have been trying to make privatization acknowledged and wide-spread as a significant business technique that would increase the efficiency and profit in state enterprises, prolong the life span of these businesses, speed up the investments with new resources, help to decrease unemployment, spread and establish a liberal economy that is based on free competition, feel discontent with this situation.

There is no doubt that the necessity for privatization in texts is regarded as an inevitable reality. In fact, just like Aysan, another economy writer, Metin Ercan in his article titled

“Can Tüpraş be privatized?” dated April 21, 2004, continues by saying “lets cut it short, Tüpraş can be privatized. If the sales agreements are done in a profitable manner, it will even be good!” İsmail Berkan, who hold the position of general publishing director in *Radikal* and a column in the paper as well criticizes the decision of the Council of State of stay of execution as thus:

The Council of State states that, what if the Koç Group which has given Tüpraş about 4 billion dollars does not run Tüpraş in the future? Why shouldn't Koç run Tüpraş? The Balıkesir SEKA factory may have been sold due to the fact that it represented an undeveloped production but Tüpraş is not like that...

... Does not the Council of State know that Tüpraş does not produce the unleaded-fuel whose sale is almost mandatory now? What I mean is that, can a refinery firm last that cannot produce the most consumed product? Which has the public interest? Is it in the hands of the state which has not done the necessary investments to that particular firm for the production of unleaded-fuel for decades (and meanwhile the increase in the fuel import), or the handing over of the firm to a private entrepreneur which should be doing that investment as soon as possible? (19,2, 2006, *Radikal*) .

Aydın Apaydın, one of the economy writers of *Sabah* expresses his concern over the privatization very clearly in his articles: “Aren't we going to be able to apply privatization in a good manner as Turkey? Clearly, the greatest barrier against privatization is the bureaucratic will. The wrongs committed by privatization unto itself are not committed by anybody else. At a time when privatization has accelerated, I am afraid that we are going to fail in our attempts concerning privatization again. Nobody has the right to put us through such a situation.” (September 25, 2005, *Sabah*). In fact, the stability and success that will be achieved in privatization displays the progress we have made in the articulation to free market economy. Apaydın's article titled “The competition in the case of Tüpraş was gained, now it is time for Erdemir” reflects the advantages Turkey has achieved:

In the bid realized last year, while the total value of Tüpraş was 2 billion dollars, in the new bid the value came out to be 8.1 billion dollars. What is the reason for this? The reason is quite simple. Because there has been a very serious competition. **Due to the competition the bid which started with 2.7 billion dollars ended up with 4.140 billion dollars. Now, this is the victory of competition.**

Erdemir bid is next in line. This time not nine, but eleven consortiums are going to compete. Therefore, the competition will increase even more. Then Erdemir will be sold for a much higher price. Why shouldn't Erdemir be sold for 67 billion dollars? Why not? The Koç Group has contributed significantly both to the group and the country by buying Tüpraş.

Congratulations to the Koç Group... (14,2 2005, *Sabah*)

Ahmet Kekeç, one of the writers of *Yeni Şafak* who believes in and defends the “necessity” and “significance” of privatization without doubt starts his article titled “Who is going to pay for all this impairment?” dated June 10, 2004 by stating that “the continuously turned

down privatization activities have cost Turkey exactly 250 billion dollars.” In the rest of his article, Kekeç who discusses the reasons why “Turkey has spent the last decade with unnecessary privatization related arguments” ends his article in this manner:

If somebody is to be inquired, this should be those who have prevented the privatization of the Telekom (and other SEEs)...

Those people should be given punishment for those lost 10 years... (10,6, 2004).

In *Cumhuriyet*, both the discourses of the articles or columns related to privatization reflect a negative stance towards privatization. For instance, in the issue dated September 29, 2005, the statements of the Minister of Finance, Kemal Unakıtan are criticized with reference to Nasrettin Hoca anecdotes. The heading and the introductory paragraph of the news is as follows:

The Debt Has Become Amusing

Unakıtan is just like Nasrettin Hoca

Unakıtan's statement "With the incomes to be achieved from privatization, we are going to decrease the debts has brought to the minds the debt anecdote of Nasrettin Hoca. With the 1.3 billion dollar privatization incomes that the State will be receiving until the middle of September, it will take about 134 years to pay debts adding up to 241.3 billion dollars.

The article ends with the question “Will the incomes pay off the debt?” continues to reflect its mocking attitude towards Unakıtan’s statement:

The Minister of Finance, Unakıtan’s **plan to pay off the debts** by the privatization incomes will meet only 1/3 of Turkey’s debt for the month of August, adding up to 22 quadrillion liras with the 1 billion 348 dollars (About 1.8 quadrillion liras) of the gainings received from 2005 until the present time... **According to the same plan**, 4 billion 140 million dollars that will be coming from the greatest organization of Turkey, Tüpraş, Turkey’s debt expenses belonging to the month of August will be paid. **As Unakıtan claims, even if the privatization incomes of Turkey for the year 2005 reach 20 billion dollars (26.8 quadrillion liras), this one time earning will not even be sufficient to pay off Turkey’s debts for 6 months.**

As it can be seen in the news text, the statements of the Minister of Finance are being customized in his own identity. In other words, the calculation done about the privatization incomes to pay for the debts of the state is presented as if it is Unakıtan’s personal idea. However, the statement belongs to one of the state’s execution agencies. Therefore, the calculation and the decision to make a public announcement indicated here do not belong to Unakıtan himself.

The last sentence of the news is clear as not to leave any doubt in terms of the newspaper's advocacy. In fact, even if such an income is achieved through privatization as Unakitan states, the newspaper does not show any hesitation to comment on the fact that this amount will not suffice to pay off Turkey's debts.

In this time period during which privatization related activities have gained speed, the columnists of the newspaper have frequently handled this issue and voiced their criticisms. For instance, Şükran Soner's article titled "Thank Goodness we have Petrol-İş" narrates the legal struggle led by the Petrol-İş union to over rule the decision taken on privatization of Tüpraş and announces a gratitude for Petrol-İş. However, when the article is taken as a whole, Soner's concern over "the taking over of the businesses that are the building blocks of Turkish economy to foreigners will add negative aspects to the development of Turkish economy" has resulted in Soner's siding with the union during the process of privatization. In fact, the writer contends that the government is leading a policy of "bravery, in which it does not matter to whom or for what price the sale, is going to take place." In other words, Soner's concerns over privatization are related to the impairments that will occur in the country's economic progress caused by the sale of businesses to foreigners for low prices. Therefore, Soner's opposition against the privatization policies are not derived from social or cultural reasons or consequences.

In the light of the examples given above, it can be claimed that in the ideological construction process of privatization in newspaper articles, a part of the oppositions are formed within the news' own language and news reporters and that in the construction of certain oppositions or in the production of these oppositions the statements of power-holding people or politicians in political or economic areas are determinant. Actually, these antagonisms formed in the news article or in columns are based on a basic antagonism, the one of ideologies. The antagonisms that are constructed by a group that is included within the frames of social consensus by the newspapers are realized through a group that is defined as conservative and oppose the privatization policies along with those who think that privatization is efficient and significant enough to end all of the country's problems.

In fact, it is possible to observe the antagonisms created by the opponents of privatization in these newspapers as well. However, the quantitative or contextual antagonisms created by the opponents of privatization striking as those that are formed within the newspapers or those that are formed by the newspapers themselves. In addition, when the support of the

aforementioned newspapers' narrative characteristics are taken into consideration, it would not be wrong to state that in the struggle of the sides to appellation each other, the side with the say is a supporter/supporters of privatization.

Among the analyzed newspapers, the struggles of the workers, unions and politicians against privatization located within certain antagonisms are most visible in *Cumhuriyet*. Terminology in the area where this section's expressions and statements are vocalized is grouped as workers and those who protect the country versus the government and those who betray the country.

When one keeps in mind that these oppositions are extensions of the already existing antagonisms in the society, it is not surprising that the news hold similar or the same antagonisms. However, it is important from the view point of this study that especially newspapers other than *Cumhuriyet* join the terming process by re-producing the antagonisms belonging to the neo-liberal discourse.

4. 6. EVALUATION

In order to briefly evaluate this section which involves the attempt to analyze new, it will be plausible to emphasize those aspects which the newspapers have in common or differ from each other within the frame of the determined categories. First of all, a closure occurs in the texts of the newspapers analyzed. As it has been stated earlier, the most significant reasons for this closure are the structuring in the production process and the ideology of professional journalism. In fact, if we leave aside the fact that all of the institutions which produce news create news within the dynamics of the market economy; the professional practices of journalism are transformed into "a method of giving information" through gaining structural qualities and certain narrative characteristics. It may be suggested that by having a look at the findings of certain narrative strategies designed and explained above for the purpose of emphasizing the objectivity of news and the journalist's disguising himself in the news that he creates, this reality/objectivity myth serves only to protect the news reporter's own professional identity. On the other hand, when the views of the union representatives or government speakers who represent balance/impartiality in the name of not distorting the reality/politics are announced the questioning of why the actions which are the subject of the news are defined through certain terms and why those particular union representatives or politicians are referred in the events in the way that they do is prevented. For instance, when

the news related to the annulment of the privatization decision of Tüpraş by Petrol-İş union is given under headings such as “the downfall in the market” that is based on the dominant discourse, the demands of the workers seem as if they are the cause of the economic crisis in the country in the public opinion and the real reasons behind the economic situation are hidden. Thus, certain characteristics related to the professional codes of journalism are constantly being used and structured and cause the news to turn into a type that is diversified in content through the various information’s related to the daily events, but keeps the news as it is through formulations such as 4W and 1H which even the newspapers avoid using at certain times. For this purpose, operational frames are designed to write about the aspects of location and time that are involved in the legal struggle of the unions against privatization in the same manner are changed. The news in turn almost transforms into a repeating structure as a result of narrating each action that is involved with the content of the news in a certain way. “The repeated news transforms into a type of information which shows the fixed elements and not the shifting elements” (Dursun, 2005:80). As mentioned before, even if the content of the news changes this situation which transforms the content of the news into stable news texts is an extension of the understanding of journalism which has developed after the 1980s. Within this frame, *Cumhuriyet* shows certain differences from other newspapers with its construction of the news discourse through the practices and language of the opponents of privatization. However, when the newspaper and protest news are evaluated as a whole, it is possible to see that this is caused by the newspapers’ opposing attitude towards the government. In other words, the newspaper opposes the privatization activities in the name of not “wasting” the national capital within the frame of the determinants of the Kemalist ideology in which the newspaper places itself.

One of the most significant areas which the newspapers share in terms of news construction strategies is the presentation of news in categories. As explained in the analysis section, the distribution of news in this classification shows differences in newspapers. However, it can be seen that the news related to the labor protests are given generally in the economy section. The reflection of news under headings such as economy, culture and current events prevents any cause and effect relationship to be seen and the evaluation of the events as a whole. However, during this distribution, the limits of the discussion are expanded through questioning why news on protests against privatization is given under the economy section and not the current events section. In fact, privatization that was initiated after the 1980s is an important element of a new order which is beyond a classic period of ownership and covering up for the incapacities of the public (Çelebi, 1995). The acceptance of this vision which gives life to the new order that is the New Right, as the ideal market order starts from

the finding that the affluent state damages the society's unique functioning dynamics and for this reason, concludes that the society needs an exclusive political intervention. Therefore, "the functioning of the market" is evaluated as an "artificial" condition that is dependent on social, legal, institutional and cultural circumstances/interventions (Özkazanç, 2005). The presentation of all kinds of political actions that are against privatization under the heading of economy not only reduces the reasons of protests to only economic circumstances, but also creates an area in which the interventions can be controlled.

As Van Dijk emphasizes, the schematic structure of news is made up of the background information, contextual information, the main event, information related to the agents and the consequences. In the newspapers that are analyzed, with the exception of *Cumhuriyet* there are either no background and contextual information or it is very few. This situation causes the standardization of the protests removing them from their context and results in the re-usage of the association of the frames that are determined during the presentation of similar events as explained above. In addition, this lack of information causes the source person or institutions' circumstantial definitions to take over the news discourse and the transforming of these definitions into the public idiom.

Photographs are the primary visual signs that are used in newspaper news. However, the photographs used are viewed as one of the side elements that support the written text. In other words, photographs are evaluated as a side element that lacks the power of narration as they only verify what is being told in the news and involve only one of the elements such as "this event", "there", "then" and "happened." Besides this, they are commonly used as elements of giving magazine quality, color and ornamentation to the news. Therefore, it will not be wrong to say that photographs are "referent" photographs. However, it is emphasized in various studies that photographs should have an information-providing, in other words "narrating" quality (Yurdalan, 2005) and that they should involve the rule of 4W and 1H. It is not possible to see any kind of concern about this matter in the photographs that are analyzed; also, the characteristics of the event that are narrated are compared with the shots that distort/change photograph or with the editing of the photographs that is done after the photograph is taken. The basis of the various visual strategies that is used according to compromises in news is formed by the creation of an effect of reality and as current representations. However, in the newspapers that are analyzed it is observed that the newspapers do not make of use these strategies in the photographs which they display. In fact, the same photograph can be used in different news that has similar contents.

Taking a look at news related to the labor protests, in the process of constructing privatization as a social compromise, when the sides of privatization are defined the antagonisms are created through various mediations. However in the construction of these oppositions, it would be wrong to claim that the opponents of privatization are defined directly within a closure that involves compromise and discourse. Especially in news that is related to the decisions for the good of the workers in the legal process against privatization or in news that is related to the mass protests, the newspapers refer to these actions as “negative.” In fact, the protests organized by the unions and civil society organizations are presented under headings such as “The cities are paralyzed” or “What has been delayed?” or the legal victories of the unions to stop privatization are evaluated through the “negative” effects it has caused on the market and made into news. However, to be able to determine the political stances of the newspapers on privatization and to see around which definitions the opponents of privatization are termed there is a need for a wider evaluation. For this reason, the news related to privatization and columns which handle the issue of privatization which were published during the period in which privatization was heavily applied have also been included in the evaluation. The examples analyzed indicate that during the ideological construction process of privatization, some of the antagonisms have been formed within the language of the news itself and news reporters and that in the construction and production of some other news the statements of power holders in politics and economy and politicians have been determinants.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study has raised various questions regarding the role of media in construction of new-right hegemony in Turkey. Among many issues, the production of meaning in newspaper articles, and various strategies employed throughout this production process, has been scrutinized closely. It has been argued that the theoretical approach and toolbox provided by critical media studies provides the researcher with an invaluable framework for grasping the role of the media in political and social processes.

The year 1980 and following decades pointed to major political, economic, social, ideological and cultural transformations in Turkey. The New Right ideology was the major reference point of this overall transformation. The media itself was not exempt from this process; on the contrary, while being transformed, the media played a crucial role in constituting and consolidating the neo-liberal hegemony in Turkey. Throughout this period, the economic power of media gradually increased; it even has become one of the most dynamic sectors in Turkish economy; and, the influence of the media on Turkish society and political decision-making processes has reached to a considerable point.

Critical theory shows us that the process of production of meaning is not a transparent or 'neutral' process; in other words, asymmetrical power relations are always present. The Turkish media (with its increased political, economic, social and ideological power and influence) in the post-1980 period have played a crucial role in constituting and consolidating a new socio-political order which was unquestionably in favour of a very small sector of the society. The monopolistic tendencies within the media sector, that is to say a limited number of media groups dominating the whole sector, makes the situation worse since the media becomes more open to external pressures (i.e. political forces, business circles etc.). Of course I do not argue that this is a simple process of 'manipulation'. Neither do I contend that the media is merely an instrument of 'class domination'. However, as this study shows with regards to representation of anti-privatization protests in newspapers, the production of meaning in the media mostly works for legitimizing a definite ideological position. Within this process, the 'voice' of the dissident figures could find place in the media only if they comply with the rules of the game which are mostly written by major media groups (Sönmez, 1996).

Within this general framework, this study has argued and tried to show that newspaper news on privatization and anti-privatization protests played a crucial role in construction and hegemonization of privatization discourse. All newspapers which have been analyzed within defined period of time (except *Cumhuriyet*) grasp privatization as an inescapable, necessary and irresistible process. Meanwhile the workers' protests are presented mostly as personal matters. The narrative structure of the news, which is dominated by graphics and statistics, played a crucial role in this ideological operation. The so-called 'neutral' and 'scientific' data regarding the 'economic failure' of the State Economic Enterprises (SEE) worked for demonstrating the 'necessity' of privatization as a 'scientific reality.' As privatization and the need for privatization are elevated to the position of a scientific fact,

any alternative or opposing discourse on privatization is excluded or represented in a distorted manner in the newspaper news. For example, while the news give a considerable place to the so-called benefits of privatization, they hardly express the social and economic problems that privatization brings.

While the structural defects of the SEEs are shown as negative influences over economy as one of the reasons making privatization necessary, the solutions that are proposed with privatization are presented as a method to overcome economic problems and as a way of adjusting to new international economy. In fact, starting from ANAP's rule in the 1980s, the attempt "to create an economic system in line with liberal principles and the realization of a structural integration to the world system", began to be a common sense in 1990s through stressing the New Right elements like the virtues of the 'free-market', 'competition', 'liberalization' and 'globalization', and the "structural and economic deficiencies of SEEs".

The sole negative effect of privatization is denoted as 'unemployment'. Thus, in the news discourse, the motive behind the protests against privatization has been depicted solely as 'the fear of unemployment'. In other words, the social, cultural and economic consequences of privatization and anti-privatization movements' formulations on these problems are ignored.

As to the meanings produced by the news, it can be seen that, first, the newspapers, acting as primary definers, produce their own perception over the reasons and consequences of protests that have been directed against privatization. The newspapers have not only realized this production through the discourses of those people who had respectable and institutional representations by not participating in the ideological construction process, but also through locating these problematic issues within certain frames and acting as the active actors in this construction process. Thus, the reasons and consequences of the labor protests against privatization have been constructed within the framework of the definitions provided by newspapers about privatization and the news plot is narrated as to cover more information about the main event and its consequences, and the interpretations of the news sources on the event. In other words, within the framework produced by news, privatization has been defined as a mere selling process of those institutions which belong to the state; thus, the protests against privatization have been displayed as actions that voice the protests of the institutions' workers only in the face of the possibility to become unemployed. This situation supports the finding that the information provided in news that has been related to the social background and context which has been inadequate or simply absent.

Concerning the micro-structural characteristics of the news, the sentence structures and lexicalization show that there has been a closure and a tight textual construction in news. The sentence structures that have been preferred in the news have represented the opponents of privatization as active, and the police or gendarmerie that act against supporters of privatization as passive. Even this can be taken as an indicator of suppression of labor movement. In fact, through the syntax of the news, the political actors, who are labeled as “outdated”, “mistaken”, “useless” or “ideological”, are being held as the main responsible. However, within the same syntactic structure, the responsibilities of the forces against workers’ protests are fully erased, or absent. In other words, these actions are represented as actions without agents through sentences having definite predicates but lacking subjects. As it has been stressed in many studies, this syntactical operation is so crucial in continuation of power relations.

When the news texts are analyzed in terms of the local coherence between the sentences, we observe the causal relationships within a functional network between the sentences. This functional network, i.e., the interrelationship between the sentences, provides the news with a frame which helps it to disguise (or to represent implicitly) the social dynamics of the events. The vague indication of the meaning relationships within a text, in other words their being disguised, results in the establishment of a common reference framework for the reader and the re-establishment of this through the political and cultural structure underlying the events (İnal, 1995:120). In addition, the definition of protests through words such as “paralysis”, “delay” and “bring to a halt” have negative connotations. These definitions clearly show the newspapers’ approach both to privatization and the protests.

One of the primary visual signs that are used in news is photographs. In other words, news texts which are produced through writings, numbers and graphics are often supported by photographs. In fact, photographs are either used as an element that justifies the written news texts, or as a tool which ornaments and gives color to the text; but more than that photographs has a crucial role in production of meaning in the news. Since the news photographs are the eyewitnesses to an event, the insertion of a specific photograph is not a incidental or irrelevant operation. As it has been repeatedly emphasized in studies on photography, news photographs act as informative-“narrative” elements, rather than merely “indicating” the event. However, when the news photographs which have been analyzed in this study are examined, one can see that shots distort and change the characteristics of the event. Even in some cases the photographs are highly edited to a point that they loose their

originality. In addition, the usage of the same photographs in news with similar content is a common method the newspapers often adopt.

The presentation of public knowledge in parts has a great significance in the news construction strategies due to their effect of hindering the cause and effect relationship between the events. All newspapers analyzed in this study categorize news into groups such as politics, economy, culture, etc. The important point in this categorization is that the labor protests are given as news under the economy pages in all of them. Privatization, under the economy pages, rather than being taken as a process carried out by certain actors is itself treated as an autonomous entity, or a subject, which has peculiar aims and objectives. However, speaking about the ends of privatization as an economic policy rather than what certain groups aim at achieving through privatization, is more sensible and necessary in order not to miss the powers behind privatization. The presentation of all kinds of action under the heading of economy not only shows the protests of the workers merely as an ‘economic’ problem, but also disguises the major actors (e.g., international capital) of privatization policies.

As it has been argued in this study the New Right policies implies a minimal state in terms of economic relations. The basic motto of New Right ideology was non-interference of the state in economic matters. However, this minimal state was, at one and the same time, considered as a powerful and decisive actor in sustaining social and political cohesion. In line with the idea of ‘minimal state’, in post-1980 Turkey, a series of free market regulations and moves towards liberalization in the economic field were introduced. However, liberalization in the economic field was not accompanied by political liberalization. On the contrary, the economic liberalization and de-regulation could only be carried out within a suppressive political environment. As the confidence to the capacity of market mechanism to solve the economic problems has been re-created, the state intervention in the economy have been met with suspicion. Starting from the Özal period, the actions taken to open the national market to multi-national capital have not been regarded as “intervention” in this process of fetishizing the market. Because, while the “interventions” directed to the free market come from the Left-wing groups, there is an understanding that the Right-wing is content with the “regulations.” In this respect, through the presentation of the labor protests against privatization under the title of economic news, the labor groups attempting to “interfere” with the market against the “regulations” that are planned to be made in the market with privatization. As a consequence, with the view that

no ideology ever comes into existence without an economic basis; the economic basis of the New Right ideology, privatization, is greatly displayed under the economy sections of newspapers as news.

The developments which took place in the labor protests against privatization have been designed within the framework of certain dichotomies. A closer look at them will show us that these dichotomies are constructed in favor of privatization ideology. The naming and fixations regarding the anti-privatization protests are far from being neutral. For example the anti-privatization protests are always associated with “paralyzed cities”, “halted daily life” or “delays in daily transactions.” Another dichotomy is constructed around “us” and “them” distinction; which is already synonymous with “good” and “bad” duality. While, “us”, here, refers to economists, journalists, state representatives, in other words, “those who support democracy, transformation and economic development”; “them” refers to “the conservatives who are against economic development and public good.” Newspapers, within this discursive operation, just claim to be representing an already existing and self-evident divide within the society. However, the critical media studies tells us that, these divides, or antagonisms, far from being self-evident, or already existing, themselves are ideological and discursive constructions. In some cases, for example in *Yeni Şafak*, the divide between “us” and “them” regarding the privatization process, is constructed through ignoring the problem protests against privatization itself. Within the period of time analyzed, it has been discovered that only a very few of anti-privatization protests could find place in the pages of *Yeni Şafak*. In this case, the “silence” about and “blindness” regarding such a crucial social event aims at rendering the dissidents invisible or marginalizing them. However, there are also alternative ideological positions within the Turkish media, as it has been seen in the *Cumhuriyet* case. What we see in *Cumhuriyet* is not only a different approach to privatization problem; in addition to this, *Cumhuriyet* re-inscribes and re-constructs the so-called “us”/“them” divide thorough keeping the content but by reversing the protagonists of the divide. This reversal is more visible both in news on privatization and the labor protests.

As Dursun (2001) stresses, construction of hegemony regarding a problem like privatization is a very complex process. Workers’ protests against privatization are the basic impediment to this attempt at hegemony. But, the presentation of these protests as news on their own is an indication of the fact that social conflicts cannot be ignored when this struggle is taken into consideration as a whole. However, the news on protests evaluated within the

framework of given time period indicates that the voices against the neo-liberal discourse are skillfully neutralized. Thus, it will not be wrong to argue that, with the exception of *Cumhuriyet*, there is a neo-liberal closure of meaning. This closure implies exclusion of certain meanings systematically. The closure asserts its position as “self-evident”, “unquestionable” and “natural”. This operation, as I have underlined repeatedly is an indispensable part of constitution and reproduction of asymmetrical power relations. Therefore, taking into consideration that the whole linguistic world is constructed through power relationships, it will be a mere disillusioning positivism to hold that the readers or the journalists have full capacity for the means of struggle to change/ transform relations.

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APPENDICES

A. NEWS

1. Hürriyet, 16 December 2006

Petrol-iş'ten İGSAŞ'daki işçilere destek

.

Petrol İş Sendikası Genel Başkanı Mustafa Öztaşkın, iş yerlerinin kapatılması kararından sonra, mekanik atölyesine kapanan işçileri ziyaretinde, “Bu mücadele sizin ekmeğimize sahip çıkmanın dışında, ülke ekonomisine, sanayisine ve milli çıkarlarımıza sahip çıkma mücadelesidir” dedi .

Öztaşkın, Kocaeli'nin Körfez ilçesinde İstanbul Gübre Sanayi A.Ş'nin (İGSAŞ) kapatılma kararının ardından atölyeye kapanan 217 işçiyi ziyaret etti. Mustafa Öztaşkın, burada yaptığı konuşmada, Yıldız Entegre Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı Fehmi Yıldız ve diğer yöneticilerle yaptığı görüşmeler hakkında işçilere bilgi verdi. Fabrikanın kapanmaması, üretimin devam etmesi için işverene her türlü kolaylığın gösterildiğini ifade eden Öztaşkın, ancak bir sonuç alamadıklarını belirtti. Taleplerinin kabul edilmesi halinde içlerine sindiremeseler bile el sıkışacaklarını işverene ilettiklerini bildiren Öztaşkın, ancak işverenin el sıkışmaktan kaçındığını bildirdi.

Bir sonuç alınmadığı için eylemin başladığını anlatan Öztaşkın, bu durumun özelleştirmenin bir sonucu olduğunu, Fehmi Yıldız ya da Yıldız Entegre olayı olmadığını söyledi.

Türkiye'de özelleştirilen kuruluşların yüzde 43'ünün kapatıldığını ifade eden Öztaşkın, şöyle devam etti:

“İGSAŞ'da bunlara dahil edilmek üzeredir. İGSAŞ'da gübre üretimi artık bu kararla durmuştur. Olağanüstü olaylar olursa, petrol fiyatları düşer, doğal gaz ücretleri düşer, gübre fiyatları artarsa, yeniden üretime geçebilir. Bu fabrika ürettiği sürece, ithal gübre fiyatları yerli üretimin altında kalmaya devam edecektir. Ancak, bu karardan sonra ithal gübre fiyatları artacaktır. Bu kaçınılmaz bir durumdur. Ucuz diye girer, sizin yerli sanayinizi yok eder, ondan sonra tekelleşir, istediği fiyatı uygular.”

“Bu karar Türk sanayisine, Türk tarımına vurulan en büyük darbelerden bir tanesidir.” diyen Öztaşkın, sözlerini şöyle sürdürdü:

“Hükümetin de buna müdahale etmesi gerekiyor. Olaya sadece fabrikanın üretmesi ya da üretmemesi açısından bakamaz. Bir tarım politikası olarak, köylünün çiftçinin korunması, özelleştirmenin sonucu olarak bakması gerekir. Bu mücadele, sizin ekmeğimize sahip çıkmanın dışında ülke ekonomisine, sanayisine ve milli çıkarlarımıza sahip çıkma mücadelesidir.”

Bu arada Tüpraş çalışanları da iş çıkışından sonra İGSAŞ önüne gelerek, fabrikaya kapanan işçilere destek verdi.

2. Radikal, 20 December 2005

Tüpraş işçisi işbaşı yapmadı

Petrol-İş Sendikası'na üye Aliğa ve İzmit Rafinerisi çalışanları, özelleştirme çalışmalarını protesto etmek için saat 08.00'den başlayarak iki saat işbaşı yapmadı. Petrol-İş Sendikası Aliğa Şube Başkanı İbrahim Doğangül, Tüpraş tesisleri önünde yaptığı açıklamada, Türkiye genelindeki rafinerilerde iki saat iş bırakma eylemi yapıldığını söyledi

Doğangül, Tüpraş'ın devir işleminin 22 Aralık'ta gerçekleştirileceğini belirterek, yargı süreci devam ederken bu işleme gidilmesinin, telafisi mümkün olmayan sorunlar doğurabileceğini savundu. Tüpraş'ın yüzde 14.76'sının usulsüz şekilde devredildiğini öne süren Doğangül, şunları söyledi: "Bugün (dün) Ankara İdare Mahkemesi'nde, Tüpraş'ın yüzde 14.76'lık hissesinin satışının iptalini istediğimiz dava, duruşmalı olarak görülecek. Son zamanlarda yargıya yapılan baskıların hangi noktaya geldiğini hepimiz yaşayarak görüyoruz, bu nedenle gözümüz kulağımız Ankara'da olacak." Danıştay'ın reddettiği yürütmeyi durdurma talepleri için de sendikanın Danıştay Dava Daireleri Kurulu'na itirazını yaptığını kaydeden Doğangül, bir hafta içinde kararın verileceğini aktardı.

Doğangül, "Tepkimizi hem hükümete hem de alıcı firmaya en sert şekilde göstereceğiz. Bu hafta teyakkuz halindeyiz" dedi. Petrol-İş Kocaeli Şube Başkanı Ali Ufuk Yaşar da "Özelleştirmede Türkiye kaybedecek" diye konuştu.

3. Cumhuriyet, 8 February 1999

Giresun SEKA'da üretim durdu

Haber Merkezi - Giresun SEKA-Aksu Kâğıt Fabrikası'nda stok fazlalığı gerekçesiyle üretim dururken Selüloz-İş Sendikası, özelleştirme kapsamına alınan SEKA fabrikaları için Başbakan Bülent Ecevit 'e rapor hazırlıyor. Selüloz-İş Genel Başkanı Davut Bozkan "Ülke genelindeki 8 SEKA fabrikasının dördünde üretim durduruldu, işçiler zorunlu izne gönderildi. Ülkenin gidişatı iyi değil. Başbakan Ecevit'e en kısa sürede SEKA'nın özelleştirilmemesi yönünde rapor sunacağız" dedi.

Adana Büromuz' dan Sabit Özkeseer 'in haberine göre Selüloz-İş Genel Başkanı Davut Bozkan, SEKA fabrikalarındaki olumsuzluklardan işçilerin yanı sıra esnafın da etkilendiğini belirtti. SEKA fabrikalarının Sanayi Bakanlığı'ndan alınarak Özelleştirme Dairesi'ne bağlandığını kaydeden Bozkan, şunları söyledi:

"Ülkemizde en temel varlıklar gözardı ediliyor. Oysa özelleştirilmek istenen fabrikaların hem ülke ekonomisine hem de vatandaşa katkıları çok açık ortada. Biz SEKA'nın 4046 sayılı kapsamdan çıkarılması ve teknolojik yatırımların yapılması konusundaki taleplerimizi yineleyeceğiz. Mesut Yılmaz 'ın başbakanlığı döneminde hükümete bir rapor sunmuştuk. Ancak olumlu sonuç alamadık. Şimdi Bülent Ecevit'e en kısa sürede raporu iletmek için hazırlıklarımızı sürdürüyoruz. Ecevit'ten SEKA ve diğer fabrikaların özelleştirilmemesi için kalıcı işler yapmasını isteyeceğiz."

SEKA fabrikalarının satışına karşı mücadele ederken diğer yandan işçiler adına toplu iş sözleşme görüşmelerini de devam ettirdiklerini vurgulayana Bozkan, "Fabrikalarımızın peşkeş çekilmemesi için elimizden geleni yapacağız. Bu konuda kararlıyız" diye konuştu. Genel Başkanı Davut Bozkan, 1 Ocak itibarıyla stok fazlası nedeniyle üretimi durdurulan Giresun SEKA-Aksu Kâğıt Fabrikası'nın, en kısa zamanda üretime geçmesini istediklerini belirtti. Fabrikanın modern teknoloji ile donatılması için 1 milyon dolara ihtiyaç olduğunu belirten Bozkan, hiçbir fabrikaya 15 yıldır yatırım yapılmadığını söyledi. Balıkesir ve Giresun'daki fabrikaların tam kapasite ile çalıştırılması halinde ülke ihtiyacının yarısına yakın bölümünün karşılanabileceğine dikkat çekti.

İhtiyacın yüzde 50'sinin ithal edilmek zorunda olduğunu vurgulayan Bozkan, sözlerini şöyle sürdürdü: "Sıfır gümrükle ve daha kaliteli olduğu için ihtiyacın tamamına yakını ithal ediliyor. Bunun için bizler birinci derecede fabrikaların modernleştirilmesini ve üstün kaliteli üretim istiyoruz. İkincisi de kâğıt ithalatına gümrük getirilmesini talep ediyoruz. Ancak, böylece eşit koşullarda rekabet ortamı olur."

Stokların 3.500 tona ulaştığı gerekçesiyle üretimi durdurulan Giresun SEKA-Aksu Kâğıt Fabrikası'nda, 320'si kadrolu 200'ü taşeron olmak üzere 520 işçi çalışıyor. Fabrikada, hammadde ihtiyacı ve elektrik borcu nedeniyle geçen yılın nisan ayında ara verilen üretime 9 Kasım'da yeniden başlanmıştı. 1 Ocak'a kadar 4 bin 500 ton gazete kâğıdı üretilen fabrikada, bunun bin tonu satıldı.

4. Sabah, 20 January 2005

SEKA İzmit İşletmesi'nin kapatılma kararını protesto eden çalışanlar, fabrikanı kapandı. Türk-İş Genel Başkanı Salih Kılıç, "Türk-İş, birlik ve bütünlüğü i

mal olmuş SEKA işçisine, her türlü maddi ve manevi desteği vermeye devam edecektir" dedi.

Türk-İş Genel Başkanı Salih Kılıç, Türk-İş Eğitim Sekreteri Mustafa Türker, Düşünce Derneği Başkanı Ertuğrul Kazancı, CHP Kocaeli milletvekilleri Sa İzzet Çetin ile dün fabrikaya kapanan SEKA işçilerini ziyaret etti.

Kılıç, SEKA için alınan "kapatma" kararının akla, mantığa sığmadığı gibi e olduğuna da inanmadığını ifade ederek Kurban Bayramı'nı ekmeğine sahi işyerlerinde geçiren işçileri mücadelelerinden dolayı kutladı.

Türk-İş'in birlik ve bütünlüğü işçi hareketine mal olmuş SEKA işçisine, he ve manevi desteği vermeye devam edeceğini kaydeden Kılıç, sözlerini şö: "Burada bir eylem değil, bir aile toplantısı yapılmakta. Bu toplantıda eme müessese temsilcileriyle birlikte burada anlamlı, manalı görüşmeler yapılı işçisinin yanında olmak zorunda olan seçilmişlerin, bakan olmuşların nere şimdi nerelere iştirak ettiklerini merak ediyorum. Hakka, hukuka, insana etmeyen, mevki ve makamı ne olursa olsun çalışanların hakkını teslim et insanlara zulmü hak görenler mahvolmaya mahkumdur."

CHP Kocaeli Milletvekili İzzet Çetin de sosyal devleti yaşatmak için işçileri ihtiyaç olduğunu belirtti. ADD Genel Başkanı Ertuğrul Kazancı ise SEKA iş SEKA'nın kapatılmasına karşı değil, küreselleşmeye karşı da mücadele etti. SEKA yönetim kurulu üyeleri, genel müdür yardımcıları ve müessese de katıldığı ziyarette, SEKA çalışanları hükümet aleyhine çeşitli sloganlar sonra Türk-İş Genel Başkanı Kılıç, 10. yıl ve 50. yıl marşlarını okuyan işçi ikram etti.

B. PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Hürriyet, 2 March 2005



2.Hürriyet, 15 December 2005



3.Hürriyet, 24 April 2006



4.Hürriyet, 22 February 2005



5.Hürriyet, 24 February 2005



6.Hürriyet, 7 March 2006



7.Radikal, 8 March 2006



8.Radikal, 19 February 2005



9.Hürriyet, 5 March 2005



10.Hürriyet, 25 June 2005



11.Radikal, 25 May 2005



12.Hürriyet, 30 May 2003



13.Sabah 14 September 2005

