# COMPARISON OF REPRESENTATIONS OF THE STATE OF EMERGENCY IN TURKISH AND FRENCH NEWSPAPER WITH CONTENT ANALYSIS

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#### Abstract

The states of emergency have been declared after the coup attempt in Turkey on 15 July 2016 and the events 2015 in France on 13 November 2015. In this study, the news of the different newspapers in Turkey and France were examined during the period of emergency. The aim of the study is to determine how the state of emergency were presented in the newspapers in Turkey and France. Sabah, Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet newspapers in Turkey were selected in this study. In France, Le Figaro, Le Monde and L'Humanité were selected. Content analysis was used as the method. It was studied how different newspapers in the two countries deal with the state of emergency and present events to the society. This study found that there were different actors of news and the format of representation in the state of emergency in Turkey and France.

Key words: State of emergency, France, Turkey, Media, Content analysis

# OLAĞANÜSTÜ HALİN TÜRK VE FRANSIZ GAZETELERİNDEKİ SUNUMUNUN İÇERİK ANALİZİ YÖNTEMİ İLE KARŞILAŞTIRILMASI

#### Öz

Türkiye'de 15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılan darbe, Fransa'da ise 13 Kasım 2015 tarihinde yaşanan saldırılarından sonra olağanüstü hal ilan edilmiştir. Bu çalışmada Türkiye ve Fransa da yayın yapmakta olan farklı gazetelerin olağanüstü hal döneminde kullanmış olduğu dil ve yaşanan olayları nasıl yansıttığı üzerinde durulmuştur. Araştırmanın amacı Türkiye ve Fransa'da olağanüstü halin gazete haberleri aracılığıyla nasıl sunulduğunu ortaya koyabilmektir. Çalışmada örneklem olarak Türkiye'de Sabah, Hürriyet ve Cumhuriyet gazeteleri ele alınmıştır. Fransa'da ise Le Figaro, Le Monde ve L'Humanité gazeteleri ele alınmıştır. Yöntem olarak içerik analizinin kullanılmıştır. İki ülkedeki farklı gazeteleri nolağanüstü hali nasıl ele aldıkları, topluma olayları nasıl sundukları ortaya konulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu çalışmada, Türkiye ve Fransa'da olağanüstü hallerde haber aktörlerinin ve temsil edilme biçiminin farklı olduğu bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Olağanüstü Hal, Fransa, Türkiye, Medya, İçerik Analizi

#### 1. Introduction

The state of emergency is a theory and practice that first emerged in France between 1914 and 1918 and during the War I (Çelik, 2010: 6). Nine out of ten countries have constitutionalized their emergency provisions. And the power to declare a state of emergency has been used quite often: between 1985 and 2014, in 137 countries. This implies that roughly 2/3 of all sovereign nations are declared during a state of emergency (Bjørnskov and Voigt, 2018a: 110). The state of emergency is an unexpected, sudden, unforeseen crisis that requires immediate action and often involves danger (Behçet, 2014: 3). It is presented as a temporary situation applied to establish the normal situation where the rules of law apply (Köksal, 2013: 12). Declaring a state of emergency has far-reaching consequences for all citizens – not least because basic rights are frequently suspended under

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emergencies. But declaring a state of emergency also has far-reaching consequences for the balance of powers within government: the power of both the legislature and the judiciary are usually curtailed to the advantage of the executive (Bjørnskov and Voigt, 2018. 110-111). Although this regime are severely limited to the rights and freedoms, the regime is ultimately a legal regime. The conditions are regulated by constitutions and laws (Celik; 2010: 8).

At least two intuitive reasons for declaring a state of emergency come to mind: the government identifies an exceptional and imminent danger to the life of the nation, which could be caused by natural disasters, but also by man-made dangers such as terrorist attacks. A charitable interpretation of why governments call states of emergency would therefore be that the additional emergency powers granted by the constitution are necessary to act with speed and due diligence to save people and alleviate the social and economic consequences of emergencies. But a government might also declare a state of emergency because it is eager to use the additional powers connected to a state of emergency in its own favor, for example to weaken its political opposition (Bjørnskov and Voigt, 2018).

There are some articles about the state of emergency in Turkey and France (Affan, 2016; Aktürk, 2016; Duhamel, 2016; Başdaş, 2017; Bozinovic, 2017; Caliskan, 2017; Gökarıksel, 2017; Pay, 2017; Beaud, 2018; Guérin-Bargues, 2018 Vauchez, 2018). Caliskan (2017) studied the coup attempt on 15 July 2016 in Turkey. He said that the success of the coup in Turkey is difficult. Gökarıksel (2017) investigated gender dynamics in the coup attempt in Turkey. She said that men especially were passing in the center of Turkey's political and social transformation Akturk (2016) studied the civil rights movement and the reactionary coup in Turkey. He said that the coup attempt attempted to destroy the equality and democratization gained in previous years. Başdaş (2017) investigated the role of women in the coup attempt in Turkey. She said that women's active presence on the streets against the coup attempt. Affan (2016) compared the coup attempt in Turkey and the coup in Egypt. He said that the guardianship arising from military has successfully been limited by the civilian government. Bozinovic (2017) investigated the state of emergency in France. He said that the state of emergency has limits to its effectiveness in France. Duhamel (2016) studied the constitutional amendment because of terrorism in France. She said that there is normal to be a shift in the balance between freedom and security in the period of terrorism. Uzun (2016) explained the declaration of the state of emergency and its implications after the failed coup attempt on July 15 in Turkey in his article. Vauchez (2018) investigated the state of emergency in France. He described the state of emergency in France as days without end. Feinberg (Feinberg, 2018) examined the states of emergency in France and Israel. He said that the role of law must be done legally to combat terrorism.

In the literature, a study on this subject was conducted at the University of Oslo (Oslo University, 2017). The focus of this study, was especially in France and Turkey, is used as an emergency antiterrorism measure. In this research, legal and ethical analysis of extraordinary situations as a counterterrorism measure was conducted. The emergency period in France and Turkey are chosen as samples. In this article, the newspapers news in the state of emergency period in Turkey and France were examined how news were reflected in people.

#### 2. Research Methodology

The universe of this study is the printed news media in Turkey and France. The sample type is purposeful sampling, which is one of the non-random sampling types. Sabah, Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Le Monde, Le Figaro and 'L'Humanité were selected as samples (<u>https://www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com</u>, <u>https://www.humanite.fr/,https://www.hurriyet.com.tr,https://www.lefigaro.fr,https://www.lemonde.fr</u> <u>archives</u>, <u>https://www.sabah.com.tr/timeline</u>). In this study, the following criteria in the sample determination of this study were taken as basis:

- (1) The number of newspapers and their reading levels on the internet,
- (2) Representing different views and ideological structures of newspapers as much as possible,
- (3) Intensity of newspapers to deal with,

In this study, the newspaper dates between July 20<sup>th</sup> 2016-August 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 in Turkey were examined. In France, the news between November 20<sup>th</sup>2015- December 4<sup>th</sup> 2015 were examined. The reason for

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the time limitation is the difficulty of accessing the data, the timeliness of the specified time period and the increase in the number of news in this period. Using this model, the reality of a state of emergency in France and Turkey was determined by how consistently reproduced through the current news. Categorical Content Analysis which is one of the quantitative research types was used as the data analysis method in this study. The data collected within the framework of certain categories were analyzed within the framework of its relationship with the category to which it was linked and the findings were reached. The categories in content analysis are: distribution of the news in newspapers, presentation of the news in newspapers, the section of the news where is published in the newspaper, the content of the news, the theme of the news, the representatives of the news, the actors in the news, the approach of the news.

The data in the study were collected with the coding table prepared as a result of the comprehensive preliminary examination process. Coding was carried out by two different encoders and when the coding process was completed, it was found that there was 85% agreement between them. The data collected by the first encoder by drawing lots were included in the study.

#### 3. Findings

## 3.1. Content Analysis Data of Emergency News in Turkish Newspapers

The 15 July 2016 coup attempt, which took place at a time when military interventions were a thing of the past, left a significant mark on Turkish society and politics (Altinordu, 2017). The state of emergency in Turkey was declared after the coup attempt on 15 July 2016. The newspaper (Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Sabah) dates between 20th July 2016- 4th August 2016 in Turkey were investigated. Total 176 news has been reached in Turkey. Table 1 shows the distribution of news from newspapers. The number of news published in the newspapers and how often they raise a topic are important in terms of showing the newspapers' approach to the issue. In addition, the frequency of news coverage is a concrete view of the importance and interest that newspapers give to the issue. According to the findings, it is seen that the newspaper which brought the phenomenon of the emergency situation to the agenda the most is Cumhuriyet newspaper. Cumhuriyet newspaper is followed by Hürriyet and Sabah respectively.

Newspaper	f	%
Sabah	28	15,9
Hürriyet	62	35,2
Cumhuriyet	86	48,9
Sum	176	100

**Table 1.**Distribution of the emergency state news in Turkey

Table 2. The presentation of the state of emergency news in newspapers in Turkey

Presentation of the news	f	%
Text	15	8,5

Text + Visual	161	91,5
Sum	176	100

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News and text+visual presentation format are important both in terms of showing the importance given to the news and in determining the impact and intelligibility level of the news. The photographs, graphics and other images used in the news affect both the coverage of the news as well as the interest in the news and the intelligibility level of the news. When the news items of the selected newspapers are analyzed, it is seen that the news is presented to a large extent in the form of text + visual. In the visuals, photographs of the people who made the explanation are mostly included. In addition, the social reaction in the news, the use of photographs and graphs about social events are also common. After the state of emergency, with the decrees of the law, public officials dismissed, the number of institutions closed and state of emergency together with the state of emergency and indicators of the economy are mostly presented in the newspapers accompanied by graphics. The published departments of the Emergency state news in the newspapers in Turkey were given in Table 3.

News section	f	%
Agenda	50	28,4
Dormitory News	59	33,5
Politics	15	8,5
Economy	14	8,0
Art and culture	3	1,7
Education	4	2,3
Word	27	15,3
Others	4	2,3
Sum	176	100

Table 3. The published departments of the emergency state news in the newspapers in Turkey

The section in which the news is published in the newspaper is important in terms of showing the interest of the news. The concept of state of emergency has social context in many respects. Social events, politics, economy and international relations are among the most important of these contexts. The news published about the state of emergency newspaper in Turkey elected a majority of the shows that are presented in the context of the framework expressed. In this context, the majority of the news was published on the "Dormitory News" page in all newspapers. Then, it is seen that the news related to the subject is mostly on the pages of "Agenda" and "World". Then, most of the subjects related to the subject were found in the pages of "Agenda" and "World". The contents of these news articles included reactions from the countries related to a state of emergency. There were also reports of the suspension of Article 15 of the United Nations and the European Convention on Human Rights. In the news content, the opinions of the European Parliament on the subject were expressed. In addition, it has been given about his meeting with the European Union and Turkey. The "Economy" page contains

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14 news about the state of emergency. Some newspapers also mentioned the existence of economic concerns and problems. Some newspapers stressed that the economy was on a normal course. Expert opinions on the economy are included. The content of emergency state of the news newspapers in Turkey was given Table 4.

The content of News	f	%
Political	142	80,7
Social	9	5,1
Economy	18	10,2
Art-Culture	5	2,8
Environment	0	0
Sports	2	1,1
Sum	176	100

Table 4. The content of emergency state of the news in Turkey newspapers

According to the findings in Table 4, it can be seen that the news published about the state of emergency was the political, the economy, and the social content, respectively. Sabah, Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet newspapers were done mostly the political, the social and the economic news. There have been various changes in State theaters with the decrees issued after the state of emergency. These contents were found under the title of Culture and Art. The theme of the emergency state news in Turkey newspapers was given Table 5.

**Table 5.** Theme of the emergency state news in Turkey newspapers

Theme of news	f	%
Emergency State	102	58,0
Freedom	11	6,2
Media	12	6,8
Social Events- Conflicts	3	1,7
Legal-Law Topics	33	18,8
Economic Concerns- Problems	15	8,5

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Sum 176 100
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In the news, it is understood that the theme of emergency state is mostly used. Other important themes are Legal-Law issues, Economic concerns-problems, Media, Freedom, and Social events respectively. The theme of the news provides important data on the ways in which the state of emergency is subject to the news. The formats of the representation of the state of emergency in the newspapers in Turkey were given Table 6.

Table 6. The formats of the representation of the state of emergency in the news newspapers in Turkey

The format of the representation of the state of emergency	f	%
The state of emergency is required	80	45,5
Repressive-Troubling	62	35,2
Restrict Freedoms	34	19,3
Sum	176	100

The expressions used in the news, the selected words, the used visuals, the choice of subject and theme, the orientation of the news provide important clues about the representation of the state of emergency. Thus, the most common representation of the state of emergency among the categories of forms of representation is "State of emergency is necessary". However, there are differences in the content of newspapers. There are ideas in Sabah news which State of emergency is necessary" and "Restrict Freedoms". The Cumhuriyet Newspaper stated that the state of emergency was "Repressive-Troubling" and "Restrict Freedoms". The actors of emergency news in Turkey were given Table 7.

Table 7. The actors of emergency news according to the newspaper in Turkey

The actors of emergency news	f	%
President	13	7,4
Government Representatives	39	22,2
Local Governments	4	2,3
Political Parties	30	17,6
Civil society organizations	27	15,3
Artists	6	3,4
Civil Citizens	11	6,2

Others	46	25,6
Sum	176	100

The actors of the news in the newspapers are important for the evaluation of the important issue. The tendency and approach of the news on the subject, whether positive or negative, reinforces the perception that newspapers are trying to bring to the forefront. When the total distribution of the news is analyzed in Table 7, the persons formed by the academicians, experts and foreign politicians, which are mostly called "Other", are positioned as the main actors of the news. When the contents of the news were examined, Sabah newspaper mostly included the President and Government representatives as actors. As an actor, the Hürriyet newspaper included Government Representatives, Political Parties and Civil society organizations. As the actors of News, Cumhuriyet Newspaper included Government Representatives, Political Parties, Foreign Politicians, Non-Governmental Organizations and Journalists. The approachies to emergency news of newspapers in Turkey were given in Table 8.

The News approach	f	%
Positive	69	39,2
Negative	107	60,8
Sum	176	100

Table 8. The approachies to emergency news of newspapers in Turkey

When we look at the news in the related newspapers in general, it is seen that a significant portion of the news (60.8%) has a negative approach. When newspapers were examined, it is seen that the state of emergency is generally considered as a "problem". The political criticisms related with the emergency news in the newspapers in Turkey were given Table 9.

Table 9. Political criticisms related with emergency news in Turkey newspapers

Criticism	f	%
Yes	115	65,3
No	61	34,7
Sum	176	100

It is seen that most of the news (65.3%) on the subject contains political criticism. The most frequently published newspapers with political criticism are Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Sabah, respectively. This shows that the state of emergency is highly politicized by the press. The sources of the emergency news in Turkey newspapers were given in Table 10.

Table 10. The sources of emergency news in Turkey newspapers

Source	f	%
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Newspaper Reporter	116	65,9
Agency	50	28,4
Source Uncertain	10	5,7
Sum	176	100

When the source of the news is analyzed, it is seen that most of the news published by the newspapers uses their own correspondents as sources. In addition, the agency news were also included. The Doğan News Agency (DHA), which had the same ownership structure of the Hürriyet, appears to have published many news stories. The fact that the newspapers include the news made by their own correspondents reveals that all control is in the newspapers in the transmission of the news from the source to the reader. The news relevance of a state of emergency in the newspapers in Turkey was given in Table 11

Table11. The news relevance of a state of emergency in the news newspapers in Turkey

The news relevance	f	%
Directly	126	71,6
Indirect	50	28,4
Sum	176	100

The majority of the news covered (71.6%) had a direct interest in the state of emergency. This shows that the newspapers are largely broadcasting directly according to the state of emergency. Indirect news is mostly economic or educational.

## **3.2.** Content Analysis Data of Emergency News in French Newspapers

The states of emergency have been declared after the events in France on 13 Nov 2015.Le Figaro, Le Monde and L'Humanité newspapers in France were examined between 20<sup>th</sup>November and 4<sup>th</sup>December 2015 in this study. France has reached a total of 78 news on the subject. Table 12 shows the distribution of news from newspapers. According to the findings, it is seen that the most urgent issue is the L'Humanite newspaper.

Newspapers	f	%
Le Monde	24	30,8
L'Humanité	38	48,7
Le Figaro	16	20,5
Sum	78	100

Table 12. The distribution of state of emergency news in French newspapers

The presentation of the state of emergency news in the French newspapers was given Table 13.

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Presentation of the news	f	%
Text	23	29,5
Text + Visual	55	70,5
Sum	78	100

The way the news is presented in the form of text and text + visual is important both in terms of showing the importance given to the news and in determining the impact and intelligibility level of the news. When the news presentation forms of the selected newspapers were examined, it was seen that the news was mostly presented as text + visual. In the news with text +visual presentation, real and sometimes representative images such as people and communities are used. Compared with newspapers in Turkey, the use of text in the presentation of news is more greatly from the French news media. The rate of reading text may be less than text + visual presentation. The departments published by the emergency state news in the newspapers in France were given Table 14.

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News section	f	%
Agenda	23	29,5
Dormitory News	19	24,4
Politics	31	39,7
Economy	2	2,6
Earth	3	3,8
Sum	78	100

**Table 14.** Departments published of the emergency state news in the newspapers in France

It is seen that the majority of the news in all newspapers is published on the "Politics" pages. However, it should be stated that the news covering the state of emergency is mostly on the "Agenda" pages and then on the "Dormitory News" pages. The newspapers have been taken as examples of observations made between the dates specified in Turkey "world" has reached 27 different news pages. In the French news media, only 3 articles were reached on the "World" page. While the reactions of other countries were published in the newspapers in Turkey, the French news media from was not published their reactions of other countries. They wrote that concepts such as Freedom, Democracy and Justice, which are the foundation of France, were ignored by the state of emergency. The content of emergency state of newspapers in France was given Table 15.

Table 15. The content of emergency state by newspapers in France

The content of news	f	%
Political	57	73,1

Social	14	17,9
Economic	6	7,7
Environment	1	1,3
Sum	78	100

According to the findings in Table 15, it is understood that the news about the state of emergency was published with political and social content, respectively. The content of the newspapers in Turkey with French newspapers have different news. In France, for example, Economic news is less. The themes of the emergency state news in Turkey newspapers were given in Table 16.

Theme of news	f	%
Emergency State	39	50,0
Freedom	6	7,7
Media	1	1,3
Social Events-Conflicts	3	3,8
Legal-Law Topics	24	30,8
Economic Concerns-Problems	5	6,4
Sum	78	100

**Table 16.** Theme of the emergency state news in France newspapers

According to Table 16, it is understood that "state of emergency" theme is used most in the news. Other important themes are "Legal-Law issues" and "Freedom", "Economic Concerns-Problems", Social Events-Conflicts and Media, respectively. There are 12 articles in the newspapers in Turkey regarding freedom of the media and the press. In the French newspapers the Media has only one news. While there has been news concerned with "Economic issues" in Turkey, there has been little news about the news in the French newspapers. The formats of the representation of the state of emergency in the news in France were given Table 17.

 Table 17. The formats of the representation of the state of emergency in the news newspapers in France

The formats of the representation of the state of emergency	f	%
The state of emergency is required	21	26,9
Repressive-Troubling	30	38,5
Restrict Freedoms	27	34,6

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Sum 68 100
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The most widespread representation of the state of emergency in France was found to be "Repressive-Troubling". The newspapers in Turkey have argued that the state of emergency is necessary by 45.5%. The actors of emergency news in France were given Table 18.

The actors of emergency news	f	%
President	1	1,3
Government Representatives	14	17,9
Local Governments	4	5,1
Political Parties	12	15,4
Civil society organizations	19	24,4
Artists	1	1,3
Civil Citizens	6	7,7
Others	21	26,9
Sum	78	100

Table 18. The actors of emergency news according to the newspaper in France

When the data obtained from the French news media are analyzed, Table 16 presents the most opinions of the academicians, experts and writers as the actors of emergency. Secondly, the news of civil society organizations was included. The statements and actions of civil society organizations for the state of emergency have been the subject of three different newspapers. When we examine the newspaper France and Turkey, the main actors are the President and the Government representatives of the news media in Turkey. In France, President François Hollande's statements appear to support government representatives. The approach to the emergency news in France was given in Table 19.

Table 19. The approach to emergency news of newspapers in France

The news approach	f	%
Positive	8	10,3
Negative	70	89,7
Sum	78	100

The Le monde, Le Figaro and L'Humanité newspapers in France have reported negative news that the state of emergency will be used as a great tool of oppression for French citizens and immigrants. Due to the ordinary powers given to the security forces and the restriction of certain constitutional rights,

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there has been intense negative news about the violation of Article 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights by the French Parliament. When the news is analyzed, it is understood that a significant part of the news (95.8%) has a negative approach. It can be concluded that the state of emergency is considered a problem in France. The political criticism related with emergency news in France was given Table 20.

Criticism	f	%
Yes	76	97,4
No	2	2,6
Sum	78	100

**Table 20.** The political criticism related with emergency news in France newspapers

It is seen that the majority of the news in the French newspapers (97.4%) contains political criticism. This rate was 65.3% in the newspapers types in Turkey. There was more political criticism in the France newspapers. This means that the French government is more criticized. The source of emergency news in France newspapers was given in Table 21.

Source	f	%
Newspaper Reporter	61	78,2
Agency	17	21,8
Sum	78	100

**Table 21.**The source of emergency news in Turkey newspapers

In this study, it is seen that most of the news published by the selected newspapers about the state of emergency uses their correspondents as sources. The newspapers Le Monde and Le Figaro featured news from their correspondents. The newspaper L'Humanité reported on its own correspondents and Agence France-Press. The Turkey newspapers are similar to this. The news relevance of a state of emergency in the news newspapers in France was given in Table 22.

Table22. The news relevance of a state of emergency in the news newspapers in France

The news relevance	f	%
Directly	71	92,2
Indirect	7	7,8
Sum	78	100

The majority of the news in French newspapers (92.2%) has a direct interest in the state of emergency. This ratio in Turkey was found as 71.6%. Indirect news has been identified as the rhetoric of the state of emergency among Sports, Environment, content news and politicians' speeches on another subject.

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### 4. Conclusion

This article determined that the state of emergency declared for the safety of two different countries was how presentations in the newspapers were. Furthermore, it was determined how newspapers affect society in terms of country safety in the state of emergency. The newspapers in Turkey and France, which declared in the state of emergency, were selected in this study. The newspapers (Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Sabah) dates between July 20<sup>th</sup> 2016-August 4<sup>th</sup> 2016 in Turkey were investigated. The 176 news relevant to this subject has been reached in Turkey. The states of emergency have been declared after the events in France on 13 Nov 2015. Le Figaro, Le Monde and L'Humanité newspapers in France were examined between November 20 and December 4, 2015 in this study. The 78 news relevant to this subject has been reached in France. The obtained results are given below.

- The more news has been published in Turkey between the dates specified.
- In both countries text and visual content were used in the content of the news. Turkey has used more visual and text together from France.
- While the reactions of other countries were published in the newspapers in Turkey, the French news media from was not published their reactions of other countries.
- The politicians in both countries took part high percentage in news content.
- While the state of emergency in France was found to be "Repressive-Troubling", The newspapers in Turkey have argued that the state of emergency is necessary by 45.5%.
- There was more political criticism in the France newspapers than Turkey newspaper.
- The source of the news in Turkey and France are largely journalists.

The representation format and reflecting of public opinion of the state of emergency were became in different ways in the newspapers in Turkey and France. The state of emergency tried to legitimize the government officials in the newspapers of both countries. This study indicates that there are big differences, which is the actors of news and the format of representation in the state of emergency, in Turkey and France.

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