

**REPRODUCTION OF IDEOLOGY IN THE NEWS; THE CASE OF  
PARIS ATTACK IN THE *TURKISH PRESS*\***

**HABERDE İDEOLOJİNİN YENİDEN ÜRETİMİ; TÜRK BASININDA  
PARİS SALDIRISI ÖRNEĞİ**

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**ABSTRACT**

This study is designed to examine the news in Turkish Media after the assault to Charlie Hebdo Magazine in early 2015. In the hypothetical part of the study, the concept of “ideology” has been examined with the Marxist sense together with the Gramsci and Althusser, and the approaches to the relevant news have been explained in two bases, which are liberal pluralism and critical paradigm. In terms of critical approaches, the economy-politics approach has been given, and the power of this approach on the production process of the relevant news has been explained. In the methodology section of the study, the Critical Discourse Analysis of van Dijk has been used. In the exemplification section of the study, the Cumhuriyet Newspaper from the radical leftist movement, the Yeni Şafak Newspaper from the radical rightist movement, and the Hürriyet Newspaper from the mainstream media have been examined. The news of these newspapers which were released between the dates January 8 and January 15, 2015 are examined.

**Key Words:** Charlie Hebdo, Discourse Analysis, Ideology, Critical Paradigm, Paris Assault.

**ÖZET**

Bu çalışma 2015 yılının başlarında Charlie Hebdo adlı dergiye düzenlenen saldırı sonrasında Türkiye basınında yer alan haberleri incelemek amacıyla oluşturulmuştur. Çalışmanın kuramsal kısmında ideoloji kavramı Marksist anlamlandırma ile birlikte Gramsci ve Althusser bağlamında ele alınarak, habere yönelik yaklaşımlar liberal çoğulcu ve eleştirel paradigma olmak üzere iki ayrı zeminde açıklanmıştır. Eleştirel yaklaşımlar açısından ekonomi-politik yaklaşıma yer verilerek haberin üretim süreci üzerindeki gücünden bahsedilmiştir. Çalışmanın yöntem kısmında ise van Dijk’in eleştirel söylem analizi kullanılmıştır. Çalışmanın örnekleminde radikal solda Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, radikal sağ olarak Yeni Şafak Gazetesi ile ana akım medya grubundan Hürriyet Gazetesi ve Sabah Gazetesi yer almıştır. Gazetelerde 8 Ocak – 15 Ocak 2015 tarihindeki haberler incelenmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Charlie Hebdo, Söylem Analizi, İdeoloji, Eleştirel Paradigma, Paris Saldırısı

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## **1. Giriş**

Ideology does not have a single definition, because ideology is the variety of meanings. As Eagleton said, “ideology is a text that has been weaved with different conceptual fibers as a tissue, and shaped on different dates”. In this context, it is possible to observe various definitions for ideology within the historical process. Eagleton has placed three critics on three points for ideology based on these definitions. The first one of these is the consideration claiming that “ideology is any belief motivated by social interests”. According to Eagleton, if ideology is a social phenomenon, it is incorrect to simile it to a stick on the hands of the dominating power; because sovereignty is the power that belongs to a certain part of society. Society, on the other hand, is the integrity that includes everybody. As a second item, the marginalizing side of the ideology definitions is emphasized. According to these definitions, the things that do not belong to us and to me are the things that belong to you; as a matter of fact, the thing that is not mine is bad. In other words, an individual defines the opposing viewpoint as being an ideological one by saying that his/her thought is not ideological. The third critics of Eagleton is the consideration claiming that ideology does not cover the whole, because it does not deal with other issues while it is focusing only on worldly facts (Eagleton, 2011:17-19).

Although ideology expresses a negative connotation, it has become a concept on which various studies have been conducted throughout history and for which many viewpoints have been put forward. As a matter of fact, it is possible to observe ideological cases and phenomena throughout history. States, institutions, and individuals have sometimes been organized around an ideological axis, and sometimes have been against organized ideologies. In this context, it is also possible to observe various ideological activities in the media.

Because capitalism became more powerful after the World War 2, the institutions became centralized, and the possession of mass communication devices became intensified. In this context, mass communication devices have been turned into an important notion (Gitlin, 2008:19).

Ideology is an important element in the conversion of the mass communication devices into an important notion. As a matter of fact, the media has acted in certain ideological frames when transferring the messages to the masses. In other words, the messages have been transferred to the masses in the light of certain ideological criteria. In this context, it is possible to talk about a variety of media according to the variety of ideologies.

## **2. Conceptual Frame**

The ideology of the news is in a relationship with the media of the politics, or the politics of the media. Even if ideology is named as false consciousness by Marxism, it has been one of the issues which is important to the theoretical level, and each philosopher makes his ideology assessment in accordance with his criteria.

Marxism defines ideology as the knowledge generated by an illusion in the consciousness of the subjects of social reality. Within the framework of this definition; ideology emerges as a crooked distorted knowledge of the social reality. Explaining ideology, Marx draws the most general limits for how the social consciousness is determined (Sancar, 1997:7-12). Marx and Engels, in the German Ideology, focus on an embodied concept of ideology comparing it with concept of alienation. However, Marx and Engels are interested in historical causes and functions of ideology, arguing that

ideology does not have a psychological dimension and that this belief, in contrast, will lead to false consciousness (Eagleton, 2011:103-109).

Gramsci, preferring hegemony rather than ideology, rejects all uses of the term ideology, which are completely negative, in his work; the Prison Notebooks. Gramsci, connects the negative sense of the term ideology to the modification of the concepts and the dismissal of the original. However, Gramsci advocates that it is necessary to distinguish the definitions of ideology produced arbitrarily from the given ideology connection; but the negative meaning of Marx's ideology is not on arbitrariness. According to Gramsci, the fact that Marx's syncing ideology with a speculative thought is the result of a historical universe in German Ideology. However, the issue Gramsci mentions is a matter of organic intellectuals; this issue is discussed in intellectual ideology (Eagleton, 2011:159-161).

Althusser, coming to the forefront with his theory called The Ideological State Apparatuses, bases ideology on three fundamentals; "There is no history of Ideology", "Ideology is a 'design' of an imaginary relationship between the individuals and real parallels of existence.", "Ideology calls individuals as subjects." (Althusser, 2013:182-194). With the judgment, "There is no history of Ideology"; Althusser's does not mean that there is no history in ideology. According to Althusser, ideology cannot be limited to history (Althusser, 2000:49). The second is "The Ideology is the 'design' of the imaginary relationships between the individuals and their own real parallels of existence." This concept can be explained as follows; there is a built structure of social conditions, and the relations between the individuals and the built structure may be true or false. For example, the sovereign power instrumentalizes the God saying that it takes its power from the God, and thus legitimizing its power among the masses. In other words, there is a reality formed (Althusser, 2013:187-189). In the judgment of "Ideology calls individuals as subjects", ideology, exists in the subject and thanks to the human subject. Subject to the order given here, the subject becomes part of the system given. Althusser expresses that the society seems to choose us as a unique value and to call us by names; saying that the society calls us thanks to ideology (Eagleton, 2011:191-192). However, according to Eagleton once again, Althusser says that all kinds of thoughts are connected to an unconscious problematic; but a problematic is not ideological in itself. According to Althusser, it refers to the actual science free from all ideological flaws. He discusses the separation of ideology and science; and dwells on this matter. Because each of the concepts has its own procedures; unlike historicist Marxism, Althusser suggests that social theories are not verified by the historical conditions but by their own internal methods. Ironically, Althusser's main thesis about ideology is seen to be similar to those of Nietzsche; because, Althusser builds his antithesis of theory and ideology roughly on this line. According to Nietzsche, theory and practice are things that are not compatible with each other. Althusser moves in this direction (2011:184-188). Ideology has been one of the important issues considered in Marxist and critical paradigms, and each thinker attributes a meaning to the ideology in his own perspective.

According to Tokgöz; news, taking shape from ideology in the context of media-politics relations, has no universal definition; such common definitions as "everything is news", "what we didn't know yesterday is news", "what people talk about is news" are available (2003:186). There are a variety of approaches defining news, along with these definitions; the first of these is liberal approach, which is referred to as a liberal pluralist. According to this approach, news is equivalent to the reality. Journalists are professionals who have the skills and equipment to reach this reality, and then the media

is the fourth power. Next to liberal pluralist approach is critical approach, another approach in the assessment about the news; according to this approach, reality in the news is reproduced and reconstructed (Poyraz, 2002:60-65).

In addition; the critical approach, thinking that the news does not reflect reality as it is, looks with suspicion at the role of the reporter between the event and public; in fact, those favoring critical approach agree that the media lacks objectivity due to reflecting certain class interests owing to its mediating role of capitalism (Dursun, 2005:70).

In the context of critical approaches, economy politics explains the production process of news. It advocates the need to look at the relationships of the capitalist classes in the society and economic structure of the organization that produces the news in the production process of the news. This paradigm emphasizes the specificity of the political-economic structure in the news production based on the fact that media organizations are owned by the ruling groups. The mainstay of the economy-politics approach in the Marxist thinking is the idea that the classes ruling the economic power will also govern the intellectual power, those having financial means of production will also control mental means of production, and therefore the content of media will be determined by the economic relations in society in the last instance (Şeker, 2009:93). In this direction; the production of news is realized within various ideologies and economic determinants. In other words, political-economic structure has a dominant position in the news production process. Political-economic structure forms the shape of the news; whereby the article is reproduced. News of international importance is also shaped according to the political-economic structure of organizations.

In the international arena, news has global value; however reasons for globalization is versatile; and the development of transport facilities, the emergence of a system based on the information, and the regeneration of new communication technologies are presented as reasons for globalization. Technology is a determining factor in the shaping of today's society; because today's technology becomes older fast enough to be considered as if it were yesterday's technology.

New communication technologies can be considered as the main actors of globalization; with the spread and development of technological systems, masses can have access to the same information in different parts of the world at the same time. In this regard; it is possible, thanks to technology, to reach news information in different parts of the world simultaneously.

The value of certain types of news is more important in the international arena. Any accident, death, assassination or natural disasters occurring anywhere in the world know no distance; as a matter of fact, the reflections of the armed attack organized for the humor magazine Charlie Hebdo in Paris were also felt in Turkey as in other countries; because different platforms and institutions in Turkey have made a press statements to the topic.

The attack captioned as 'Paris Attack' and which has a significant place in the world agenda, took place in the building of Charlie Hebdo magazine in the eleventh district of Paris around 11:30 am, January 7, 2015 ([www.milliyet.com.tr](http://www.milliyet.com.tr)). Twelve people lost their lives, including two police officers and Charlie Hebdo employees and, eleven people were injured on this attack. Among those who lost their lives were Stephane Charbonnier, the chief editor, and Jean Cabut, and Bernard Maris, one of the Charlie Hebdo's partners. It was said that the two policemen killed were defending Stephane Charbonnier, the chief editor, who was in the building at the time of the attack. Among the information provided is that Charbonniere, who was receiving death

threats, had been under the protection of the police for a long time ([www.hurriyet.com.tr](http://www.hurriyet.com.tr)).

Police officials providing information to the French media after the incident, did not disclose the names of the three attackers, saying that they were French citizens; but according to the information provided it is known that two attackers, who were thirty-two and thirty-four years old, were brothers and that the third attacker, described without arms, was at the age of eighteen. In addition, it was announced that the one of the attackers had terrorist criminal record ([www.milliyet.com.tr](http://www.milliyet.com.tr)).

The magazine's caricature drawings of the Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam are presented as the reason for the attack. Indeed, the magazine had previously come up with the cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad. The Muslim world reacted and protested the magazine ([tr.euronews.com](http://tr.euronews.com)). However, according to the accounts of the eyewitness immediately after the incident; the fact that the attackers left the scene saying "the revenge of the Prophet was taken" gives information about the cause of the event ([www.gazetevatan.com](http://www.gazetevatan.com)).

Charlie Hebdo carried the cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad published on a newspaper in Denmark to the magazine first in 2006, Philippe Val, the general editor of the magazine at the time, made the statements of "We publish these cartoons for solidarity with our Danish colleagues. This is not a provocation. Cartoon and press freedom is not provocation." In November 2011, the French humor magazine Charlie Hebdo published cartoons of "the Prophet Mohammed", at the protests followed; the Paris headquarters of the magazine, where the editorial work was conducted, was fire to. Despite this, the magazine published cartoons containing insults to the Prophet Mohammad on 19th September 2012, and had been faced with great protests in many countries. The magazine was accused by Islamic associations of posting cartoons which were "provocative, grudge and hatred oriented"; but Stephane Charbonnier Charlie Hebdo editor, defended himself saying: "We can make cartoons of anybody, in France. Religion is perceived as a thought in France. So, like I can make a caricature of Karl Marx. I can also make one of the Prophet Mohammad's." Muslim organizations in France, brought the magazine to trial claiming that it promotes "racism and hatred"; however the court found the charges invalid. In an issue of 2013, the Prophet Muhammad's life was portrayed in the form of comics by the magazine. The Islamic organizations in the country, asked Muslims not to be provoked saying that the magazine acted with economic concerns. Stéphane Charbonnier, in order to make the eventful cartoons be forgotten, made the statements: "In fact, no one knows anything about Islam or the prophet. This religion scares people, because Islam comes up on the press with the attacks organized by some minority groups. I think we should have started not by mocking Islam and the Prophet but by knowing them" ([tr.euronews.com](http://tr.euronews.com)). And the attack mentioned took place in the first week of 2015. Following the attack made to the weekly humor magazine Charlie Hebdo's office, a day of mourning was announced in France and the attack was protested in many cities of Europe ([www.aa.com.tr](http://www.aa.com.tr)). In addition, a 'Republic Walk' aimed at condemning the attack was organized in Paris, the capital of France with the participation of Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, and many statesmen participated in this walk, as well as citizens ([www.sabah.com.tr](http://www.sabah.com.tr)).

Paris attack is positioned in a different place in the perspective of each country; there were people evaluating the attack as the return of Islamophobia, as well as those evaluating it as an attack on Islamic world rather than an attack on the Western world. The assessment of this incident with an international dimension on the basis of countries

was stuck on the dilemma of media-politics; in other words, while the ideology determined the shape of the news, the ideology was reproduced. In this study, examining Paris attack as an example of the reproduction of ideology; the reflections of it on the Turkish press have been given place to. In fact, this event has been one of the important agenda items contained in the Turkish press. As well as the assessments from the ruling and opposition parties, several civil society organizations made statements on the topic. Each broadcaster reflected the news to the public notice in accordance with their own criteria.

### **3. Method**

The assault to the Charlie Hebdo Magazine in Paris on January 7, 2015 has found a lot of place in the media all over the world. As a matter of fact, the news was given on the first pages in the newspapers in Turkey. The media agencies carried the news to their pages in the direction of their own ideologies and economical-political structures. In this context, the news in the Turkish media after the assault has been analyzed in the light of the Critical Discourse Analysis Method of van Dijk.

The Critical Discourse Analysis Model of van Dijk consists of two sections, which are the “Macro” and the “Micro” structures. The Macro Structure is dealt with under two headings, which are the “Thematic Analysis” and the “Schematic Analysis”.

The news also follow a hierarchical scheme just as the stories and theories do. Producing a piece of news is performed thousands of times in a day under the professional routines, time and qualified man power, and within the limitations. This process is organized by a scheme. This scheme includes heading-news entry and summary of the news (Özer, 2011:83). In Micro Analysis, van Dijk examines the sentence structures in detail, and this is called the syntactic analyses. In other words, he deals with whether the sentence structures are active-passive or simple-complex. Regional agreement, selection of the words, and the rhetoric of the news are other arguments that constitute the Micro Structure. Van Dijk examines the regional agreement and the subsequent sentences and their relations with each other. Causality, functionality and reference relations are the three basics of this agreement between the sentences. In causal relation, the causal bonds in a sentence are sought; and in the functional relation, the explanation of a sentence in general sense being covered in the following sentence is examined.

The news on the Paris Assault released between the dates of January 8 and January 15, 2015 in Cumhuriyet, Sabah, Hürriyet and Yeni Şafak newspapers in Turkey have been examined with the abovementioned Critical Discourse Analysis Method. A quota has not been defined for each newspaper, and the news which attract attention with interesting contents has been selected. The reason for these newspapers, which were included in the exemplification, being selected is as follows: YeniŞafak has a conservative discourse style, Cumhuriyet is the oldest and the most stable newspaper of the leftist movement, Hürriyet and Sabah newspapers represent the central media and have a high circulation.

#### **4. Results and Discussion**

Four newspapers which are Hurriyet, Sabah, Yenişafak and Cumhuriyet are analyzed in this study with the method of discourse analysis.

##### **Cumhuriyet Newspaper**

On the issue of newspaper Cumhuriyet dated January 8, 2015, the attack was thematically captioned with the main heading "12 people killed in an attack on humor magazine Charlie Hebdo" and the heading "They murdered thought.". The judgments "The whole world stood up" and "9/11 of the Press" were located on entry of the news containing the photos of the deceased on the attack. The emphasis on humor magazine made by Cumhuriyet newspaper in the main headline has come to the fore; in fact, it is stated here that the purpose of the magazine is humor.

In an article given by the headline "one million Charlie Hebdo" on January 9, 2015; the fact that one million issues of the magazine would be printed by cooperation and the statement of Pelloux, one of the editors that survived, "Foolishness will not be victorious." was brought to the forefront. The article continued with the title "France mobilized to catch criminals", and sub-headings were used thematically. Images of press employees carrying banners of "Je Suis Charlie" from the memorial were used in the news in rhetorical terms. The photos of the attackers were also included. Only the statements of the president of France were thematically given place to in the news and detailed information about the lives of the attackers was also given.

In the report posted on January 11, 2015 with the title "'Je Suis Charlie' from the leaders" was given information about the march of the world leaders against terrorism. Thematically, "Eyes on Muslim Leaders" and " Hamas condemns, too" sub-headings were used. In the report that did not contain background information, making comments that there was a silence observed against the operation, passive sentence structures were used in the news stories. In rhetorical sense, a photo from the march was used.

With its thematic headline, "For Freedom..." on January 12, "World leaders and two million condemn terrorism in the march in Paris" was given as top header. Using the number of three million further in the news, there was a mismatch between the headline and the text, in that the judgment that one million people had become as one in the news story. In the news having no background information rhetorically located an image of the march from the top.

An article dated January 15, 2015 was thematically given with the title "Support to Freedom". In the news where the sub-headings of "Magazine Sold Out" and "The World Spoke", the newspaper, upon the reactions against its publication of the cartoons selected from Charlie Hebdo the previous day, defended itself as the freedom of thought. The police raid at the newspaper without a court order, and criticisms of TGS (Turkey Union of Journalists) and TGC (Turkey Journalists Association) were presented as news by the newspaper. Additionally, the fact that the French news agency AFP found the publications of the cartoons by the Cumhuriyet Newspaper in bold nature and that it praised Cumhuriyet newspaper were also included in the news.

### **Hürriyet Newspaper**

In the issue of Hürriyet newspaper dated January 9, 2015, the thematic headline of "Pens won't be silent" was presented on the front page. In the spotlight of the news, the sentence "The bloody attack on the humor magazine of France was protested by raising pens in many countries of the world" was located with passive sentence structures. In the sub-heading, using the judgment "the police in search of the criminals", passive structured sentences were included in news stories. In addition, as a reminder for the event, background information was given. Giving place to the photographs of the cartoonist who died in the attack on the news, the word 'artist' was chosen for those who died in the attack in terms of microstructure analysis. In the news, visually; a photo of a group with "We're all Charlie" banners and pens in their hands was visually given place to.

In the issue dated January 10, 2015 the headline "Our war is not with religion or civilization, but with terrorism" was involved with the big points on the front page. In the expressions "We must be strong" and "We need Free Press" in the subtitle of the news; the statements of the Prime Minister of France, and common sense call were transferred directly firsthand, and active sentence structures were used. In addition, an image from the operation with the photos of the attackers including their names below was also used. Operation details were given as background information. Again, the same day; the newspaper, on an inner page, gave place to the operation made for the attackers with the headline "CH Trap". 'CH' was given with big red points and the word 'Trap' with big black points. In the news story, passive sentence structures were used.

In the spotlight of the news given with the headline "Everywhere is Paris" located on the front page of the issue of Hürriyet newspaper dated January 11, 2015; the sentence "the attack on the humor magazine will be protested with the participation of the European leaders in Paris today. Hundreds of thousands will be standing for it" was given place to. Additionally, information about the participation of PM Ahmet Davutoğlu was given as a sub-title in the news. The photos of the visitors at the tomb of the cartoonists who died and of Eiffel Tower were used visually in the news. In the news story, there were no background and context information since no information was provided about the incident. The sentences in the text were of active structure. The news continued on page 20; the expression "Hand in Hand in Paris" was used in the news story in the inner page. Just above the title, photographs of world leaders including Ahmet Davutoğlu were given place to. Just below the spotlight of the news was located the sub-heading "High security, three separate routes". Active sentence structures were used in the news story. And, a photo showing a big crowd was used visually.

On the issue of the newspaper dated January,12, 2015; the news of the historical march on January,11, 2015 was given place to. Just above the headline "Humanity walks" were the names of the world leaders written in white points on red background below a photo of the world leaders together. In the spotlight of the news, the news that the world has come together to condemn terrorism was used with active sentence structures. Just below the spotlight entry was located the sub-heading of "Davutoğlu was there, too". To emphasize the sheer number of the crowd that came together to condemn terrorism, a huge photo of the crowd was rhetorically given place to. The statement "The world hand in hand against terrorism" was used with red points on the photo. The news gave details in the inside pages and; it gave the message that everyone was on this march with the headline "Muslims, Christians, Jews". Additionally, the images coming to the forefront on the march were located next the text. Images of the



citizens participating from Ankara, Nicosia, Madrid and Jerusalem with banners of "Je Suis Charlie" were also given place to. In the news story, active sentence structures were used by giving details. In the news story, there was no background and context information since no information and mentioning was provided about the incident.

In the report dated January 13, 2015; In the inside pages of newspapers, the headline "Soldiers in France coming down to streets" took place. The words "Soldiers in France" was written in small bold points, the words "coming down to streets" in big bold points. In the spotlight part, the news was summarized, and in the news story, details were given. Thematically, giving place to the statements of the Minister of Internal Affairs of France, the evaluations of the parties of the incident were considered. The information about the previous history of the incident given in the news showed that there was background information in it. Moreover, passive sentence structures were used in the news story. Rhetorically, a photo of the soldiers and citizens standing under Eiffel Tower was featured in the news.

### **Sabah Newspaper**

In the issue of Sabah newspaper dated January 8, 2015, the thematic subheading of "Massacre at Magazine" was presented on the front page. In the spotlight of the news the attack was summarized with the information "3 terrorists, masked with Kalashnikov rifles turned humor magazine Charlie Hebdo in Paris into a bloodbath". In the news story which rhetorically gave place to the photos of the magazine employees who died, along with a visual of the wounded on stretchers; the information about how the incident took place was given. In a schematic perspective, a description about the fact that the magazine provoked the reaction of the Islamic world by drawing cartoons insulting Prophet Muhammad was placed in the comments section. Further in the inside page; the news continued with the main heading "bloodiest day in the history of France Press, Massacre in the Magazine, 12 dead" in large points. Along with the image of the vehicle by which the attackers got away from the scene, the photos of the cartoonists died were rhetorically given on this page. Additionally, the sub-heading "the eventful magazine Charlie Hebdo" was created from the information about the previous incidents that the magazine was involved in with active sentence structures.

On its issue dated 9 January 2015, the headline "We're all Charlie" was given on a red background with large white fonts. Above this headline which had a similar design with the logo of Sabah newspaper was the image of a banner opened by the citizens. In the spotlight of the news; the expression of "The slogan for supporting the magazine attacked was in all the headlines of the French Press and in the protests in Europe: We're all Charlie" was seen. Active sentence structures were used in the headline and spotlight parts in terms of micro-structure analysis. An attempt to make the news look strong rhetorically was made by giving place to the names and photos of the attackers. In the news story; information about the developments was given using the passive sentence structures in the thematic context. Additionally, by giving place to the outlook of the parties thematically with the sub-heading of "Mehmet Görmez, Director of Religious Affairs: Paris attack directly targets Islam", a macro structure was used in the news. Further in the inside page; by giving place to the statements of Mehmet Görmez, the sentence "Paris attack is against Islam" was moved to the headline. In the news story, active sentence structures were used by giving the statements of Mehmet Görmez firsthand. The news story had a semantic integrity in general.

On January 10, 2015; in expression of "Two killer brothers and the murderer of the policewoman killed", active sentence structure was used in terms of micro-structure analysis. In the spotlight of the news, information about the incident was thematically

given and, additionally a situation section was also included in a schematic context. Background and context information was given by inserting reminders about the previous history of the incident. In addition, active sentence structures were used in the news story. An attempt to make the news look strong rhetorically was made by giving place to the scene of operation. Further in the news in the inner page; by giving place to the photos of the attackers killed and the scenes of operation, the main incident was explained schematically and the consequences of it were elaborated.

On the front page of the issue of Sabah newspaper dated January, 12, 2015; in the spotlight of the photo of the world leaders including Ahmet Davutoğlu of the news with the headline "Shoulder to shoulder against terrorism", the news was summarized by stating "The heart of the world beats in Paris. In the march with the participation of more than 50 leaders, 1.5 million people have one heart against terrorism". Below the spotlight, the rhetorical emphasis of 1.5 million people was made with a photo of a huge crowd, and a photo of President of France Hollande and Prime Minister of Germany Merkel embracing each other, which were on the front page. With the sub-heading "We came for solidarity"; the statements of Ahmet Davutoğlu were given using active sentence structures. Further in the inner page; photos of the huge crowd and the world leaders were given with the headline "World Capital Paris". Additionally, featuring a photo of Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu and President of France Hollande shaking hands, the news was elaborated with the information that Hollande met the leaders at the door as a sub-heading. In the spotlight of the news were the statements of Hollande given with active sentence structures.

In the inner page of the issue of the newspaper dated 14 January 2015", the headline "Codes of the attack being encrypted" was given with the word 'codes' in grey, and others in white. In the spotlight of the news, an account of the incident was given by stating that the traces of it extend to Bulgaria and Afghanistan. In the news story, by giving a short reminder about the incident, background information was used. Photos about the incident were given as visuals of the news.

#### **Yeni Şafak Newspaper**

In the news of Yeni Şafak newspaper dated January 9, 2015 with the subheading of "Islamophobia Epidemic"; the theme that European Press, especially that of Britain, used Islamophobic statements was highlighted. In the news that "Let's kill all Muslims" sub-heading was used in, despite the fact the attack on Charlie Hebdo was on agenda, the newspaper featured the news that two mosques were attacked in France and the police were making a street-by-street search, as a counter-attack. The same day, the statement that Director of Religious Affairs, Mehmet Görmez made on the issue took place in the spotlight of the news with the headline "The attack directly aims Islam". In the spotlight of the news was located the sentence of Görmez "This attack is directly aimed at Islam and the Muslims belonging to this supreme religion, themselves". In the sub-headings, sentences of "Attacks against peace", "Muslims cannot approve of acts of terrorism", "'Taif attitude' emphasis" took place. In the news story, active sentence structures were used by giving the statements of Mehmet Görmez firsthand. The photo of Mehmet Görmez was used as the visual in the news. While the statement of Mehmet Görmez covered half of the page, little space was given to the news with the headline "Homage to Paris".

In the news dated 10 January 2015 given with the headline "State of Emergency in Paris, the details about the operation were given. Sub-headings of "hours of siege" and "second shock in France" were thematically used. In the spotlight of the news, the fact that ninety thousand policemen assigned to catch the attackers killed them instead

of catching them brought doubts along with it. Additionally, the comment of the newspaper 'traces deleted' leave France under suspicion. The moment of operation and photos of the attackers were rhetorically given place to. Further in the news in inner pages, the news was elaborated in full page, and killing of hostages during the rescue operation took place with the title of "Rescue Debacle". The report criticized the appointment of ninety thousand policemen for three people. The visual used on the front page was rhetorically used in the inside page, too.

On the newspaper dated January, 11, 2015, the news of the march against terrorism that politicians and citizens would participate in was featured with the headline "Paris Doping to Islamophobia". In the entry of the news, the theme that the attack in which seventeen people were killed was the reason for the hostility waves through the Islamophobic circles and the western media was brought to the forefront. In the news that sub-headings were thematically used in, no background information was given as the incident was constantly on agenda.

On January 12, 2015, the newspaper used the headline "Paris Solidarity", the information that approximately fifty leaders, including Prime Minister Davutoğlu, attended the Republic March held in Paris was featured in the news. In the news that thematic sub-heading such as "Hollande thanks" and "most powerful message" were used in; background, context information was not given and an attempt to make the news stronger was made with the photo of the participation of a huge crowd. Further in the inner page of the newspaper, the news was elaborated in full-page. In the news that sub-headings were thematically used in, the news was rhetorically supported with visuals.

## **EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION**

As it has been stated in the hypothetical section of the study, the production of a piece of news is defined by the economic-political structure and the ideology. The media agencies producing the news with such a policy is considered as being the problematic area of the media researches. In this study, as stated before, the reflections of the Paris Assault in the Turkish Media have been analyzed.

The first one of the newspapers is the Cumhuriyet Newspaper. This newspaper positions itself in the radical leftist movement, and produces news that is against the government. The event has found a wide place in the Cumhuriyet Newspaper more than it has in the other newspapers in the exemplification.

While the magazine was being defined, the word "humor" is used and the assault is criticized in an indirect manner. On the other hand, the assault has also been criticized directly, and the concept of freedom has been emphasized. As well as the emphasis on freedom, it is also observed that the newspaper likens itself to the Charlie Hebdo magazine. Since it is an anti-government newspaper, the statements from the government officials have not been given.

In Hürriyet and Sabah newspapers, which are in the central media group, on the other hand, the same news is given in the same direction. Both newspapers condemned the assault and gave the statements of the government officials and the opposition party representatives. The Hürriyet Newspaper used the term "irony" while describing the magazine, but the Sabah Newspaper did not use any terms like "humor" or "irony".

In the Yeni Şafak Newspaper, which is in the radial rightist wing, the event was not given place in a wide manner, which is against to the Cumhuriyet Newspaper.

Terror was condemned in the news, the statements of the government officials were given in a wide area in the newspaper; however, the news did not cover much place in the agenda of the newspaper.

As a consequence, it may be concluded that the Paris Assault was dealt with at different levels in the Turkish Media in terms of ideology. The newspapers in the exemplification group have condemned the assault and demonstrated a mutual reaction. However, the selection of the words to describe the assault, and the parties of the news and other details were given ideologically.

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