

Reporting Of Settlement Process In Turkish Press¹

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Abstract

The initiatives for the solution of the terror problem ongoing for many years in Turkey, has attracted significant media interest. It was observed that media was not unconcerned with the developments in the settlement process and they made news about the subject with different perspectives. That situation puts forward the media's efforts to dominate especially over the developments related to national matters. In this process, the attitude of the media is determined by economical, political and ideological factors. So much that, the news contents of different newspapers about the same subjects related to the settlement process differentiated and their news texts had ideological signs. That status shows that; ideological positions of the media organizations are effective on the process of news formation.

In this study, it has been attempted to put forward how an attitude was adapted by the newspapers towards the developments in the process. In this direction, the newspapers of Yeni Şafak, Cumhuriyet, Habertürk, Radikal, Evrensel and Zaman; which are assumed to have different ideologically positions, has been examined in the context of the study. Among the news involving settlement process, the articles on the front pages of newspapers (headlines, subheadings and other news on the front page) have been examined in terms of biasness, and the media have been found to present a biased viewpoint contrary to the objectivity principles. The study, which is based on qualitative and quantitative content analysis, has revealed that; the news, which deal with the settlement process, were formatted according to a biased perspective, in terms of the language used; words and news sources selected.

Keywords: Settlement Process, Media, Politics, News, Bias

Çözüm Sürecinin Türk Basınında Sunumu

Öz

Türkiye'de uzun yıllardır devam eden terör sorununun çözümüne yönelik başlatılan girişimler, medyanın önemli ölçüde ilgisini çekmiştir. Çözüm sürecinde yaşanan gelişmelere, medyanın ilgisiz kalmadığı, konunun çeşitli bakış açılarıyla haberleştirildiği gözlemlenmiştir. Bu durum, medyanın özellikle ülke meselelerinde yaşanan gelişmelere yön çizme çabasını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu süreçte, medyanın tavrını ise ekonomik, siyasi ve ideolojik etkenler belirlemektedir. Öyle ki; çözüm sürecinde, aynı konuyu ele alan gazetelerin, haber içerikleri açısından farklılaştığı ve haber metinlerinin ideolojik izler taşıdığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu durum, haber yapılandırma sürecinde

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medyanın ideolojik konumlanmasının etkin olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Çalışmada, gazetelerin, süreç içerisinde yaşanan gelişmelere karşı nasıl bir tutum sergilediği saptanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu doğrultuda, ideolojik duruşlarının birbirlerinden farklılık gösterdikleri varsayılan, Yeni Şafak, Cumhuriyet, Habertürk, Radikal, Evrensel ve Zaman gazeteleri araştırma kapsamında incelenmiştir. Gazetelerin ön sayfalarında çözüm sürecini içeren haberler, (manşet, sürmanşet ve ön sayfada yer alan diğer haberler) yanlılık açısından incelenmiş ve basının, objektiflik ilkelerine aykırı bir biçimde taraflı bir bakış açısı sergilediği saptanmıştır. Nitel ve nicel içerik çözümlemesine dayanan çalışma, çözüm sürecini konu edinen haberlerin, kullanılan dil, seçilen sözcük ve haber kaynağı bakımından, taraftar bir bakış açısına dayanarak biçimlendirildiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çözüm Süreci, Medya, Siyaset, Haber, Taraflılık

Introduction

Turkey has been conducting a struggle against the armed terrorist organization PKK, which emerged in 1979, in political as well as military field, for longer than 30 years time. In the process, although several negotiations were conducted by the government, thousands of people have died during nearly half a century. After the arrest of Abdullah Öcalan in 1999, a unilateral ceasefire was declared by the terrorist organization in 2002. After the ceasefire, which broke down in 2004, the terrorist organization continued their armed attacks. The democratic opening process, which the AK Party government have initiated by the year 2009, is the beginning of the settlement process. Negotiations progressed by the National Intelligence Organization (NIO) at various times in 2010 and 2011 could not achieve a solution. NIO members' negotiations with members of the terrorist organization in Oslo were leaked to the press. In this process, the negotiations conducted by the state were interrupted and the process was carried out opened to the general public after 2013. On the 3rd of January in 2013, the Peace and Democracy Party deputies Ayla Akat Ata and Ahmet Türk, went to the Imralı Island to discuss with Abdullah Öcalan (Akbayrak, 2013: 74-75). After that meeting, the process, which is defined as peace process or settlement process in the social media, began. Issues such as; Paris assassination to the members of the terror organization, press infiltration of the negotiation documents, Öcalan's letter being read in the Newroz celebrations, release of the public officials taken prisoner by the terrorist organization and the Wise People Board, are the important steps of the process.

The media's attitude about the matters concerning national issues has an important place. In this context, the public perception created by the news of media about the settlement process, has the capacity to influence public opinion. In this sense, production of the news in the media structure is of utmost importance. The media, determine the news discourse by following ideological ways (Richardson, 2007: 116). In the process of news content creation, which is the most important point of media structure, the media present the ideologies in a praising, justifying, detailed, convincing and attractive format (Lull, 2001: 22). The media, which claim to behave according to neutrality criteria while doing so, choose actors in accordance with their own views by using their most popular method of referencing the source. In this process, they use the methods of concealing, hiding, ignoring and foregrounding. Those methods, which are particularly used in the news involving political and social issues having ideological content, draw a way in terms of reading the ideological codes in the news texts.

While the media have played a determining role on the subjects deeply concerning the social and political life, they also have had the effectiveness level for arranging any issue's distance from, and closeness to the social. It is a known fact that, the media, which put forward the developments in both political field and also economical space, have marketed such a conscience, up to the present. The media, which make a strategic selection among the power, ideology and economy triangle, form their various contents, primarily the news, in that direction. Dynamics of the media, which is naturally a party, to determine the contents are the proofs to guess in which direction the news/message will be formed. In Turkey, the media has played/been made to play an effective role, in the developments until now.

Especially after the September 12 military coup, it can be stated that a period, during which the media was engaged with the state, was witnessed. After the September 12 military intervention, the media obeyed the rules of the military government, promoted their activities and also praised them. The media supported the enacting of the 1982 Constitution during the referendum process, as well (Kuyucu, 2012: 18). While political and social factors played the determining role to form

the press in the period until the 1980s, economy -parallel with the direction led by the press- has become the basic determining factor after 1980. The liberal policies adopted with the decisions made by the Government on the 24th of January 1980, have changed the ownership structure of the press (Kuyucu, 2012: 21-22). Especially the great investment groups have turned towards press. Ahmet Oktay explains that change in the press using those words "The press no longer had only the position of a pressure group over governments, but also provided an economical power. Great investments groups have turned towards press field for, not only marketing the products of their own enterprises, but also getting a share from the advertising expenses of other groups and maintaining good relationships with the governments in terms of conducting their business" (Kuyucu, 2012: 23). This position of the media involves an interactive structure in terms of economics and politics. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain the process beginning on the 28th of February in 1997, which is defined as postmodern coup, in terms of economical equilibrium. During that period, most of the media, which had made their "strategic decision", took a position against the government and rather than an uncontrolled antigovernment group, they portrayed a formation on the side/in the control of the focus groups, who wanted to ease the political government off the office.

Certainly, there is something that has been experienced until present day; the media organizations are not unbiased from any thoughts/structures. Therefore, it is an important issue for the media, bias of which is almost clear, to make assessments away from prejudgements and compatible with universal criteria for spreading messages to serve for social peace; at least in social issues. If the media discharge that task, they will take the position of fourth power and perhaps will realise the identity of representative for the public.

When the developments in Turkey are dealt generally in terms of media; media formation in Turkey is observed to be economic, ideological and strategic. In those terms the approach of media to the terror problem, which is one of the most important problems of Turkey in our day, is strategic, with the evaluation of the economic and ideological parameters. Accordingly, preferences of the media can be discriminated significantly in qualitative and quantitative terms, through the news contents. Contents of the news about the settlement process are the reflection of the media's ownership structure, economical and ideological structure, relationships with the government in office, and their decisions through strategic evaluations on the acquisitions or losses of the media after the social issue.

Throughout the study, while the relationship between news, ideology and discourse, news reports have been analyzed in terms of biasness. In this regard, the viewpoint presented by the news content, which is the main objective of this study, has been tried to be determined (Fairlough, 2004: 129).

1. Theoretical Background

The most important message transferred by the means of mass communication is news. News is an extremely important commodity, which must contain the right information, and involve several criteria. So much that, it is the mirror of the media organization. Media organizations carry out a public task, while they fulfil their duty of news transferring. In this process, news, which is used in the sense of information, is the object to be transferred without change as right and true. Universal principals regarding journalism also put emphasis on the necessity of objective approach in the production and transfer phases of news. The concept of objectivity is about how the news is produced or transferred in the process of public agenda creation, engaged or

disengaged to the selection, arrangement, containment and values of the facts (Almagor, 2002: 100). However, conversion process of anything into news requires a selection and first marks of biasness begins to occur at that stage.

The media are assumed to be neutral in the liberal system. Social responsibility theory, which forms the philosophical rational of liberal approach, gives a central role to the concept of objectivity. Objectivity refers to neutrality in terms of the journalists and their production-news being free of personal data, value judgment, politics and ideology (Uzun, 2011: 42). Despite media organizations insisting on that they are independent and objective functioning, ownership structure of the media in the capitalist system, is a barrier to independence and objectivity (Uzun, 2011: 86). However it is accepted by some notable persons of the media that sometimes the media get away from fairness and neutrality; it is suggested that, it is not a result of general principals but it is a result of human errors (Shiller, 2005: 24). Traditional assessments assume that reporters or editors are faulty. (Shoemaker, Reese: 1997: 158). Nowadays, it is possible to see the biasness, when the article texts of the newspapers, who especially advocate that they do not participate in reviews and do objective and neutral journalism, are observed. Professional norms of the press not only put the conditional definitions of the sources in the article texts in order to make balanced news and reflect the public voice through the news, but also reject a certain language critique (İnal, 1995: 114).

Researches, which adopt critical perspective in news production stages and seize upon Marxist Theory based political-economic or cultural approach, deal with news as an ideology and treat journalism as a profession to re-produce the discourses of official sources (İnal, 1993:158). Critical media theorists influenced by the thoughts of Gramsci and Althusser bandy about the idea that the dominant ideology is re-produced the news texts (Dağtaş and Yaylagül, 2005: 5). The concept of "re-production", which is frequently used by Marxist School, has the meanings of multiplication, copying, producing again and derivation in everyday language. In economic terms, re-production is re-manufacturing something using certain production technology and operational structure. In ideological terms, the concept of re-production refers to persistence of both symbolic expression and legitimization of the produced thought and production relations of it (Arslan, 2004: 157). Economy-political approach among the studies dealing with news production in Marxist Tradition, discusses the issues such as, emphasise of the news on individuals rather than system and structure, reliance of the news on official sources, and the characteristics of the language used in the news (Schudson, 1997: 309-310). Murdock and Golding predicating the economy-political approach, argues that an actual analysis of news production should focus on not only economical context but also class base of media control (Shoemaker, Reese, 1997:141).

Herman and Chomsky (2002: 1-35), who assess the new in economic-political approach, puts forward that there are various filters in the production process of the news and it passes through several stages before being transferred to society, using the propaganda model of mass communication. In propaganda model, news filters define premises of discourse and discussion, determines what is newsworthy or not, and explain the basics and operation of the processes, which become propaganda campaigns. According to the model five fundamental news election filters are available: a) the dominant mass media firms' size; monopolized ownership; the media owner's wealth and profit orientation b) Mass media's main source of income: advertising c) Reliance of media on the information provided by the government, business world and the "experts" financed and confirmed by these basic resources and perpetrators of power d) Response production as a means to discipline the media e) "Anti-communism" as a national religion and control mechanism.

School of cultural studies among the Marxist research tradition, have used the hegemony theory, which was put forward by Gramsci to investigate the relationship between power and practice, as a theoretical concept in their critical media analyses (Shoemaker, Reese, 1997: 150). In this respect, the effort of British Cultural Studies School to understand the media and media products are also in the direction to determine the relationship between power and practices. According to Hall, the media are ideological and something ideological has its unique technological, economic and political conditions. To solve how these conditions are organized, the only way is to understand how they are correlated to specific locations and structures of power and how they intersect with the field of power and operation of power (Hall, 1997; 118). In the news texts, these intersection fields are discussed as a meaning building. While Cultural Studies School explain that meaning is built within a cultural system and meaning involves a struggle over the dominant comments of thousands of discourse that form the culture; they mention that it is built over and in the context of the current relations of domination (Dursun, 2004: 46-47).

When evaluating the relationship of the media with politics, it is inevitable to see the media in the political structuring, instead of thinking it as an autonomous, independent and completely neutralised fourth power. The whole political system is dependent to the media; to operate, the system and to establish their legitimacy, political decision makers need the mediation of the media (İnal, 1999: 20). At this point, the problem is noteworthy that beyond political system being dependent to the media; the media are observed to be dependent the political system. In liberal approach, the media, which are perceived to be the fourth power outside the political power centres; objective and unbiased, is in the position of a class power instrument and is dependent on it (İnal, 1999: 22).

In the analyses about the media, power and politics triangle -especially according to critical analysis- notions of economics and ideology are in the forefront. While Williams, defines ideology as the characteristic belief system of a particular class or group, Smythe and Shiller suggest that ideology production is a deliberate process rather than an unconscious one. Smythe state this process to be a beliefs, attitudes and thoughts system, which tend to promote or transform a comprehensive community initiative, a political or economic system (Sholle, 2005: 262). The media producing ideology; forms a style of vision, a method of editing and judgement, a selection or a preference, which creates the field of avowable (Sholle, 2005: 284). In the way of the media's doing this, ideological structuring, which is formed according to economical or cultural codes, has the dominant role. According to critical studies, the ideology item is articulated to the discourse, which aims the interpretation of the text. In the broad definition, the texts consist of messages and codification of those messages. Ideology occurs during communication, which is conceived as the space for meaning or information exchange. Accordingly, ideology is available in both production and reception points of the communication (Sholle, 2005: 258-259). In the creation process -production stage- of the news- media bodies move in the direction of their pro or anti government ideological structures. So, the media's reading format and transfer process of any event are shaped in that direction. And ideological stance leads to reporting the news texts through a particular view.

It is aimed to understand if the newspapers observed have ideological or political concerns while producing news, whether the sources referred for the news texts have different densities or not in different newspapers, if there is any connections with the words selected and the publication policy of the newspapers, and if the newspapers deal with the subjects prejudicially in accordance with their publication policies of ideological structures. Those aims have been determined in parallel with the suggested theoretical basis.

2. Purpose and Method of The Research

The presentation of the settlement process, which was started in order to run off the terrorist organisation PKK, by the media, was examined in terms of their biased/unbiased positions towards the cases and the actors. Among the universe formed by the wide circularized news papers in Turkey, our sample is the 6 of them. While determining the sample idea newspapers, which make politically involved publications, were taken as a base. The compliance sample determined according to non probability sampling method (Atabek and Şendur Atabek, 2007: 11); includes the articles of the newspapers assumed to have different ideological structures, between 4rd and 18th of January 2013, when the settlement process had began to take place in the media, and also from 24th of February to 3rd of March and from 12th of March to 6th of April 2013, when the most important events about the process happened. In the study, Habertürk, Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Zaman, Yeni Şafak and Evrensel newspapers were examined, which were assumed to produce news by moving from different reference points. In this direction, the articles on the front pages of the newspapers, concerning the settlement process were investigated. The articles located on the front pages of the newspapers are the reflection of the press organization, where the articles are subjected to the "news evaluation" stage and the selection among various events. Elections, conditions and processes in the article content, are distinctly located on the front page as the proof of this organization (Riffe , Lacy, G.Ficco: 2005: 10). For this purpose, investigation of the news papers was limited to the front page. The research method involves quantitative and qualitative content analysis.⁵

According to Berelson, content analysis is a research technique for systematically and quantitatively defining the open/clear content of communication (Prasad, 2008: 2). In this sense, quantitative data was derived through the clear content of the text by counting the words in the news texts, the actors, who are in the position of news source, and the news about the subject. The data in Table 1, Table 3 and Table was derived using that method. On the other hand, qualitative content analysis has the aim to subjectively but scientifically understand the societal reality, through the meanings, themes and hidden patterns to appear in the text; besides merely counting or picking the objective content in the texts (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009: 1). In this regard, various statements, actors and elements in the news texts were counted and analysed in accordance with the systematic determined. Although the standards, especially in the Table 2, Table 2.1, Table 4, and Table 4.1, categorised as positive, negative of neutral involve a qualitative approach; they were formed systematically to determine the political position of the media organization.

While quantitative data formed a reference point in order to put forward some distinctions; biasness was measured trough the newspapers' attitudes towards the actors, their viewpoints about the events, implications and pre-assumptions in the titles and spots (Van Dijk, 2003: 60). In this regard, various results were tried to be achieved, through using qualitative and quantitative methods, in the study. Some words in the news texts, the way the news is built, and the newspapers' approach towards some cases or actors, clearly put forward if the newspapers obey the neutrality measure or not. Additionally the positive or negative attitude towards any political actors, put forward clearly that the newspaper is not objective and also which side they are on in terms of the case dealt. When a newspaper is suggested to be on one side or biased is, it is intended that the news texts' way of being built is differentiated according to some factors

5 In the method of the study, the research "11 Eylül Saldırısının Türkiye Yazılı Basınındaki Sunumu" was benefited.

when compared with others, the news paper present the news in a biased perspective with some reasons and they give much or less place to the cases/actors in the news pages. In this regard, it is aimed in this study to put forward the point, which the newspapers put themselves on, in the news formation process about any events, by using qualitative and quantitative methods.

3. Findings

The settlement process, which was initiated by the Turkish government, was observed to be significantly located on the front pages of the newspapers. Plurality of headline news shows the special interest on the topic. Variety of the news and rate of the pages including the topic was observed to change according to impact of the events, which happened during the process. The rate of photographs used in the articles has also quite a large proportion. In this sense, the article texts were seen to be supported with visual material. The newspapers form their news sources among different individuals or organizations. Media organizations differentiate in terms of statements used or words selected in the news texts. Comments and marks of bias can be objected significantly in the news texts.

3.1. Analysis of The News Text In The Newspapers

3.1.1. Explanations about the tables

In the Table 1, the number how many times the actor, who is taken as the source of the news, had become the source of the news is given quantitatively. In the Table 2 and Table 2.1, positive or negative approaches of the newspapers towards the political actors in their news texts are given quantitatively. In the Table 3, conceptual differences, which significantly define the process ideologically being affected by the developments in the settlement process, take place. The frequency of the newspapers to define some concepts on the subject is given quantitatively. Additionally, in the Tables 4 and 4.1, positive or negative attitudes of the newspapers toward some developments in the settlement process are put forward quantitatively, as well. Finally, number of the photographs in the news texts, and the number of news given in the headlines are given in the Table 5. On the other hand, the biased attitudes of the newspapers in the news texts are given quantitatively in the table, as well. Some headings of the newspapers examined, which are given under the tables strengthens a set of qualitative implications that have been derived from the analysis of qualitative data. In line with the qualitative data, after the qualitative examination, headings and spots of some sample news take place in terms of supporting the interpretations of the tables. Headings and spots of the news have been assessed in the analysis of qualitative data.

Table 1: Numerical Values of the Sources of the News about the Settlement Process

Sources Used in the News Text	Cumhuriyet	Habertürk	Evrensel	Zaman	Yeni Şafak	Radikal
President Abdullah Gül			1	3	6	5
Prime Minister R. Tayyip Erdoğan	13	19	10	10	15	12
Abdullah Öcalan	3	6	6	5	6	9
Non Governmental Organizations			15	3	5	4
Government Authorities	10	12	8	8	11	

CHP Authorities	18	4	6	2	3	9
MHP Authorities	3			1	1	6
BDP Authorities	26	18	21	4	13	1
PKK Members	3	5	5	2	2	18
Experts	6		4		13	3

In the news texts of the newspapers, it is seen that; generally Prime Minister Erdoğan and the government circle are given as references. BDP (Peace and Democracy Party) also have an important place among the news sources, as a counterparty of the settlement process. While CHP (Republican Public Party) authorities are important news sources of Cumhuriyet (Cumhuriyet Newspaper), Evrensel (Evrensel Newspaper) gives more place to nongovernmental organizations. MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), who have an opponent stance against the settlement process, are observed to be the least referenced source of the news contents. In the news discourses, which are composed of referencing the sources or created directly through source person's expressions; newspapers are seen to use the actors having their own ideology, instead of enlightening other aspects of the event or creating source variance, as a requirement of journalistic principles (Table 1).

Some News Titles Putting forward the Attitudes of the Newspapers towards the Actors
Second Step to Disarmament (Silahları Bıraktırmaya İkinci Adım) (Yeni Şafak- subhead-4th of January 2013).

As the eyes are on the details of the contact between NIO and Öcalan after Prime Minister Erdoğan's statement of "Armistice negotiations are being carried out with İmralı", an important step was taken yesterday. Deputy of BDP and co-chairman of DTK (Democratic Society Congress) Ayla Akat and a NIO official have talked with Öcalan for 3 hours and 35 minutes." (Yeni Şafak-spot-4th of April 2013)

We Can Succeed Hand in Hand (El Ele Verip Başarıyoruz) (Habertürk-headline-7th of January 2013). Erdoğan warned the media and nongovernmental organizations about "support for İmralı process". (Habertürk, spot, 7th of January 2013).

We are Re-Accrediting AKP (AKP'ye Yeniden Kredi Açıyoruz) (Cumhuriyet- headline - 6th of January 2013).

Support came from CHP leader Kılıçdaroğlu, about the negotiations (Cumhuriyet- spot-5th of April 2013)

Let's Start the Process (Süreci Başlatalım) (Radikal- headline - 26th of February 2013).

Öcalan gave the message of "Armed struggle is over. Discuss the roadmap I have provided to you, let's start the process". (Radikal-spot-26th of February 2013).

More Steps for Peace (Barış için daha çok adım) (Evrensel- headline -5th of January 2013).

Reflections about the negotiation with İmralı are going on. The public wonders if the way to the settlement about Kurdish problem will be opened or not, through the negotiation (Evrensel- Spot-5th of January 2013).

If the Organization Lay down Arms, Reform Politics can be Implemented Easily (Örgüt Silah Bırakırsa reform politikalarına geçiş kolay olur) (Zaman, headline, 14th of March 2013).

President Gül asked everyone to behave responsibly. Gül talking to the journalists at his Sweden visit, said that "If the violence comes to an end, it will be easy to begin reform politics. Everyone should know the value of this and I hope the consequence will be good". (Zaman-spot-14th of March 2013).

Table 2: Attitudes of the analysed newspapers, towards the actors in the news texts

ACTORS	Cumhuriyet		Habertürk			Evensel			
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
President Abdullah Gül									1
Prime Minister R. Tayyip Erdoğan		16	8	19				2	8
Abdullah Öcalan	2	3	8	6		5	4		3
Non Governmental Organizations				1					
Government Authorities	2	9	4	8		1			4
CHP Authorities	3		1	2	3	1		1	4
MHP Authorities	1		1		2				
BDP Authorities	2	5	11	6	1	10	2		16
PKK Members		1	4	1		3			4

Table 2.1 : Attitudes of the analysed newspapers, towards the actors in the news texts

ACTORS	Yeni Şafak		Zaman			Radikal			
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
President Abdullah Gül							1		5
Prime Minister R. Tayyip Erdoğan	5		10			10	3	1	5
Abdullah Öcalan	3		4		2	4	4		7
Non Governmental Organizations	4		3						1
Government Authorities	3		6			7	4		3
CHP Authorities	1					4	3		3
MHP Authorities		1	1			1			1
BDP Authorities	3		7			4	2		14
PKK Members		2	1		1	1			4

Ideological backgrounds of the analysed newspapers have been effective not only on their selection of news sources, but also their determination of positive or negative attitudes towards the sources. By giving no space to some actors or by not objectively dealing with the ones they discuss, they present a biased viewpoint contrary to objective criteria. Yeni Şafak and Habertürk

newspapers were observed to have dealt with Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the actors from the government positively or neutrally. On the other hand, Cumhuriyet newspaper were observed to show a negative or neutralised attitude towards Prime Minister Erdoğan and the government authorities. Zaman and Evrensel news papers generally have a neutral position in terms of their attitudes towards the actors, while Radikal newspaper adopts mostly a positive or neutral attitude towards the actors. (Table 2 and Table 2.1).

Table 3: Definition Frequency of the Newspapers during the Settlement Process

	Cumhuriyet	Habertürk	Evrensel	Zaman	Yeni Şafak	Radikal
Settlement	15	18	18	17	33	13
İmralı	14	17	7	6	12	5
Federative Structure						1
Bargain	6				1	
Roadmap	1		1	2	3	2
Struggle	2			1	1	1
Negotiation	5	5	6	5	2	1
Autonomy					1	
Treason	2				1	
Peace	6	13	22	4	2	17

In addition to the attitudes towards the actors, which are determined as the source or subject of the news, the words chosen and definitions frequently used by the newspapers hold a significant place, as well. Newspapers were observed to have recently used settlement, peace, İmralı and negotiation definitions in the news especially on the front pages, in general. Evrensel, Radikal and Habertürk were seen to have used the concept of peace more when compared to other newspapers. While Cumhuriyet newspaper used the bargain phrase six times; Yeni Şafak newspaper used the phrase once and the others never used that word. The general identification generally used by the newspapers is the “settlement” phrase. While definition frequency of the newspapers about the process set forth their positive or negative standpoint; it emerges as an important detail in terms of biasness. In this sense, the sentences used and definitions selected by the newspapers in the news content, have the characteristics of a determining factor in ideological and political sense. Conceptual choices of the newspaper analysed determines this distinction (Table 3).

Table 4: Attitudes of the Newspapers towards the Events during the Settlement Process

Cumhuriyet	Habertürk			Evrensel				
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral		
EVENTS								
BDP committee in İmralı	2	8	6	8		1	1	4
Sakine Cansız Event	3	2	4	5		3	4	
Nevruz and Öcalan's message read	1		4	2			5	2
Infiltrate Press of Negotiation Documents		3	1	2		1		1
Formation of Wise People Board		6	3	5		1	1	5
Release of the Public Officials Taken Prisoner by PKK	1	1	2	3			1	

Some News Titles Putting forward the Attitudes of the Newspapers about the Actors
Second Step to Disarmament (Silahları Bıraktırmaya İkinci Adım) (Yeni Şafak- subhead-4th of January 2013).

As the eyes are on the details of the contact between NIO and Öcalan after Prime Minister Erdoğan's statement of "Armistice negotiations are being carried out with İmralı", an important step was taken yesterday. Deputy of BDP and co-chairman of DTK (Democratic Society Congress) Ayla Akat and a NIO official have talked with Öcalan for 3 hours and 35 minutes." (Yeni Şafak-spot-4th of April 2013)

We Can Succeed Hand in Hand (El Ele Verip Başarıyoruz) (Habertürk-headline-7th of January 2013). Erdoğan warned the media and nongovernmental organizations about "support for İmralı process". (Habertürk, spot, 7th of January 2013).

We are Re-Accrediting AKP (AKP'ye Yeniden Kredi Açıyoruz) (Cumhuriyet- headline - 6th of January 2013).

Support came from CHP leader Kılıçdaroğlu, about the negotiations (Cumhuriyet- spot-5th of April 2013)

Let's Start the Process (Süreci Başlatalım) (Radikal- headline - 26th of February 2013).

Öcalan gave the message of "Armed struggle if over. Discuss the roadmap I have provided to you, let's start the process". (Radikal-spot-26th of February 2013).

More Steps for Peace (Barış için daha çok adım) (Evrensel- headline -5th of January 2013).

Reflections about the negotiation with İmralı are going on. The public wonders if the way to the settlement about Kurdish problem will be opened or not, through the negotiation (Evrensel- Spot-5th of January 2013).

If the Organization Lay down Arms, Reform Politics can be Implemented Easily (Örgüt Silah Bırakırsa reform politikalarına geçiş kolay olur) (Zaman, headline, 14th of March 2013).

President Gül asked everyone to behave responsibly. Gül talking to the journalists at his Sweden visit, said that "If the violence comes to an end, it will be easy to begin reform politics. Everyone should know the value of this and I hope the consequence will be good". (Zaman-spot-14th of March 2013).

First Step to Peace (Barışa İlk Adım) (Habertürk- headline - 14th of March 2013).

An important stage in settlement process has resulted in success. 8 public officials, who were abducted by PKK have been received from Kandil, the longing for families came to an end after months (Habertürk- spot-14th of March 2013).

The Process Has Been Blocked (Süreç Kilitlendi) (Cumhuriyet- headline-2nd of April 2013).
 AKP and BDP have different opinions about the regulation and Wise People (Cumhuriyet- spot,- 2nd of April 2013).
 Lament and Peace (Yas ve Barış) (Radikal- headline - 17th of January 2013).
 The voice raising from Diyarbakır "Let a Settlement". (Radikal-spot-17th of January 2013).
 Allied Nations Can Also Sabotage (Dost Ülkeler de Sabote Edebilir) (Yeni Şafak- headline -11th of January 2013).
 Prime Minister's Principal Consultant Yalçın Akdoğan pointed out the possibility of allied nations to sabotage the peace process and added "Categorically there is no allied or enemy countries about this subject, we must be on the alert". (Yeni Şafak-spot-11th of January 2013).
 It's Time to Give Blessings (Artık Helalleşme Zamanı) (Zaman- headline -5th of April 2013).
 Prime Minister has made the first meeting with Wise People in İstanbul. The meeting of 62 people took 4 hours and a half. The committees will file their reports in two months (Zaman-spot-5th of April 2013)
 Peace Message from Kandil (Kandil'den barış mesajı) (Evrensel, headline-3rd of March 2013).
 BDP committee, who met with the KCK leaders in Kandil, have made important statements (Evrensel-spot-3rd of March 2013).

Table 4.1: Attitudes of the Newspapers towards the Events during the Settlement Process

EVENTS	Yeni Şafak		Zaman			Radikal			
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
BDP committee in İmralı	3					5			1
Sakine Cansız Event	5			5			6		1
Nevruz and Öcalan's message read	5		3	1		3	6		1
Infiltrate Press of Negotiation Documents		1			2		2		1
Formation of Wise People Board	2		5	1		2	1		2
Release of the Public Officials Taken Prisoner by PKK	2		1			2	2		

Note: In Sakine Cansız event, the distinction between positive and negative viewpoint is about attitudes towards the settlement process just after the developments on the issue, and the news content.

Newspapers were seen to make news about some events forming touchstones in the settlement process, in different styles. The news about those events has an important position, in terms of determining the approach of the media towards the process. After the Peace and Democracy Party committee went to İmralı Island in order to meet and discuss with Abdullah Öcalan on the 3rd of January in 2013 the settlement process began to be implemented in a manner open to the public. Then, Sakine Cansız and two PKK members' being killed, infiltration of the documents about the negotiation between government officials and Öcalan to the media, Öcalan's message being read in Diyarbakır at Nevruz celebrations, release of the public officials, who were prisoners

of PKK and the formation of Wise People Board are the dominant events in 2013 until the 6th of April. Developments in this process play a decisive role, when the newspapers are examined in terms of bias attitudes. While Cumhuriyet newspaper exhibited a significantly negative attitude towards the developments, it is observed to have built its news contents negatively. On the other hand, attitudes of the the other newspapers about the events, which have occurred during the process of settlement, have been observed to be positive or neutral. (Table 4 and Table 4.1).

Table 5: Numerical Values about the Settlement Process

	Cumhuriyet	Habertürk	Evrensel	Yeni Şafak	Zaman	Radikal
Photograph	39	56	35	95	26	81
Headline	12	29	10	19	19	28
Biasness	38	41	6	18	19	21
Total News	79	69	47	84	62	69

When the general attitude of the press towards the settlement process is evaluated; they are seen to pay a particular attention to the developments about the settlement process initiated by the Turkish government. Plurality of the news about the process on the front pages of the newspapers describes the interest shown in the subject. Number of the news about the issue given in the headlines is also an evidence of the press organizations' interest. Sentences containing a significant level of biasness and comments were frequently seen in the news contents. Visual materials were observed to be used sufficiently. In line with these data; the newspapers' reporting the news about the settlement process usually on the front pages and often in headlines, puts forth that the issue is minded by the media organizations and they have aim to affect the developments (Table 5).

Conclusion

In the study, it was observed that the media were not unconcerned with the developments in the settlement process, the news about the issue had found place especially on the front pages, which are the showcases of the newspapers, for long periods. This situation shows that the media have an effort to dominate over the developments about national issues. Economical, political and ideological reasons were observed to be decisive about the distinction or the perspective of the newspapers having the effort to draw the direction. So much that; the newspapers dealing with the same events in the settlement process were observed to differ in terms of news contents and news reports, and have ideological signs. This situation shows that ideological positioning is effective in news structuring process. Newspapers analysed were seen to adopt common news production style and to refer their news to the politicians, who are ideologically on the same side with them, instead of discussing a political issue using the different parties' viewpoints (Inal, 1999: 16). Especially Cumhuriyet newspaper was observed to build an oppositional news discourse, taking CHP authorities as reference to their news. On the other hand, especially Habertürk and Yeni Şafak newspapers have intensified the dominant ideology by giving more space to government authorities. Nationalist Movement Party, which has an oppositional stance towards the developments in the settlement process, is the least referred news source of the newspapers analysed.

The newspapers examined are seen to make choices of news sources, in line with their own policies and determine mostly the political actors, who are compatible with their political views,

as news sources. This attitude of the newspapers creating news by making another one to say what they want to say is seen to be a common method used by them. On the other hand, the attitudes towards the actors, who are the subjects of the news becomes distinct. The positive or negative attitudes of the newspapers towards the news sources concretise also the distinction in political terms. This situation can be seen through their positive or negative viewpoint of the source determined. The words and parlance used in the news put forward the clearly distinct attitudes towards the sources and in source determination. The most commonly used sources of the news are seen to be the authorities of the government, who began the settlement process, and BDP. The reason for this is positioning both of the structures as the actors of the process. However, the newspapers differ in terms of their news sources and attitudes towards the actor of the news. While Cumhuriyet newspaper reports the disclosures of the government authorities and the prime minister generally in a negative manner, it is seen to build the news derived from the authorities of CHP positively. While the disclosures of the government authorities are reported in a positive manner in the news of Habertürk and Yeni Şafak newspapers, the news based on the disclosures of the other sources are observed to be reported positive, negative or neutral. Those attitudes of the newspapers show that, they support the settlement process, by reporting positive disclosures about it. Evrensel newspaper is seen to have given more publicity to nongovernmental organizations, as the source of news. Additionally, no clear distinction is observed in terms of that newspaper's attitudes towards the sources. Radikal newspaper is seen to generally determine its news sources among various political wings and more commonly exhibit positive or neutral attitudes towards the sources. On the other hand, Zaman newspaper is observed to exhibit a neutral position about the process, while it does not intensely use the sources of the government and opposition. The newspaper, which has a negative attitude merely towards the disclosures of the members of PKK, is seen to exhibit no positive position about the disclosures of any of the sources and take a neutral position in general. On the whole, though the newspapers are seen to support the settlement process, they are observed to be a party about the "Settlement Process", which is carried on as an action of the government. The publication policy, which is shaped according to the political aspect the examined newspapers position themselves on, about the settlement process, should be evaluated in this regard. When dealt in these terms, it can be possibly stated that; Yeni Şafak, Evrensel and Habertürk newspapers support the "Settlement Process", while Radikal newspaper remains neutral but supportive to the process. Cumhuriyet newspaper is seen not to be supportive to the settlement process. On the other hand, Zaman newspaper was observed to remain neutral and it was not possible clarify the viewpoint of the newspaper, in this regard.

Newspapers examined are seen to have distinctive attitude, because of ideological, economical or other reasons, while they decide to use or not use the individual or group news sources. By observing the attitudes of newspapers towards any issues (actors and order of the words used in the news contents, which one is highlighted or pushed into the background, which aspects of the event is deferred or brought into forefront), it is possible to determine their political positions. In this sense, ideology is seen to create a major point of differentiation in the process of news formation. Especially the source actor of the news, words selected and the implications involved reveal this distinction clearly.

Newspapers examined are seen to select the political actors close to themselves, as news sources, in line with their ideological structure. In this respect, newspapers examined are clearly observed to frequently use news sources, whom they feel to be on their side, through their news source selections. Newspapers' attitudes towards the actors also have a variable characteristic according to the ideologies, which the politicians represent. In this sense, newspapers' attitudes

towards the settlement process have a decisive role on their attitude towards the actors of the news. The causes determining the editorial policy of newspapers, affects the language they use as well. The concepts, which are used as definitive means of the events in news contents, vary according to ideological position of the media organization. While contents of the articles were shaped by the news newspaper publication policies according to their ideology, news source actors were observed to be selected in this direction. This situation puts forward that news papers publishing is biased and every discourse of them construct an ideology. Biasness of the newspapers examined in the articles is in the form of reinforcing the discourse of dominant ideology or repeating discourse of oppositional structures.

It s seen that the newspapers play the role of an actor, by positioning themselves as a part of the settlement process. They concretise their active position in the settlement process not only by their phrases about the parties of the case and giving them more or less place in the news texts, but also by the headlines, some words and photos selected.

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