Peace Journalism and the Kurdish Question: A Frame Analysis of the Peace Process in the Turkish Press

Ayça Demet Atay

Submitted to the
Institute of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Communication and Media Studies

Eastern Mediterranean University
July 2016
Gazimağusa, North Cyprus

Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

_____
Prof. Dr. Cem Tanova
Acting Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Communication and Media Studies.

_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ümit İnatçı
Dean, Faculty of Communication and Media Studies

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Communication and Media Studies.

_____
Prof. Dr. Süleyman İrvan
Supervisor

Examining Committee
_____

1. Prof. Dr. Mine Gencel Bek   _____

2. Prof. Dr. Süleyman İrvan   _____

3. Prof. Dr. Ruhdan Uzun   _____

4. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hanife Aliefendioğlu _____

5. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin Ersoy   _____

ABSTRACT

Peace journalism, that aims to contribute to peaceful transformation of conflicts, emphasizes the free will of journalists on what to report and how to report it. However, what if "peace" becomes the official policy of the state, and the state imposes pressure on the media to act in line? Can the resulting form of journalism be still considered as peace journalism if it is ordered to support peace? This study assesses these questions within the context of the peace negotiations between the Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan- PKK) and the Turkish state. A quantitative frame analysis of the news coverage of the peace process in eleven Turkish newspapers, *Cumhuriyet, Habertürk, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Sözcü, Taraf, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak, Yeniçağ* and *Zaman,* is conducted in an effort to examine how the so-called "resolution process" was constructed in the mainstream Turkish press in the time period of 2013. The results are compared with the qualitative frame analyses of two cases: PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's Newroz message where he called the armed organization to withdraw across the border on 21 March 2013 and the press conference at the PKK base in Mount Qandil on 25 April 2013, where the PKK announced that they will withdraw. Front pages of the selected newspapers on the consecutive days of these two key events are analysed. The results show that the Turkish press, with the exception of nationalist dailies, supported the peace process in the selected time period. Considering the state-media relations in the country, this study names this form of journalism as "state-imposed peace journalism."

Keywords: Peace journalism, Turkey, peace process, state-media relations, Kurdish question, frame analysis

ÖZ

Çatışmaların barışçıl yollardan dönüştürülmesine katkıda bulunmayı hedefleyen barış gazeteciliği, neyin nasıl haberleştirileceği konusunda gazetecilerin özgür iradesine vurgu yapar. Ancak ya "barış" devletin resmi politikası haline gelirse ve devlet medyayı hizada tutmak için baskı uygularsa? Bu durumda ortaya çıkan gazetecilik, barışı desteklese bile barış gazeteciliği olarak nitelendirilebilir mi? Bu çalışma, bu sorulara Kürdistan İşçi Partisi (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan- PKK) ile Türkiye devleti arasındaki barış görüşmeleri bağlamında yanıt aramaktadır. "Çözüm süreci" olarak adlandırılan sürecin, ana akım Türk basınında 2013 yılı içinde nasıl inşa edildiğini incelemek amacıyla on bir Türk gazetesini- *Cumhuriyet, Habertürk, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Sözcü, Taraf, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak, Yeniçağ* ve *Zaman-* kapsayan nicel bir çerçeveleme analizi gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu araştırmanın sonuçları iki vakanın – PKK lideri Abdullah Öcalan'ın silahlı örgüte sınır dışına çıkmaları çağrısında bulunduğu 21 Mart 2013 tarihli Nevruz mesajı ve 25 Nisan 2013'te PKK'nın Kandil Dağı'ndaki üssünde gerçekleştirilen örgütün çekileceğini açıkladığı basın toplantısı- temsilini içeren nitel çerçeveleme analizleri ile karşılaştırılmıştır. Seçilen gazetelerin bu iki önemli olayın ertesi gününde yayımlanan baş sayfaları incelenmiştir. Sonuçlar göstermektedir ki milliyetçi gazeteler dışındaki Türk basını seçilen zaman döneminde barış sürecini desteklemiştir. Ülkedeki devlet-medya ilişkileri göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bu çalışma bu gazetecilik biçimini "devlet tarafından dayatılan barış gazeteciliği" olarak adlandırmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Barış gazeteciliği, Türkiye, barış süreci, devlet-medya ilişkileri, Kürt sorunu, çerçeveleme analizi

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP   Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*)

BDP   Peace and Democracy Party (*Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi*)

CHP   Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*)

DDKD   Revolutionary Democratic Cultural Association (*Devrimci Demokratik Kültür Dernekleri*)

DDKO   Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Hearts (*Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları*)

DP   Democrat Party (*Demokrat Parti*)

DTP   Democratic Society Party (*Demokratik Toplum Partisi*)

HDP   The Peoples' Democracy Party (*Halkların Demokratik Partisi*)

IPI   International Press Institute

KDPT   Democratic Party of Turkish Kurdistan (*Türkiye Kürdistan Demokrat Partisi*)

MHP   Nationalist Movement Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*)

MİT   National Intelligence Organization (*Milli İstihbarat Teşkilatı*)

NDR   National Democratic Revolution (*Milli Demokratik Devrim*)

PKK   Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan*)

PPP   Party-Press Parallelism

RSF   Reporters Without Borders

TGS   Turkish Journalists Union (*Türkiye Gazeteciler Sendikası*)

TİP   Turkish Workers' Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*)

WAN-IFRA   World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Problem

Peace journalism aims to contribute to peaceful transformation of violent conflicts by transcending the "us versus them" dichotomy that dominates news coverage. An often quoted definition is that peace journalism is "when editors and reporters make choices- of what stories to report and about how to report them- that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005, p.5). Here, the emphasis is on the free will of journalists on what to report and how to report in order to contribute to peace processes. However, what if "peace" becomes the official policy of the state and the state imposes pressure on the media to act accordingly? Can the resulting form of journalism be still considered as peace journalism if it is ordered to support peace? As Hawkins (2011) points out, there is little research on the performance of the media in peace processes. This study discusses the above stated questions within the context of the so-called "resolution process" in Turkey between the Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan - PKK) and the Turkish state, and examines how the peace negotiations were constructed in the Turkish press coverage.

1.2 Context of the Study: The Peace Process in Turkey

The protracted armed conflict between the Turkish state and the PKK, which goes back to the end of the 1970's, has cost thousands of lives and countless human rights abuses in the form of violence, torture and disappearances. The PKK was founded in 1978 and took up arms against the Turkish state in 1984 with the initial demand of establishing an independent Marxist state. Over the years the PKK's demands have changed from independence to the recognition of Kurdish political, social and cultural rights within a decentralized Turkey (Gunter 2013).

For a long period the Turkish state pursued denial policies regarding the conflict (Yeğen 2013; Özonur 2015). The problem was seen as the underdevelopment of the region and the solution was viewed as crashing the PKK and then developing the region. In 2009, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government launched the initiative known as "the Kurdish Opening", which was later renamed first as "the Democratic Opening" and then as the "National Unity and Fraternity Project".

In 2013, the peace process reached a new phase with Kurdish deputies visiting the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan in İmralı prison island many times, and carrying his messages to the PKK cadres, as well as to the public. Apart from the secret talks between the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MIT) and Öcalan, the parties negotiated their messages through the media.

When this study started in 2014, the peace process was moving with ups and downs, however, since 2015 the process has been halted by the Turkish government, and violence has escalated. As of 2016, the future of the peace process remains ambiguous.

1.3 Research Questions

This study assesses how the peace process is framed, and how the "other"- in this context, the PKK and its leader Abdullah Öcalan, is constructed by the Turkish press. Is there a significant difference in the newspapers' approaches, and if so, can this difference be related to their ideological stance?

In addition, the study assesses how much news value is attributed to the peace process. For this question, the positions of the selected news stories in the layout of front pages are evaluated. And finally, the study analyses the cited sources.

1.4 Methodology

This study employs constructionism as its methodology, which cautions the reader against "the taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world" (Burr, 2003, p.2). Constructionism is an invitation to read the world through a new form of intelligibility.

Constructionist epistemology rests on the proposition that there is no "truth" independent of the observer. This is not to deny the existence of the material world ontologically. Rather, constructionism maintains that things entail their meaning once they enter the horizon of discourses. We do not "discover" the meaning of things; rather, we construct it within the web of discourses that is available to us in our culture.

The positivist notion of objectivity is based on the claim that scientific knowledge corresponds to facts. Accordingly, the scientist needs to be transparent for letting the facts speak for themselves. From a constructionist understanding, facts don't speak

for themselves, as subjectivity is always there. However, the subject is not the originator of the meaning, as she (re)constructs truth within the limits of the web of discourses available to her in language. Thus, "facts" are fictive, in the sense that they are produced by a discourse-user scientists situated within the scientific institutions that constitute the "truth regime" (Foucault, 1980) of a society.

1.5 Method of Data Collection and Analysis

The above mentioned research questions are discussed in quantitative and qualitative frame analyses of eleven Turkish newspapers, *Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Zaman, Yeni Şafak, Habertürk, Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, Türkiye, Taraf* and *Yeni Çağ*, covering the period of 2013. The data is provided by the press monitoring agency Ajans Press with a keyword search in their print newspaper archive using the following keywords: barış süreci (peace process), çözüm süreci (resolution process), PKK and Öcalan.

Framing refers to the process of selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality to make them more salient, thus promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Regarding the coverage of the peace process, every newspaper promotes a particular problem definition, causal interpretation and a treatment recommendation.

The first part of the study contains a quantitative frame analysis of a total of 561 news stories that were published on the front pages of the selected newspapers on the consecutive days of keys events in 2013. The front page stories that continued on other pages are also included in the analysis.

The second part consists of qualitative frame analyses of two cases: the news coverage on Öcalan's Newroz message on 21 March 2013, where he called the PKK to "let the guns fall silent and withdraw across the border"; and the news coverage on the PKK's response to Öcalan's call on 25 April 2013.

1.6 The Structure of the Thesis

The second chapter presents an overview of peace journalism literature. The chapter covers the following subsections: story about the origins, Johan Galtung's Peace/War Journalism model, different conceptualizations on peace, peace as nonviolence, peace journalism as a form of self-other relationship, debates in peace journalism literature, and peace journalism and the role of the news media in various peace processes.

The third chapter provides the reader with background knowledge on the so-called "Kurdish question". Presenting the developments within a chronological time line, the chapter traces the roots of the question in history, which has witnessed various Kurdish rebellions in Turkey since the late 19th century. What may be called as "the last Kurdish rebellion" (Yeğen, 2011) has been continuing since 1984. For a long period the Turkish state pursued denial policies regarding the conflict (Yeğen, 2013; Özonur, 2015). Until the 1990s, even pronouncing the word "Kurd" was considered as a taboo (Somer, 2002). The root causes of the conflict have been viewed by the state elites as cultural and economic 'backwardness' of the region and 'terror'.

The fourth chapter assesses the state-media relations in Turkey within the theoretical frameworks of the indexing hypothesis as well as Hallin and Mancini's "Three Models of Media and Politics" (2004). An evaluation of the Turkish media system

shows that Turkish media with its low circulation rates, low level of professionalization, weak horizontal solidarity and high level of state intervention fits into what Hallin and Mancini refer to as the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist System.

The fifth chapter is on the methodology and method of analysis of the study. The epistemology and ontology of constructionist methodology, and the constructionist approach to frame analysis are discussed in detail in the chapter. The findings of the quantitative and qualitative frame analyses are presented in the sixth chapter, and finally the results are discussed in the conclusion chapter.

Chapter 2

PEACE JOURNALISM: A LITERATURE REVIEW

Peace journalism claims that news media have the responsibility and the capability of contributing to peaceful transformation of violent conflicts. It is a normative theory in that "it prescribes the 'right' approach" and "brings obligations to journalists about what to do, how to do and why to do" (İrvan, 2006, p.34). In Shinar's words, it is "a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage, that aims at contributing to peacemaking, peacekeeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace (Shinar, 2007, p. 1).

In the introduction part of Lynch and McGoldrick's seminal book *Peace Journalism*, Roy Greenslade writes that "if media are the central locus of war-mongering then, logically, they have the capability to be the catalyst for peace-mongering"(2005, p. ix). Greenslade's words point to the potential of the news media of playing a catalyst role for peace. This is the starting point of peace journalism, which aims to bring about change in the ways news is told about conflict.

The theory is referred to as a "journalistic revolution" by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) and, later, as an "insurgent form of journalism" by Lynch (2014), who have put outstanding effort into bringing the theory to the attention of the scholarly community. The theory is referred to by Hackett as an "internal reform movement,

operating in the corners of journalism education and news organizations" which aims "to revise professional practices" (2011, 2010). "Revolutionary/insurgent" and "reformist" are two fundamentally different depictions of the same reality, that is to say, of peace journalism.

In this chapter, I will attempt to discuss the potentials of change for peace that peace journalism aims to bring about and the limitations of the theory. Here, using Hackett's definition I refer to journalism as a "culturally central form of storytelling" (2010, p. 179), and attempt to tell the reader the story of peace journalism.

2.1 The Story about the Origins

In several sources, mainly by Lynch, McGoldrick and Galtung, the origins of the story of peace journalism are dated back to Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge's (1965) essay "The Structure of Foreign News". (See, for example, Lynch, 2010b; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2010; 2012; Lynch & Galtung, 2010; McGoldrick, 2011). In this early work, Galtung and Ruge analysed the structure of foreign news in Norwegian newspapers in an attempt to find an answer to the question of "how do 'events' become 'news'?", especially within the context of conflicts (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p. 65), and came up with policy implications including suggestions such as that "journalists should be better trained to capture and report on long-term developments and concentrate less on 'events'"; that there should be more coverage of "non-elite nations" and "non-elite people", and more reference to "non-personal causes of events" as well as to "positive events" (pp.84-85).

Galtung, later, analysed with Vincent (1992) the flow of international news and developed a four-factor news communication model that delved into the question of

which international events made news. Accordingly, events that take place in elite nations have a greater chance of becoming news than events in non-elite nations; likewise events about elite people have a greater chance of being covered in news than those about non-elite people; events that can be personified and those with negative consequences have greater chance of becoming news (p.7). Ultimately, the ideal top news event is something negative, happening to an elite person affecting elites in an elite country (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 19).

In contrast to what is argued in the above mentioned sources, in these early works by Galtung and his various colleagues there is no reference to peace journalism. This form of history writing as a fixed and unchanging story points to a closure in the field, which creates dominance with regard to the founding fathers of the "idea".

Here, I would like to draw the attention of the reader to Stuart Hall's marks about cultural studies. In *Cultural Studies and its Theoretical Legacies*, he writes about the story of cultural studies in the following way: "I myself have told it many other ways before; and I intend to tell it in a different way later" (Hall, 1992, p.227). Cultural studies does not have "one" history. There is no simple origin to it and its history is open to be rewritten over and over again.

Peace journalism is against dominance of all kinds, and hence, it should be self-critical regarding the potential of dominance this form of history writing may create within the field itself. Peace journalism as a field must remain open to constant change. There is always other ways of telling "what really happened". History is continuously written and re-written on the current day and projected upon the past.

2.2 Early Premises of Peace Journalism

The idea that the news media should support peace has its roots in two important documents (İrvan, 2006, p. 34). The first document is UNESCO's "Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Counter Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War" (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 1978), which was adopted at the 20th session of the UNESCO General Conference held in 1978 in Paris. Article 3 of the declaration emphasises that "the mass media have an important contribution to make to the strengthening of peace and international understanding and in countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war" (UNESCO, 1978). The second clause of the same article points to the ways in which the media can fulfil this responsibility in the following way:

> In countering aggressive war, racialism, apartheid and other violations of human rights which are *inter-alia* spawned by prejudice and ignorance, the mass media, by disseminating information on the aims, aspiration, cultures and needs of all peoples, contribute to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between peoples, to make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, to ensure the respect of the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, religion or nationality and to draw attention to the great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases, thereby promoting the formulation by States of the policies best able to promote the reduction of international tension and the peaceful and equitable settlement of international disputes (UNESCO, 1978).

This UNESCO document is an early premise of peace journalism. The second document which points to the news media's responsibility in contributing to peace is the "International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism", which "was prepared and given in the name of 400,000 'working journalists in all parts of the world' at a consultative meeting of international and regional organizations of

professional journalists held in Prague and Paris in 1983" (Nordenstreng, 1998, p. 124) Two principles of this ethical code, which was prepared under the auspices of UNESCO, are related to peace journalism. Principle VIII, which is on "Respect for universal values and diversity of cultures," states that a "true journalist" should stand for peace and participate in the social transformation towards it. The principle is articulated in the following way:

> A true journalist stands for the universal values of humanism, above all peace, democracy, human rights, social progress and national liberation, while respecting the distinctive character, value and dignity of each culture, as well as the right of each people freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems. Thus the journalist participates actively in social transformation towards democratic betterment of society and contributes through dialogue to a climate of confidence in international relations conducive to peace and justice everywhere, to détente, disarmament and national development. It belongs to the ethics of the profession that the journalist be aware of relevant provisions contained in international conventions, declarations and resolutions (International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism).

Principle IX of this document calls "for the journalist to abstain from any justification for, or incitement to, wars of aggression…" (International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism). "By doing so," the ethical code continues, "the journalist can help eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding among peoples, make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, ensure respect for the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, nationality, religion or philosophical conviction" (International Principles of Professional Ethics in Journalism).

These two documents from 1978 and 1983 attribute responsibility to the news media to contribute to peace among other values, and call the journalist to participate

actively in the social transformation towards peace, which would also involve a transformation of self-other relations in society.

In the case of Turkey, The Turkish Journalists' Declaration of Rights and Responsibilities adopted by the Association of Turkish Journalists in 1998 also refers to the idea of peace journalism (İrvan, 2006, p. 35). The article 3 of this document calls the journalist to defend "the universal values of humanity, chiefly peace, democracy and human rights, pluralism and respect of differences." The article continues in the following way:

> … Without any discrimination against nations, races, ethnicities, classes, sexes, languages, religious and philosophical beliefs, the journalist recognizes the rights and respectability of all nations, peoples and individuals. The journalist refrains from publishing material that incites enmity and hate among individuals, nations and human societies (p.35).

As mentioned above, peace journalism does not have a simple origin, as its history is open to be rewritten over and over again, just like in cultural studies; and there is always other ways of telling "what really happened."

2.3 The Peace/War Journalism Model

Galtung, in his binary model of peace *versus* war journalism, which he first presented at a summer school, targeting journalists, media academics and students in 1997 (Lynch, 1998), criticizes conventional media practices as "war journalism" and, applying conflict resolution principles to conflict reporting, comes up with a better way of conflict coverage, which he refers to as "peace journalism".

Accordingly, war journalism is violence-, propaganda-, elite-, and victory orientated, whereas peace journalism is peace-, truth-, people-, and solution-orientated. War

journalism presents conflicts as zero-sum games, with ultimately one party winning at the expense of the other's loss, whereas peace journalism supports that this doesn't have to be the case, and that there is always possibility for a win-win solution. In order to support nonviolent transformation of violent conflicts, peace journalism contends that news representations should make conflicts transparent in a way to enhance empathy and understanding among adversaries. Galtung advises the journalists to view the conflict within its complete map with its historical and cultural roots, and to approach all sides with empathy reflecting the suffering of all parties. Accordingly, war journalism is propaganda-orientated, in that it exposes "their" untruths, while covering up for "ours", peace journalism is, in contrast, truth-orientated and exposes the untruths of all sides. One of the criticisms that Galtung brings to "war journalism" is that it relies on elite sources, mainly on officials dominating the discourse about war and peace, without giving space to people peacemakers. Peace journalism suggests that those alternative voices for peace which are often left voiceless in conventional news media should be given adequate space. And finally, from a peace journalism perspective, peace is defined as "creativity + nonviolence", whereas war journalism views peace simply as "victory + ceasefire". What follows is that when weapons fall silent, war journalism leaves the scene, whereas peace journalism, as a process oriented approach, remains in the scene, following up for the aftermath of the peace agreement.

Table 1: Peace / War Journalism Model by Johan Galtung

Peace / Conflict Journalism	War/Violence Journalism
Peace/Conflict Orientated	*War/Violence Orientated*
explore conflict formations, x parties, y goals, z issues	focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war
general 'win-win' orientation	general zero-sum orientation
open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture	closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone
making conflicts transparent	making wars opaque / secret
giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding	'us-them' journalism, propaganda, voice for 'us'
see conflict/war as a problem, focus on conflict creativity	see 'them' as the problem, focus on who prevails in war
humanisation of all sides, more so the worse the weapon	dehumanization of 'them'; more so the worse the weapon
proactive: prevention before any violence / war occurs	reactive: waiting for violence before reporting
focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)	focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)
Truth – Orientated expose untruths on all sides /uncover all cover-ups	*Propaganda-Orientated* expose 'their' truths / help 'our' cover-ups/lies
People- Orientated focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children, giving voice to voiceless	*Elite-Orientated* focus on 'our' suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece
give name to all evil-doers	give name to 'their' evil-doers
focus on people peace-makers	focus on elite peace-makers
Solution- Orientated peace = non-violence + creativity highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation	*Victory-Orientated* peace= victory + ceasefire conceal peace initiatives, before victory is at hand focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again

Source: (Lynch 1998)

2.4 What is Peace Anyway?[1]

Any discussion about peace journalism must start with the question of "peace" itself. Peace has "no inherent meaning" (Rasmussen cited in Richmond 2005, p.7). In Lynch's words "peace is notoriously polysemic, to the point where it can sometimes seem to mean all things to all people" (2014, p.46).

Defining peace is a political act, which takes place within power relations. For instance, in St. Augustine's words peace is "tranquility of order". But "tranquility" is a delicate concept, which may result from oppressive power relations that prevail in a society. St.Augustine refers to peace as a social order, that is to say, the "distribution which allots things, equal and unequal, each to its own place" (Augustine, 1950, XIX, 13, p.690). Tranquillity in Augustinian sense points to a non-egalitarian society, where everyone knows her place and acts accordingly; that is an unjust society, in which various forms of domination and exploitation have been rendered natural, and, hence, invisible.

Therefore, "peace" must not be taken for granted, as it may as well be a "form of war", as Oliver Richmond (2005) argues. As peace has no inherent meaning, "one must take note of who describes peace, and how, as well as who constructs it, and why" (Richmond, 2005, p.7). From this standpoint, peace journalism should question not only how journalism can contribute to "peace", but also what kind of "peace" it ought to do so.

---

[1] This question is coined by Jake Lynch (2014 p.46).

Since the end of the Cold War, "peace" has been associated with liberalism. The "liberal peace" has taken over the world politics rendering itself as "natural":

> Derived from the universalizing imaginary of the mainly Western and developed international community that directs peacebuilding and development processes, the liberal peace framework combines democracy, free markets, development and the rule of law (Richmond and Franks, 2007, p.29).

Liberal peace is the benevolent face of what Fuchs (2011) refers to as new imperialism. According to Fuchs, in our contemporary world, there is a "struggle for the extension of neo-liberal capitalism all over the world" (p.199). Liberal peace operations, in this respect, serve to the instalment of neo-liberal capitalism in the conflict-torn peripheral areas of the world economy. For example, the US-led coalition's war against Iraq contains elements as such. David Harvey argues that the main goal of the war was the "transformation of Iraq into a neo-liberal capitalist economy", which can be defined as a form of "military-enforced accumulation by dispossession" (Harvey cited in p. 170).

Along the similar lines, Ellen Meiksins Wood refers to imperialism as the "military creation of a global economic and political hegemony of the United States" (Wood cited in p.171). Accordingly, "wars without temporal ends, geographic limits and specific aims, pre-emptive military strikes and universal capitalism" are the characteristics of the new imperialism (Wood cited in p.171).

Peace journalism argues that news media should contribute to peaceful transformation of violent conflicts. Shinar (2007), for instance, defines the aim of peace journalism as contributing to peacemaking and peacekeeping operations.

However, if one pays no attention to who describes and constructs peace and for what reason, one may as well find herself in a situation of guarding the spoils of war in the name of "peace" or "freedom" as in the case of the US Operation to Iraq.

2.4.1 "Peace" as Nonviolence

Lynch contends that peace journalism offers an "insurgent view" of peace (2014, p.47). Contrary to the dominant (Western) stream of thought, which views peace as "a preconceived end state" to be reached "by whatever means necessary" (p.47), peace journalism searches for peace through peaceful means, as Galtung and Jacobsen's (2000) book *Searching for Peace* suggests. In Lynch's words, "peace is based on attempts to discern and live by peaceful values, at every level: from our interiority… to relations within families and workplaces and among communities, nations and civilizations" (2014, p.47).

According to Galtung (1969), peace is the absence of violence. Here, Galtung refers not only to physical violence, but anything that influences human beings negatively "so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential" (1969, p. 168). Later, in his peace/war journalism model, Galtung updated this definition as "peace=nonviolence + creativity". Inspired by the human needs theory, Galtung sees violence as "avoidable insults to basic human needs, and more generally to life, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible. Threats to violence are also violence" (1990, p.292). Galtung refers to four classes of human needs: survival needs, well-being needs, identity needs and freedom needs. Negation of survival needs results in death; negation of well-being needs leads to misery; negation of identity needs leads to alienation, and that of freedom needs

leads to repression. Galtung later added a fourth category to this typology as that of environmental violence, which is done by the human kind to nature. (pp. 291-292).

Direct violence is personal, and easier to grasp, whereas structural and cultural violence need more attention. In Galtung's words, "Structural violence is silent, it does not show- it is essentially static, it *is* the tranquil waters", which "may be seen as about as natural as the air around us" (1969, p. 173). Structural violence can be understood as a system of political, economic or social relations creating barriers for people that they cannot remove, and that affects their lives negatively. The economic, social or political injustices caused by the capitalist mode of production can be given as examples to structural violence.

By cultural violence, Galtung refers to those aspects of culture such as religion, ideology, language, art and science "that can be used to justify or legitimize direct and structural violence" (1990, p. 291). "Cultural violence", he writes, "makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right- or at least not wrong" (p. 291). The notion of "Chosen People" having a "Promised Land" in Hebrew belief, which legitimizes the structural and direct violence to Palestinian people, is an example to such cultural violence that Galtung refers to (p. 297). He writes that "Direct violence is an *event*; structural violence is a *process* with ups and down; cultural violence is an *invariant,* a 'permanence'" (p. 294), and gives the example of slavery causing direct and structural violence to Africans that are captured and sold as slaves in the Americas, and creating "massive cultural violence with racist ideas everywhere" that still continue to exist although slavery was abolished long time ago (p.295). Galtung categorizes peace as positive versus negative peace, and defines negative peace as

the absence of direct violence, and positive peace as reaching a peaceful society, in which not only direct violence, but also structural and cultural violence is overcome.

Peace journalism defines peace "not as the absence of conflict, but the absence of violence" (Lynch, 2014, p.50). Peace journalism is concerned "not simply with the standards of war reporting, but positive peace- the creative, nonviolent resolution of all cultural, social and political conflicts" (Christians, 2010, pp. 15-16). Peace as nonviolence entails a specific type of self-other relationship.

2.5 Peace Journalism as a Form of Self-Other Relationship

2.5.1 Different Conceptions of Self

Self is constructed in culture. Individualistic Western societies traditionally presuppose that persons are "mutually independent actors" (Hamaguchi, 1985, p. 298), who "are separate from the world and society, and can be understood apart from the situation, context, or environment in which they are found" (Cross & Gore, 2012, p. 589). They are assumed to exist independent of and a priori to the social.

This view of the person results from analytical thinking that has its origins in ancient Greek philosophy. Analytical thinking views the world as a collection of separable discrete objects, and focuses on categories and rules in order to understand the behaviour of objects (Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001).

The independent self of the Western culture reflects this analytical worldview "in that the person is defined by stable properties, separate from his or her social context. This model of self includes the beliefs that the person has inalienable rights separate and prior to society and other interpersonal commitments, and that what defines a person is ultimately inside, stable and enduring" (Cross & Gore, 2012, p. 591).

Individualism rests on this notion of "sovereign" and "self-sufficient" individual whose fabric is not constituted by social relationships. This understanding of self has permeated much of modern culture, and "has shaped self-image of everyone now living in advanced industrial societies" (Dunne, 1996, p.137).

In contrast to this conception of independent self, collectivist cultures view persons and objects as continuous with, and embedded in environment. This worldview sees self as interdependent and construed in the web of relations. Persons are viewed as "a single thread in a richly textured fabric of relationships" (Kondo cited in Cross and Gore, 2012, p. 592), and "in this context what is natural, given, or unquestioned is the person's relatedness to others and embeddedness in social contexts" (p.592).

This interdependent understanding of reality leads to a view of the world in that "all beings affect others in every action and are responsible for the consequences of those actions" (Peterson, 2001. p. 86). Reality is viewed as a matrix, as a web in which everything is interconnected. Peterson contends that the concept of relational self offers a radical alternative to the individualism of the dominant Western thought, which conceives self as independent and self-sufficient. Ho and his colleagues talk of a convergence between Eastern and Western thoughts, in that one can speak of "a shift from individualism to relationalism in the West," which they refer to as "a symptom of the contemporary *Zeitgeist"* (Ho, Chan, Peng, & Ng, 2001, p. 406), and they look at the West-originated conception of "dialogical self" as the locus of this convergence.

Dialogical self is relational in character. It is a "multi-voiced self" (Hermans, 2001), "permeated by otherness" (Dunne, 1996, p.143), implicated in and formed by

relationships. This conception of self is a fluid concept with no "pristine core of selfhood", that is to say, "no original 'I', no originally detached self to be the author of the process of self-construction from the outside" (pp.143-144).

If the Cartesian "I" or "ego" as pure and extensionless mind, which authors its self-construction, is not there, who, then, speaks when "I" speak? Hermans (2002) claims that "the 'I' fluctuates among different and even opposed positions, and has the capacity imaginatively to endow each position with a voice so that dialogical relations between positions can be established" (p. 148). "A position always implies relations" (Hermans, 2001, p.253), and in contrast to the Cartesian self, which exists separately and a priori to the social, the dialogical self is social, not only because it interacts with others, but also because others occupy positions inside its own voices (p.250).

The dialogical self carries in itself collective voices as well. Bakhtin refers to "social languages" (Cited in p. 262), and Burkitt (2010) argues that "from the earliest years, our sense of self is intertwined with the voices of others, and that these voices can have their autonomy, intruding into our self-consciousness and our response to others" (p. 306). Therefore, as Bakhtin (Cited in p.306) notes, what one regards to as her own voice, which she associates with her sense of "I", is "saturated with the voices of others that leave the taste of their words on one's tongue as one speaks them". Consequently, when one speaks and acts as "I", she does so with "otherness enveloped" in her. The otherness in *me* is not constituted outside of power relations. Some of these internalized voices are recognized easier than others because they have more social power or influence than the less heard ones (Hermans, 2002).

From a dialogical point of view, "Ethics is dialogical" (Murray, 2000, p.134) in that it is "a sort of conversation between self and Other as dialogical-ethical participants in the interhuman encounter" (p.134). Dialogically, "to *be* means to *communicate*" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 287). One can become conscious of oneself only while one reveals herself "for another, through another, and with the help of another" (p.287). The other is a constitutive part of self in that self becomes itself in connection with the other.

Following Levinas, it can be claimed that ethics is a dialogical relationship in that self is called to responsibility by the other. For Levinas, ethics emanates from the Other. As Murray points out, "the Other cannot be wholly interpreted or translated into the language, experience, or perspective of the self since it would, at that point, no longer be other" (2000, p.139). The only thing self can *know* about the Other would be self's desire to know him. In *Totality and Infinity*, Levinas (1969) criticizes Western thinking as being reductionist, and claims that as attempts at knowing the "other" result in reductions of otherness to the terms of the same, "Western thinking has been 'not a relation with the other as such but the reduction of the other to the same' (p. 46). Levinas's conception of intersubjectivity is "a non-symmetrical relation" (p.91), in which self is called to act responsibly for the other "without waiting for reciprocity". This entails a switch from a self-centred ethical position to an "other-centred" one.

2.5.2 Peace Journalism as an "Other-Centred" Ethical Position

Peace journalism aims at transforming the self-other relationships in violent conflicts. As Susan Dente Ross (2006) writes, peace journalism can be viewed as "journalism of symbolic rapprochement", which involves the transformation of the

images of the self and the other. Accordingly, "peace journalists must listen well, hear 'the other' better, and understand and incorporate that new understanding to transcend the bonds of identity and enmity" (2006, p.1)

The news media can fuel conflicts by disseminating negative "enemy" images that "delegitimize a particular group for a political purpose" (Bahador, 2015, p.121). As Bahador (2015) notes, based on dehumanization and demonization of the other, these images are means to "sell the war" (p.120) to the public. Accordingly, dehumanization involves the use of the sub-human portrayals such as animals like snakes, rats, pigs and cockroaches (p.121). In Rwandan genocide, for example, the infamous radio station *Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* was known for its broadcasts that dehumanized Tutsis by calling them cockroaches.

As the UNESCO Constitution Preamble (1945) states, "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." For true reconciliation, the "enemy" must be rehumanized; and empathy between the former adversary groups must be promoted (Halpern and Weinstein, 2004), and societal beliefs about the ingroup and outgroups must be altered (Bar-Tal, 2000). The following three societal beliefs constitute the key obstacles to reconciliation: justness of one's own goals, delegitimizing the opponent, and positive self-image (p.357). As Bar-Tal points to, for reconciliation, the members of a society must form new beliefs about the adversary, their own society and about the relationship between the two groups (p.356). What he refers to as "conflictive ethos" must be replaced with the formation of an "ethos of peace", which includes mutual trust and acceptance, cooperation, and consideration of mutual needs.

Peace can only be reached through democratic communication (Çoban, 2010). The success of peace processes depend on the cleansing of social memory from the traces of violence, and this becomes possible through the reconstruction of positive images about adversary groups' harmonious past. In this process, media have an important responsibility. Empathy and communication between the parties are of crucial importance, and for the sustainability of dialogue, the discourse of the mainstream media must be conciliated (p.33). The transformation in mainstream media's discourse towards a peace discourse is a fundamentally important beginning for transcending the war environment.

In areas that are directly affected by conflict, news coverage is very often inflicted by a "good-us" versus "bad-them" dichotomy. By breaking this dichotomy, and transforming the images of "enemy", peace journalism aims to open space for peace initiatives.

In dialogical view, the self and the other are both multi-voiced. Thus, the role of the peace journalist is to enable dialogue between these many voices; however, some of these voices have more power, dominating other voices. In the search for peace, peace journalist should include the excluded voices into the dialogue. In this respect, not just elite voices but also grassroots level civil initiatives; not just men but also women; not just heterosexuals but also LGBT individuals, not just whites but also other races; and not just adults but also children must be included in dialogue.

In times of violent conflict, the other becomes the enemy, "who deserves any violence perpetrated against it" (Jabri, 1996, p. 134), and this exclusionary discourse dominates the news media, which become a channel through which the individual is

connected to the collective violence. However, there is otherness enveloped in the self, or so to say, "There is a yin in yang, and yang in yin" (Galtung & Jacobsen, 2000, p.264). Peace journalism aims to go beyond the boundaries of the independent self, "finding the other in the self and vice versa" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. 220).

As Sevda Alankuş also points out (Cited in Köse 2013), following Levinas and Derrida, peace journalism should not be conceptualized as an "individual-centred" ethical position, but as an "other-centred" ethical position, and in this picture the face of the other calls not to kill, neither physically nor symbolically.

2.6 Debates in Peace Journalism Literature

2.6.1 The Role of the Journalist as a Participant-Observer

News writing is a selection process. The journalist constructs her story selectively, including some "facts", while omitting others. She is a participant to her story. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) argue that the role of the peace journalist is a participant observer rather than a neutral outsider. In "the feedback loop" they criticize traditional journalism's linear view on conceptualizing cause and effect relations, and argue that the facts the journalist reports go back to the source and affect its possible future actions. Thus, the journalist inevitably intervenes in the course of events, and cannot claim to be a neutral outsider. Peace journalism situates the journalist as living interdependently, so to say, as being "in the boat" (Lesley Fordred cited in Lynch, 2002, p.36). The peace journalist is a part of the reality in which she re-constructs; her actions cause effects that return to the source, namely, the journalist herself. Therefore, journalism cannot be regarded as 'detached', as it is "implicated in cycles of cause and effect" (McGoldrick, 2011, p. 140), and "one

should take into account the *foreseeable* consequences of one's actions, [Weber] argued, and adjust one's behaviour accordingly" (Lynch & McGoldrick 2005, p.218)

The role of the journalist as a participant-observer in her story has attracted much criticism. The London based Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) criticised this new role as instrumentalisation of media by pushing the journalist from being a neutral observer in society to a direct actor. In a report, the IWPR announced that this type of instrumentalisation of media was a "dangerous violation of core professional principles". "Propaganda for peace is still propaganda", the report said (Institute for War and Peace Reporting, 2004, p.168). Along similar lines, senior BBC correspondent David Loyn criticized Galtung for misunderstanding the role of journalists and drawing them into conflict situations as active participants, which compromises their integrity (2003). The journalist's role vis-à-vis her story is related to another, more encompassing debate, namely the question of objectivity.

2.6.2 Objectivity

2.6.2.1 Early Years: A Discussion on Deconstruction

Peace journalism has had an ambivalent relationship with the notion of objectivity. Lynch declares in *The Peace Journalism Option,* that

> For journalists, the illusion of objectivity is finished. In the past it was a cloak for a set of values and definitions underpinned by a broadly establishment world view. Now that view and the institutions which sustained it are fragmenting, it is becoming ever more clear that journalists' presence conditions the story they are covering, making objectivity impossible (1998).

However, at the same time, peace journalism argues that war journalism results from a distorted representation of reality; peace journalism, on the contrary, is "truth-oriented" (Galtung, 2006, p.1). The role of the peace journalist is to "expose untruths on all sides and uncover all cover-ups" (p.1). This conceptualization situates the

journalist as an "eyewitness to the objective reality" and calls for conventional journalism ethic of objectivity to reach an undistorted representation of reality. As Hanitzsch (2007b) rightly criticizes, news is not a "mirror" of reality, but rather a representation of the world, which is "based on cognition and contingent (re)construction of reality." In that respect, "to say that reality can be 'misrepresented' … assumes that there is a proper and 'true' version of reality" (p. 5).

This ambivalence seems to be related to peace journalism's pragmatic start in the 1990s, which aimed to apply the knowledge accumulated in the fields of peace research and conflict resolution to journalism, in order to use the potential of news media for "peacemongering". Until mid-2000s, peace journalism movement did not define its epistemological foundation, as Hanitzsch (2007b) wrote in 2007.

In their book *Peace Journalism*, Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) criticize objectivity, "as an ethos in journalism", which was "a phenomenon of the Enlightenment, and the political, economic and social changes imbricated with it" (p.203). They write that "three conventions of objective reporting are *predisposed* towards War Journalism" (p.209). These are "a bias in favour of official sources, a bias in favour of event over process, and a bias in favour of 'dualism' in reporting conflict". The notion of "we just report the facts", they contend, "presupposes a relationship between the facts and the report, the outside world and the way it is represented, which is natural, obvious and transparent. Hence the 'just'" (p.212).

In a search for an epistemology critical of what Hackett refers to as the "objectivity regime" (2011), Lynch and McGoldrick, discuss structuralism and post-structuralism

in their work, and ask the question of "Can Peace Journalism survive contact with deconstruction?"(2005, p. 221), giving the impression that they will propose a post-structuralist, deconstructionist methodology for peace journalism.

Positivism rests on the idea that "the real" can be accessed by the independent observer in its pure and unmediated form, and claims that meaning exists "beyond and outside the various modes of representation" (Phillips, 2000, p.77). Deconstruction, on the other hand, is based on the idea that immediacy of presence is a "mirage" (Derrida, 1997, p.141), and "the sign is always the supplement of the thing itself" (p.145). As such, "there is nothing outside of the text [there is no outside text]" (p.158). From this perspective, knowledge, or news, is a representation of reality, which is produced in a process of signification, and not the reality itself. Thinking that things can have a meaning in themselves, and can be present to a knowing subject, is what Derrida refers to as "metaphysics of presence" (Cited in Game, 1991, p. 12). Logocentrism is based on this metaphysics.

Lynch and McGoldrick refer to Derrida's concepts of logocentrism and the 'transcendental signifier' and write that "deconstruction is sometimes criticised as a suggestion that we cannot, finally, 'know' anything- removing any basis to differentiate reliably between fact and fiction" (2005, p. 222). Their answer to this criticism is "no". They then discuss Derrida's concept of transcendental signifier which enables one "to inspect from the outside something called *logocentrism*" (p.222). "Many western ways of thinking, including those apparently antagonistic-liberalism and Marxism, for instance-," they write, "shared one key characteristic: each was centred on its own single concept or *logos*, left sacrosanct as the underpinning for the entire system of signification and the meanings- and binary

oppositions- therein" (p.222). This transcendental signifier, which constitutes the centre of a structure, may it be God, Reason, Progress or Class, can be, after all, under deconstruction. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) quote Derrida saying that "the notion of a structure lacking any centre represents the unthinkable itself" (Derrida cited in p.222), and they write that, "Derrida eventually nominated his own candidate for a 'transcendental signifier', something we need not attempt to deconstruct, or try to prove it is deconstructing itself", namely deconstruction itself. (p.222). Lynch and McGoldrick, at the end of their discussion on deconstruction, come up with their own nominee for a transcendental signifier, namely, peace, which would rest on the premises of "justice and emancipation along with the principles of non-violence and creativity", and which would provide a "vantage point from which to observe and report" (p.222).

I agree with Lynch and McGoldrick in that we need a vantage point in order not to fall into an endless relativism. Here, I point to a historical form of universal protonorm that is "embedded across space than being absolutist over time" (Christians, 2011a, p. 395) as a starting point. With a twist on Spivak's (1988) concept of strategic essentialism, I borrow the term "strategic universalism" from Paul Gilroy (2000), and refer to this approach as strategic universalism. As Spivak (1988) contends, strategic essentialism is not a "search for lost origins" (p.295), but a temporary strategy for resistance. As such, universal protonorms are not foundational a prioris, but strategic starting points for intellectual work for not to fall into endless relativism. Such strategic universalism provides cultures with an ethical anchorage, a strategic 'outside' for them to be self-critical. As Lee (2009) also argues peace journalism subscribes to the universal protonorm of nonviolence, and for ethics

based on nonviolence, sacredness of life can provide an anchorage as a strategic universal.

As discussed in the "peace journalism as a form of self-other relationship" part, I argue that we are bound to the other in an interdependent way as "we-self". What follows from this argument is that, nonviolence is not an abstract ethical principle one *may* follow, but rather a matter of life for all of "us": the ones who are trapped in conflict, the ones who report on that trap, and the ones who read/watch or listen to it through the news media from a distance. Violence is a boomerang that returns to all. There is a 'common good' beyond the aggregate of 'individual goods' and that is sacredness of life and nonviolence. This common good is the context in which ethics can be discussed.

2.6.2.2 On Critical Realism as the Methodological Foundation

Lynch (2006, 2007, 2014) has suggested critical realism as the methodological foundation of peace journalism, and Hackett (2011), has presented it as a "challenger paradigm" to conventional journalism's "objectivity regime", which, he has argued, rests on a positivist understanding of news as an accurate description of the world as it is. Hackett contends that peace journalism, in contrast, rejects both the positivist and relativist positions and situates itself in a critical realist epistemology without renouncing a commitment to truthfulness (pp. 42-43), which challenges the objectivity regime "towards an ethos of dialogue and an epistemology of self-reflexivity" (p.63).

From the standpoint of pure conventionalism, news is "what is happening" (Loyn, 2003), and "good journalism" is an honest attempt to fact-based reporting of the discernible truth written clearly for its readers whoever they may be (Randall, 2011).

Hence journalists are situated as eye-witnesses to "truth" (Loyn, 2003). This pure notion of "truth", however, has been problematised even by strong advocates of objectivity such as Loyn himself. In *Witnessing the Truth*, Loyn argues;

> There cannot of course be a single absolute truth- anyone who has ever interviewed two observers of the same incident knows that there is no perfect account-but once we step away from *pursuing* the truth, then we are lost in moral relativism that threatens the whole business of reporting… There is no objective truth…objectivity has to remain a goal, the only sacred goal we have. Just pursuing the ideal is enough, although we know, because of the shifting sand we live on, that an absolute objectivity is impossible… But both the reporter and the audience need to know that there is no other agenda- that what you see on the screen or hear on the radio is an honest attempt at objectivity (2003).

The "shifting sand" metaphor in Loyn's discourse points to an epistemological crisis related to the notion of objectivity. As Loyn (2007) later contends "perfect truth is unattainable", yet the "*pursuit* of an ideal is surely philosophically coherent, even though we know that will fall short" (p.3).

Critical realism presents a mid-way between the realist and constructivist positions. As Hanitzsch (2004) argues, Galtung's realist position claims "the observer and the observed as two distinct categories and assumes that reality, in principle, can be perceived and described "as it is". Descriptions of journalism that they have their origin in this paradigm are primarily critical on the nature of mass media. Their message is "The media distort reality"" (p.488). "From a constructivist perspective", Hanitzsch writes, "the observer and the observed appear as inseparable categories. As a result, "reality" – or what we believe to be reality- emerges from the consciousness of the observer. This implies for the description of journalism that both journalists and recipients construct their reality actively and autonomously" (p.488). In that respect, a constructivist perspective disapproves the notion "that the

"objectiveness" of a certain news account can be measured by its degree of correspondence with the genuine reality" (p. 488).

As mentioned above, critical realism presents a midway between these two positions. Quoting Wright, Lynch defines critical realism as

> A way of describing the process of 'knowing' that acknowledges the *reality of the thing known*, *as something other than the knower* (hence 'realism'), while fully acknowledging that the only access we have to this reality lies along the spiralling path of *appropriate dialogue or conversation between the knower and the thing known* (hence 'critical') (Wright cited in Lynch, 2006, p. 74).

"On a critical realist view", Lynch writes, "news should still be seen as a representation of something other than itself- a 'report of the facts', even though those facts are, in nearly every case, ready- mediated by the time any journalist, let alone readers and audiences, comes into contact with them" (p.74).

Lynch (2014) suggests critical realism as the epistemology of "good journalism", in that critical realism acknowledges that "reality exists independently of our knowledge of it', and although this knowledge is always fallible, because the outside world is not fully transparent, it is possible through discussion and deliberation in public spheres to recognise that 'all knowledge is not *equally* fallible'" (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson cited in p.30).

Critical realism prioritizes ontology over epistemology. Bhaskar claims that "there is no getting away from ontology":

> You can't get away without ontology. It is not a question of being a realist or not a realist. It is a question of what kind of realist you are going to be – explicit or tacit. Insofar as you are not a realist, you secrete an ontology and a

realism… You can't get far in the world unless you are implicitly realist in practice (Norris, 1999).

Critical realist methodology is based on a transcendental ontology that assumes that the extra-discursive world has a certain shape, and it is very important to get its shape right (Laclau & Bhaskar, 2007). This transcendental ontology presupposes that the world is structured, and that it is governed by a multiplicity of contradictory and, at times, antagonistic transfactual laws and tendencies. As Bhaskar points out, "when you argue from a transcendental premise, you are arguing from something you have to believe" (p.12).

Critical realism aims at preserving the unity of social and natural sciences, and the authority of science against the wave of uncertainty that came along with discovery of the limits of Newtonian physics. It does that by updating its propositions on ontology, i.e. on the real nature of being and absence, and the true character of science in the wake of development of quantum mechanics. In an attempt to "reconcile" (Norris, 1999) Cartesian binaries that dominated contemporary human sciences, such as reason/cause, mind/body, fact/value, etc., critical realism stratifies the notion of reality itself into three: real, actual, and empirical.

The stratum of real refers to objects, their structures or natures and their causal powers and liabilities; the stratum of actual refers to what happens when these powers and liabilities are activated; and the stratum of empirical is the subset of the real and actual that is experienced by human actors (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer, 2004)

As to the question of "whether there exists a world independently of human consciousness", "the answer which critical realism provides us with is that there exists both an external world independently of human consciousness, and at the same time a dimension which includes our socially determined knowledge about reality" (Danermark, Ekström, Jakobsen, & Karlsson, 2002, pp. 5-6). Danermark and his colleagues further explains this in the following way:

> This brings us to the statement that reality has an *objective existence* but that our knowledge of it is conceptually mediated: facts are theory-*dependent* but they are not theory-*determined.* This in turn means that all knowledge in fact is fallible and open to adjustment. But – not all knowledge by far is *equally* fallible (p.15).

This understanding of the relationship between reality and the knowledge of it means "that some representations are to be preferred over others" (Lynch, 2014, p.30). Lynch distinguishes good journalism in the way that it goes "beneath surface meaning", that is to say, beneath "first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, "to understand the deep meaning", which comprises "root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization , experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media ,or discourse" (Shor cited in p.31). In that respect, criticality means "developing more-than-surface understandings of phenomena that have come, or are coming, to pass" (p.31).

Here, I would like to pose some questions: why do we have to presume that the extra-discursive world has a certain shape? Do we "really" need a transcendental ontology on which we have to "believe"? Can we not simply argue that our knowledge of the world is dependent on discourse as its horizon, as post-

structuralists claim, without presupposing a transcendental ontology? Post-structuralism does not deny the existence of the extra-discursive world:

> If there were no human beings on earth, those objects that we call stones would be there nonetheless; but they would not be 'stones', because there would be neither mineralogy nor a language capable of classifying them and distinguishing them from other objects" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1987, p. 84).

Laclau and Mouffe define discourse as a theoretical horizon on which objects are given a meaning and make a distinction between two forms of existence: *esse* (being) and *ens* (entity) (p.85). The *esse* of a physical object is historical and changing, the entity is not. Simply formulated, objects do exist "out there" independent of the observer, but they are only given meaning once they enter the horizon of discourse. In this respect, the focus should be on intelligibility, and not on presuppositions about the shape of reality.

2.6.3 Agency versus Structure Debate

A very often quoted definition of peace journalism is that "Peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices – of what stories to report and about how to report them- that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. 5). This definition focuses on the individual, professional journalist as the locus of change.

This individual and professional journalist oriented approach of peace journalism has met with criticism from two aspects: its neglect of the structural constraints that surround the individual journalist and its focus on professionalism.

Hanitzsch (2005) argues that the supporters of peace journalism do not pay attention to the nuances and structural constraints that journalists work within their everyday

routines. The agent-based approach of peace journalism has also been criticized by Tehranian (2002). Peace journalism focuses on the individual journalist as the locus of change. Yet, one must consider that this individual journalist does not operate in a vacuum, and that the mainstream media that peace journalism aims to transform by the practices of individual journalists' editorial choices are part of the profit-seeking capitalist mechanism. Tehranian writes that "In a globalized world, media ethics must be negotiated not only professionally but also institutionally, nationally, and internationally. Such ethics must be based on international agreements that have already established the right to communicate as a human right. Ethics without commensurate institutional frameworks and sanctions often translate into pious wishes" (2002, p.58).

Studying the American media's coverage of human rights and foreign policy during the Cold War, Herman and Chomsky (1988, 2008) come up with the argument that the dominant media in the US serve as a propaganda system, in which "money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public" (2008, p. 61). "In countries", they argue, "where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serve the ends of a dominant elite. It is much more difficult to see a propaganda system at work where the media are private and formal censorship is absent" (p.60). However, contrary to the assumptions of the liberal press theory, it is also at work in "democratic" countries where the media are assumed to play a critical watchdog role on governments.

In their propaganda model, Herman and Chomsky identify five news "filters" through which the elite domination of media operates and naturalizes the process : 1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms; 2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; 3) the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and "experts" funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power; 4) 'flak' as a means of disciplining the media; and 5) "anti-communism" as a national religion and control mechanism (pp. 62- 91).

According to Herman and Chomsky, firstly, media are businesses that are subject to "market-profit-oriented forces", which form "the first powerful filter" that affects "news choices". Secondly, media are dependent on the corporate advertising revenue. Thirdly, media rely heavily on government and business sources, and on "experts", as they need a steady and reliable flow of raw material of news to meet the daily demands and imperatives of the news business. Fourthly, negative responses to news content "in the form of letters, telegrams, phone calls, petitions, lawsuits, speeches and bills before Congress, and other modes of complaint, threat and punitive action" can be "both uncomfortable and costly to the media". In this process, "the government is a major producer of flak, regularly assailing, threatening, and "correcting" the media, trying to contain any deviations from the established line." (p.89). Finally, the ideological filter of anti-communism as a "national religion" forms a filter for news production. Herman (1996) later wrote that the fifth filter was weakened by the collapse of the Soviet Union and global socialism, however, it was "easily offset by the greater ideological force of the belief in the 'miracle of the market'" (p.125).

In their study Herman and Chomsky found (1988, 2008) that the US media differentiated between "worthy" and "unworthy victims". They wrote that human rights abuses committed by the US-supported regimes were ignored, whereas those committed by pro-Soviet regimes were covered extensively. For example, at the beginning of the 1980s, the pro-Soviet Polish government's crackdown on the trade union Solidarity was found newsworthy, while at about the same time, the Turkish martial-law government's crackdown on Turkish trade unions and the torture of political prisoners did not find much space in the US news as "the US government supported the Turkish martial-law government from its inception in 1980", and "the US business community" had been "warm toward regimes that profess fervent anti-communism, encourage foreign investment, repress unions, and loyally support US foreign policy" (2008, p.92).

The propaganda model suggests that the media serves a "societal purpose". Yet, this purpose is different than the watchdog role attributed to the media by the liberal press theory. Herman and Chomsky argue that "the 'societal of purpose' of the media is to inculcate and defend the economic, social and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state. The media serve this purpose in many ways: through selection of topics, distribution of concerns, framing of issues, filtering of information, emphasis and tone, and by keeping debate within the bounds of acceptable premises" (p.351). In sum, they write, that the US mass media "are effective and powerful ideological institutions that carry out a system-supportive propaganda function by reliance on market forces, internalized assumptions, and self-censorship, and without significant overt coercion" (p. 360).

In the afterword Herman wrote for the 2008 edition, he concluded that the "elite grip" on the US mainstream media have been strengthened under the structural conditions advanced by globalization, with the increase in concentration, conglomeration, and joint venture arrangements among the big firms and commercialization of media, as well as with the intensification of the competition for advertising (p.362).

Hackett (2006) argues that Herman and Chomsky's findings which point to media's "double standards consonant with elite perspectives that portray 'our' side as moral and righteous, and 'them' as evil and aggressive" corresponds to the "characteristics of War Journalism" (p.3), and claims that the propaganda model constitutes "an antidote to naïve liberal notions of the free press" (p.3), however, he points to two major limitations of the model: its reductionism and functionalism. Hackett argues that the model is reductionist in that it oversimplifies the complexity of the news system; it has little to say about journalists' and the audiences' agency. "The very phrase 'manufacturing consent'", Hackett writes, "implies that audiences accept elite frameworks relatively passively" (p. 4). He also criticizes the propaganda model for being functionalist for its emphasis on "the smooth reproduction of the system, scanting contradiction and tension within it, and thus failing adequately to explore the openings for oppositional interventions within and against the propaganda system" (p.4) "Such functionalism can be disempowering to peace movements and other agents of social change" (p.4), Hackett concludes.

Lynch (2014) has responded to the criticism of peace journalism being individual-oriented, and accepted that structure governs the content of new reporting (p.38).

However, he argues that "there are good reasons … for emphasising possibilities of journalistic agency", and writes:

> The content of news reporting is clearly *governed* by the structures in which it is produced, both material and non-material, but we do not have to accept that it is fully *determined* by them" (p.38).

Peace journalism's focus on professionalism has also been criticized. Keeble argues that the "dominant strand in peace journalism theory" – here he makes reference to the works of Dov Shinar (2007) and Susan Dente Ross (2006) who emphasize professionalism- "focuses on the possibilities for transforming professional routines", and that this strand "focuses too closely on the notion of journalism as a privileged, professional activity and fails to take into account the critical intellectual tradition which locates professions historically and politically, seeing them as essentially occupational groupings with a legal monopoly of social and economic opportunities in the marketplace, underwritten by the state" (Keeble, 2010, pp. 50-51). Keeble argues against to what he refers to as "social closure", "according to which occupations seek to regulate market conditions in their favour restricting access to a limited group of eligible professionals" (p.51). He refers to Althusser, who critiqued such closure, and "saw professions as part of the ideological state apparatus – crucial to the formation of bourgeois hegemony" (Althusser cited in p. 51). Keeble also refers to Ivan Illich who "described professions as "a form of imperialism" operating in modern societies as repressive mechanisms undermining democracy (cited in p. 51). Keeble views, instead, "journalism as essentially a *political* practice" (emphasis added in the original source) (p.64) and calls "for a radical political re-theorising of journalism and more specifically peace journalism" in that "the right of all (not just the members of a professionalised, privileged and

largely white, male, elite) to communicate in the main or alternative public spheres"
is acknowledged. "To re-write Karl Marx", he writes, "Go for it journalists- you
have nothing to lose but your professional chains" (pp. 63-64).

In a similar vein, Gezgin (2010) writes that instead of turning journalists becoming
critical, the main effort should be put into turning the critical-minded people into
journalists (p.93).

Peace journalism's focus on professional media has also been criticized by Hackett
(2011), who argues that peace journalism needs the support of powerful external
allies in order to be able to make structural changes in the dominant media. Hackett
writes that alternative media can make external allies as they share with peace
journalism some common traits, which he lists as: dissatisfaction with the objectivity
regime, commitment to critically explore structures of power, opposition to poverty,
resistance to domination along axes of gender, class and ethnicity, and attempt to
reverse the under and mis-representation of subordinate groups (2011, p.48). Hackett
also points to communication rights movements as potential external allies for peace
journalism, and argues these three "challenger paradigms" must form a coalition in
their challenge to dominant media.

To conclude this sub-section, I argue, in line with Lynch that there is space for
agency to challenge the structure for change, yet peace journalism, in order to be a
"revolutionary/insurgent" form of journalism, which some of its supporters claim,
needs a more radical stance towards the structural constraints that surround the
media workers as "professionals", and also seek external allies in this process such
as the alternative media and communication rights movement that Hackett notes.

2.7 Peace Journalism and the Role of the News Media in Peace Processes

Peace journalism is a process-oriented approach. As Hawkins points out, "Peace is a process and not an event. It is not two signatures at the bottom of a document or a handshake among former enemies" (2011, p. 262), however, "coverage of a conflict tends to quickly evaporate when the peace agreement is concluded (p.263).

To start with, it should be noted that every conflict is unique. Although there may be similarities in their socio-political, economic and cultural roots, and their durations, which allows them to be classified under categories such as "deep-rooted conflicts" (Burton 1990), "protracted social conflicts" (Azar 1990) or "intractable conflicts" (Kriesberg 2005), every conflict is singular, and so is every peace process. This argument can be extended to the role the news media play in peace processes. As each context has its own dimensions, any comparison between the roles the news media play in different peace processes entails inherently reductionism.

Gadi Wolfsfeld (1997, 2004, 2007) argues that the news media are "fair-weather friends" with governments in peace processes. Looking at the roles the Israeli media played during the negotiations between Israel and Palestinians, as well as between Israel and Jordan, and comparing them to the role the news media played in the Northern Ireland peace process, Wolfsfeld argues that "the media often play a destructive role in attempts at making peace" (2004, p.15). First, he argues, that there is a fundamental contradiction between the nature of a peace process and basic news values such as simplicity, immediacy, drama, and ethnocentrism. A peace process is usually a long process and not an event. But news media often focus on events and

specific actions, rather than on long-term processes. Likewise, violence, conflict, crisis, and extremism make news, rather than cooperation, moderation, consensus and incremental progress. News media seek simplicity focusing on major personalities and presenting the conflict as a two-sided phenomenon, most of the time, ignoring its complex and multi-sided nature and stakeholder institutions. And finally, because of its ethnocentric nature, the news media often dichotomize between "us" and "them", presenting our beliefs, our suffering and their brutality, and not their beliefs, their suffering and our brutality.

In respect to the problem of news values, Shinar (2000) asks the question of "How newsworthy are peace-related stories in the media?"(p.84), and argues that the media prefers the "prevailing 'war culture'" over the peace discourse; and that the war culture is more compatible than peace with media news values" as it provides good visuals, focuses on heroism and conflict, and emphasizes the emotional rather than the rational. And it satisfies additional demands: a clear time frame; the unusual; the dramatic; personalization; simplicity; action; results" (p. 91). Peace frames, on the other hand, he argues, have less news value. Quite often they feature "'talking heads', ceremonial setups and gestures, press conferences, and airport scenes." As a consequence, he argues that "peace can be dull" (p.91).

In *Media and the Path to Peace,* Wolfsfeld (2004) discusses the relation between politics and the news media. He argues that the greater the consensus among political elites in support of peace, the more likely the news media will play a positive role in the peace process. Accordingly, when the political leadership can control the process, the news media often support it. Yet, "when those same leaders slip and fall, when consensus breaks down, the media amplify those failures into disasters" (p.31).

In other words, "when things get bad, the news media often make them worse" (p.30).

He compares the influence of the news media on a peace process to a cycle "in which changes in the political environment lead to changes in media performance that often lead to further changes in the political environment" (p.31). He accentuates that it is not the news media that initiate the cycle, but politics. "Politics almost always comes first" (p.31).

Sensationalism affects peace processes negatively. The media environment in a society affects the influence of the news media on a peace process. "The more sensationalist the media environment the more likely the news media are to play a destructive role in a peace process" (p.40). However, there is also hope for media's positive contribution and the level of hope increases as the rivals share the same news media. He argues that "the greater the extent of shared media, the more likely it is that the news media will play a constructive role in a peace process" (p.42).

Northern Ireland peace process constitutes an example to the supportive role the media played in a peace process. The Good Friday agreement in April 1998 between the Catholics and the Protestants in Northern Ireland was supported by 71 percent of the population at the referendum in May 1998. As Wolfsfeld (2003) himself agrees the news media had a profound impact on the process. "Interviews with political leaders and journalists all indicate that the news media played a very positive role in this process," he writes (p. 148) and gives the example that "the editors of the leading Unionist and Nationalist newspapers decided to write a number of joint editorials in favour of the process that were published in both newspapers" (p.148).

However, he notes that the initiation hadn't come from the media, but it was rather the result of the "high level of consensus surrounding the agreement" (p.148).

McLaughlin and Baker (2010) offer a critical perspective to the role of the media in Northern Ireland peace process. In *Propaganda of Peace,* they analyse the role of not only the news media, but also a wide spectrum of representations found in public advertisements, films, television series and museum exhibitions, tracing the "structure of feeling" during the peace process in Northern Ireland. They come up with the argument that the media propagated for the peace agreement during the process, making the "liberal peace framework offered to the people of Northern Ireland… as the 'only show in town'", while "marginalizing" dissenting voices and presenting "pacified domesticity" as "the preferred model of citizenship" (p.13). Questioning the kind of peace offered by the Good Friday Agreement, Baker and McLaughlin point out that the state institutions acted "in concert with other hegemonic social forces such as local businesses and political elites, trade unions, the voluntary and community sector, academia and the media" (p. 11). Hence, it would be not wrong to argue that there was an elite consensus regarding the Northern Ireland peace process, and the news media among other social institutions supported the peace agreement.

Ersoy (2016) gives the example of influence the Turkish Cypriot news media on the Annan Plan referendum in Cyprus in April 2004. Annan Plan, which suggested the restructuring of the island as the "United Republic of Cyprus" comprising of a federation of two states, was voted in a referendum by two peoples. The plan was supported by 65 percent of Turkish Cypiots and was rejected by 76 percent of Greek Cypriots. Ersoy contends that the Turkish Cypriot media had a positive role in the

creation of the overwhelming pro-peace process environment in the Turkish part of the island.

In the case of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, the picture is different. The joint Declaration of Principles, also known as the Oslo Accord, was signed on 13 September 1993 by the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. The document was based on Israel's "package": mutual recognition in return for security. The document recognized the PLO as the representative of Palestinian people. An interim Palestinian authority in Gaza and the West Bank was to be set with limited jurisdiction on five specific areas: education, health, tourism, welfare and taxation, Israel maintained maximum control over the Palestinian area. The core issues including the status of Jerusalem, Palestinian refugees and Jewish settlements were left to future negotiations, to be conducted based on UN Security Resolutions 242 and 338.

The historic handshake between Arafat and Rabin on the White House lawn on 13 September 1993 symbolized the hopes for peace in the Middle East. The Declaration of Principles (DOP) in the Oslo peace process was met with euphoria in the news media. Wolfsfeld refers to the initial weeks after the breakthrough of the DOP as the "peace festival", where the "peace" frame dominated the news coverage on the initial agreement (2004, p. 45). However, the road to peace has been a long and difficult one. At the time the Israeli government lacked a broad political consensus about the agreement and long negotiations were marked by terrorist attacks of spoiler Palestinian organizations. And "these problems", he argues, "were exacerbated by an extremely sensationalist Israeli press dedicated to turning every event into

melodrama. The role of the news media during these stages was to make a problematic peace process much worse" (p.46).

The PLO was regarded as a terrorist organization by many Israelis, and after the initial agreement, large demonstrations reaching over 100,000 participants were organized in Jerusalem by the political right wing. "It was clear from the beginning that the struggle over Oslo would be bitter" (p.46).

According to Wolfsfeld, two main frames competed in the news: "Peace" frame promoted by the Rabin goverment, "which emphasized the need for compromise with the Palestinians in order to end the conflict" versus "Security First" frame promoted by the right-wing opposition that argued "that any concessions to the Palestinians would pose a serious threat to Israel's security and lead to even more bloodshed", and hence, any concessions to the Arabs were considered "dangerous risks" (p. 47)

Apart from that, the Israeli press' emphasis on short-term events rather than long-term processes constituted another problem with the coverage of the Oslo process. As Wolfsfeld notes, a peace process is "mostly marked by long, difficult negotiations with occasional breakthroughs" (p.50), whereas the news media are concentrated on the "here and now", "constantly attempting to learn whether the Oslo peace process was a 'success' or a 'failure,' whether it was 'over' or 'moving forward'" (p.51).

Wolfsfeld argues that there is a need to maintain secrecy during peace processes, which "makes it difficult for spokespeople to provide reporters with any real information" (p. 52). Also, he notes that the Oslo process was marked by a number

of significant changes such as the Israelis and Palestinians carrying out joint military patrols. These patrols were considered news at the beginning, but they became a routine, they hit the headlines only when something went wrong (p.51).

The news media amplified the effects of terrorist attacks. This amplification was the result of "the amount of space devoted to the attack", as well as "the exaggerated, emotional tone of the coverage" (p.64). With the terrorist attacks and their emotional coverage by the news media, "the debate over Oslo was transformed into a debate over security rather than a debate over peace" (p. 73). Israeli news media's emphasis on dramatic events weakened the PLO's arm vis-à-vis Hamas and the Islamic Jihad movement, who opposed to the process on the Palestinian side. A PLO leader, who Gadi Wolfsfeld interviewed, argued that the Israeli media's "emphasis on terrorism was destroying the peace process" (p. 74).

The euphoria after the Oslo Accord faded in the following years. The parties did not have control over their constituencies, which made the peace process vulnerable to spoilers, and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who signed the Oslo peace accords, was assassinated by a religious radical, whose aim was to stop the peace process, on 4 November 1995. Rabin's assassination was treated by the news media as "a disaster wave", in which "one finds shock and grief over the murder, anger at those groups held responsible, and a search for solutions" (p. 87). It was argued "that by constantly painting the Prime Minister as a traitor and continually fanning the fans of hatred, the right wing had provoked his murder" (Peri cited in p. 87).

As mentioned earlier, every peace process is unique, so is the role the news media play during the peace process. As such the peace negotiations between the Turkish

state and the PKK constitute a unique case. The next sections will present an overview of the Kurdish question, and the so-called "resolution process", which was launched by the AKP government in 2009.

Chapter 3

THE "KURDISH QUESTION"

This chapter discusses the "Kurdish Question" within its historical context. To start with, the concept is put in quotation marks to denote its constructedness. The notion of "Kurdish Question" should not be taken for granted, without further questioning of what the "question" implies and whose question it is. Are Kurds the "question"? Or is it more of a "Turkish" question, or "Turkish" state's question? As I have attempted to discuss in the following pages, it is a complex and unresolved conflict, which necessitates a critical reading.

Peace journalism advises journalists to view the conflict within its complete map. To view anything within a "complete" map seems to be impossible; however, a sincere attempt towards this goal is valuable. What is meant by a "complete map"? To start with, it demands having a critical eye on the history of the conflict and considering social constructedness of history itself. When has the conflict started? Who are the parties, what are their interests, demands, and needs? This chapter is an honest attempt to draw a rather incomplete map of the conflict.

Kurds are referred to as one of the largest groups in the world without a nation-state (Çelik, 2012; Gunter, 2008). They live dispersed in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria and Azerbaijan, and there are considerable number of Kurdish immigrants living in some European countries, mostly in Germany, also in Netherlands and Sweden, forming a

Kurdish diaspora. There are no exact figures of the Kurdish population. They are estimated to make up 15-20 percent of the population in Turkey (Çelik, 2012), 11 percent of the population in Iran, 17-20 percent of the population in Iraq and 9 percent of the population in Syria (Gunter, 2008, p.2).

However, these numbers can be tricky because, as Gunter points out, "most Kurds tend to exaggerate their numbers, whereas the states in which they live undercount their numbers for political reasons" (2008, p. 2). There is also the assimilation factor as many Kurds have assimilated into the larger Arab, Turkish, or Iranian populations surrounding them.

Kurds do not form a monolithic entity. They are divided linguistically (they speak four different dialects Kurmanji, Gorani, Sorani, and Zaza) and tribally, and they follow different religions (Sunni, Alevi, Yezidi). The Kurdish population in Turkey speak two different dialects, Kurmanji and Zaza, of the Kurdish language, which belongs to the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family, and is a relative of Persian language.

The protracted armed conflict between the Turkish state and the Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan - PKK), which goes back to the end of 1970's, has cost thousands of lives and countless human rights abuses in the form of violence, torture and disappearances. According to the Human Rights Investigation Commission of Turkey, as of 2013, 35,576 people were killed in the conflict (Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi İnsan Haklarını İnceleme Komisyonu, 2013).

51

The PKK was founded in 1978 and took up arms against the Turkish state in 1984. However, this armed conflict, which Yeğen (2011) refers to as the "last Kurdish rebellion" is not the first Kurdish uprising in Turkey's history. The late Ottoman Empire and the early Republic of Turkey were challenged by more than a dozen of Kurdish uprisings. Why? This simple yet fundamental question deserves thorough attention.

3.1 Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey

3.1.1 The First "Kurdish" Rebellion

Kurdish nationalism emerged in the 19th century. Some scholars contend that Sheikh Ubaydallah's rebellions of 1879-1881 represented the first Kurdish nationalistic movement (White, 2000; Gunter, 2008; Olson, 1989a). Ubaydallah, who was based in Shamdinan, in northern Iraq's Mosul province, was the religious leader, *sheikh*, of the Nakşibendi order. He revolted against the Ottoman and Persian states, both of which were military failures, however, these revolts were significant in that they pointed to the "the first Kurdish alliance of its kind" (Olson cited in White, 2000 p.58). Although he militarily failed, he was perceived as "the acknowledged leader of a vast Kurdish nationalist movement which aimed at the creation of an independent Kurdish state" (Kutschera cited in White, 2000, p. 60).

In a letter to the British vice-consul in Başkale, which he wrote in July 1880, he defined the Kurdish nation in the following way:

> The Kurdish nation is a people apart. Their religion is different (to that of others), their laws and customs are distinct… The chiefs and rulers of Kurdistan, whether Turkish or Persian subjects, and the inhabitants of Kurdistan one and all are united and agreed that matters cannot be carried on this way with the two governments, and necessarily something must be done so that the European governments having understood the matter shall enquire into our state… We want our affairs to be in our own hands… Otherwise the whole of Kurdistan will take the matter into their own hands, as they are

52

unable to put up with these continued evil deeds, and the oppression which they suffer at the hands of the two governments [Ottoman and Persian] of impure intentions (Olson, 1989a, p.2).

3.1.2 First Kurdish Nationalist Organizations

The first Kurdish nationalist organizations were formed in Istanbul by the Kurdish elite occupying positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy (Van Bruinessen, 1992). Influenced by the nationalist ideologies stemming from the West, they formed political organizations, the first of which was the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Kurdish Society for Mutual Aid and Progress), which was founded in 1908. The organization established a Kurdish school and published a journal. Among the contributors to the journal was Said-i Kurdi (Said-i Nursi) who was later going to be the leader of a revolt. The organization was soon closed by the *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee of Union and Progress) government; however, it was succeeded by another organization, *Hevi* (Hope), which was formed by Kurdish students. Both of these organizations were gentlemen's clubs in Istanbul, with not much contact with ordinary Kurdish people or with Kurdistan (Van Bruinessen, 1992).

3.1.3 First World War and the Treaty of Sèvres

The World War I brought the Kurdish elites into contact with the Allies, with whom they discussed their territorial claims, which also stimulated Kurdish nationalism in Kurdistan (Van Bruinessen, 1992). The *Kurdistan Taali Cemiyeti* (Society for the Rise of Kurdistan), founded in Istanbul in 1918, was instrumental in lobbying for the idea of an independent Kurdistan.

One year later, in 1919, the Ottoman government in Istanbul promised Kurds that they were going to appoint a Kurdish governor and Kurdish officers to Kurdistan. In

a meeting with Kurdish intellectuals, the government expressed that they were not against the idea of autonomy for Kurdistan (Yeğen, 2011, p.24). The Kemalist Ankara government was also following a recognition policy towards Kurds. In a protocol between the Ottoman government and the insurgent Ankara government in 1919, Kurds were recognized as a distinct ethnic group with rights to recognition (p.24).

The Treaty of Sèvres of 1920, which marked the end of the World War I for the Ottoman Empire and led to its partition by the Allies, recognized the Kurds as an ethnically distinct people; envisioned local autonomy and discussed the possibility of an independent Kurdistan. The Article 62 of the treaty defined a Kurdish homeland, and the Article 64 opened the way to an independent Kurdistan:

> If within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty the Kurdish peoples within the areas defined in Article 62 shall address themselves to the Council of the League of Nations in such a manner as to show that a majority of the population of these areas desires independence from Turkey, and if the Council then considers that these peoples are capable of such independence and recommends that it should be granted to them, Turkey hereby agrees to execute such a recommendation, and to renounce all rights and title over these areas… If and when such renunciation takes place, no objection will be raised by the Principle Allied Powers to the voluntary adhesion to such an independent Kurdish State of the Kurds inhabiting that part of Kurdistan which has been hitherto included in the Mosul Vilayet (Romano, 2006, p. 28).

3.1.4 Koçgiri (Kochgiri) Rebellion

Three months after the signing of the Treaty, the Society for the Rise of Kurdistan and leaders of Koçgiri (Kochgiri) Kurdish tribe revolted against the state in the eastern province of Dersim. According to Olson, the main reason of the rebellion was that the Kurds wanted to use the stipulations of the articles 62 and 64 of the Treaty to increase their autonomy in Turkey. At the time, the government of Ankara

was fighting with the Greeks and the rebels wanted to take advantage of the situation. The rebels sent the following demands to the Kemalist government in Ankara:

1) The Ankara government should state whether or not it accepted officially the promise of Kurdish autonomy as agreed by the Sultan's government in Istanbul.
2) The Ankara government should inform the leaders of Dersim who wrote the declaration of their attitude towards the administration of an autonomous Kurdistan.
3) All of the Kurdish prisoners in jail at Elaziz, Malatya, Sivas and Erzincan should be freed.
4) Turkish officials must be withdrawn from all areas with a Kurdish majority.
5) The Turkish military forces sent to Koçgiri region should be withdrawn (Olson, 1989b, p.43).

The government in Ankara refrained from refusing the demands at first, even offering rebel leader Alishan Bey candidacy to the Ankara Assembly (p. 29). The Koçgiri tribe was Alevi, and the revolt was not supported by Sunni Kurds, many of whom had "a history of 'bad blood'" (p.29) with Alevi Kurds.

Sunni Kurds supported the Kemalists and suspected Alevi connections with the Armenians (Gunter, 2011). Even the Alevi Kurdish tribes in the south of the region did not support the Koçgiri, and the rebellion was crashed by the Kemalists by April 1921.

According to Olson, the reasons for the failure were several: the tribal nature of Kurdish society, which did not provide the necessary unity for a war of independence; the religious and sectarian differences among the Kurds, creating mistrust; the cooption of the tribal leaders by the Ankara government, which had extensive patronage, land and resources; the overwhelming superiority of Turkish military power and organization; the lack of European support; and in addition, the

support of many Kurds to Mustafa Kemal, who was seen as fighting against the infidels attacking the homeland (Olson, 1989b, p.47).

Olson argues that the Koçgiri rebellion changed the policy of the Turkish government towards Kurds (p.51). With this rebellion, the state started to perceive Kurds as a "question".

On 1 November 1922 the Ottoman Sultanate was formally abolished. A few months before the proclamation of the new Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal, in a press conference, expressed that Kurds were to be endowed with not only cultural rights but also the right to self-government. He said that the new parliament, The Grand National Assembly, was formed by Turkish as well as Kurdish deputies and according to the constitution a form of local autonomy would be granted to provinces and Kurds would benefit from it. Turks and Kurds amalgamated all their interest and fate, and they knew it was a common thing. Hence, it was not appropriate to draw a separate border (p.25). Mustafa Kemal's words show that the new Republic aimed at "keeping the Kurds within the political unity by means of a form of autonomy" (p.25).

On 29 October 1923 the Republic was proclaimed, and on 3 March 1924 the Caliphate was abolished. However, the new republic did not follow policies of recognition towards Kurds as it was promised by its leadership. The new constitution, which was accepted a year later, forbade the use of Kurdish in public places (Olson, 1989a, p.91)

During the first two decades of the Republic, that is to say between 1924 and 1938, 18 rebellions broke out. 17 of them were in Eastern Anatolia and 16 of them involved Kurds (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997, p.100) [2]. However, not all of them were nationalistic in character. Çelik contends that three of these rebellions deserve mentioning because they were "pivotal in constructing a separate Kurdish identity", as "the narratives of these rebellions have been passed from generation to generation through oral accounts" (2012, p.244). They were Sheikh Said rebellion of 1925, Mt.Ararat revolt of 1930, and Dersim rebellion of 1937-38.

3.2 Revolts in the Early Republic Years

3.2.1 Sheikh Said Rebellion

The Sheikh Said rebellion was the most significant of the Kurdish rebellions in the early Republic years. It started on 13 February 1925 and ended on 15 April with the arrest of its leadership. According to Mete Tunçay, the military operation to suppress the rebellion was more costly in human and financial terms than the war of independence (Tunçay cited in Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997, p. 100).

---

[2] By reference to a military source, Özer (2012, p. 31) lists 17 Kurdish revolts:
1) Nestorian Revolt (12-28 September 1924)
2) Sheikh Said Rebellion (13 February – 31 May 1925)
3) Raçkotan and Raman Chastisement Operation (9-12 August 1925)
4) Sason Uprising (1925-1937)
5) First Mt. Ararat Revolt (16 May – 17 June 1926)
6) Koçuşağı Revolt (7 October - 30 November 1926)
7) Mutki Revolt (26 May - 25 August 1927)
8) Second Ararat Operation (13-20 September 1927)
9) Bicar Military Operation (7 October – 17 November 1927)
10) Asi Resul Revolt (22 May – 3 August 1929)
11) Tendürük Operation (14-27 September 1929)
12) Savur Military Operation (26 May - 9 June 1930)
13) Zeylan Revolt (20 June – Beginning of September 1930)
14) Oramar Revolt (16 July -10 October 1930)
15) Third Ararat Operation (7-14 September 1930)
16) Pülümür Operation (8 October -14 November 1930)
17) Tunceli (Dersim) Chastisement Operation (1937-1938)

The rebellion was led by Kurdish religious leaders, *sheikhs*, and the clandestine Kurdish organization called *Jiwata Azadiya Kurd* (Society for Kurdish Freedom), short version *Azadi* (Freedom), which had the aim of establishing an independent Kurdistan. The organization was founded in 1923 in the eastern province of Erzurum mainly by experienced military men. The central persons of Azadi were Khalid Beg of Jibran tribe and Yusuf Ziya Beg, a descendant of the mirs of Bitlis. (Van Bruinessen, 1992). The former was a colonel in the Turkish army, and was related to Sheikh Said by marriage; the latter was elected as a deputy to the Grand National Assembly. Both men were influential in the region.

Azadi convened its first congress in 1924. One of attendees of the congress was the influential Naqshibandi sheikh Said, who had been active in the Kurdish nationalist movement for some time. According to Van Bruinessen, some commanders of Hamidiye regiments[3] also attended the congress, and they were convinced by Sheikh Said of the need to fight for Kurdish independence (1992, p.280). The congress took two important decisions: a general uprising of Kurdistan, which was to be followed by a declaration of independence; and seeking foreign assistance for the uprising. In order to get the support of Soviets, a courier was sent to Georgia after the congress. "The Soviets allegedly answered that they were fully aware of the oppression of the Kurds, but were not in a position to help them. They promised, however, not to assist the Turks in suppressing any Kurdish uprising. The British, too, were contacted but seem to have remained non-committal as usual" (pp.280-281).

---

[3] The Hamidiye regiments were established by the Ottoman sultan Abdulhamid II in 1891 with the purpose of policing eastern Anatolia. They were also used against the Armenians. According to Gunter (2011, pp. 114-115) they were probably more than 50,000 of these irregular militias by the end of 19th century. With overthrew of the sultan by the Committee of Union and Progress in 1908, the regiments were abolished.

There was a strong religious factor that paved the way to the uprising. With the abolition of the caliphate in March 1924, "the most important symbol of the Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood disappeared (p. 282). The same year the religious sheria courts were abolished.

"The uprising occurred at a time, when two worldviews clashed. One stressed modernism and secularism, the other emphasized religion and traditionalism" (Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997, p. 100). The Kemalist government, which followed secularist policies, was criticised as being irreligious. According to Van Bruinessen, there were other grievances as well. Kurdish language was forbidden in public places; a new law made it possible to expropriate the land of Kurdish big landlords and give it to the Turkish speakers who were to be settled in Kurdistan (1992, p. 482).

The rebellion had a religious and a nationalistic tone. It was regarded by the Ankara government as an "attempted counter-revolution" (Suna Kili cited in Kirişçi and Winrow, 1997, p.100). Especially, İsmet Pasha (İnönü) and his supporters interpreted it as a "counter-revolutionary movement" (Olson, 1992, p. 184). Within a few weeks after the rebellion broke out, Prime Minister Fethi Bey (Okyar), who thought that the scope of the rebellion was limited and it could be controlled in the eastern provinces, was replaced by İsmet Pasha (p. 184). Two days later, the Law on the Reinforcement of Order (*Takrir-i Sükun*) was passed by the parliament, which gave the government extraordinary powers. About 35,000 Turkish troops were deployed against the insurgents, and the Turkish Air Force bombed them continuously (Van Bruinessen, 1992, p.290). According to Olson, the number of insurgents was about 15,000 (1992, p. 161).

On 27 April 1925, Sheikh Said, with a small group of associates, was caught by the Turkish army. On 4 September 1925, Sheikh Said and forty-seven other leading Kurds were hanged in Diyarbakir. They were condemned to death by the Independence Tribunals *(İstiklal Mahkemesi)*, special courts established in accordance with the Law on the Reinforcement of Order.

Sheikh Said rebellion was basically supported by Zaza Sunni tribes, where Sheikh Said and the other participating sheikhs had personal influence, and the participation of Zaza tribes was almost complete (Van Bruinessen, 1992, p. 293). Van Bruinessen gives three reasons of why these tribes supported the rebellion. First, the men in these tribes were small-land owners, and were therefore of the stratum that could be most easily mobilized in rural revolts. Secondly, the chieftains did not have much economic power over the commoners. Thirdly, these tribesmen were extremely pious, and even bigoted (p.293).

Alevi Kurdish tribes of Lolan and Hormek did not support the uprising (Olson, 1992). The Republic had granted Alevis officially equal rights and protected them. They preferred the secular Turkish Republic to an independent Kurdistan under the authority of Sunni sheikhs (Van Bruinessen, 1992, p. 294). The rejection of Alevi tribes weakened the uprising's potential.

In the aftermath of the rebellion, Turkish government pursued policies to suppress the Kurdish mobilization. Kurds were seen as culturally and economically "backward" by the regime, and the Kurdish "question" was seen as a securitized development issue. The "backward" social structures that prevailed in the region were aimed to be liquidated through reforms, those who resisted those reforms were

chastened, and the remaining ones were invited to the Turkification (Yeğen, 2011, p.29)

Two years later, on 10 June 1927, the parliament passed the *Law on the Transfer of Certain People from the Eastern Regions to the Western Provinces* (Law No. 1907), which gave the government the authority to deport people to the West. According to Tekeli (cited in Çelik, 2012, p. 245) many Kurds were transferred to western provinces without an indication of where they were to be sent, and their land and other real estate were taken over by the treasury. Çelik contends that the number of people transferred is unknown, however, that it is argued by some that "it was no fewer than 200,000" (p.245).

According to two Kurdish propaganda documents, which were published in 1928 and 1930[4], in the period of 1925-1928 almost 10,000 dwellings had been razed, and over 15,000 people were massacred, and the number of the deported people were more than half a million (McDowall, 2004, p. 200).

Apart from the security measures, Turkish state saw Turkification as the remedy to the "Kurdish question". Yeğen mentions a long list of the assimilation policies that were pursued by the Turkish government at the time. Some of these policies included settling Turkish populations and re-establishing Turkish villages in the region; making Turkish as the dominant language in towns and cities of the region and punishing those who use languages other than Turkish in public places; Turkifying Kurds who live in the provinces west of Euphrates; giving Turkish migrants the

---

[4] The two sources cited by David McDowall are *The Case of Kurdistan against Turkey* by Sureya Bedr Khan, which was published in Philedelphia in 1929 and *La Questioll Kurde* by Bletch Chirguh, which was published in Cairo in 1930. See McDowall, 2004, p.212.

properties left by Armenians in the region between Van and Midyat; and not appointing locals to state bureaucracy in the region (Yeğen, 2007, pp.30-31). Apart from these, people's surnames, and names of many localities were Turkified (p.32).

3.2.2 Mount Ararat Rebellion

These security and Turkification measures paved the way to the second important Kurdish rebellion of the early Republic years, namely the Mount Ararat rebellion of 1930. The rebellion was organized by *Khoybun* (Independence) party, which was established by a group of exiles in Bhamdoun, Lebanon in 1927. The party's headquarters were in Aleppo, Syria, and it aimed at sending a trained revolutionary army to the Kurdish regions of Turkey, proclaiming a government there and unifying the local tribes under its leadership (McDowall, 2004, p.206). A former Ottoman army officer İhsan Nuri Pasha was chosen as the operational commander of Khoybun's forces. Khoybun forged an alliance with the Armenian Dashnak Party and obtained Greek and Italian help. According to McDowall, Khoybun sought Italian and American experts (presumably mercenaries) to assist with military training (p.206). With the pressures from the Turkish government, France prohibited the party's activities in Aleppo in 1928; however, İhsan Nuri Pasha started the revolt in Mount Ararat, which was chosen as the region to start the revolution. This time some Alevi tribes and some Kurdish tribes from Iran also joined the revolt, however, it was crashed by the Turkish military.

Turkish state reacted to Kurdish demands with even harsher measures. In 1934, the Turkish parliament passed the Law on Resettlement (Law No.2510), which divided Turkey into three zones in accordance to the "Turkishness" of the inhabitants: Region 1) localities to be reserved for the habitation of people possessing Turkish

culture; Region 2) regions to which non-Turkish people were to be moved for assimilation into Turkish culture; Region 3) regions to be completely evacuated.

Article 12 of the law accentuated that tribes or nomads or persons who are not attached to the Turkish culture could not be settled or resettled in Region 1. Although the word "Kurdish" was avoided, it was obvious that the article referred to Kurdish tribes.

Article 13 compelled those of not "Turkish race" who resided in Region 2 to settle either in scattered villages, or in towns or cities in an interspersed way so that they won't form separate neighbourhoods or clusters.

And Article 14 ordered the deportation of the population living in Region 3 to Regions 1 or 2, depending on the level of their Turkishness, and banned any resettlement in the region.

The state had full power of compulsory transfer of those categories requiring assimilation. The law also attempted to break down the power of tribal structures (McDowall, 2004, p.207). As part of the enforcement of the law, 25,831 people from 5,074 households who resided in 15 cities in eastern and south eastern Anatolia were deported to western Anatolia. Many of these households, however, returned to their homes in the 1940s when the ban was lifted with the switch to a multiparty regime in 1947 (Tekeli cited in Çelik, 2012, p. 246).

3.2.3 Dersim Rebellion

The last Kurdish uprising of the early Republic years was Dersim Rebellion. Dersim (renamed as Tunceli in 1935) is a mountainous province in central Eastern Turkey,

mainly inhabited by Alevi Kurds, among them a considerable number of Zaza speakers. Dersim had been seen as defiant by the state since the late Ottoman times. No fewer than eleven military expeditions had been undertaken to the region since 1876 (McDowall, 2004, p.207).

By mid-1930's, the Turkish government saw the region as a trouble maker, "an abscess that needs to be operated to prevent worse pain" (Hamdi Bey cited in Van Bruinessen, 1994, p.153). Dersim was the last part of the country which had not been fully brought under government control, as the tribes of the region only recognized traditional tribal law, quite often there were inter-tribal conflicts, and many refused to pay taxes. However, as noted by Van Bruinessen, there was little to be taxed as the province was "desperately poor" (p.145).

In 1935, the parliament passed Tunceli Law, changing the province's name to Tunceli and placing it under a military governor, who was endowed with extraordinary powers, which included the arrest and deportation of individuals and families.

The Law on Resettlement of 1934 and Tunceli Law of 1935 met with reaction among the inhabitants of the province, preparing the ground for the Dersim rebellion (Çelik, 2012). The rebellion led by Sheikh Seyyid Rıza started in 1936, and was suppressed bloodily by the government at the end of 1938. The brutality of the military campaign of the Turkish state carved Dersim Rebellion to the collective memory of Turkey's Kurds. According to the Turkish general staff, in the seventeen days of the 1938 "Punitive Expedition" against the "bandits" alone, 7,954 persons were reported killed or caught alive (Van Bruinessen, 1994, p.148). Dersim

Rebellion involved the most massive civilian suffering among the Kurdish rebellions in the Republic history. Taking into consideration that the province's whole population was estimated to be 65-70 thousand, Van Bruinessen argues that "almost 10 percent of the entire population of Tunceli was killed" (p.148). The suppression of rebellion was followed by massive deportations[5].

The military operations were carried as part of what "the government saw as its 'civilizing mission'" (p.149) against the "uncivilized bandits" who were resisting civilization. Yunus Nadi, the editor-in-chief of the Kemalist *Cumhuriyet* newspaper wrote in 1937, that what the regime did in the province of Tunceli "was not a military expedition, but a march of civilization" (Cited in Yeğen, 2011, p. 159).

Dersim was the last 'tribal' revolt against the Kemalist state (McDowall, 2004). Until the late 1950s, there was no significant Kurdish opposition to the regime (Çelik, 2012).

3.3 Transition to the Multi-Party System

In 1950s with the transition to the multi-party system, the *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party- CHP) government was replaced with Democrat Party (DP), which pursued a revivalist policy towards Islam. Almost immediately after its election to power, the party changed the language of the call to prayer back to Arabic; and religious radio broadcasts were allowed. During its 10 year-tenure the party financed the construction of 5,000 mosques (McDowall, 2004, p.399). The DP government also assisted the Kurdish sheikhs both material and moral support.

---

[5] Deported families were allowed to return after 1946.

The *agha*s, the rural landlords who controlled large estates, who acted as the "intermediary between illiterate villagers and the outside world" (p. 399), and hence "controlled the rural votes" (p.400), were also supported by the DP government. It was no surprise that Democrats won the majority votes in the east and south-east.

Democrat Party supported the mechanization of agriculture, prioritizing large estate holders. Tractors were introduced for the first time. However, small landowners, "with plots that could not justify ownership of a tractor, found themselves having to hire tractors against a proportion of the crop from local large landowners" (p.401). In short, DP government's policies led to the migration of large numbers of rural Kurdish population to the cities in the Kurdish-populated region and to the big cities in the West. These social changes played a key role in the emergence of Kurdish nationalism in the 20th century-Turkey, "which was borne by economic deprivation, social injustice and physical disarmament as well as ideas of ethnic identity" (p.404).

The first sparkles of Kurdish nationalism came in 1958, when a small group of Kurdish intellectuals including Musa Anter[6] published *İleri Yurt* (Forward Country) in Diyarbakır. This publication was "the first Kurdish self-expression in Turkey since Dersim revolt" (McDowall, 2004, p. 405). It marked the beginning of *Doğuculuk* ('Eastism'), which argued for the development of Kurdish populated Eastern region, without any reference to the name "Kurd". İleri Yurt was short-lived and closed down, with Anter and his colleagues being arrested. The multi-party system had not changed the Turkish state's security reflexes towards the "Kurdish question". DP leadership, including the country's President Celal Bayar and Prime

---

[6] Kurdish writer and activist Musa Anter was assassinated in Diyarbakır in 1992. The assassin remains unknown.

Minister Adnan Menderes wanted the execution of the Kurdish intellectuals; however, the "likelihood of adverse international reaction" discouraged them (p.405).

3.4 1960s….

In 1960, a military coup d'état toppled the DP government. The military power ironically brought with it a new constitution, which provided a "fertile ground for political mobilization" (Çelik, 2012). The freedom of association was protected, and the rights granted by the Constitution promoted the foundation of trade unions and student organizations, which were to play an important role in the Turkish politics.

However, the Turkish state continued a persistent denial policy towards the Kurds. The National Unity Committee of the military coup systematically changed Kurdish place names into Turkish ones by Law No. 1587, claiming that they were "names which hurt public opinion and are not suitable for our national culture, moral values, traditions and customs" (McDowall, 2004, p. 406). In January 1961 it enacted another law for the establishment of regional boarding schools with the intention of assimilation. McDowall writes that by 1970, 70 such schools had been established (p.406). The new President Cemal Gürsel, who had headed the coup, wrote in the foreword of the book *Doğu İlleri ve Varto Tarihi* (Eastern Provinces and the History of Varto) by Mehmet Şerif Fırat (cited in p.406), which argued that "the Kurds were in fact of Turkish origin and that there was no such thing as the Kurdish nation". Gürsel wrote in the foreword that "no nation exists with a personality of its own, calling itself Kurdish", but Kurds were "racial brothers of the Turks" (p.406).

In this political environment, it was not unexpected that Kurdish publications ended up being short-lived. The bilingual journal *Dicle-Fırat* (Tigris-Euphrates) was allowed only for eight issues before being stopped. And *Deng* (Voice) was closed down after its third issue, with its publisher Medet Serhat being arrested under charges of separatism (McDowall, 2004, p.407)

The first Kurdish party, a conservative nationalist party, the Democratic Party of Turkish Kurdistan (KDPT) was established underground in 1960s. KDPT had connections with the Iraqi Democratic Party of Kurdistan, led by Molla Mustafa Barzani and was supported by rich Kurdish peasants (Çelik, 2012, p.248) KDPT disappeared from the political scene shortly after the assassination of its founding secretary Faik Bucak (from the great agha family Bucaks of Siverek) (McDowall, 2004, p.408).

The legal Kurdish political mobilization came after the establishment of the socialist *Türkiye İşçi Partisi* (Turkish Workers' Party- hereafter the TİP) in 1961. TİP took 3 percent of the votes in 1965 election and was represented in the parliament with 15 MPs. TİP supported class struggle against capitalist exploitation, and in the eastern and south-eastern regions, the traditional homelands of Kurds, the party argued against aghas and sheikhs, claiming that "feudalism should be abolished, land reform introduced and human rights respected" (Çelik, 2012, p. 247). However, recognition of Kurdish identity was not pronounced as a human right until the mid-1960s. In 1966, at its Second Congress the party experienced a break between those who supported the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) and those who supported the Socialist Revolution. In an article titled as the National Reality published in their

monthly publication Aydınlık in November 1968 the NDR supporters led by Mihri Belli talked about the "Kurdish question" for the first time (Çelik, 2012, p.247).

Two years later, in its fourth Grand Assembly on 29-30 October 1970, TİP recognized the existence of Kurds in Turkey. This was the first recognition of their existence by a legal political party. TİP announced that "In the East of Turkey Kurdish people live", and this people for many years, "have been subjected to oppression, terror and assimilation policies by fascist power of the ruling classes", which surfaced itself as "bloody atrocities from time to time" (Şener, 2007, p. 365). TİP argued that the underdevelopment of the region and the suppression of the Kurds was the result of the "colonization" of the region by the Turkish dominant classes, the "Eastern problem" would disappear when capitalist and imperialist forces were overthrown. If that happened, Kurds would also be liberated (Çelik, 2012, p. 247-248). The mention of Kurdish ethnicity was used as the reason for closing down the party by the Constitutional Court in 1971 after the military memorandum of 12 March 1971.

TİP convened *Doğu Mitingleri* (The Eastern Meetings) from August 1967 to August 1969. A total of 12 meetings were held in eastern and south-eastern cities, and in Ankara gathering thousands of people. These meetings focused on feudalism in the region with aghas and sheikhs as the sources of inequality in the society, inter-regional inequality, unequal income distribution and poverty. "The discourse at the meetings combined the socialist rhetoric of relative deprivation with the demands of identity recognition. They emphasized the relative deprivation of 'the East,' and raised the issue that Easterners should get as great a share in national capital and resources as 'Westerners'" (Çelik, 2012, p.248). The word "Kurd" was not

mentioned in the meetings, rather "the problems of Easterner" were brought to discussion.

Similarly, the name of the most significant Kurdish political organization of the era had no sign of "Kurdishness". The Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Hearts (Devrimci Doğu Kültür Ocakları- DDKO) were established in May 1969. Most of its members were members of TİP or were close to it (McDowall, 2004, p. 411). DDKO "provided the kernel for a large number of other revolutionary Kurdish groups, including the present-day Kurdistan Workers' Party (Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan), or PKK" (Barkey and Fuller, 1998, p. 15). The founding objects of the DDKO were: "a) to encourage Kurdish university students to engage in cultural activities, and generate material solidarity among them, b) to destroy all the racist-chauvinist ideologies of Turkey, and mobilize Kurds within the democratic and revolutionary institutions that struggle for the brotherhood and equality of nations" (Çelik, 2012, p. 248). The cultural hearts sought to establish education programmes for peasants and women with the aim of raising national awareness in the "East". In October 1970 DDKO leaders were arrested, and major trials took place in Istanbul and Ankara (McDowall, 2004, p. 411). The arrested produced "a 150 page-defence of Kurdish identity and rights, covering Kurdish history, language and society, the first major statement of its kind" (p.412). However, they lost the case and DDKO was banned. The court decision was based on "high treason". The attorneys also claimed that

> Kurdish, rather than being a language, is a bunch of words (…) The Kurdish language does not actually belong to an existing or historical entity because it has been proven that Kurds come from Turkish descent (Çelik, 2012, p.248)

3.5 1970s…

In the highly politicized atmosphere of the mid-1970s different illegal revolutionary Kurdish groups emerged. The clandestine political organizations, *Yekitiya Proleterya Kurdistan* (Kurdistan Proletarian Union- KAWA), *Rızgari* (Kurdish Independence Movement), Socialist Party of Kurdistan (KSPT), and, finally, Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) emerged in the 1970s (Çelik, 2012, p.249). On the legal scene, Devrimci Demokratik Kültür Dernekleri (Revolutionary Democratic Cultural Associations- hereafter DDKD), was an influential political organization. DDKD argued that they were following the paths of the DDKO (p.249). The association was especially successful in mobilizing the youth; it had around 50,000 members and was organized well in the Kurdish populated region. The association was closed down after the 12 September 1980 military coup (p.249).

Barkey and Fuller (1998) argue that the 1980 military coup with its oppressive policies "accelerated the process of Kurdish identity formation" (p.16). Harsh policies such as "the banning the use of Kurdish language, and daily humiliation of the region's population, often by state-appointed civil servants intensified… latent Kurdish nationalist feelings and thus contributed to the eventual appeal of the PKK" (p. 16).

3.6 The Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)

The PKK was founded in 1978 by Abdullah Öcalan and his friends in Ankara during his university years at the Faculty of Political Science of Ankara University. Before the foundation of the organisation in 1978, this group prepared "a document entitled 'The Path of Kurdish Revolution', which argued that the Kurdish populated regions of Turkey were colonies" (Çelik, 2012, p. 250), and that the Kurdish feudalists and

bourgeoisie who collaborated with the Turkish ruling classes were complicit in this process of colonisation. They called for a Marxist-Leninist revolution to create an independent united Kurdistan. This document later became the programme of the PKK (p. 250). The PKK's ideological formation at the time was similar to other national liberation movements of the period. In its 1978 manifesto, the PKK called for the "destruction of all forms of colonialism and the construction of a united Kurdistan" (Akkaya and Jongerden, 2014, p. 186).

The PKK took up arms against the Turkish state in 1984 with an armed assault on gendarme garrisons. Since then thousands of people died in what is referred to as "the longest Kurdish rebellion in modern Turkish history" (Barkey and Fuller, 1998, p. 21) and around a million people have been displaced.

The armed conflict between the PKK and the Turkish state peaked in the mid-1990s with the escalation of PKK attacks on one hand, and harsher responses of state security forces on the other (Çelik, 2012, p.250). Human rights abuses, torture, disapperances were reported in the region; the public use of Kurdish language was banned; and mass internal displacements took place as around one million Kurds were forced to leave their dwellings "either as a result of the evacuation of villages by the military, allowed by the 1987 emergency rule[7]; or because of the PKK's pressure on villagers, who did not support the PKK, to abandon their villages; or due to the insecurity resulting from being caught between the PKK and Turkish security forces" (Kirişçi cited in Çelik, 2012, p.250).

---

[7] In 1987 the Turkish government declared an emergency rule (Olağanüstü Hal) in thirteen Kurdish-populated provinces, which gave the governors the right to pass regulations functioning like laws. These "rights" included the right to expel citizens from the region, restrict ownership and freedom rights and liberties, and restrict freedom of the press and expression (Çelik, 2010).

With the capture of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan by the Turkish National Intelligence Organization (MİT) from the Central Intelligence Agency of the US in Nairobi, Kenya, in February 1999, the conflict entered into a de-escalation period. Öcalan was tried, and sentenced to death under charges of treason. This sentence was later commuted to aggravated life imprisonment with the abolishment of the death penalty in Turkey in 2004 (Çelik, 2012, p.250).

Over the years, Öcalan's and eventually the PKK's, demands have changed from independence to the recognition of Kurdish political, social and cultural rights within a decentralized Turkey (Gunter, 2013). After Öcalan's capture, the organisation turned "toward a project of radical democracy, rejecting not only what Öcalan called the 'classical Kurdish nationalist line' but also 'a leftist interpretation of a similar tendency'" (Öcalan cited in Akkaya and Jongerden, 2014, p. 186).

This radical democracy project, which tries to by-pass the nation-state system and move beyond the boundaries projected by it, rests on three pillars: democratic republic, democratic confederalism, and democratic autonomy (Akkaya and Jongerden, 2014, p.187). The project for a democratic republic calls for a reform, which includes the drafting of a new constitution of the Turkish Republic that will disassociate citizenship from nationalism. The project for democratic confederalism "is defined as a model for 'democratic self-government', which is to be organised from the bottom-up, and builds on the self-government of local communities" that are "organised in the form of open councils, town councils, local parliaments, and larger congresses" (p.190). Finally, democratic autonomy refers to "the right of people to determine their own economic, cultural, and social rights" (p.187). Akkaya and Jongerden explain the relationship between the three projects as follows:

While the democratic republic is a project of state reform, the projects of democratic confederalism and democratic autonomy embody the idea of a politics beyond and without the state (p.187).

The PKK has used violence as a tactic to reach these goals. "The PKK has employed classic insurgency tactics, blending of violence and terror with political organization" (Barkey & Fuller, 1998, p.28). According to Barkey and Fuller, the PKK violence has not only targeted Turkish security forces, but also "systematically and primarily directed first at potential rivals within the Kurdish camp, including other leftist organizations, and then at 'collaborators'" (p.28) such as the village guards and their families. The organization has also "killed Turkish schoolteachers and civil servants, burning schools and other public institutions" (p. 28).

Akkaya and Jongerden (2014, p. 188) point out that "what we refer to the PKK today is actually a party-complex, a formation of parties and organizations comprising several parties (including the PKK), a co-party which separately organizes women, sister parties in Iraq (Kurdistan Democratic Solution Party), Iran (Free Life Party of Kurdistan), and Syria (Democratic Union Party), and guerrilla forces related to these parties". PKK is labeled as a terrorist organization by Turkey, and some international actors such as the United States, and the European Union. However, the PKK's "violence against civilians and representatives of the state, and the military campaign against the security forces, were intermeshed with a political strategy designed to win both the respect and the support of the local population" (Barkey and Fuller, 1998, p.29). Barkey and Fuller note at the end of the 1990s, that "Even Kurds who dislike its methods or its leadership style recognize that the reality of PKK operations, more than any other single activity, has raised the Kurdish issue

at the international level, focused attention upon the problem, and created pressures-so far not yet decisive- upon the Turkish state to reconsider its policies" (p.46).

For a long period the Turkish state pursued denial policies regarding the conflict (Yeğen, 2013; Özonur, 2015). "Until the 1990s, it was considered taboo to publicly use the word 'Kurd' to denote an ethnic group in Turkey" (Somer, 2002, p.85). The state has perceived the problem as separatism. As the Turkish Republic was founded in the aftermath of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, it was born with an intimate fear of division, which also has surfaced itself regarding the Kurdish question. Özkırımlı talks of a "collective 'Sevrès syndrome"[8]' in Turkey, referring to the "suspicion of West's intention to dismantle Turkey and grant Kurds a free state" (Cited in Dixon & Ergin, 2010, p.1330). The root causes of the conflict have been viewed by the state elites also as cultural and economic "backwardness" of the region and "terror".

The Turkish state's engagement with the Kurdish question until the end of the 1990s rested on three pillars: assimilation, repression and containment (Yeğen, 2015, p.3). With the 2000s, the policy evolved into recognition of cultural differences. The Justice and Development Party (AKP), which came to power in Turkey with 2002 general elections, admitted in its 2001 programme that cultural differences of Turkish citizens needed to be recognized in Turkey, and suggested that citizenship and not Turkishness must be the main point of reference for national identity (p. 4).

---

[8] The Treaty of Sèvres of 1920, which marked the end of the World War I for the Ottoman Empire, and led to its partition by the Allies, recognized the Kurds as an ethnically distinct people and discussed the possibility of an independent Kurdistan. The Article 62 of the treaty defined a Kurdish homeland, and the Article 64 opened the way to an independent Kurdistan (See Romano, 2006, p. 28).

Since the beginning of the 2000s, the Turkish state has implemented some reforms with regard to the Kurdish question. Some of these reforms can be listed as follows: the ban on Kurdish names was lifted in 2003, allowing people to give Kurdish names to their children; a state TV channel which broadcasted solely in Kurdish was established in 2009; Kurdish Language and Literature Departments were founded in universities in 2011; selective Kurdish courses were opened at fifth grade in 2012; limited usage of Kurdish was allowed in courts, and original Kurdish names of villages were allowed to be reclaimed in 2013.

3.7 Peace Negotiations

In 2009, the AKP government launched the initiative known as 'the Kurdish Opening', which was later renamed as 'the Democratic Opening' and then as the 'National Unity and Fraternity Project'.

As part of the peace initiative, the PKK sent a group of unarmed guerrillas and refugees from Iraqi Kurdistan to Turkey in 2009 without being arrested. The "peace group" was welcomed by a crowd of approximately 50 thousand people mobilized by the pro-Kurdish Democratic Society Party (DTP). However, the euphoria on the Kurdish side met with Turkish nationalist reactions. The situation got worse when the PKK attacked a military vehicle in early December, killing all the soldiers on board. The so-called "Habur process" faded without success. At the end, the peace group was arrested, the DTP was banned by the Constitutional Court's decision, and its two leaders, Ahmet Türk and Aysel Tuğluk were expelled from the parliament ("Turkey's Constitutional Court closes DTP", 2009)

Between 2009 and 2011 some high level alleged secret talks took place between the National Intelligence Organization (MİT) and the PKK, which later came to be known as the Oslo Process. For the first time, the Turkish state engaged in direct talks with the PKK leader Öcalan and the organization's top representatives in Europe. According to Ensaroğlu, the Oslo Process eradicated "the perception that direct talks between the state and the PKK were an extraordinary affair and provided an opportunity for both parties to get to know each other and their exact demands" (2013, p. 13).

In 2013, the peace process reached a new phase. On 3 January 2013, two Kurdish deputies, Ahmet Türk and Ayla Akat, visited the PKK leader Öcalan in prison for the first time. That year 13 Kurdish political delegations visited Öcalan, carrying his messages to the PKK cadres and to the public. The adversaries negotiated their messages with their respective publics and their counter-parts through the media. In Newroz 2013, for example, Öcalan's peace messages were read to large crowds in Diyarbakır, both in Kurdish and Turkish. He said the following: "We have now reached a point where guns must go silent and ideas and politics must speak. We will unite in the face of those who try to split us. From now on, a new period begins when politics, not guns, will come to the fore. It is now time for armed elements to withdraw outside the country" (p.15). The PKK leadership on Mount Qandil, Northern Iraq, responded to Öcalan's message positively and declared ceasefire within two days, and on May 8th they started to withdraw 1,500 of its members that were based in Turkey outside the country's borders. The armed organization demanded that "legal regulations[9] be enacted to proceed with the process" (Ercan,

---

[9] Regarding the resolution process two legal regulations have been made. The first one is the the law enacted on 25 April 2014, which protects MIT officials who carry out the negotiations with the PKK.

2015), but this demand was not met and the withdrawal was stopped in September 2013.

This phase of the peace negotiations was significantly different from Habur and Oslo processes. The government, for the first time, opened the process to public scrutiny, as discussed earlier, and used public relations strategies to persuade the public to support the process. As part of these strategies, the government established the "Wise People Commission" from celebrities and opinion leaders with the task of explaining and promoting the peace process to the public. Organized into seven regional sections, the Commission members travelled through Turkey's provinces and held meetings with locals. At the end of their five weeks work, they prepared a report and presented it to then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. However, apart from the Southeastern Region Commission's report, none of these reports were made public.

On 28 February 2015, Turkish government authorities and Kurdish deputies held a meeting in the office of the Prime Minister in Dolmabahçe Palace in Istanbul. In the meeting, Turkish government was represented by the Deputy Prime Minister Yalçın Akdoğan, Minister of Interior Efkan Ala, Undersecretary of Public Order and Security Muammed Dervişoğlu, who had been appointed as the coordinator of the resolution process, and AKP's Parliamentary Group Deputy Chairperson Mahir Ünal. The Kurdish deputies were Sırrı Süreyya Önder, İdris Baluken and Pervin Buldan of The Peoples' Democracy Party (Halkın Demokrasi Partisi - HDP).

The second one is The Law on the Termination of Terrorism and Reinforcement of Social Integration. The law, which was enacted on 10 July 2015, provided legal immunity for AKP government officials against possible future legal prosecutions. See https://tr.boell.org/de/2015/11/17/end-resolution-process-or-akps-middle-east-policy.

At the end of the meeting the attendees held a joint press conference at the Prime Minister's Office, which was allowed to be covered only by the state news agency Anadolu Ajansı and the state television TRT. Other members of the media watched the statements from television. After the meeting, Anadolu Ajansı wired photographs of HDP deputies shaking hands with government authorities (Karakaş, 2015). HDP Deputy Sırrı Süreyya Önder quoted Öcalan's following message:

> While taking this 30-year period of conflict to a lasting peace, our main goal is to reach a democratic solution. I am inviting the PKK to convene the extraordinary congress in order to make the strategic and historic decision of leaving the armed struggle on the basis of minimum agreed principles. This invitation is a historic declaration of intention for the democratic politics to replace armed struggle. Knowing that we are closer to peace than we have ever been, we are greeting all the forces of democracy who have been working for and will work for peace. May it be auspicious! (Karakaş, 2015; Bayramoğlu, 2015).

At the joint press conference, Deputy Prime Minister Yalçın Akdoğan replied to Öcalan's message in the following way:

> We care about the statement made on the acceleration of efforts for cessation of arms, complete realization of inaction and prioritization of democratic politics as a method. We see the new constitution as an opportunity to solve many long-standing and chronic problems. ("PKK'ya silah bırak çağrısı", 2015)

Yet, as Bayramoğlu argues, "this peak in the process of resolution also heralded the beginning of a downward spiral" (2015, p.8). Since 2015 the process has been halted by the Turkish government, and violence has escalated. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan announced in August 2015 that "the resolution process was put in a frigerator" and that they "were to continue their struggle until no single terrorist remained in the country".[10]

---

[10] *Erdoğan: Çözüm süreci buzdolabında.* (2015, August 11). Retrieved July 10, 2016, from Sabah: http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/08/11/erdogan-cozum-sureci-buzdolabinda

What caused the change of the government policy towards the resolution process needs a thorough political analysis, which is beyond the scope of this study, and any attempt to understand the recent developments regarding the Kurdish question without an analysis of the Syrian conflict and Middle East politics would be incomplete. However, it can be said that peace needs a process, and it is common that protracted conflicts have periods of escalation and de-escalation. As we are now in 2016, the future of the peace process remains ambiguous.

Chapter 4

AN OVERVIEW OF STATE-MEDIA RELATIONS IN TURKEY

This chapter discusses the state-media relations in Turkey within the theoretical frameworks of the indexing hypothesis and Hallin and Mancini's comparative media systems model.

4.1 Indexing Hypothesis

The indexing hypothesis argues that news is indexed to governmental debate, especially in areas such as military decisions and foreign affairs, and unless there is a crack in governmental debate, oppositional voices are less likely to find their way to news (Bennett, 1990).

Bennett argues that "Mass media news professionals, from the boardroom to the beat, tend to 'index' the range of voices and viewpoints in both news and editorials according to the range of views expressed in mainstream government debate about a given topic" (1990, p.106). Accordingly, other voices are included in the debate only when they have already appeared in official circles. Bennett writes that "journalists implicitly answer questions about what, how much, and whose opinion to cover by looking to 'official' conflict or opposition levels within the government" (p. 118).

Bennett tested his hypothesis on the case of the media's coverage of U.S. policymaking on Nicaragua during the period of the mid-1980s. He analysed 2,148 news articles and editorials indexed under "Nicaragua" in the New York Times Index between January 1, 1983 and October 15, 1986. The results of the study showed that "opinions voiced in news stories came overwhelmingly from government officials" (p.116).

Entman and Page's study (1994) shows that even in the pre-Iraq War period, which was marked by high level of elite dispute, support for the government policy was heavily represented in the news. "The most pertinent critical information," they write, "tended to be displayed less saliently than supportive information, and much of the reported criticism was procedural rather than substantive" (1994, p.84). Also, the "prominence of media attention to critics and supporters" of the Bush administration's policy on Iraq was "calibrated according to the degree of power over war policy they exerted," and "few fundamental criticism of administration policy appeared" (p.84).

Entman and Page conclude that in this time period of "unusually vocal and lengthy elite dissent over application of military force, support was reported as frequently as criticism," and support "received more prominent treatment". In addition, "administration officials received much more attention in the news than those outside the executive branch", and moreover, "few fundamental criticisms were aired" (p.96).

Bennett, Lawrence and Livingston's work (2006) also show the validity of the indexing hypothesis within the U.S. media system. The authors assessed the news

coverage in the American media regarding the Abu Ghraib scandal in order to find out to "what extent and under what circumstances did news organizations highlight the torture frame versus the administration's preferred 'isolated abuse' frame" (p.471). They found out that only 3% of the stories offered torture as the primary frame, whereas 81% offered abuse as the primary frame. For the editorials the percentage of the torture frame was somewhat higher. 17% of the editorials offered torture as the primary frame, whereas 61% prioritized the abuse frame (p.474). The study also shows that "torture frames appeared most prominently in the 2 weeks after the story broke, and then faded quickly as event-driven reportage on the photos was displaced by managed governmental activities such as investigations, reports, and hearings" (p. 475-476).

Turkish news media have traditionally indexed themselves to state policies, especially in areas such as military decisions and foreign affairs. For example, regarding relations with Greece, the news media have followed the governments' footsteps. When the relations with Greece were negative, so were the news representations of Greece in Turkish press. Once the relations improved, then the news coverage improved as well. In a study of the Turkish newspapers' coverage of the Greece-related issues, Tılıç concludes that the positive changes in the style and content of the Turkish media reports "were mainly due changes in the policy of then Turkish government and state officials and how they currently engaged with Greece" (2006, p.24). Tılıç further argues that these seemingly positive changes could not be attributed to peace journalism because they were not the "result of an 'independent journalistic initiative'" or "a media initiative" and the current trend could be "easily reversed with a change of policy at government and state levels" (p.24).

A similar form of indexing in the news media has appeared regarding the Kurdish issue. In the days, when the military had a strong hand on politics, the war between the PKK and the Turkish army was presented "by mainly focusing on the sorrow of one side: Mothers who lost their sons as soldiers" (Gencel Bek, 2009, p.6). The newspapers which did not comply with state policies were severely criticized by the military. For example, in response to a claim by Taraf newspaper regarding a fatal PKK attack on a military outpost in 2008, then Chief of Staff General İlker Başbuğ asked the journalists: 'Whose side are you on?' (p. 6).

4.2 Hallin and Mancini's Three Models of Media and Politics

In their seminal work where they compare the media systems of Southern European, Northern European and North Atlantic countries, Hallin and Mancini[11] propose a four dimensional framework for comparing media systems (2004). The first dimension is "the development of media markets, with particular emphasis on the strong or weak development of a mass circulation press." The second dimension is "political parallelism; that is the degree and nature of the links between the media and political parties or, more broadly, the extent to which the media system reflects the major political divisions in society." The third dimension considers "the development of journalistic professionalism"; and the fourth dimension is regarding "the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system" (2004, p.21).

In what Hallin and Mancini refers to as the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model, the newspaper industry is characterized by its low circulation rates, deep

---

[11] Turkish media system resembles Hallin and Mancini's Mediterranean Mode, however as they themselves argued later, the model as any other model should not turn into "a kind of universal schema" that can be applied everywhere (2012, p.2). Geographically, and culturally, Turkey entails hybridity. As it is located on the borders of the constructed categories of "West" and "East", it is a "Mediterranean" as well as a "Middle Eastern", or a "Middle Western" country depending on where you set the vantage point. Yet, as the resemblence with Hallin and Mancini's Mediterranean and the Turkish media system's characteristics is high, I find it useful to apply the model to the Turkish case.

gender differences in readership, heavy reliance on electronic media for information about political affairs, and an elite politically oriented press (pp.23-25) In Southern European countries in the Mediterranean basin there is considerably high level of political parallelism with external pluralism.

The concept *party-press parallelism* (PPP) originally proposed by Seymour-Ure referred to the "degree to which the structure of the media system paralleled that of the party system" (Seymour-Ure cited in Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p. 27). PPP is stronger when news organizations directly align with political parties. Hallin and Mancini give the example of Denmark in the early twentieth century, "when each town had four newspapers, representing the four major political parties" (p.27). Today, this kind of association is not common. News media are not directly associated with particular political parties, but "with general political tendencies" (p.27).

Seymour-Ure's concept of PPP functions depending on three factors: political parties' ownership of or involvement in the functioning of media organizations, partisanship in editorial decisions, and party affiliations of news organizations' audiences (Seymour-Ure cited in Çarkoğlu, Baruh, & Yıldırım, 2014, p. 298).

Hallin and Mancini refer to "political parallelism" rather than "party-press parallelism", and distinguish different components of political parallelism. The first component is media content, that is to say, "the extent to which the different media reflect distinct political orientations in their news … and sometimes also their entertainment content." The second component is "organizational connections between media and political parties or other kinds of organizations, including trade

unions, cooperatives, churches and the like, which are often linked to political parties." The third one is "the tendency for media personnel to be active in political life, often serving in party or public offices." The fourth component of political parallelism is the "partisanship of media audiences, with supporters of different parties or tendencies buying different newspapers or watching different TV channels." Finally, political parallelism is also observable in "journalistic role orientations and practices" (p.28). Journalists working in media systems with lower political parallelism tend to see themselves as providers of neutral information, as opposed to the "'publicist' role", which denotes "an orientation toward influencing public opinion" (p.28).

Hallin and Mancini differentiate between two forms of pluralism in a media system: external pluralism and internal pluralism. External pluralism refers to the "the existence of a range of media outlets or organizations reflecting the points of view of different groups or tendencies in society. Systems characterized by external pluralism will obviously be considered to have a high level of political parallelism" Internal pluralism is "defined as pluralism achieved within each individual media outlet or organization". A system with internal pluralism is expected to have low level of political parallelism (pp.29-30).

In Mediterranean model, journalistic professionalism is considerably weaker than the Northern European / Democratic Corporatist Model and the North Atlantic / Liberal Model. Journalistic autonomy and public service orientation is low; in contrast, there is the instrumentalization of news media by "outside actors – parties, politicians, social groups or movements, or economic actors seeking political influence" (p.37).

"The state," Hallin and Mancini suggest, "plays a significant role in shaping the media systems in any society. But there are considerable differences in the extent of intervention as well as in the forms it takes" (p.41). The state can have direct ownership in the media sector through state-owned TV stations, news-agencies or newspapers and other media enterprises. In addition, direct or indirect press subsidies play an important role in the media sector; and the state is a major advertiser (p.43). Other forms of state intervention take place through the legal system such as libel, defamation, privacy and right-of-reply laws, hate speech laws, professional secrecy laws for journalists, laws regulating access to government information, media concentration, ownership and competition, and broadcast licensing laws, and laws regulating content (pp.43-44).

Political clientelism is an important determinant of the Mediterranean model. Hallin and Mancini suggest that in countries where rational-legal authority is less developed as in Southern Europe, clientelist relations prevail in the media system. They define clientelism as "a pattern of social organization in which access to social resources is controlled by patrons and delivered to clients in exchange for deference and various forms of support" (p. 58). Clientelism is associated with instrumentalization of both public and private media:

> In the case of public media, appointments tend to be more on the basis of political loyalty than purely professional criteria. Private business owners also will typically have political connections, which are essential to obtaining government contracts and concessions (including broadcast licenses) and in many other ways necessary for the successful operation of a business. These owners will often use their media properties as a vehicle for negotiation with other elites and for intervention in the political world; indeed in many cases this will be the primary purpose of media ownership. For these reasons political parallelism tends to be high where the tradition of clientelism is strong (p. 58).

Clientelism is also associated with lower levels of professionalized journalism, as it breaks the horizontal solidarity among journalists.

The Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model has the following characteristics:

- An elite-oriented press with a relatively small circulation and a corresponding centrality of electronic media;

- Late development of freedom of press and commercial media industries;

- Economically marginal newspapers, often in need of subsidy;

- High political parallelism;

- A strong focus of the press on political life, external pluralism of the press, and a tradition of commentary-oriented journalism;

- Instrumentalization of the media by the government, by political parties, and by industrialists with political ties;

- Weak professionalization of journalism and limited journalistic autonomy;

- The state playing a large role as an owner, regulator, and funder of media, though its capacity to regulate the media effectively is often limited;

- A particularly rapid and uncontrolled transition from state controlled to commercial broadcasting, or in other words, "savage deregulation" (p.73).

Table 2: The three models: Media systems characteristics

	Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model *France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain*	Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model *Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland*	North Atlantic or Liberal Model *Britain, United States, Canada, Ireland*
Newspaper Industry	Low newspaper circulation; elite politically oriented press	High newspaper circulation; early development of mass-circulation press	Medium newspaper circulation, early development of mass-circulation commercial press
Political Parallelism	High political parallelism: external pluralism, commentary-oriented journalism; parliamentary or government model of broadcast governance-politics-over-broadcasting systems	External pluralism especially in national press; historically strong party press; shift toward neutral commercial press; politics-in broadcasting system with substantial autonomy	Neutral commercial press; information-oriented journalism; internal pluralism (but external pluralism in Britain); professional model of broadcast governance-formally autonomous system
Professionalization	Weaker professionalization instrumentalization	Strong professionalization institutionalized self-regulation	Strong professionalization noninstitutionalized self-regulation
Role of the State in Media System	Strong state intervention; press subsidies in France and Italy; periods of censorship; "savage deregulation" (except France)	Strong state intervention but with protection for press freedom; press subsidies, particularly strong in Scandinavia; strong public-service broadcasting	Market dominated (except strong public broadcasting in Britain, Ireland)

Source: Hallin and Mancini, 2004, p. 67

4.3 Parallelisms between the Turkish Media System and the Mediterranean Model

In many aspects the Turkish media system fits in Hallin and Mancini's Mediterranean model. This study assesses the parallelisms between the Turkish media system and the Mediterranean Model in the four dimensions proposed by Hallin and Mancini with a focus on the press: the structure and development of media markets, political parallelism, the development of journalistic professionalism, and the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system.

4.3.1 Development of Media Markets

There are more than 2,000 newspapers currently circulating in Turkey (Uce & De Swert, 2010, p. 65) and according to the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA), in 2013, 52 of them were national, paid-for dailies (WAN-IFRA, 2014).

Prior to 1980's, the press was owned mainly by family companies with backgrounds in journalism. With the implementation of neoliberal policies from 1980's onwards, the ownership structure of the press has changed. The journalist family-ownership has been replaced by multisectoral groups, and "press" has evolved into "media" (Çam and Şanlıer Yüksel, 2015, p.68). Today the print media is dominated a handful of large multimedia and multisectoral groups.

Table 3: Media ownership structure in Turkey

DOĞAN	TV Station	Kanal D, CNN Türk, tv2, Dream TV
	Newspaper	Hürriyet, Posta, Fanatik, Hürriyet Daily News, TME Newspapers
	Radio	Radyo D, Slow Türk, CNN Türk Radyo, radyonom.com
	Magazine	Doğan Burda Magazine (owns a total of 81 magazines) Doğan Egmont (a a leading book and magazine publisher, which is a joint venture between Doğan Group and Egmont)
	News Agency	Doğan Haber Ajansı (DHA)
CİNER	TV Station	Habertürk TV, Bloomberg HT, Show TV
	Newspaper	Habertürk
	Radio	Habertürk Radyo, Bloomberg HT Radyo, HT Spor Radyo
TURKUVAZ MEDIA (KALYON)	TV Station	ATV, AHaber, Minika, Yeni Asır TV
	Newspaper	Sabah, Takvim, Günaydın, Yeni Asır, Fotomaç
	Radio	Radyo Turkuvaz
	Magazine	Aktüel, Bebeğim, China Today, Cosmopolitan, Cosmopolitan Bride, Cosmo Girl, Esquire, Forbes, Global Enerji, Bazaar, Home, House Beautiful, Lacivert, Oto Haber, Para, Sofra, Şamdan
ES MEDYA (ETHEM SANCAK)	TV Station	360, Kanal 24
	Newspaper	Akşam, Güneş, Star
	Radio	Alem FM, Lig Radyo
	Magazine	Alem, Platin
FEZA PUBLICATIONS* AND SAMANYOLU BROADCASTING HOLDING	TV Station	Samanyolu TV, Samanyolu Haber, Yumurcak TV, Mehtap TV, Ebru TV, Dünya TV
	Newspaper	Zaman, Today's Zaman
	Radio	Burç FM, Dünya, Radyo Mehtap, Radyo Cihan
FEZA PUBLICATIONS*	Magazine	Aksiyon

AND SAMANYOLU BROADCASTING HOLDING (CONT.)	News Agency	Cihan
KOZA IPEK**	TV Station	Kanaltürk, Bugün TV
	Newspaper	Bugün, Millet
	Radio	Kanaltürk Radyo
DEMİRÖREN	Newspaper	Milliyet, Vatan
GROUP MEDYA	Magazines	Marie Claire, Marie Claire Man, Men's Health, Marie Claire Maison, Marie Claire Wedding, Women's Health, Marie Claire Kids, Trendsetter Istanbul, Runner's World, Marie Claire Travel, NewBeauty
ACUN MEDYA	TV Station	TV8
ALBAYRAK	TV Station	TVNet, Tempo TV
	Newspaper	Yeni Şafak
	Magazine	Derin Tarih, Lokma, Nihayet, Derin Ekonomi, Cins, Gerçek Hayat, Kırmızı Beyaz, Skyroad
DOĞUŞ	TV Station	NTV, Star, NTV Spor, Kral TV, Kral Pop TV, NTV Avrupa, Eurostar
	Radio	NTV Radyo, Kral FM, Kral Pop Radyo, Kral World Radyo
	Magazine	Vogue Türkiye, Glamour, GQ, Traveller, National Geographic Türkiye, National Geographic Kids, Robb Report

*Trustees were appointed to Feza Publications, which is known to be close to Gülen order, in March 2016. ** Trustees were appointed to Koza Ipek Group, which is known to be close to Gülen order, in October 2015.

Almost all media groups have investments in other sectors such as energy, telecommunications, finance, and construction, and there are no legal limitations for these groups from entering into public procurements. Law No. 6112 sets an upper limit to the media ownership. Accordingly, a media corporation cannot have more than 30% of all commercial communications market revenue. That was the reason

why Doğan Group sold Star TV to Doğuş Group in 2011. Total advertising revenue in the media sector was 2.5 billion dollars in 2011. 56 percent of all the advertising revenue goes to the televisions. There are no direct subsidies to the private media in Turkey; however, the state advertisements are an important revenue source for small, local or independent media outlets (Kurban and Sözeri, 2012, pp.25-32).

The total daily circulation of newspapers is quite low in Turkey. Only 5,077,000 copies are sold to a population of approximately 80 million people. Yet, the reach of newspapers to the population is higher than the circulation rate. According to WAN-IFRA data, newspapers reach 25.4% of population (WAN-IFRA, 2014).

Until 1993, the public broadcaster TRT (Turkish Radio Television) had the monopoly in TV broadcasting. The monopoly was lifted on 8 August 1993. Today 24 national, 16 regional, and 215 local television stations operate in Turkey (Çam and Şanlıer Yüksel, 2015, p. 66). Commercial TV stations started to operate from Europe via satellite before the monopoly was lifted. Hence, it would be not wrong to argue that the pattern of "savage deregulation" was visible in Turkey, especially during the first years of deregulation (p. 66).

4.3.2 Political Parallelism

Turkish media system has been marked with a high degree of political parallelism (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010; Çarkoğlu & Yavuz, 2010; Uce & De Swert, 2010; İrvan, 2007).

In the past there were party-owned newspapers in Turkey. The Republican People's Party (CHP) owned Ulus (Nation) newspaper during the single-party period, and Democrat Party (DP), which won the elections in 1950 and governed the country

until 1960, owned Zafer (Victory) newspaper (İrvan, 2007). The direct ownership of the newspapers by the parties is not common today, however, political alignment of newspapers is observable. İrvan notes that political parallelism is most visible in newspaper columns, and that Turkish journalism is more a commentary- dominated form of journalism. "There are more than 900 columnists in the national newspapers. Newspaper columnists and especially journalist-turn columnists enjoy an elevated position in the echelons of journalism" he writes (2007).

Active participation of journalists in the politics has been a common phenomenon. Gencel Bek (2010) notes, for instance, during the first periods of the Republic, until the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 40 journalists served in the parliament (p. 109), and in November 2015 general elections, 24 journalists were elected to the parliament from various parties (Akgül, 2015).

Turkish media system is also marked by high level of clientelism (Gencel Bek, 2010; Çarkoğlu, Baruh & Yıldırım, 2014; Çarkoğlu & Yavuz, 2010, Christensen, 2007). What Hallin and Papathanassopoulos (2002) note on Latin American and Southern European media system is also valid for the Turkish media system: There is "a strong tendency for media to be controlled by private interests with political alliances and ambitions which seek to use their properties for political ends" (p.177).

As Christensen notes, the Turkish media system has clientelist and patrimonial relationships with the state and the media are instrumentalized by corporate interests (2007). Andrew Finkel observes that "the greatest danger facing the Turkish media is pressure based on the financial interests of its proprietors… Industrialists and financiers are attracted to newspaper and television ownership not just as businesses

in their own right, but as 'loss leaders' for their other commercial activities" (2000, pp. 155- 156). Kurban and Sözeri argue that "media outlets are used by the owners as a weapon for their investments in other fields/sectors" (2012, p.25). As mentioned above, "almost all media groups have investments in other sectors such as energy, telecommunications, finance, and construction. There are no legal limitations for these groups from entering into public procurements" (p.25).

During the ruling party AKP's term since 2002, it is argued that the political pressure on the news media has increased, and the mainstream media were "(re)-configurated" by the government "to create what some critics call *yandaş* (proponent, supporter or advocate) media; a term used to describe uncritical-partisanship for AKP" (Çarkoğlu, Baruh, & Yıldırım, 2014, p. 300).

Çarkoğlu, Baruh, and Yıldırım (2014) argue that after coming to power, AKP "realigned" clientelistic relationships that prevailed in the media system in its favour. (p.300). In 2004, Star newspaper and Star TV, that were owned by Uzan Family and Cem Uzan, a businessperson and the leader of the opposition party *Genç Parti* (Young Party), was taken over by Saving Deposit Insurance Fund (TMSF), which is a regulating body attached to the Prime Minister's office. After several changes in ownership, the Star newspaper is now acquired by Ethem Sancak, who is known to be close to the AKP government.

In 2007, TMSF took over media holdings of Ciner group, which included Sabah and Takvim newspapers and the popular ATV television station. "TMSF later sold these newspapers and the TV channel to their sole bidder Turkuaz media, a company run by the AKP leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's son-in-law [at that time]. Arguably,

given the failing financial circumstances of the associated media groups, TMSF's motivation in the takeover cannot be considered to be solely political. However, regardless of the motivation, this intervention ended up with these media conglomerates being sold to the corporations that are known to be close to AKP" (pp. 300- 301).

Sabah had an approximate circulation share of 11 percent in 2002, Star 10 percent, and Takvim 5 percent. Çarkoğlu, Baruh, and Yıldırım argue that with the major changes in ownership in 2007, "approximately 25 percent of the newspaper circulation moved toward groups that are closely allied with the ruling AKP" (p.301).

Turkish media system is also characterized by high external pluralism (Çarkoğlu, Baruh, & Yıldırım, 2014; Çarkoğlu & Yavuz, 2010) and polarization between pro-government and oppositional news outlets (Gencel Bek, 2010; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Uce & De Swert, 2010).

Çarkoğlu and Yavuz (2010) point to the decline of internal pluralism and the rise of external pluralism in Turkey in the following way:

> Concentration of newspaper readers with similar political orientations in particular newspapers conforms the situation where media outlets are also aligned with particular political ideologies…newspapers are increasingly dependent on politically more homogenous readership communities. Such, readership might be the outcome of an increasingly more partisan coverage (p. 622).

4.3.3 Development of Journalistic Professionalism

The first initiatives towards professionalization in Turkey date back to the transition to multi-party system. The Turkish Journalists' Association was founded in 1946 and the first journalism high education institution, The Journalism Institute was established at the Faculty of Economics of Istanbul University in 1950. This institution was followed by The School of Journalism and Publication, which was opened in 1965 under the umbrella of the Faculty of Political Science of Ankara University. There is also a somewhat weak tradition of self-regulation practices. The Press Council was founded in 1986; various journalism organisations such as the Turkish Journalists' Association have created ethical codes; and some newspapers have ombudsmen. However, the levels of accountability and transparency are considerably low in the media system (Gencel Bek, 2010). As such, the level of journalistic professionalism is low in Turkey.

Formal protection of editorial autonomy has not existed in Turkey. Kaya and Çakmur list the types of pressures journalists have to deal with in their profession as follows: "story suppression, changing the angle and/or tone of a story, or criticism from superiors for a completed story that was damaging to the commercial interests of the parent conglomerate or advertisers. Another frequent type of auto censor is the avoidance of news stories that can impair the dealings of the owner with the political actors" (p. 529).

The low level of professionalism is linked to the demise of trade unions, staff cuts among journalists, and selective remunerations (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010). Law 212 regulates the rights of journalists; however, most of media employees are working outside this regulation… and without permanent contracts" (Uce & De Swert, 2010,

p. 69). *Türkiye Gazeteciler Sendikası* (Turkish Journalists Union- TGS), which is the only trade union that has the authority to negotiate collective agreements for journalists, has lost its membership base due to neo-liberal policies that have been implemented since the 1980s. Journalists are "cautious about union membership due to fear of employer retaliation, which may cause dismissal" (Uce & De Swert, 2010, p. 69). The following quotation by a journalist explains the situation in the Turkish media system:

> The new owner called each journalist one by one after buying the newspaper and asked to leave the syndicate (trade union). Journalists were forced either sign their resignation from the syndicate or to leave the job. The first day, no syndicate member signed the resignation from the syndicate. The second day all of them lost their jobs. The next day everyone resigned from the syndicate. The notary was brought to the newspaper and they made a line in front of him to leave the syndicate. It was in 1990 (Tılıç cited in İrvan, 2007).

4.3.4 Degree and Nature of State Intervention in the Media System

During the earlier days of the peace process, in October 2011, then Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan held a closed meeting with media bosses and chief editors, where he demanded "sensitivity" from the media when communicating news about "terrorism and violence", referring to the Kurdish issue. A few days later, five major news agencies of the country, *Anadolu Ajansı (AA), Ajans Haber Türk (AHT), Ankara Haber Ajansı (ANKA), Cihan Haber Ajansı (CİHAN)* and *İhlas Haber Ajansı (İHA)*, announced in a joint declaration that they will comply with the official publication bans (Kurban and Sözeri, 2012, p. 54).

There are other cases when the AKP government or, more specifically, then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan intervened in the media system by means of exerting pressure on the media owners. For example, on February 28th, 2013, Milliyet newspaper published the minutes of a meeting between the PKK leader

Abdullah Öcalan and the visiting Kurdish delegation. This leakage met with harsh government reaction. Prime Minister Erdoğan phoned Erdoğan Demirören, the owner of the newspaper. Calling the chief editor Derya Sazak and the reporter Namık Durukan derogatory names, Erdoğan asked for their dismissal.

Demirören Group, which entered the media sector with the purchase of Milliyet and Vatan newspapers in 2011, has investments in mining, industry, construction, tourism, and education sectors. When facing direct pressure from the government in a telephone call from the Prime Minister, Erdoğan Demirören, expresses regret for having entered the media sector with the following words: "How did I get into this business, and for whom?"[12] Reacting to Milliyet, Erdoğan later said the following:

> One newspaper comes up and publishes a streamer headline. This headline story breaks the news from İmralı… If you want to contribute to this process of solution, you cannot and should not use such a news story. Because this process is sensitive. With their headlines, with their columns, they say they are doing journalism. If this is it, then, down with your journalism! (Erdoğan cited in Ellis, 2013).

In the aftermath of the quarrel, Milliyet's editor-in-chief Derya Sazak and two senior columnists Hasan Cemal and Can Dündar lost their jobs. After this incident, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was severely criticised by the International Press Institute (IPI) Turkish National Committee for attacking the freedom of press, suppressing it and creating "an atmosphere of fear that can increase self-censorship, which is the number one problem of the Turkish media" (Ellis, 2013).

High degree of state intervention is a characteristic of the Turkish media system. Media are businesses, which can turn out to be "risky" in the course of relations with

---

[12] The voice record,which circulated in YouTube at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=44lwdEoT6FE was later banned by a court decision.

the government. In the past, Erdoğan turned down the request of Aydın Doğan, the owner of Doğan Group, for approval of a refinery in Ceyhan, awarding the permission to Çalık Holding, the firm whose expanding media branch was led by Erdoğan's son-in-law at the time (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010, p.532). "In the course of events, Doğan's newspapers covered a court case in Germany that dissolved a Turkish-German charity for the illegal transfer of funds to various Islamists in Turkey and reported its alleged connections with the names close to the AKP. Erdoğan publicly instructed his authorities to heavily fine the Doğan Media Group (approximately $ 525 million) for alleged tax irregularities." (p.532). Doğan Media Group was also banned from bidding for state tenders for a period of a year.

Government pressure to media operates in two ways: "carrot and stick policy to put the media in line" (İrvan, 2007) as explained above and legal prosecutions to journalists.

Turkey is ranked 154th among 180 countries in Reporters without Borders' (RSF)[13] the World Press Freedom Index. Turkey is defined as an "authoritarian regional model" (Reporters without Borders, 2014, p.22), with 60 journalists in detention at the end of 2013, "making Turkey one of the world's biggest prisons for media personnel" (p.22). Likewise, according to the Freedom House's Freedom of the Press

---

[13] Turkey is ranked 151st among 180 countries in RSF's The World Freedom Index 2016. In the organization's website the following remark is made about the situation in Turkey: "President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has embarked on an offensive against Turkey's media. Journalists are harassed, many have been accused of 'insulting the president' and the Internet is systematically censored. The regional context – the war in Syria and Turkey's offensive against the PKK Kurds – is exacerbating the pressure on the media, which are also accused of 'terrorism.' The media and civil society are nonetheless resisting Erdogan's growing authoritarianism." See https://rsf.org/en/turkey.

2014 Report Turkey's media environment is ranked as "not free". The report, which evaluates events that occurred during 2013, criticizes Turkish government for exerting "systematic political pressure" (Karlekar, 2014) on the media leading to the "firing scores of journalists for reporting what was considered critical of the government".

Press freedom is under constitutional protection in Turkey; however, Article 28 of the constitution brings a number of limitations to press freedom in issues related to national security, public order, public security, protection of national unity and state secrets (Kurban and Sözeri, 2012). Turkish Criminal Law and the Anti-Terrorism Act define a number of criminal matters that are often applied to journalists. Article 125 of the Criminal Law defines "defamation", and as of 2011, 24 journalists were found guilty of defamation and were sentenced to a total of 21 years and 9 months of imprisonment (Gülcan, 2012). Article 314 defines the crime of "setting up a criminal organization in order to end the constitutional order"; likewise Article 318 is about "estranging people from military service"; and Article 319 is about "encouraging military personnel to disobey". Article 214 is about "insulting Turkishness, the Republic, the State, The Parliament, government and judicial organs".

Articles 6 and 7 of the Anti- Terrorism Act define the sentences applied to the press. Article 6 (2) brings one to three years imprisonment for publishing declarations and statements of terror organizations; Article 6 (5) gives authorities the right to stop publication up to 15 days. According to Article 7 (2), propagating terror organizations is sentenced to one to five years imprisonment. The penalty is increased by one half if the propaganda is made through press.

Journalists are routinely prosecuted and convicted of terrorism offenses. At the end of 2011 there were 104 journalists and 30 media workers in prison. 64 of the journalists and 29 of the media workers were employees of Kurdish media institutions. All 134 people, except one, faced trial for terrorism offenses. In 2010, 33 journalists were sentenced to a total of 365 years based on the Anti-Terrorism Act. The most severe punishment was given to Vedat Kurşun, the editor of the Kurdish newspaper Azadiya Welat: 166 years of imprisonment. The publication of the newspaper was stopped three times in 2010, each time for one month. (Kurban and Sözeri, 2012, pp.46-48).

Hallin and Papathanassopoulos (2002) compare the Latin American and Southern European media systems, namely Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Brazil, Colombia and Mexico, on five major characteristics: low level of newspaper circulation, a tradition of advocacy reporting, instrumentalization of privately-owned media, politicization of public broadcasting and broadcast regulation, and limited development of journalism as an autonomous profession (pp. 176-177). They found out that the newspaper circulation rates are low in all seven countries compared to North European and North Atlantic countries. A tradition of advocacy reporting prevails in most of the inspected countries, where journalism tends to emphasize opinion and commentary, and newspapers represent distinct political tendencies. There is also "a strong tendency for media to be controlled by private interests with political alliances and ambitions which seek to use their properties for political ends" (p.177). The public broadcasting is politicized, where the ruling party controls public broadcasting and there is a weak regulation of private broadcasters (p.181). The journalistic autonomy in all seven countries is found to be limited. They argue that

the concept of clientelism is crucial to understand the media systems of southern Europe and Latin America (p.191).

Turkish media system with its low circulation rates, low level of professionalization, weak horizontal solidarity, high level of state interference, political clientelism and instrumentalization of media by the owners is comparable to southern European and Latin American countries, and it fits in the Hallin and Mancini's Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model.

Chapter 5

METHODOLOGY

This study employs constructionism as its methodology, which entails that "Things don't *mean*: we *construct* meaning, using representational systems – concepts and signs" (Hall, 1997b, p.25). In this section, I will present an overview of constructionism as a paradigm in Kuhnian sense; discuss the constructionist approach to frame analysis; and introduce the research questions and the data of this study.

5.1 Constructionist Methodology: An Overview

Constructionism has gradually emerged as criticism to empiricist and positivist forms of knowledge since the 1960s under a variety of different approaches such as "constructionism", "constructivism", "social constructionism", "discourse analysis", "deconstruction" and "poststructuralism". One of the common features of these different approaches is that "they have often developed at the margins of disciplines, in the spaces, for example, where psychology blurs into sociology or where literary studies borders political sciences…" (Potter, 1996, p. 126). This can be attributed, at least partially, to the effect of power relations on the knowledge production process, that is to say, mainstream approaches leaving little space for alternative voices. In this study, I will refer to this genre of postmodern approaches in social sciences as constructionism. Gergen describes constructionism as a new "form of intelligibility" (1994, p.78). Building upon his definition, I refer to constructionism as an invitation to "read" the world with an alternative lens.

Constructionism cautions us against "the taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world, including ourselves", and "invites us to be critical of the idea that our observations of the world unproblematically yield its nature to us, to challenge the view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observation of the world. It is therefore in opposition to what is referred to as positivism and empiricism in traditional science" (Burr, 2003, pp.2-3).

The starting point of the constructionist theory is the proposition that we can only know the world and act on it by means of language (Bilton, 2002, p. 63). Language is a precondition of thought, which sets the limits of people's interpretative repertoires in their meaning making activity, and it is not a "passive reporting medium" (Burr, 2003). From a constructionist perspective, truth is constructed within the horizon of discourse, in other words, "when people talk to each other, the world is created" (p. 8). This proposition leads to the argument that "nothing has a meaning outside of discourse" (Foucault cited in Hall 1997b, p. 45).

Constructionist epistemology is based on the idea that there is no "truth" independent of the observer. Everything we *know* about the world, including ourselves is socially constructed. This is not to deny the existence of the material world ontologically. Rather, constructionists maintain that the meaning of the world is constructed within the web of discourses.

Following Saussure, constructionism claims that, as a representational system, "language is the privileged medium in which we 'make sense' of things, in which meaning is produced and exchanged" (Hall, 1997a, p.1). Saussure analysed language as a representational system, and argued that every sign was composed of two further

elements: the *signifier* and the *signified*. The signifier corresponds to the *form* as the actual word, image, photo, etc., which is associated with the signified, that is to say, the *concept or idea* one has in mind when one thinks of that object. Every time one hears, reads, or sees the signifier, it correlates with the signified (Hall, 1997b, p.31). In the meaning production process, both the signifier and the signified are required, and "it is the relation between them, fixed by our cultural and linguistic codes, which sustains representation" (p.31). As Fuller notes, "the sign is the union of a form which signifies (*signifier*)... and an idea signified (*signified*). Though we may speak... as if they are separate entities, they exist only as components of the sign" (Fuller cited in p. 31).

Saussure argued that "In language there are only differences, and no positive terms" (1983, p. 118). Hence, words do not reflect reality in a mirror fashion. The relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary, and meaning is constructed in relation to other signifiers. In the chain of signification, difference is what makes meaning possible. Derrida explains Saussure's notion of difference in *Différance* in the following way:

> ... the signified concept is never present in and of itself... every concept is inscribed in a chain or in a system within which it refers to the other, to other concepts, by means of systematic play of differences (1982, p.11)

The signified is absent in the endless chain of signification. In other words, everything we know about the world is constructed within the web of representations through the infinite chain of significations. Thinking that things can have a meaning in themselves, and can be present to a knowing subject, is what Derrida refers as metaphysics of presence (Derrida cited in Game 1991, p. 12).

The meaning of each term in language depends on its relationship with other terms. Derrida coined the word *différance*, which means "difference and deferral of meaning", to explain the process of meaning construction in language. As noted above, each word in a language system gains its meaning with relation to other words or, as Gergen writes, "by virtue of differing from other words":

> Each entry in the dictionary is defined in terms of other words. In effect, each word defers its meaning until you read its definition. But each word in the dictionary is also empty without deferring to still other definitions. In some cases this process of deferring is circular. For example, if you search the dictionary for the meaning of "reason", you will often find that it is a "justification". If you then look up "justification", it will be defined as "reason". Now ask yourself, what is reason outside this circle of mutual definition? (Gergen, 2009, p. 20)

According to Derrida, difference "can never be wholly captured within any binary system. So any notion of a *final* meaning is always endlessly put off, deferred" (Hall, 1997b, p.42).

As Derrida notes in *That Dangerous Supplement*, "the sign is always the supplement of the thing itself" (1997, p. 145). As such, "there is nothing outside of the text [there is no outside text]" (p. 158), and "...there has never been anything but writing" (p.159). From this perspective, science becomes a form of writing or a discourse, which is not fixed and is open to change in time and space. Knowledge, on the other hand, is a representation of reality, which is produced in a process of signification, and not the reality itself. Things entail their meaning once they enter the horizon of discourses:

> If there were no humans on earth, those objects that we call stones would be there nonetheless; but they would not be "stones", because there would be neither mineralogy nor a language capable of classifying them and distinguishing them from other objects. (Laclau and Mouffe, 1987, p.84)

We need meaning in order to make sense of the world. We do not "discover" the meaning of things; rather, we construct it within the web of discourses that is available to us in our culture. Therefore, "there is no pre-cultural real to be represented in knowledge" as Ann Game argues (1991, p. 7).

The positivist notion of objectivity is based on the claim that scientific knowledge corresponds to facts. Accordingly, the scientist needs to be transparent for letting the facts speak for themselves. By erasing the "I" from scientific research, the "positivist pretends authorlessness in order to author a world" (Agger, 1989, p.18). Pretending authorlessness is in vain, and so is authoring a world. Subjectivity is always there, however, truth is constructed by the subject within the limits of the web of discourses available to her in language. Thus, subject is not the source or the originator of the meaning. In this respect, we cannot speak of a "God-like Author", as Barthes would note (1977). The author as the sovereign subject that originates the text is dead. The author does not precede the text, as positivists claim; rather it emerges out of the text, playing a certain classificatory function, what Foucault refers to as the author function. According to Foucault, "the author is the principle of a certain unity in writing" (1984, p. 111).

Returning to the fact-fictive debate, from a constructionist view, "facts" don't represent reality in themselves; rather, they are fictive, in the sense that they are produced by a discourse-user scientists situated within the scientific institutions that constitute the "truth regime" (Foucault, 1980) of a society.

Constructionism sees culture as a contested space of discourses. Around every object in any society at any given time there are competing alternative discourses each with

a claim to "truth". By representing an object in a certain light, each discourse claims to say what the object "really" is, that is, claims to "truth" (Burr, 1995).

The concept of discourse, although variously theorised, is crucial for understanding constructionism. Michel Foucault, who placed the idea on the conceptual landscape of social sciences, defined it as a "system of representation which regulates the meanings and practices which can and cannot be produced" (Smith 1998, p. 265) Discourse is made up of rules of conduct, established texts and institutions. Discourse can also be explained as a system of meaning, which claims to produce knowledge about the world (Howarth, 2002).

Laclau and Mouffe define discourse as a theoretical horizon on which objects are given a meaning and make a distinction between two forms of existence: *esse* (being) and *ens* (entity) (1987, p.85). The *esse* of a physical object is historical and changing, the entity is not. Simply formulated physical objects do exist "out there", but they are only given meaning once they enter the horizon of discourses. Outside of any discursive context objects do not have *being*, they have only *existence* (p. 85). For example, the round shaped object covered with feather becomes a football only when it enters the horizon of discourse and establishes a system of relations with other objects, and these relations are socially constructed. This systematic set of relations is called as discourse (p. 82).

The relationship between discourse, power and knowledge lies at the heart of the theory. If *knowledge* is not a direct derivation of reality, then how can it justify its claims to reality? Constructionist answer to the question is drawn upon Foucauldian conceptualisation of power/knowledge relationship. Foucault is mainly concerned

with the politics of discourse rather than the production of meaning through representations. For Foucault, "truth isn't outside power" (1980, p. 131), rather is produced and reproduced in the circle of power relations. In Power/Knowledge he explains this relationship as such:

> ...truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power... Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what accounts as true. (p. 131)

According to Foucault, in modern societies, "truth" is centred on the form of scientific discourse; it is produced and transmitted under the control of a few great political and economic apparatuses, such as university, army, writing and media; it is circulated through apparatuses of education and information; and it is the issue of political debate and social confrontation.

Foucault explores how the "truth regime" of a society disciplines people to think, feel and act in certain ways by setting the standards of normality through its institutions of knowledge. His conception of disciplinary power acts in a panoptic way, in which people are controlled by "freely subjecting themselves to the scrutiny of others, especially that of experts" (Burr, 1995, p. 72). Contrary to the sovereign power, which acts in the form of a chain, from top to bottom, which is monopolized by the state, the ruling class and so on, the disciplinary power circulates (Hall, 1997b, p. 49), in a way that it is dispersed in culture playing a pivotal role in shaping people's identities.

The intertextual understanding of the world in constructionist thinking, in which meaning is constructed within the web of cultural representations leaves no firm foundations and fixed rules what makes a particular kind of knowledge authentic. This proposition leaves the idea of *knowledge* in a state of endless flux on the theoretical horizon of discourses with no attachment to any solid ground. By questioning the taken-for-granted assumptions of mainstream positivist and empiricist epistemologies it has shaken the solid, authoritative grounds of modern social sciences and invited the academia to take a more humble stance towards their assumptions on the nature of knowledge transforming the authoritative academic into a narrator of its scientific story. From the constructionist perspective, knowledge can never be final and is relative to time and place and to the social context out of which it has been produced.

Constructionism challenges the dominant paradigm of positivism. Using Lyotard's terminology, it is a "little narrative". Unlike the metanarratives or grand theories of modern sciences that are presented as authoritarian objective accounts, constructionism challenges the idea that some solid foundation exists for knowledge, and calls the author to give up its taken-for-granted position as the authoritative voice of truth and authenticity. "Constructionism offers no foundation, no ineluctable rationality, no means for establishing its basic superiority to all competing views of knowledge. It is, rather, a form of intelligibility" (Gergen, 1994, p.78).

5.2 A Constructionist Approach to Frame Analysis

5.2.1 What Is A Frame?

A frequently quoted definition of framing comes from Robert Entman, who defines it as selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality to make them more salient, thus promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

A frame is "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987, p.143). Frames also "provide narrations for social problems. Frames tell stories about how problems come to be, and what (if anything) needs to be done about them" (Kinder and Herzog, 2009, p.368).

Frames provides us with "interpretive schemata" (Goffman, 1986, p.21) that classify and organize our life experiences (Pan and Kosicki, 1993, p. 56). A similar definition comes from Gitlin (cited in Vliegenthart and Van Zoonen, 2011, p. 103), who refers to frames as "principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters". Accordingly, "media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports" (cited in p. 103).

The literature points to four common news frames: a) conflict frames, which emphasize conflict between parties or individuals; b) human interest frames, which personify and emotionalize stories, c) responsibility frames, which attribute

112

responsibility, crediting or blaming certain political institutions or individuals; and d) economic consequences frame, which focus on the economic consequences of a certain act or issue (Valkenburg, Semetko and De Vreese, 1999, p. 551).

5.2.2 Functions of Frames

Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson (1992) argue that frames provide us with the lens through which we construct meaning about political and social issues. This lens is "not neutral but evinces the power and point of view of the political and economic elites who operate and focus it. And the special genius of this system is to make the whole process seem so normal and natural that the very art of social construction is invisible" (p.374). Facts represented in news "take on their meaning by being embedded in some larger system of meaning or frame" (p.374). In that respect, "facts have no intrinsic meaning" (Gamson, 1989, p. 157).

According to Entman (1993), frames have four functions: they define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. In the communication process, frames are found in four locations: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. (p.52). Entman explains the communication process in the following way:

> *Communicators* make conscious or unconscious framing judgments in deciding what to say, guided by frames (often called schemata) that organize their belief systems. The *text* contains frames, which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments. The frames that guide the *receiver's* thinking and conclusion may or may not reflect the frames in the text and the framing intention of the communicator. The *culture* is the stock of commonly invoked frames, in fact, culture might be defined as the empirically demonstrable set of common frames exhibited in the discourse and thinking of most people in social grouping. Framing in all locations includes similar functions: selection and highlighting, and the use of the highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation, and/or solution (pp.52-53).

The constructionist approach to framing sees culture as the primary base for meaning construction. Frames are a central part of a culture, and the repertoire of frames is situated largely externally of the individual (Goffman, 1981). As Van Gorp argues, "a shared repertoire of frames in culture provides the linkage between news production and news consumption" (2007, p. 61). In other words, framing constitute "a bridging concept between cognition and culture" (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson, 1992, p. 384).

5.2.3 How Do Frames Work?

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) refer to media packages, which can be "conceived as a set of interpretive packages that give meaning to an issue" (p.3). Accordingly, each package has an internal structure; and at the core of this structure is a frame, which makes "sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue" (p. 3). Gamson and Modigliani distinguish between "framing devices that suggest how to think about the issue" and "reasoning devices that justify what should be done about it". Framing devices are metaphors, exemplars (i.e. historical examples from which lessons are drawn), catchphrases, depictions, and visual images; and reasoning devices are roots (i.e. causal analysis), consequences, and appeal to principle (i.e. a set of moral claims) (pp.3-4). Gamson and Modigliani point to three factors that influence a particular media package's career: cultural resonances, sponsor activities, and media practices (p.5).

Van Gorp (2007), instead of media packages, refers to "frame packages" that can be defined as "a cluster of logical devices that function as an identity kit for a frame" (p.64). "Therefore," he argues, "a principal part of a frame analysis is the reconstruction of these frame packages" (p.64). Van Gorp presents a threefold

structure for frame packages: manifest framing devices, manifest or latent reasoning devices, and an implicit cultural phenomenon. Manifest framing devices are word choice, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images. He writes that "all conceivable framing devices that point at the same core idea constitute the manifest part of a frame package. These devices are held together under the heading of a central organizing theme- that is the actual frame, which provides the frame package with a coherent structure" (p.64). Reasoning devices are "implicit and explicit statements that deal with justifications, causes and consequences in a temporal order" (p.64), completing the frame package. "The reasoning devices," Van Gorp notes, "are related to the four framing functions which Entman (1993) distinguished, namely the promotion of a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evalution, and/or a treatment recommendation…. The frame package suggests a definition, an explanation, a problematization, and an evaluation of the event and ultimately result in a number of logical conclusions- for example, with regard to who is responsible for the perceived problem" (pp.64- 65). As such, he argues, "the media provide the public not only with information on the event itself but also on how it should be interpreted" (p.65).

Frames are claimed to have effects on how the public opinion is shaped. Semetko and Valkenburg argue that frames affect how people think about an issue. This is especially so if the issue at stake is ambiguous (2000, p. 94). On the other hand, people are exposed to competing frames in their daily interactions with other people, and hence, the effect of news frames in shaping people's attitudes with regard to issues is shown to be more limited than it is assumed by Semetko and Valkenburg.

Frames are negotiated and contested by the reader/audience; and can be contradictory and oppositional. (Vliegenheart and Van Zoonen, 2011, p. 105)

5.3 Research Questions

This study first assesses how the peace process was framed by the selected newspapers. Is there a significant difference in their approaches, and if so, can this difference be related to their ideological stance? The following six pre-defined frames will be searched in the news stories: peace process, responsibility, terrorism, fear of division, economic consequences and human interest. Operationally, the stories, which focus on the peace process, are categorized under the "peace process frame". The stories, which attribute responsibility to one party or call both parties to take responsibility of the process, are categorized under the "responsibility frame". The stories that define the essence of the issue as terrorism are categorized under "terrorism frame", and those that focus on the economic consequences of the peace process are categorized under the "economic consequences frame". The stories that point to fears of secessionism are categorized under the "fear of division frame". And finally, those stories that personify the process, and contain features of tabloid journalism are categorized under the "human interest frame".

The study also discusses how the "other"- in this context the PKK and its leader Abdullah Öcalan- was constructed in news, i.e. whether they were demonized or humanized.

In addition, the study assesses how much news value was attributed to the peace process. For this question the position of the selected news stories in the layout of front pages was evaluated. And finally, the study analysed the cited sources as peace

journalism contends that not just elite sources but also people must be represented in news.

Finally, as part of this study, I contacted the journalists who were the editors-in-chief of the selected newspapers in 2013 (some of them had to leave their position afterwards) by e-mail, and asked them questions about their newspapers' publication policies and the state—media relations during the so-called "resolution process" in 2013. None of them except one replied, and the only replier didn't answer the questions.

Chapter 6

A FRAME ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF THE "RESOLUTION PROCESS" IN TURKISH PRESS

This chapter assesses the representation of the so-called "resolution process" in the Turkish press in quantitative and qualitative frame analyses of eleven Turkish newspapers, *Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Zaman, Yeni Şafak, Habertürk, Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, Türkiye, Taraf* and *Yeni Çağ*, covering the period of 2013.

The first part of the study contains a quantitative frame analysis of a total of 561 news stories that were published on the front pages of the selected newspapers on the consecutive days of keys events in 2013. The front page stories that continued on other pages are also included in the analysis.

The second part consists of qualitative frame analyses of two cases: news coverage on the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's Newroz message on 21 March 2013, where he called the armed organization to "let the guns fall silent and withdraw across the border"; and the news coverage on the declaration of the PKK executive Murat Karayılan that the PKK guerrillas based in Turkey were going to retreat across the border. Karayılan declared the withdrawal at a press meeting in the guerrilla organization's headquarters in Mount Qandil in the Kurdish Autonomous Region in Northern Iraq on 25 April 2013. The news coverage of these two events by the

eleven selected newspapers on the consecutive days of these two dates will be analysed for this study.

Seven newspapers, *Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Zaman, Yeni Şafak, Habertürk* and *Sözcü* are selected according to their high circulation rates. *Cumhuriyet, Türkiye, Taraf* and *Yeni Çağ* newspapers are not highly circulated; however, their high impact on the public debate is incomparable to their low circulation rates. The newspapers belong to different media groups and constitute ideological diversity.

Hürriyet is the leading mainstream newspaper, which belongs to the largest media group of the country, Doğan Media Group. *Milliyet*, a liberal leaning mainstream newspaper, was bought from Doğan Media Group by Demirören Holding in 2011. *Sabah* is a pro-AKP government mainstream newspaper that was purchased from Çalık Holding by Kalyon Construction, which started to operate in the media sector under the name Zirve Holding. *Zaman* is an Islamic oriented newspaper, owned by Feza Group, which is an economic enterprise close to Gülen religious order. Zaman was supporting the government in the time period covered in this study, however, later the alliance between the AKP government and Gülen order collapsed and finally in March 2016, the management of the newspaper was handed over to a panel of trustees by a court's decision ("Trustee appointed to Zaman Media Group", 2016). Zaman has the highest circulation rate; however, a large portion of its sales is based on subscriptions. *Yeni Şafak* is a conservative daily, which is close to the government and belongs to Albayrak Group. *Habertürk* is a mainstream newspaper, which belongs to Ciner Media Group. *Sözcü* is a secularist and nationalist newspaper, which is known for its oppositional stance to government. *Cumhuriyet*, meaning "the Republic" in Turkish, is a left-oriented Kemalist newspaper, which

was founded in 1924, and its name was given by the founder of the Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The newspaper has an oppositional stance toward the AKP government. *Türkiye* is a conservative newspaper, which belongs to İhlas Holding. *Taraf* is an anti-militarist, liberal newspaper and *Yeniçağ* is a nationalist newspaper, which does not belong to any of the media conglomerates.

6.1 A Quantitative Frame Analysis

As mentioned above, the quantitative part of the analysis covers a total of 561 news stories that are published on the front pages of *Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Zaman, Yeni Şafak, Habertürk, Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, Türkiye, Taraf* and *Yeniçağ*, on the consecutive days of key events in 2013. The front page stories that continued on other pages are also included in the analysis. The data is provided by the press monitoring agency Ajans Press with a keyword search in their print newspaper archive using the following keywords: barış süreci (peace process), çözüm süreci (resolution process), PKK and Öcalan.

6.1.1 News Value of the Peace Process

Among the selected newspapers, Milliyet and Yeniçağ published the highest number of news articles (67 stories) about the process. They are followed by Taraf (63 stories) and Cumhuriyet (57 stories). Zaman published the least number of news stories (35 stories).

Table 4: Frequency of the news stories

NEWSPAPER	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
Milliyet	67	11.9
Yeniçağ	67	11.9
Taraf	63	11.2
Cumhuriyet	57	10.2
Habertürk	51	9.1
Sözcü	51	9.1
Hürriyet	46	8.2
Sabah	43	7.7
Türkiye	43	7.7
Yeni Şafak	38	6.8
Zaman	35	6.2
TOTAL	561	100.0

Table 5: Positions in the layout

		POSITION				
		Headline	Headline above the logo	Second story	Other	Total
NEWSPAPER	HÜRRİYET	15 (32.6%)	0 (0%)	9 (19.6%)	22 (47.8%)	46 (100%)
	MİLLİYET	20 (29.9%)	2 (2.9%)	5 (7.5%)	40 (59.7%)	67 (100%)
	SABAH	16 (37.2%)	1 (2.3%)	7 (16.3%)	19 (44.2%)	43 (100%)
	ZAMAN	11 (31.4%)	0 (0%)	5 (14.3%)	19 (54.3%)	35 (100%)
	HABERTÜRK	10 (19.6%)	6 (11.8%)	4 (7.8%)	31 (60.8%)	51 (100%)
	YENİ ŞAFAK	16 (42.1%)	5 (13.2%)	3 (7.9%)	14 (36.8%)	38 (100%)
	CUMHURİYET	9 (15.8%)	0 (0%)	11 (19.3%)	37 (64.9%)	57 (100%)
	SÖZCÜ	23 (45.1%)	0 (0%)	10 (19.6%)	18 (35.3%)	51 (100%)
	TÜRKİYE	12 (27.9%)	0 (0%)	8 (18.6%)	23 (53.5%)	43 (100%)
	TARAF	6 (9.5%)	21 (33.3%)	2 (3.2%)	34 (54.0%)	63 (100%)
	YENİÇAĞ	23 (34.3%)	0 (0%)	10 (14.9%)	34 (50.8%)	67 (100.0%)
TOTAL		161 (28.7%)	35 (6.2%)	74 (13.2%)	291 (51.9%)	561 (100%)

As it is shown in Table 2, the oppositional secularist and nationalist daily Sözcü attributed the highest news value to the peace process. 45.1% of the news stories that were published in Sözcü were allocated headline space. However, this does not indicate support for the peace process. As shown in Table 3, Sözcü framed the majority of its news stories within "terrorism" (37.7%) and "responsibility" (24.6%) frames. As a matter of fact, Sözcü had the highest percentage of "terrorism" frame, followed by another nationalist newspaper Yeniçağ (30.3%).

Interestingly, Taraf, the coverage of which was closest to peace journalism, and which, for example, had the highest frequency of the "peace process" frame (77.8%) and the least usage of "terrorism" frame (1.4%), allocated the least headline space (9.5%) to peace process related news stories. From its front page design, the newspaper gave its readers the subtle message that there was nothing extraordinary about the peace process; rather, it was just a story among others.

6.1.2 Frame Usage by Newspapers

Majority of the selected newspapers supported the peace process in their news representations. Taraf constructed 77.8% of its news stories within the "peace process" frame. It was followed by Milliyet (69.8%), Yeni Şafak (69.2%), Hürriyet (68.6%), Sabah (67.8%), Zaman (67.4%), Habertürk (66.7%) and Türkiye (64.8%). Left-oriented, Kemalist oppositional daily Cumhuriyet had a more distant approach to the peace process with only 54.9% of the news stories being constructed within the "peace process" frame. On the other hand, the two nationalist newspapers Sözcü (19.7%) and Yeniçağ (25.8%) referred to the "peace process" frame with least frequencies. It should also be noted that "peace process" very often carried a negative connotation in these two dailies' news representations.

These two newspapers referred to the "terrorism" and "fear of division" frames with strikingly highest percentages. Whereas the overall percentage of the "terrorism" frame is 15, Sözcü referred to this frame in 37.7% and Yeniçağ in 30.3% of their news stories.

Similarly, Sözcü and Yeniçağ newspapers evoked the "fear of division" among their readers with much more saliency. Whereas seven of the selected eleven newspapers did not refer to this frame at all, and Milliyet used it in only 1 story and Cumhuriyet in 2 stories, 16.9% of the frames that were constructed in the nationalist daily Yeniçağ and 11.5% of the frames in Sözcü were "fear of division" frames. These two nationalist newspapers did not only follow an oppositional stance to the peace process, but they also had an emotionally-provocative discourse. A smaller portion, 7.5 %, of the news stories framed the peace talks between the PKK and the Turkish state in human interest stories. Most of the human interest stories were about the Wise People Commission, which was set up by the government from the celebrities and opinion leaders. The economic consequences of the peace process were stressed in a still lesser number of stories. Only 2.3% of the stories mentioned the positive effects of the peace process on the economy. For example, in a news story entitled as "The region will now rear up", business people were hailing Abdullah Öcalan's call for peace in Newroz 2013, claiming that peace would bring investment and prosperity to the southeast region of Turkey, which was affected from the conflict the most.

Table 6: Distribution of frames by newspapers

		Hürriyet	Milliyet	Sabah	Zaman	Habertürk	Yeni Şafak	Cumhuriyet	Sözcü	Türkiye	Taraf	Yeniçağ	Total
		NEWSPAPER											
FRAME	Peace process	35 (68.6%)	60 (69.8%)	40 (67.8%)	31 (67.4%)	40 (66.7%)	36 (69.2%)	39 (54.9%)	12 (19.7%)	35 (64.8%)	56 (77.8%)	23 (25.8%)	407 (58.1%)
	Responsibility	7 (13.7%)	11 (12.8%)	6 (10.2%)	4 (8.7%)	5 (8.3%)	3 (5.8%)	19 (26.8%)	15 (24.6%)	3 (5.6%)	7 (9.7%)	15 (16.9%)	95 (13.6%)
	Terrorism	3 (5.9%)	6 (7.0%)	6 (10.2%)	7 (15.2%)	9 (15.0%)	9 (17.3%)	7 (9.9%)	23 (37.7%)	7 (12.9%)	1 (1.4%)	27 (30.3%)	105 (15.0%)
	Human interest	5 (9.8%)	3 (3.5%)	5 (8.5%)	2 (4.3%)	4 (6.7%)	4 (7.7%)	3 (4.2%)	4 (6.5%)	6 (11.1%)	8 (11.1%)	9 (10.1%)	53 (7.5%)
	Economic consequences	1 (2.0%)	5 (5.8%)	2 (3.4%)	2 (4.3%)	2 (3.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.4%)	0 (0%)	3 (5.6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	16 (2.3%)
	Fear of division	0 (0%)	1 (1.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (2.8%)	7 (11.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	15 (16.9%)	25 (3.5%)
	TOTAL	51 (100 %)	86 (100%)	59 (100%)	46 (100%)	60 (100%)	52 (100%)	71 (100%)	61 (100%)	54 (100%)	72 (100%)	89 (100%)	701 (100%)
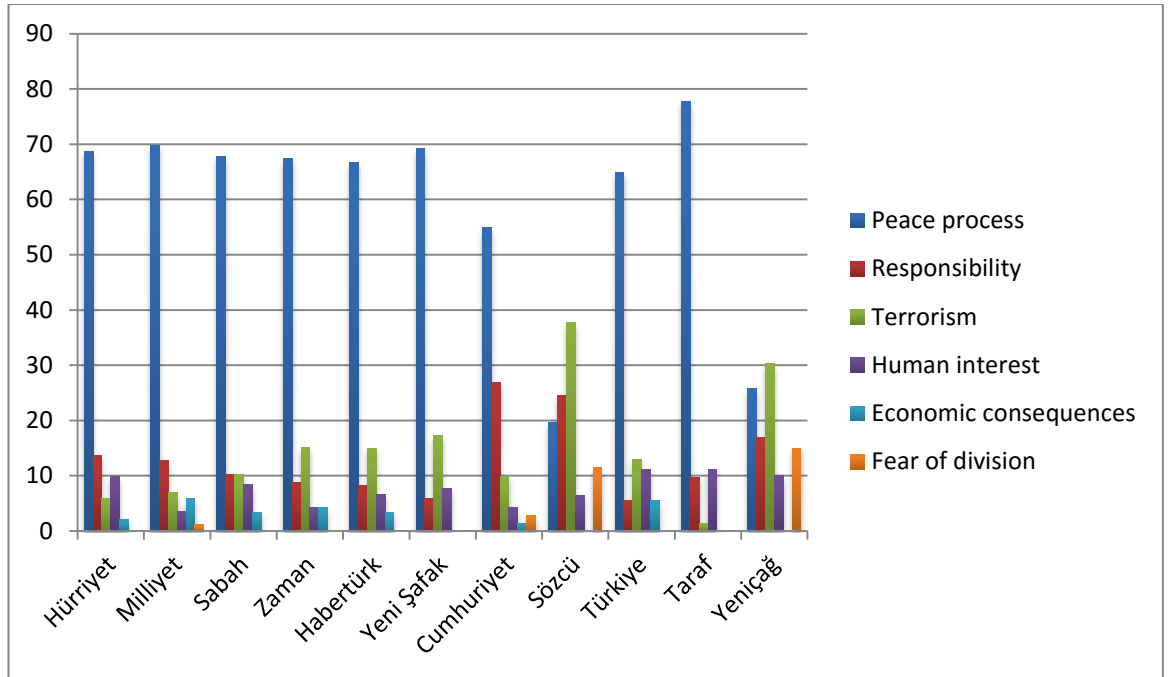
Figure 1: Distribution of frames by newspapers

6.1.3 Citation Patterns

Table 7: Cited sources

SOURCE	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
State sources	196	23.4
Kurdish political figures	194	23.2
PKK and/or Öcalan	141	16.8
Turkish political figures	102	12.2
Foreign sources	54	6.5
Celebrities and opinion leaders	47	5.6
Ordinary people	39	4.7
NGOs	30	3.6
Experts	23	2.7
Business people	11	1.3
TOTAL	837	100.0

The sources cited in the news stories reflected the elite-oriented structure of the peace process. The most cited sources were state sources, which included government officials and bureaucrats (23.4%). Kurdish political figures, mainly BDP

spokespeople and the PKK sources including its leader Abdullah Öcalan were given voice almost as much as the state sources (23.2%). The novelty of İmralı talks was that it presented Abdullah Öcalan to the Turkish public as the legitimate, negotiating leader of the PKK. The armed organization's leadership in Mount Qandil also talked through the press during the process. Öcalan and PKK leadership were the third frequently cited sources (16.8%). Interestingly, Turkish political figures, mainly the MPs of the political parties represented in the parliament, were not given as much space in the news stories regarding the process (12.2%). Considering that the category of 'Turkish political figures' includes the ruling party as well as the opposition party members, the percentage of the oppositional voices falls below the figure of 12.2 %. Thus, it can be said that the press did not allocate much space to the oppositional elite voices in news representations. The percentage of ordinary people cited in news stories in 2013 was only 4.7. In this respect, Turkish press's coverage of the peace process in 2013 was far from peace journalism, which insists that grassroots level actors must be given voice in conflict reporting. Likewise, voices outside of the political arena, such as NGOs (3.6%), experts (2.7%) and business people (1.3%), were not given much space either. The study also points to another noteworthy aspect of the peace process. Noting that only 6.5 % of the cited sources were foreign sources, it can be said that the process was not internationalized. Rather, the AKP government managed it without much overt foreign interference.

6.1.4. Constructing the "Other": Naming Of the PKK Leader Abdullah Öcalan in Turkish Press

In the majority of instances, the imprisoned PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan was named as Abdullah Öcalan, or simply, Öcalan (51.4%). The mainstream newspapers Milliyet (76.7%) and Habertürk (75.0%) chose to refer to the PKK leader Öcalan with his name without the usage of any negative adjectives with highest percentages.

Table 8: Naming of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan by newspapers

	NAMING OF ABDULLAH ÖCALAN									
	Öcalan	İmralı	PKK leader	Head of terrorists	Head of the separatists	Head of the terror organization	Baby killer	Political leader	Murderer	TOTAL
HÜRRİYET	21 (60.0%)	5 (14.2%)	1 (2.9%)	1 (2.9%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.9%)	1 (2.9%)	2 (5.7%)	3 (8.5%)	35 (100%)
MİLLİYET	33 (76.7%)	7 (16.3%)	2 (4.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.3%)	43 (100%)
SABAH	21 (50%)	12 (28.6%)	3 (7.1%)	2 (4.2%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.4%)	1 (2.4%)	1 (2.4%)	1 (2.4%)	42 (100%)
ZAMAN	15 (57.7%)	5 (19.2%)	2 (7.7%)	1 (3.8%)	0 (0%)	2 (7.7%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.8%)	0 (0%)	26 (100%)
HABERTÜRK	24 (75.0%)	5 (15.6%)	1 (3.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	32 (100%)
YENİ ŞAFAK	17 (56.7%)	11 (36.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (6.6%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	30 (100%)
CUMHURİYET	42 (63.6%)	6 (9.1%)	10 (15.2)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (10.6)	1 (1.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	66 (100%)
SÖZCÜ	10 (22.7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	16 (36.4%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.3%)	6 (13.6%)	0 (0%)	11 (25.0%)	44 (100%)
TÜRKİYE	20 (60.6%)	10 (30.3%)	0 (0%)	2 (6.1%)	0 (0%)	1 (3.0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	33 (100%)
TARAF	24 (57.1%)	3 (7.1%)	14 (33.3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.4%)	0 (0%)	42 (100%)
YENİÇAĞ	19 (22.1%)	7 (8.1%)	0 (0%)	17 (19.8%)	5 (5.8%)	7 (8.1%)	13 (15.1%)	0 (0%)	18 (20.9%)	86 (100%)
TOTAL	246 (51.4%)	71 (14.8%)	33 (6.9%)	39 (8.1%)	5 (1.0%)	22 (4.6%)	22 (4.6%)	6 (1.3%)	35 (7.3%)	479 (100%)

In a considerable number of stories (14.8 %) the PKK leader was named as "İmralı", referring to the island where he is imprisoned. The naming as "Imrali" was highest among the pro-government dailies Yeni Şafak (36.7%), Türkiye (30.3%), and Sabah (28.6%). The expression "İmralı" was mostly used at the beginning of the 2013. After April 2013 the expression faded away as the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan refrained from calling him as "İmralı" after Öcalan's peace message in Newroz.

Table 9: Naming of the PKK leader Öcalan as "İmralı" by months

		NAMING ÖCALAN AS "İMRALI"
DATE	JANUARY 2013	21
	FEBRUARY 2013	12
	MARCH 2013	17
	APRIL 2013	11
	MAY 2013	0
	JUNE 2013	1
	JULY 2013	1
	AUGUST 2013	0
	SEPTEMBER 2013	2
	OCTOBER 2013	1
	NOVEMBER 2013	2
	DECEMBER 2013	3
TOTAL		71

Interestingly, a great number of newspapers refrained from calling him as the PKK leader either. It was Taraf newspaper which referred to him as "the PKK leader" with the highest observed frequency (33.3%). It was followed by Cumhuriyet

(15.2%). Taraf also used no negative naming at all. Negative depictions of Öcalan, such as "head of the terrorists", "baby killer", or "head of the separatists", which were common in the past, were not used in the great majority of instances by the press with the exception of the nationalist Sözcü and Yeniçağ newspapers. In 36.4% of the instances Sözcü referred to Öcalan as the "head of the terrorists", and in 25% of the instances as the "murderer" or "İmralı murderer". The same was valid for Yeniçağ. In 69.8% of its depictions, Yeniçağ referred to Öcalan with derogatory names.
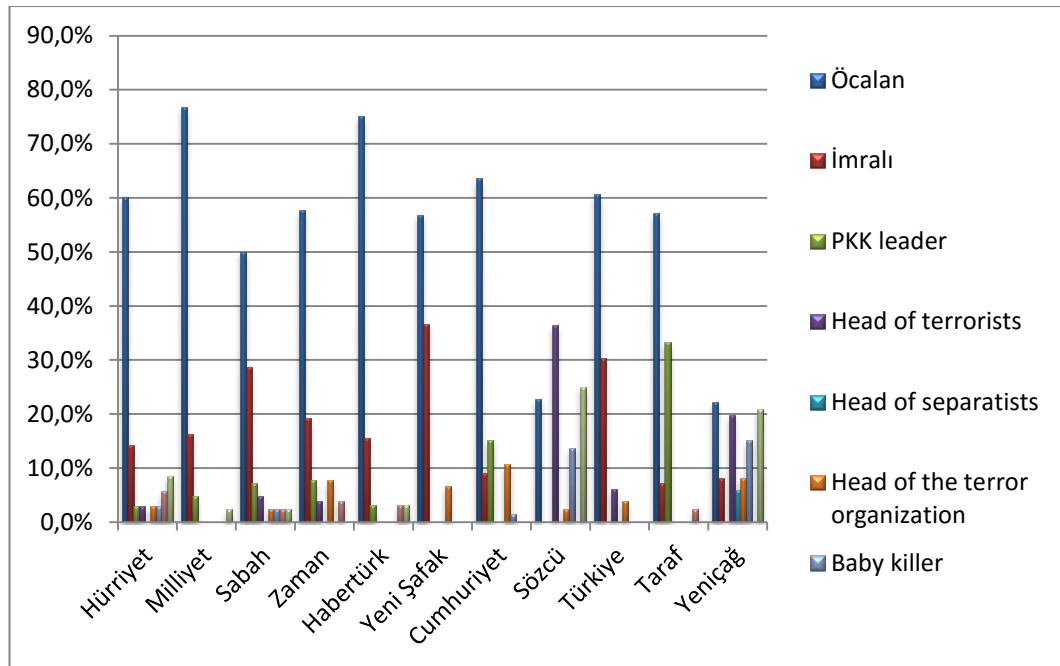
Figure 2: Depictions of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan by newspapers
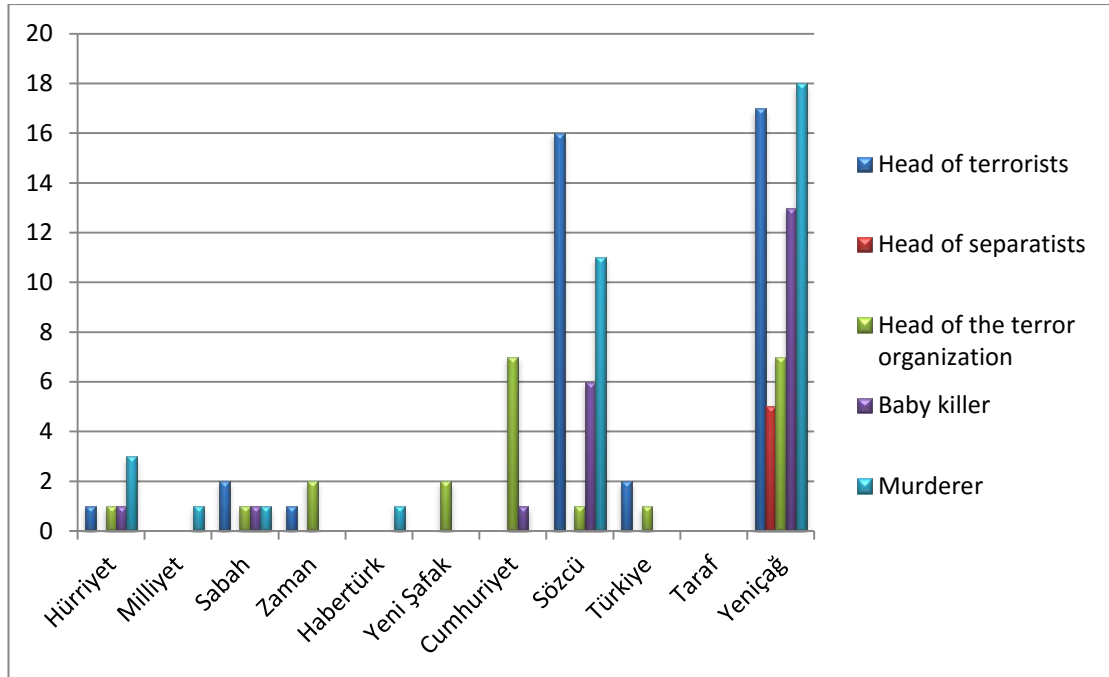
Figure 3: Negative depictions of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan by newspaper

6.1.5 Constructing the "Other": The Naming of the PKK and Its Members in Turkish Press

In the 51.4% of the cases, the PKK was represented simply as the PKK without any further depiction. On the average, the expression "terror organization" was used in 29.0 % of the cases. The Islamist Zaman newspaper, which was close to the AKP government in 2013, referred to the PKK as "the terror organization" with the highest frequency (53.6%). To no surprise, it was followed by the nationalist newspapers Yeniçağ (46%) and Sözcü (35.1%). The pro-government mainstream newspaper Sabah also referred to the PKK as a "terror organization" with a high percentage (34.2%) compared to the average. In naming of the PKK, Taraf was again the newspaper which was closest to peace journalism as it didn't use the expression "terror organization" in any of its news stories, and in 90.5% of the instances it referred to the PKK with its name only.

Table 10: Naming of the PKK by newspapers

		NAMING OF THE PKK				
		PKK	Terror organization	Qandil	The organization	Total
NEWSPAPER	HÜRRİYET	18 (62.1%)	5 (17.2%)	5 (17.2%)	1 (3.5%)	29 (100%)
	MİLLİYET	27 (50.9%)	9 (17.0%)	8 (15,1%)	9 (17.0%)	53 (100%)
	SABAH	16 (39.0%)	14 (34.2%)	6 (14.6%)	5 (12.2%)	41 (100%)
	ZAMAN	8 (28.6%)	15 (53.6%)	2 (7.1%)	3 (10.7%)	28 (100%)
	HABERTÜRK	18 (60.0%)	8 (26.7%)	3 (10.0%)	1 (3.3%)	30 (100%)
	YENİ ŞAFAK	17 (41.5%)	10 (24.4%)	8 (19.5%)	6 (14.6%)	41 (100%)
	CUMHURİYET	27 (57.4%)	13 (27.7%)	5 (10.6%)	2 (4.3%)	47 (100%)
	SÖZCÜ	22 (59.5%)	13 (35.1%)	2 (5.4%)	0 (0%)	37 (100%)
	TÜRKİYE	14 (53.8%)	7 (26.9%)	4 (15.4%)	1 (3.9%)	26 (100%)
	TARAF	19 (90.5%)	0 (0%)	2 (9.5%)	0 (0%)	21 (100%)
	YENİÇAĞ	21 (42.0%)	23 (46%)	3 (6.0%)	3 (6.0%)	50 (100%)
TOTAL		207 (51.4%)	117 (29.0%)	48 (11.9%)	3 (7.7%)	403 (100%)
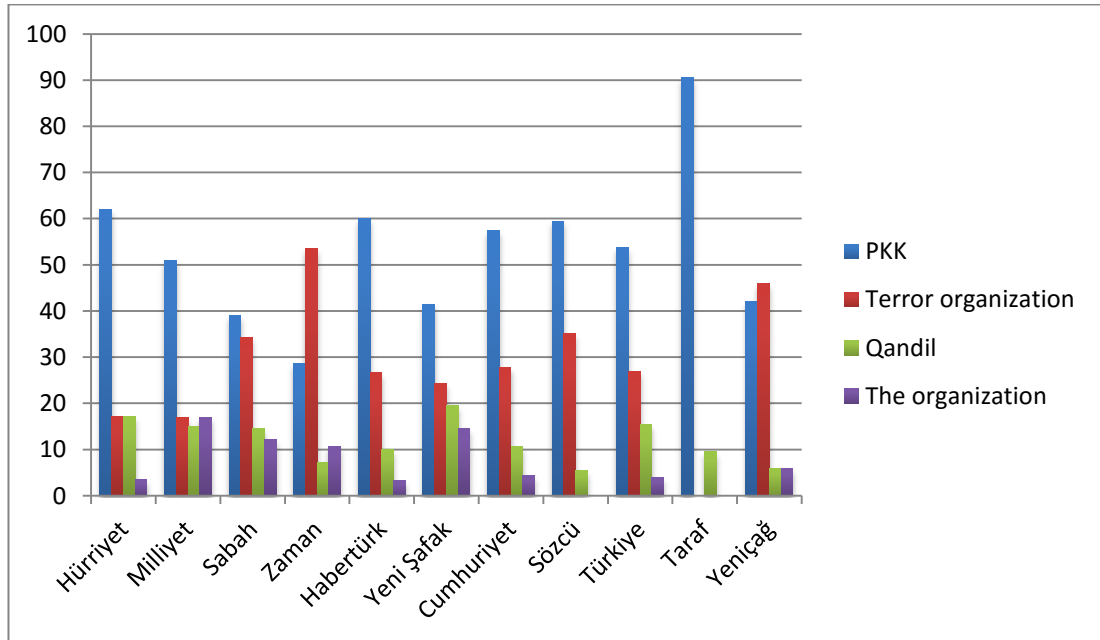
Figure 4: Depictions of the PKK by newspapers

Likewise, in the Turkish press, PKK members were simply referred to as "PKK members" in 49.2 % of the cases. The press called them as "terrorists" in 33.7 % of

the cases. They were referred to as "militants" in 8.8% of the cases, and as "guerrillas" in 1.1% of the cases. The expression "traitors" was used in 5.5% of the cases; however, it is noteworthy that this expression was only used by Sözcü newspaper. Also, the expression "separatists" was only used by Sözcü newspaper.

Table 11: Naming of the PKK members

NAMING	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
PKK members	89	49.2
Terrorists	61	33.7
Militants	16	8.8
Guerrillas	2	1.1
Traitors	10	5.5
Separatists	3	1.7
TOTAL	181	100

6.1.6 Distribution of the News Stories by Months

The peace process was a popular subject to be covered in the first months of 2013, when it opened its curtain to the public with the first Kurdish delegation's visit to Abdullah Öcalan in January. However, most news articles regarding the process were published in March 2013, when the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's peace message were read by the BDP representatives during Newroz celebrations in Diyarbakır to a large crowd of people in Turkish and Kurdish. The press's approach to this was euphoric. For example, Hürriyet's headline was "The age of arms has ended" (Konuralp and Balıkçı, 2013). Similarly, Milliyet's headline was "Farewell to arms" (Durukan, 2013). Yeni Şafak announced the news with a similar headline: "Guns fell silent, it is time for peace" (Çetin and Güleç, 2013). Habertürk hailed the event with the following headline: "Time for peace" (Gedik, İpek, Yukuş, and Akengin, 2013).
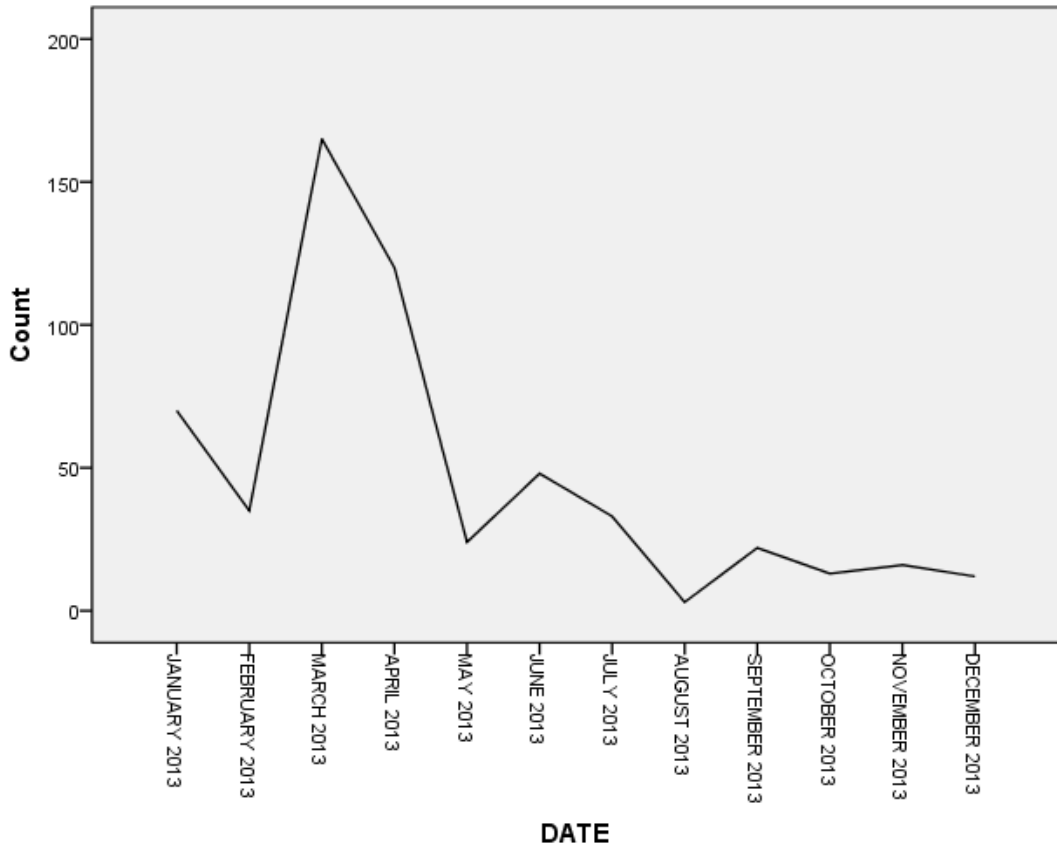
Figure 5: Distribution of news stories by months

April 2013 was also a loaded month. That month the Wise People Commissions were set up; a parliamentary commission[14] to assess the resolution process was established; a judicial reform package[15] was passed into law; and at the end of the month, in a press conference at the PKK base in Mount Qandil, Murat Karayılan, the then acting head of the PKK, announced the gradual withdrawal of 1.500 of their guerrillas from Turkey.

---

[14] Parliamentary Inquiry Commision on the Investigation of Path to Social Peace and the Evaluation of the Resolution Process was founded on 9 April 2013 and worked for a three-month period. The commission prepared a report on the resolution process which noted that " the issue could not be solved only with security-oriented policies" and called all parties and the parliament to take responsibility on the process. See
http://tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/cozum_sureci/docs/cozum_kom_raporu.pdf.
[15] Amendments in the Turkish Penal Code and Anti-Terror Act, which are known as the 4th Judicial Package were approved by the parliament on 11 April 2013. Accordingly, those propagate or publish declarations of an illegal organization will be penalized only if the content legitimizes or encourages acts of violence, threats or force. See http://bianet.org/english/politics/145791-parliament-approves-new-judicial-reforms.

From April onwards, the peace process started to become a routine for the press, and the amount of coverage fell down considerably. As a matter of fact, the last BDP delegation's visit to the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan in December 2013 did not make the headlines.

6.2 A Qualitative Frame Analysis Of Case 1: The Coverage of the PKK Leader Abdullah Öcalan's Newroz Message

Newroz celebration in Diyarbakır where the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's peace message was read in Turkish and Kurdish to hundreds of thousands of people was the ground-breaking event of 2013. Öcalan in his message said the following:

> Let the guns fall silent, and politics speak. Today a new era with its outweighing political, social and economic aspects is beginning. A new door is being opened from the armed resistance process to the democratic politics process. The phase for our armed elements to withdraw across the border has been reached ("Silahlara veda", 2013).

Öcalan's call was regarded as a "positive development" by the Prime Minister Erdoğan, and was given extensive front page coverage by all selected newspapers. In this section, a qualitative frame analysis of the verbal and visual discourse of the selected eleven newspapers' Newroz coverage is conducted. This section mainly focuses on the verbal and visual materials published on the front pages of the selected newspapers to get a more comprehensive understanding of how the events were visually and verbally framed, how the newspapers approached to the peace process and to the "other", namely the PKK and its leader Abdullah Öcalan, through these discourses.

6.2.1 Hürriyet: "The Age of Arms Has Ended"

Figure 6: Hürriyet's front page on 22 March 2013

Hürriyet's headline for Newroz story was "The age of arms has ended". The lead of the story was about Öcalan's message which was read in Diyarbakır: "Now guns must fall silent. The phase for our armed elements to withdraw across the border has been reached". In the following three paragraphs Hürriyet summarized Öcalan's message on its front page under three subheadings: "Under the Islamic flag", "Emphasis on the National Oath (*Misak-ı Milli*)", and "Greetings to the ones who support". In the text, Öcalan was giving the following message:

> Turks, who are now living in ancient Anatolia as Turkey, must know that their common life with Kurds under the flag of Islam for nearly a thousand years has rested on brotherhood and solidarity. In this law of fraternity there is no place for conquest, denial, assimilation, and extermination. A search for a new model, where everyone can live together freely and fraternally, is necessary as the need for bread and water. Today, we are living a more contemporary, complex and deepened derivative of the War of Independence which was realized under the leadership of Turks and Kurds within the framework of the National Oath (*Misak-ı Milli*). Greetings to the ones who support this process, the process of democratic peace resolution! Greetings to the ones who take responsibility for the brotherhood and equality of peoples and for their democratic freedom... Long live Newroz, long live the brotherhood of peoples! ("Silah Devri Bitti," 2013).

Öcalan, in his message, was appealing to Turkish public's fear of division, and was accentuating that Kurds had no intention of separatism. Rather, Turks and Kurds, who have lived together for nearly a thousand years under the umbrella of Islam, were bound together by the National Oath. They had led the country's War of Independence together as equals. Öcalan's discourse framed the problem as "conquest, denial, assimilation and extermination" (of Kurds by the state), and presented the remedy as a "new model" for Turkey, in which everyone could live together "freely, fraternally and equally". "Democratic peace resolution" constituted the policy solution for the new Turkey.

The photographs chosen by Hürriyet reflected this optimistic "peace process" frame. For its headline story, Hürriyet used three photographs: a smiling photograph of BDP representatives Sırrı Süreyya Önder and Pervin Buldan, who read Öcalan's message to the large crowds in Diyarbakır; a photograph of the thousands who attended Newroz celebrations in Diyarbakır, and a photograph of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan, depicting him in a formal costume, connoting a political leader rather than the leader of a guerrilla organisation. His name was written in the caption, just "Abdullah Öcalan", neither "baby killer" or "head of terrorists" nor "PKK leader". The caption of the photograph of the large crowd also reflected this pro-peace frame. Representing Newroz meeting as a site of celebration, the caption said that "The women and men who came to the Newroz Square in Diyarbakır with their colourful local dresses performed folk dances and had fun." Hürriyet's caption was striking the newspaper had associated Newroz with "fun" and not with "tension" as it, usually, is associated with.

The second story on the front page was again about Newroz. This time Prime Minister Erdoğan was responding to Öcalan's message. He was quoted in the headline as saying that "This call is positive." In the lead, Erdoğan was affirming that "One-homeland and one-state approach was also apparent in Öcalan's message", and that he found the letter "as a positive development". Furthermore, Erdoğan was assuring that there would be no military operations against the PKK if they left the country.

The headline of the third story again reflected Erdoğan's words. During his visit to the Netherlands, he was saying that "the addressee of the withdrawal process was the government, and not the parliament". The photograph showing Erdoğan and his wife

with Queen Beatrix of Netherlands reflected the positive, pro-peace approach: They were all smiling. Next to these two news stories was a cartoon: A balloon-seller holding a bunch of balloons in PKK's colours- green, yellow and red- was shouting: "Peace (seller)! Peace!"

Figure 7: Cartoon by Latif Demirci,
Hürriyet, 22 March 2013

Hürriyet's front page also covered how the international press viewed the event. New York Times was reported as depicting the event as the "Kurdish spring", and Reuters as "a big step which could end the conflict, during which 40 thousand people have died", while Daily Telegraph was informing its readers that "the Kurds in Diyarbakır welcomed the call with great enthusiasm." Finally, at the bottom of this news box was another one reporting the financial cost of the conflict, which was a minimum of 400 billion dollars.

Hürriyet mainly applied the "peace process" frame in its coverage, with a short glimpse of the "economic consequences" frame. The mainstream newspaper's approach to the peace process was positive and supportive, which was also reflected in its visual discourse.

6.2.2 Cumhuriyet: A Cautious Approach to Öcalan's Message

Figure 8: Cumhuriyet's front page, 22 March 2013

Compared to Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet had a more cautious approach to Öcalan's message. The headline of the front page was "Transition to the New Era". The deckhead said that "Öcalan, who used a common discourse with the government before the bargaining in the parliament, told to the PKK members 'to exit out of the border.'" The lead had two subheads: 'The umbrella of the Islamic flag" and "Our messages overlap". Under the first subhead, the following message was written:

> The PKK leader Öcalan said at the Newroz celebrations in Diyarbakır that the process of "new Turkey and the new Middle East" had started. In his message, Öcalan talked about the Turkish and Kurdish unity with respect to the "umbrella of Islam." Öcalan, who called the PKK "to silence the guns and to go across the border," said "Now let the guns fall silent, and ideas and politics talk." It was noteworthy that Öcalan, while expressing that the "struggle hadn't yet finished," emphasized togetherness within an understanding of the "National Oath." ("'Yeni Döneme' Geçiş," 2013)

The lead continued under the second subhead of "Our Messages Overlap" in the following way:

> Prime Minister Erdoğan, while commenting on Öcalan's message as a "positive development", pointed out that it was practice what really mattered. "His messages overlap with ours. We wish to see how Öcalan's statements will be responded," Erdoğan said. While being pleased about Öcalan's emphasis on the "umbrella of Islam" regarding the nation, Erdoğan criticised that there were no Turkish flags in Diyarbakır. Erdoğan said that this was contrary to Öcalan's message. ("'Yeni Döneme' Geçiş," 2013)

Cumhuriyet's coverage pointed to the overlapping discourses of Öcalan and Erdoğan, with Öcalan's emphasis on the national unity under the "umbrella of Islam". Considering that Cumhuriyet is known for its secularist stance, it can be said that the newspaper's emphasis on its front page story on the discourse of the "umbrella of Islam" aimed at inviting its readers to a critical decoding of Öcalan's message. However, while being cautious, Cumhuriyet's approach was not negative on the matter. Öcalan's emphasis on the unity of Turks and Kurds under the

"National Oath", and his call to the PKK to "let the guns fall silent, and ideas and politics speak" and to withdraw across the border, were highlighted.

Figure 9: 'Happy Newroz', Cumhuriyet, 22 March 2013, p.1

The caption of the photograph of the large crowd at the Newroz site reflected this cautious and also somewhat sarcastic approach of the newspaper. 'Happy Newroz,' the caption title said in English, and the text gave details about Newroz celebrations within a "human interest frame", informing the readers that hundreds of thousands of people attended the celebrations: Balloons, on which 'Happy Newroz' was written, were blown; the passed-away singer Kazım Koyuncu's brother sang songs in Laz language; and finally, Pervin Buldan, who read Öcalan's message, was criticised for speaking "the worst Kurdish."

The front page coverage also included the voices of the ordinary people. In a sidebar, which was titled "We will learn to forgive", an attendee who had come to the Newroz celebrations with his three-month old grandchild was given voice. The

grandfather was quoted saying that he was happy for his grandchild, who was going to "grow up in the streets where people would dance", and that one day he would tell his grandchild about the past as "a fairy tale, where there is no pain, and where everyone forgives each other."

Underneath this sidebar there was a box, which quoted "Washington" as saying: "We are applauding these brave steps." The box further informed the readers that the EU was "also pleased."

A sidebar to the banner story informed the readers that "the withdrawal was not going to take place right away", and that "Öcalan, who did not give any details regarding the road map in his message, conveyed the visiting BDP delegation his expectation from the government to rapidly set 'resolution commissions' in the parliament in return."

The second news story on the front page, which was related to the banner, had the following headline: "Tension in the Parliament". The deck said that "Öcalan pleased AKP [ruling Justice and Development Party]; but MHP [Nationalist Movement Party] was outraged, while CHP [Republican People's Party] was silent". The lead of the news story said that AKP deputies had expressed their satisfaction, while the nationalist MHP deputies protested the process by covering their desks in the General Assembly Hall with Turkish flags. The CHP deputies held back their comments by saying that their "addressee was the government".

A sidebar to this news story informed the readers that Öcalan's message had found "an echoe around the world" by referring to the international press institutions which

pointed to the fact that Öcalan's message strengthened the peace process, albeit the fact that he did not declare any calendar for armistice or withdrawal. "Arab media accentuated that Erdoğan needed BDP for presidency," the sidebar said,

As mentioned earlier, Cumhuriyet's coverage of the event reflected the newspaper's cautious stance toward the peace process. While remaining within the "peace process" frame, Cumhuriyet invited its readers to have a critical eye on Öcalan's call which conveyed Islamic tones. "A new era" was to begin, one which Öcalan defined as "the new Turkey and the new Middle East". However, this new era, although it was welcomed by the large crowds in Diyarbakır, had met nationalist reactions in the parliament. Furthermore, Öcalan had called the PKK "to silence guns and to let the politics speak"; however, he hadn't mentioned any dates for armistice or withdrawal. Hence, the 'new era', which was put in quotation marks in the banner, was one of ambiguity.

6.2.3 Habertürk: A Euphoric "Peace Process" Frame

Figure 10: Habertürk's front page, 22 March 2013

Habertürk's approach to Öcalan's message and Newroz celebrations was euphoric compared to Cumhuriyet. The banner above the logo said "Time for Peace." The deck defined Turkey's emotional state with the following words: "At the first Newroz of the resolution process, Turkey gushed with folk dancing." The lead informed the readers that "İmralı's message of 'Let the guns fall silent' was read at Newroz celebrations in Diyarbakır, which had passed in a peaceful and brotherly atmosphere. Öcalan called the PKK to withdraw across the border."

While hailing the peace process, Habertürk used the government's discourse in its reference to the to the PKK leader. In its news discourse, the mainstream newspaper referred to Öcalan as "İmralı", which is the name of the island where he is imprisoned. The expression "İmralı" was used by the government in the first phase of the peace process. As it is shown in the quantitative part of this study, the expression faded away from April onwards, after Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan altered his wording upon Öcalan's message.

In the subheads of the lead Habertürk defined the process as a "new era" and a "partnership for future." The lead comprised the following excerpt from Öcalan's letter:

> A new era is beginning; politics is coming into prominence, and not guns. The phase for our armed elements to withdraw across the border has been reached. This is not an end, but a beginning.
>
> Turks and Kurds, who were martyred in Çanakkale shoulder to shoulder, fought the War of Independence together. The common future should be established together. The new ground is the democratic politics ("Barış Zamanı," 2013).

"Çanakkale" refers to the Battle of Gallipoli, a campaign in the World War I that resulted with Turkish victory. "Çanakkale" represented a decisive moment in the defence of the homeland, which formed the basis of the War of Independence after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Referring to these two wars, Battle of Gallipoli and War of Independence, Öcalan gave the message that Turks and Kurds fought for the homeland and founded the republic together. As such, they were going to establish the future together, which would be grounded in democratic politics. As mentioned earlier in this study, Öcalan, in an attempt to eliminate the Turkish public's fear of division, was giving the message that they had no separatist intentions.

Figure 11: Excerpt of the banner story, Habertürk, 22 March 2013

The sidebar of the news story gave voice to then Prime Minister Erdoğan: "The call is positive but what matters is the practice. There should have been Turkish flags in the resolution process rally. That there wasn't any is a provocative approach of those who want to affect the process negatively." Next to Erdoğan's comment was a news box about the international news coverage of the event: "The call to withdraw across

the border found an echo in the foreign press: 'The hope for resolution has increased.'"

The photographs used in the banner story also reflected the euphoric approach of the newspaper. The main photograph was from the Newroz celebrations showing the large crowd with banners and flags. Next to it was a small photograph which depicted the Governor of Istanbul and other protocol members jumping over the Newroz fire in Istanbul. The second largest photograph used with the banner story was that of a young woman in folkloric dress who was smiling at the camera. The caption said that "Everyone including the old and the young danced folk dances and sang folk songs at the celebrations in Diyarbakır."

Two sidebars were placed on the main photograph showing the large crowds at the celebrations. The first one said, "There is Newroz everywhere" and the second one said the following: "Spring at the Stock Market," which reflected the "economic consequences" frame. The sidebar was informing the readers that the market had benefitted from "the hopes for peace that came about with Newroz" and that Istanbul Stock Market had risen, while dollar and interest rates had dropped.

The banner story also had a "human interest" aspect. A sidebar placed next to the photograph of the smiling young Kurdish woman pointed to the criticism among some BDP members, which was directed at the BDP deputy Pervin Buldan for her weak linguistic competence in Kurdish.

The second story on the front page of Habertürk was about Erdoğan's comments on the withdrawal of the PKK members. In the news story, Erdoğan was guaranteeing

that there would be no military operations against the PKK members during the withdrawal. In the headline, Erdoğan was saying that they would "not allow any execution" during the withdrawal. The lead of the second story, which was related to Erdoğan's marks on the potential withdrawal of the PKK members, referred to the armed organization as "the terror organization". Here again, Habertürk was talking with the mouth of the government by referring to the PKK as "the terror organization."

In sum, it can be said that Habertürk framed the event within the "peace process" frame. However, while being very enthusiastic about the so-called "resolution process", which was also reflected in its visual discourse and captions, this mainstream newspaper approached to the event from the government's perspective, which was obvious in its portrayals of Abdullah Öcalan and the PKK. If the government hadn't supported Öcalan's message, would the newspaper be still so euphoric about it? It remains a question.

6.2.4 Milliyet: Hailing the "New Era of Peace, Brotherhood and Solution"

Figure 12: Milliyet's front page, 22 March 2013

The liberal mainstream daily newspaper Milliyet framed the news stories about Öcalan's Newroz message within the "peace process" frame. The banner of the newspaper was "Farewell to Arms". The deck of the story said "Öcalan's call for peace came in Newroz".

The lead, which was placed under the large photograph showing the crowd at Newroz celebrations, quoted Öcalan's following words:

> Let the guns fall silent, and politics speak. Today a new era with its outweighing political, social and economic aspects is beginning. A new door is being opened from the armed resistance process to the democratic politics process. The phase for our armed elements to withdraw across the border has been reached ("Silahlara Veda," 2013).

The lead summarised Öcalan's five-page letter in the following way:

> Hundreds of thousands, millions want peace, brotherhood and solution… Today we are awakening to a new Turkey. We have now come to the point where guns must fall silent and ideas and politics must speak. This is not an end, but a beginning. This is not the time for dispute, conflict, and contemning, but the time for embracing each other. Today, we are experiencing a more contemporary derivative of the War of Independence, which was realized within the framework of the National Oath ("Silahlara Veda," 2013).

The second story on the front page gave voice to Prime Minister Erdoğan, who commented on Öcalan's call. The headline of the story quoted Erdoğan saying that what mattered was practice. "From the moment you started the implementations, the atmosphere in Turkey will change," said Erdoğan, while criticising that there were no Turkish flags at the rally. Erdoğan regarded it as a "provocative approach". In a sidebar, the newspaper also gave voice to Minister of the Interior Affairs Muammer Güler, who "condemned" the lack of Turkish flags on the Newroz celebration site "in disgust."

The liberal mainstream newspaper also gave voice to business people. The title of another sidebar at the bottom of the page was as follows: "The region will now rear up". In the news story, which pointed to the "economic consequences", three business persons expressed their enthusiasm about the business potentials that would emerge in the region after Öcalan's call.

Milliyet used two more sidebars regarding Newroz celebrations and Öcalan's call on its front page. One of them included details from the celebrations in a "human interest" frame: More than a million people attended the celebrations; 500 local and international journalists were accredited to cover the event; 34 tonnes of wood and 100 litres of fuel was used to light the Newroz fire; there were banners on the stage, which, in 10 languages, said "Freedom to Öcalan".

The other sidebar was about a report by the European Union. The title of the sidebar said that the European Parliament's (EP) was concerned about freedoms in Turkey. While the report expressed contentment about the recent dialogue with Öcalan, it also expressed concerns about the limitations of freedom of expression and freedom press in Turkey, reminding the imprisoned journalists in the country.

Milliyet hailed the peace process, welcoming the "new era" of "peace, brotherhood and solution", in which guns would fall silent and "democratic politics" would begin. This message was even more apparent in the continued story, which had the following headline: "A New Future." The photographs used in the page design reflected a celebratory approach to the peace process, which was also apparent in the second headline: "A folk dance (*halay*) for peace by one million people." On the double-spread, there were two photographs of women and men dancing, a

photograph of a smiling young woman in local dress, and another one of a smiling baby in local dress. Like Hürriyet, Milliyet also used a small photograph of the PKK leader Öcalan wearing a suit, connoting the message that he was a political leader.

Figure 13: Milliyet, front page story continued in pp. 18-19

Milliyet framed the Newroz story mainly within the frame of "peace process." The newspaper accentuated Öcalan's peace messages, and refrained from derogatory naming of the PKK leader. While the newspaper also applied "human interest" and "economic consequences" frames, there was no reference to "terrorism" or "fear of division" frames.

6.2.5 Sabah: A "Peace Process" Frame With a War Journalism-Like Reference to "Peace"

Figure 14: Sabah's front page, 22 March 2013

The pro-government mainstream daily Sabah gave the news story about Öcalan's message within a "peace process" frame; however, the newspaper's approach to "peace" was similar to what Galtung refers to as war journalism. Galtung, in his binary model of peace/war journalism, argues that war journalism approach sees "peace= victory + ceasefire". In a similar vein, Sabah's banner, "PKK is retreating", pointed to AKP government's victory and PKK's retreat.

Above the banner, which was placed on a large photograph showing the crowd at the celebration site, there were news boxes of three "human interest" stories entitled "Folk song for peace in Laz language at Newroz", "Hand in hand at official celebrations" and "34 tonnes of wood to the fire".

The newspaper divided its front page mainly into two spaces, which gave voice to two political figures: Erdoğan and Öcalan. On the left side, Erdoğan was quoted in bold capital letters with apparently larger font size saying "No executions for the retreating ones." In the lead of the news story, Erdoğan was admitting that executions were done during the withdrawal of the PKK members in the past, and was criticizing the military for that. "I mean the [murders] with unknown perpetrators, and what was done in the guise of JİTEM [Gendarmerie Intelligence and Counter-Terror unit]" Erdoğan said, reassuring that they would "not allow these kind of executions". In the lead, Erdoğan was further quoted: "Where they want to go is their choice. Our first priority is the withdrawal of those who are in the country. They say that they are around 1400-1500. We want to reunite the ones who have not been involved in any action with their families. They can enter from any border gate, and appeal to a prosecutor. Our target is the realization of the withdrawal in 2013. [In that case] 2014 will be a healthy election year. BDP will also benefit from this."

In a news box below the lead, Erdoğan was given additional space. The title of the news box was as follows: "Message is positive, but practice is important." In the news box, it was written that Erdoğan commented on "İmralı's" message in the following way: "The letter read in Diyarbakır has received positive reactions among the people. The implementation is important. The moment, when the implementation starts, the atmosphere will change in Turkey. That there were no Turkish flags at the Newroz rally is a major shortcoming. This is also in contradiction to İmralı's message. When the ones who want to pass the border leave, our country will find peace we expect."

There were three additional news boxes connected to the article about Erdoğan's comments with the following titles: "The world is content. EU and USA: We applaud the efforts"; "Amnesty International: The momentum created by the ceasefire must be protected"; "Business world: Turkish economy will take off."

On the right side of the page, PKK leader Öcalan's Newroz message was covered, yet with less prominence compared to Erdoğan's. What is more striking about Sabah's coverage of the event is that the newspaper never mentioned Abdullah Öcalan's name on its front page. The headline of the news story quoted Öcalan without mentioning his name. The same was valid for the lead. The pro-government newspaper only referred to Öcalan in a news box below the story, yet as "İmralı", referring to the prison island where he stays. Interestingly, in the continued story, Öcalan was referred to as the "PKK leader"; however, this expression obviously did not find space on Sabah's front page.

Figure 15: Political cartoon
by Salih Memecan, Sabah,
22 March 2013, p. 1

Öcalan's following messages were given space on the front page of Sabah:

> Let the guns fall silent and get out (Headline)
> Today a new era is beginning. A door is being opened from the armed
> resistance process to the democratic politics process. We have come to the
> point where guns should fall silent and politics should speak. Politics has
> come into prominence and not guns.

> Now it is the phase of withdrawal (Subhead)
> The phase for our armed elements to withdraw across the border has been
> reached. The ones who cannot read the Zeitgeist will go to the dustbin of
> history, and will be dragged down into the abyss.

> It is time for reconciliation (Subhead)
> It is not the time for dispute and conflict, but the time for embracement and
> reconciliation. Hundreds of thousands of people who fill the field with
> Newroz fire want peace, brotherhood and solution ("Silahlar Sussun Dışarı
> Çıkın," 2013)

6.2.6 Sözcü: A Provocative War Journalism Discourse

Figure 16: Sözcü's front page, 22 March 2013

The secularist and nationalist newspaper Sözcü framed the event within "terrorism" and "fear of division" frames. The newspaper, which had an oppositional stance towards the peace process, mainly focused on the nonexistence of Turkish flags at Newroz celebration site.

The cynical banner of the newspaper was as follows: "Power proudly presents – APO AND PKK SHOW!" The lead said:

> … the terror organization turned the Newroz celebration in Diyarbakır into a power show. Thousands of PKK rags [flags] and Apo posters were opened. There was no one single Turkish flag… Is this what they call "the peace process"? Tayyip says "the developments are positive". We ask him as well. Is this [what you call] "one state, one nation, one flag"? ("İktidar İftiharla Sunar- Apo ve PKK Şov!" 2013)

In the lead, the PKK was referred to as "the terror organization", and the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan and then Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan were referred to by their first names in a derogatory way, as "Tayyip" and "Apo", which is the short version of Abdullah. The lead aimed at provoking reaction against the peace process among the readers and appealed to their "fear of division" by implying that the unity of the nation and the state was in danger.

In the second headline on the front page, the peace negotiations between the government and the PKK were presented as a "defeat" for the state. The ironical headline was as follows:

> The armed murderer of Mehmetçik[16] came down the mountain and spoke in the following way: We defeated AKP, we made [them] sit around the table ("AKP'yi Yendik, Masaya Oturttuk", 2013).

---

[16] An idiom used for Turkish conscripts, which connotes sympathy

The introduction of the lead said that "traitors had come into the open fearlessly, posing for cameras in a challenging manner." The introduction of the lead ended with an exclamation mark: "What has the country become!" In the following sentences, the lead said that at the Newroz celebrations "armed and masked PKK terrorists" and BDP members "embraced each other with longing". The text referred to Öcalan's message in the following agitating way: "The traitors made PKK propaganda in the announcement they read, saying that 'The AKP state has been defeated. As a result, it started the negotiations.'"

Figure 17: Photographs of armed and masked guerrillas from Newroz site, Sözcü, 22 March 2013, p.1

Two photographs of armed guerrillas from Newroz site, whose faces were covered with kaffiyahs, supported this message visually. The caption of the photographs dehumanized the guerrillas in the following way:

> Masked terrorists, who attended Newroz celebrations, jumped over fire and performed folk dances. Subsequently, they read the threat declaration, and while leaving the site, they shot their Kalashnikovs into the air. They returned to their caves in the mountains. (Sözcü, "Yakalanma Korkusu Yok, Devlet Seyirci…", 22 March 2013, p.1)

Sözcü newspaper also used a photograph of Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) deputies, who protested the event in the parliament with Turkish flags.

The front page of the newspaper gave voice only to two political figures, MHP President Devlet Bahçeli and Minister of Interior Affairs Muammer Güler, who "condemned in disgust" the lack of Turkish flags at the Newroz celebrations

MHP leader Bahçeli was given prominent space in the editorial which took his words to its headline: "May it poison you so that you get no benefit from it!" The introduction of the editorial was informing about the general tone of the text: "It is as if great Turkey is ruled by the Head of Terrorists Apo. Everything what İmralı Murderer wants is being realized!" In the text, the expressions "Head of Terrorists Apo" and "İmralı Murderer" were made bold.

The editorial referred to the peace discourse as the "brainwashing propaganda operation of the government", and defined the problem as "terrorism". "The aim of terror is to create intimidation and fear, and to get what you want by dismaying the country," the editorial said. Criticizing the government for negotiating with the "head of the murderers", Sözcü applied the "terrorism" frame which defined the remedy to the problem in the following way: "No state compromises to terrorism, no state sits around the bargaining table with terrorists!" The state, instead, had to take the terrorists "by the scruff of their necks."

The editorial, which was signed as "Sözcü" ended with the following words:

> What a pathetic contradiction it is for the country's Prime Minister to trick people by saying that "Good things will happen!", when, not just our war veterans and the relatives of the martyrs, but any sane person shouts that "Turkey will be divided, the country is being forfeited!" ("Haram Zıkkım Olsun!" 2013)

The four sidebars on the front page stressed the "untrustworthiness of PKK". The headline of one sidebar said that "PKK declared armistice 7 times in 29 years, but did not keep its promise"; while another one criticised the pro-government media for concealing the truth by misinforming the public about Öcalan's call. While "Apo" called for the withdrawal of the "armed elements across the border", the pro-government media reported it as a call "to lay down arms", the sidebar said. The text ended with the following message: "How can you trust them?"

The third sidebar on the front page reported on PKK's acting head Murat Karayılan's message that they were "ready war as well as for peace" with the following words: "Karayılan challenged!.."

Finally, the fourth sidebar informed the readers that "the threat to Turkey" would continue even if the PKK withdrew, because "800 terrorists" would remain in the country after the withdrawal "to collect intelligence and make preparations for orders."

Sözcü's coverage of Newroz with its agitating discourse, as it was indicated by the excessive usage of exclamation marks, framed the event within the "terrorism" frame with the aim of evoking the "fear of division" among the people. The newspaper's discourse was a clear example of what Galtung referred to as "war journalism".

6.2.7 Taraf: The Coverage Close To Peace Journalism

Figure 18: Taraf's front page, 22 March 2013

Taraf's coverage of Newroz was within the "peace process" frame. The banner above the logo reflected the newspaper's approach to the process. "The First Spring of Peace," the banner said, which was placed on a photograph of the large crowd at the Newroz site. The newspaper highlighted the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's peace messages. In the lead it was said that "Öcalan, who called the PKK to withdraw across the border, emphasized democratic politics." Öcalan's message of "let the guns fall silent and ideas speak" was quoted in the lead, which also paraphrased his words saying that "a new Turkey and a new Middle East was born"

The first subhead of the lead reflected the newspaper's remark of the message: "The language of the call was pro-peace and positive." The text further consolidated this positive remark: "Öcalan's call was totally based on peace and democratic politics." The second subhead was about Öcalan's call to the PKK to withdraw across the border. Öcalan was quoted in the text in the following way: "Here, with the witness of millions who have given ear to my call, I am saying that a new era is beginning. Not guns but politics is becoming prominent. Now we are in the phase for our armed elements to withdraw across the border."

In the headline story, Prime Minister Erdoğan, was quoted saying that he found "Öcalan's call positive", and that Öcalan's messages "coincided" with their own messages. In the lead of the story, Erdoğan was reported saying the following: "I've found the call positive, but what matters is the practice." Turkish prime minister criticized the lack of Turkish flags at Newroz site and called it as a "provocative behaviour". A subhead of the lead gave voice to the PKK executive Murat Karayılan, who "declared that they would realize Öcalan's call to lay down arms and withdraw across the border."

The second story on the front page gave details from Newroz celebrations. "Newroz of the new era," the story's headline said. The lead informed the readers that over one million people were at the Newroz site. "Newroz of Diyarbakır has been historical, as expected," the lead said.

The visual materials used on the front page also accentuated the pro-peace stance of the newspaper.
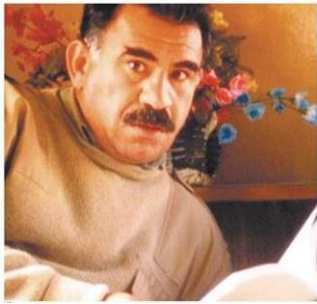
Figure 19: Photograph of
Abdullah Öcalan, Taraf,
22 March 2013, p.1

Next to the lead of the banner story was a photograph of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan. The photograph, which was shot with a soft lightening, pictured Öcalan with casual wear in warm colours, leaning on his side. In the background were some flowers. This was the friendliest photograph of the PKK leader used by the selected newspapers. The caption of the photograph said the following: "In his call, Öcalan underlined that everyone who believes in peace must show sensitivity to the process until the end."

Figure 20: Photograph from the celebrations,
Taraf, 22 March 2013, p.1

A photograph from Newroz celebrations showed a man with open hands thanking God for what was happening. The caption of the photograph was as follows: "Like this uncle in the photograph, thousands of people at the Newroz celebrations in Diyarbakır were happy that a difficult and painful period of thirty years was about to end with Öcalan's call for peace."

Figure 21: Small photograph,
Taraf, 22 March 2013, p.1

Another photograph from the Newroz site showed a small child wearing a colourful outfit and a red bandana, on which Newroz was written. The caption said that "all colours were there at the celebration in Diyarbakır. Everybody, the young and the old, came to listen to this historical call."

In its verbal as well as visual coverage, Taraf framed the event within the "peace process" frame, accentuating the PKK leader's peace messages, and humanizing him. The newspaper also used other visual materials reflecting ordinary people's hopes for peace. It was also noteworthy that Taraf referred to Newroz as "Newroz" as it is written in Kurdish, and not as "Nevruz" as it is written in Turkish. What can be said about Taraf's coverage of Newroz is that the newspaper's approach was the closest to peace journalism among the selected newspapers.

6.2.8 Türkiye: Viewing The Peace Process from the Government's Eyes

Figure 22: Türkiye's front page, 22 March 2013

The main frame applied by the conservative Türkiye newspaper was the "peace process" frame. However, in its coverage of Öcalan's Newroz message, Türkiye also applied "terrorism" frame. The newspaper defined the problem as "terror" and the remedy as the "Resolution Process". In Türkiye's news discourse the PKK leader was referred to as both "Öcalan" and "İmralı" interchangeably. For example, the headline of the news story was as follows: "Newroz message from İmralı to the PKK: Guns shall fall silent, [and] you'll go outside the border." In the lead, the PKK leader was referred to as Öcalan. The introduction sentence of the lead was as follows: "Öcalan ordered the organization to withdraw outside the border by saying 'Guns shall fall silent, [and] ideas shall speak. The bloodshed shall be stopped.'

The first subhead pointed that it was "the time for reconciliation". "After thirty years, terror is coming to the end" the text said, and quoted the following excerpt from Öcalan's letter: "The phase for our armed elements to withdraw across the border has been reached. Now politics will work. Turkish and Kurdish peoples were martyred together in Çanakkale. Now it is time for reconciliation." The second subhead said that "a new era" was beginning, and the text continued in the following way:

> Öcalan, who referred to the National Oath and three prophets as examples, used the following expression: "This is a process in which Anatolian and Kurdish communities can live in peace. A new era is beginning. We are going to integrate against those who want to divide us, and we will unite against those who want to dissociate us" ("Silahlar Sussun, Sınır Dışına Çıkın," 2013)

The conservative daily Türkiye chose to accentuate the religious connotations in Öcalan's discourse such as the martyrdom of Turks and Kurds in Çanakkale, and a reference to three prophets, which were, for example, totally absent in Taraf's coverage. What was also noteworthy in the excerpt was that Öcalan called for the

unity of Turks and Kurds against the face of another "other" who wants to "divide" and "dissociate" "us". In Öcalan's discourse, Turks and Kurds were to unite against another adversary, whose identity was left ambiguous. Reference to democratic politics in Öcalan's letter, which was highlighted in other newspapers' coverage, was also missing.

Three sidebars were used next to this story. One of them was about the coverage of the event by the "world press". The sidebar informed the readers that "İmralı"s call was covered with "urgent" code by wire services which made the following remarks: "PKK ends the 30-year conflict. One of the bloodiest conflicts of the world is about to end. Political solution to the Kurdish issue is a lot closer now." The second sidebar was about the PKK's response to Öcalan's call, which quoted Murat Karayılan as saying that they would "comply with the launched process." "He gave the signal of withdrawal," the sidebar said. The third sidebar was the announcement of a news analysis article, which was informing the readers that "the addressee of the call was Qandil." "The guns will fall silent and the armed elements will leave Turkey. The ones who resist this will be marginalized," the sidebar said.

Above the headline story was another news item, through which Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan spoke. In the title Erdoğan was saying that the interlocutor of the process was the government and not the parliament, and in the subhead of the lead, Turkish prime minister emphasized that they would not "tolerate a new Habur", connoting to the Habur[17] process in 2009, which had ended without success.

---

[17] As part of the Kurdish Opening, the PKK sent a group of unarmed guerrillas and refugees from Iraqi Kurdistan, who entered Turkey from Habur border gate on 19 October 2009 without being arrested. However, the euphoria on the Kurdish side triggered Turkish nationalist reactions, and in the

"Turning Habur into a show caused the end of the previous process. We won't tolerate a new one," Erdoğan said. In the lead of the story, Erdoğan also emphasized that what mattered was the practice, and criticized the lack of Turkish flags at Newroz celebrations.

Figure 23: Photograph from Newroz celebrations, Türkiye, 22 March 2013

Türkiye used a photograph of the large crowd at the Newroz celebrations and a smaller one showing the lighting of the Newroz fire. In the caption, it was written that "the most critical threshold for the Resolution Process" had been exceeded, and "Newroz fire was burned for brotherhood."

As mentioned earlier, Türkiye gave the news story within the "peace process" frame, however, the newspaper referred to the event from the government's perspective. For example, although it refrained from calling the PKK leader with negative expressions such as "head of terrorists" or "murderer", the newspaper referred to him as "İmralı", which reflected Erdoğan's wording. In addition, Erdoğan's comments were given prominent space on the front page, and that story which had comparatively less news value was placed above the headline story.

---

end "the peace group" was arrested and the pro-Kurdish Democratic Society Party was banned by the Constitutional Court.

6.2.9 Yeni Şafak: A Pro-Peace Approach with a Glimpse of "Terrorism" Frame

Figure 24: Yeni Şafak's front page, 22 March 2013

The main frame used in Yeni Şafak's coverage of the event was the "peace process" frame. The conservative pro-government daily newspaper highlighted Öcalan's peace messages, and refrained from using negative depictions of the PKK leader. However, the newspaper also referred to "terrorism" frame, in that it defined the problem as "terror", and presented the "resolution process" as the remedy.

The newspaper welcomed Öcalan's message with its headline, which said: "Gun[s] fell silent. It is time for peace". The lead summarized the topic in the following way:

> The resolution process, which was started to end terror, has passed the most critical phase. With Öcalan's letter at the Newroz celebrations in Diyarbakır a call for ceasefire has been made: It is now the era of politics. Let the guns fall silent, and withdraw across the border ("Silah Sustu Barış Zamanı," 2013).

From Öcalan's letter Yeni Şafak highlighted the PKK leader's following messages:

> The accent on the flag of Islam (Subhead)
> … Öcalan indicated in his message that the point for "guns to fall silent and ideas to speak" has been reached, and politics has now come to the fore and not conflict. He accentuated that Turks and Kurds have lived together under the flag of Islam for nearly thousand years.

> He reminded Çanakkale (Subhead)
> It was noteworthy that Öcalan gave the message of a "common future" and "unity and solidarity", reminding that Turks and Kurds, who were martyred shoulder to shoulder in Çanakkale, fought the War of Independence together within the framework of the National Oath. By saying "The phase has now been reached for our armed elements to withdraw across the border", Öcalan made a call for ceasefire ("Silah Sustu Barış Zamanı," 2013).

Like the other conservative newspaper Türkiye, Yeni Şafak accentuated on its front page the religious connotations in Öcalan's letter such as the emphasis on the "flag of Islam" and the discourse of "shoulder to shoulder martyrdom in Çanakkale." In its coverage, Yeni Şafak highlighted Öcalan's peace message, calling for a "common future" and "unity and solidarity."

172

A sidebar to the story reflected Prime Minister Erdoğan's criticism that there were no Turkish flags at the celebrations. Yeni Şafak reported Erdoğan as saying "that there was no flag at such a resolution rally was the provocative approach of those who want to affect the process negatively", and that "these practices were contrary to the [Öcalan's] message."

Prime Minister Erdoğan was also given space in the second news story on the front page, which was placed above the logo. The headline of the story reflected Erdoğan's comments on the message: "The addressee of the withdrawal is the government." In the topic sentence Erdoğan was affirming that "the addressee of the withdrawal was the government and not the parliament", and "the government would do everything what it had to do."

In the lead Erdoğan referred to the Habur process and said that "Habur show was the end of the previous period. We won't tolerate a new one," assuring that there would be no executions during the withdrawal. Turkish prime minister also said that those who have not been involved in any action could enter the country from any border gate and be reunited with their families. That they were out in the mountains did not constitute a crime. "We want no armed activity within our borders," Erdoğan said.

Yeni Şafak used a large photograph from Newroz celebrations with Newroz fire in the background. The caption of the story was framed in the "human interest" frame. "The most colourful celebration," the headline said, and the text gave details from the site:

> Citizens who filled the field in the early morning hours performed folk dances accompanying to folk songs. Singer Kazım Koyuncu's brother Niyazi Koyuncu sang the folk song "Koçari" in Laz language. "Today is Newroz. I

am a Laz. We don't need to speak the same language in order to understand each other," Koyuncu said. A balloon on which "happy Nevruz" was written was blown in the field ("En Renkli Kutlama, 2013).

The caption, which depicted a joyful atmosphere, defined the attendees of Newroz celebrations as "citizens", and connoted the "unity within diversity of colours" discourse. The small photograph of a smiling little girl dressed in a colourful local outfit also reflects this discourse.

Below the large photograph there were three news boxes. One of them informed the readers about the responses of the main opposition parties: "Reaction from MHP [Nationalist Movement Party], CHP [Republican People's Party] is silent," the news box said. The second box said that the "World media passed the story as flash news". The third box was about the response of the EU and the US: "Support for the process from the EU and the US," the box said.

6.2.10 Yeniçağ: "Terrorism" and "Fear of Division" Frames Applied Through Verbal and Visual Discourse

Figure 25: Yeniçağ's front page on 22 March 2013

Yeniçağ newspaper, similar to the other nationalist daily Sözcü, presented the news story about Öcalan's Newroz message within "terrorism" and "fear of division" frames. The newspaper's headline for the front page story was: "They ended in victory."

The large visuals used on the front page also accentuated this message. In the foreground of a collage stood a PKK guerrilla, whose face was covered with a kaffiyah, making a victory sign with his fingers. The large photograph in the background showed Öcalan and PKK flags from the Newroz site. On the left to the foregrounded guerrilla photograph was a smaller photograph of group guerrillas, again with covered faces, who were waving PKK flags and Öcalan's pictures. The caption of the photograph said that the "PKK terrorists opened rags on the podium." The caption further explained the meaning of the photograph to the readers in the following way:

> When the terrorists, holding the organisation's rags [flags] with the İmralı murderer Öcalan's photographs on their background, went up on the victory podium, the ones who summoned at the square chanted 'Biji serok Apo[18]'. The ones, who were dancing to Kurdish songs, greeted back the terrorists who saluted them from the rostrum, chanting 'The PKK is the people, the people are here' ("Zaferle Bitirdiler," 2013)

The small photograph on the right side of the collage showed a young man making victory signs with his open arms, and wearing a t-shirt, on which it said "Kurdistan." The title of the photograph's caption was as follows: "The message given in Diyarbakır: Kurdistan[19]." The short text of the caption was formulated as follows:

> At the victory celebrations to which the police did not intervene, some of the youngsters who filled the field with posters of the baby killer Abdullah Öcalan wore t-shirts on which Kurdistan was written… ("Zaferle Bitirdiler," 2013).

---

[18] Long live leader Apo.
[19] Land of Kurds

The visuals and captions supported the newspaper's message for its readers that the "terror organization" had defeated the Turkish state, apparently leading to its division. According to the nationalist newspaper, the message at the "victory celebrations" was clear: the emergence of "Kurdistan."

This message was also directly expressed in the verbal discourse of Yeniçağ's front page coverage. The lead of the headline news story was as follows:

> Supporters of the terror organization, with which the government collaborates in targeting the "nation-state" structure of Turkey, celebrated their victory in Diyarbakır, the city they declared as their capital. They were exhilarated with their baby killer leader Apo's message ("Zaferle Bitirdiler," 2013).

Figure 26: A political cartoon by Emre Ulaş, Yeniçağ, 22 March 2013

A political cartoon published at the bottom of the page also supported this message. The cartoon depicted Öcalan as a monstrous figure holding a bat, from which blood was dripping. "Adulatory media's monster description" the cartoon said. "The adulatory editor-in-chief" in the cartoon was saying in a bubble that Öcalan was "a political leader." Another figure representing a reporter said "He is a Mandela," while supposedly a commenter said that he was "a wise man" and an "adulatory columnist" said that he was "religious". Finally a TV presenter depicted him as "a peace angel."

In sum, in its coverage of Öcalan's Newroz message, the nationalist newspaper Yeniçağ, applied the "terrorism" and "fear of division" frames through different channels, through words, through visuals and through a cartoon. It may be argued that the words may be more open to critical reading, but visuals' and the cartoon's effects may be more "convincing" about the newspaper's message that the "state was defeated by the terror organization which celebrated its victory, and it was going to be divided."

6.2.11 Zaman: Prioritizing the Prime Minister's Voice

Figure 27: Zaman's front page, 22 March 2013

The Islamic oriented Zaman newspaper, which is known to be close to Gülen religious order, applied the "peace process" frame in its coverage of Öcalan's message and Prime Minister Erdoğan's response. 2013 was a period during which Gülen order and Erdoğan were allies in power[20]. It can be argued that the coverage of the newspaper reflected that alliance. Prime Minister Erdoğan's response to Öcalan's message was prioritized over the message itself. Zaman's primary space was allocated to Erdoğan whose following words were given as the headline: "We want no armed activity inside Turkey." The deck of the story reflected Erdoğan's following words: "There is nothing that falls to the Parliament's share with regard to the PKK's withdrawal. / They are in an effort to legitimize the organization. This will not happen. / We want to reunite those who are not involved in crime with their families. / Our first priority is that the armed elements leave the country."

These messages were further elaborated in the text, which mainly contained quotations from Erdoğan's statement. The topic sentence of the text repeated Erdoğan saying that their "first priority during the resolution process was that the armed elements inside the country leave the country". Furthermore, Erdoğan stressed that, regarding the withdrawal, the addressee was the government and not the parliament, and refused the BDP's demand for establishing a parliamentary commission on the matter, criticizing the pro-Kurdish party for "being in an effort to legitimize the PKK."

---

[20] Later this alliance collapsed, and finally in March 2016, the management of the newspaper was handed over to a panel of trustees by a court's decision. See Hürriyet Daily News. (2016, March 4). *Trustee Appointed to Zaman Media Group*. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from Hürriyet Daily News: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/trustees-appointed-to-zaman-media-group-.aspx?PageID=238&NID=96044&NewsCatID=509.

A sidebar further gave voice to Erdoğan, who evaluated Öcalan's statement saying that he found the message about 'the armed elements leaving the country' positive, and accentuated that "What mattered is practice." In addition, Erdoğan criticized that there were no Turkish flags at the Newroz site.

The main event of the day was Öcalan's Newroz message; however, it had a secondary space on the front page after Prime Minister Erdoğan's response. The headline of the second story on the page was as follows: "The call to the PKK about the 'finishing of the epoch of arms'". The lead of the story referred to Öcalan as the "leader of the terror organization", and quoted Öcalan saying that "The phase of the armed elements to withdraw across the border has been reached". Öcalan gave the message that "the bloodshed affected all people of the geography regardless of them being a Turk, Kurd, Laz or Circassian." The PKK leader was further quoted in the following way:

> A gate is being opened from the armed resistance process to the democratic politics process. Now, we have come to the point where 'guns shall fall silent and ideas and politics speak'. The phase for our armed elements to withdraw across the border has been reached ("PKK'ya 'Silah Dönemi Bitti' Çağrısı," 2013).

The lead ended with the information that "Öcalan's messages were enthusiastically welcomed by hundreds of thousands of participants who filled the Newroz site."

The depiction of Öcalan as the "leader of the terror organization" was used once, and it was not repeated. Öcalan's quoted message pointed that a new era of democratic politics was about to emerge. Interestingly, contrary to the other conservative dailies Yeni Şafak and Türkiye, Zaman did not highlight Öcalan's religiously connoting discourses such as "martyrdom in Çanakkale" or "unity under the Islamic flag." The

newspaper applied a "peace process" frame in its coverage with an emphasis on the government's or, more particularly, Prime Minister Erdoğan's perspective.

6.2.12 Discussion

The qualitative frame analysis of the selected eleven newspapers' coverage of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's peace message at Newroz 2013 supports the findings of the quantitative research. As shown in Table 9, the great majority (Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Habertürk, Milliyet, Sabah, Taraf, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak, Zaman) of the selected newspapers applied the "peace process" frame as the main frame in their coverage. The approach of these nine newspapers, except Cumhuriyet, was supportive of the peace process. The left-leaning, secularist and Kemalist newspaper Cumhuriyet, while applying a "peace process" frame, approached the process with caution, highlighting Öcalan's religious connoting message of "unity of Turks and Kurds under the Islamic flag", and inviting its readers to take a critical reading of what Öcalan said. Among these nine newspapers, which applied "peace process" as the main frame, five of them (Cumhuriyet, Habertürk, Milliyet, Sabah, and Türkiye) also used "human interest" frame, sharing interesting details from Newroz celebrations. The "economic consequences" frame was used only by two liberal mainstream newspapers Milliyet and Habertürk, but more strongly by Milliyet, which published a sidebar on its front page with the title "The region will now rear up". In the sidebar three business people of Turkey were cited. It should be noted that among the nine newspapers which used "peace process" frame, the pro-government Sabah newspaper referred to peace as the "AKP government's victory and the PKK's defeat" in a war journalism-like manner. It was also noteworthy that the two pro-government conservative newspapers Türkiye and Yeni Şafak applied "terrorism" frame alongside with the "peace process" frame. Both newspapers

referred to the problem as "terror" and defined the remedy as the "resolution process" pursued by the AKP government.

Among the eleven newspapers chosen for this analysis, the only ones that applied "terrorism" and "fear of division" frames were the nationalist Sözcü and Yeniçağ newspapers. Both newspapers approached the peace process negatively with an agitating discourse, and neither of them published any excerpts from Öcalan's letter. The verbal and visual discourse of the two newspapers entailed other similarities. Both newspapers described the event as "the victory of the terror organization vis-à-vis the state". Sözcü appealed to verbal discourse to support this claim, while Yeniçağ made extensive use of visuals.

Sözcü's headlines presented the event as a show in which the "armed murderer" of Turkish soldiers "came down the mountain" to declare its victory. Sözcü "informed" its readers that the "laying down of arms by the PKK" as claimed by the "partisan media" was not true. The PKK had declared "armistice 7 times in 29 years, but never kept its promise", and even if it retreated, "800 terrorists would remain in the country." The headline of the editorial published on the front page signed as "Sözcü" appealed to the supporters of the resolution process with the following words: "May it poison you so that you get no benefit from it!"

Table 12: A qualitative frame analysis of news coverage on Öcalan's Newroz message in 2013

	FRAME(S)	HEADLINES	APPROACH TO THE PEACE PROCES	MESSAGES EXCERPTED FROM ÖCALAN'S LETTER	NAMING OF ABDULLAH ÖCALAN	NAMING OF THE PKK	VISUALS	CITED SOURCES
HÜRRİYET	Peace process Economic consequences	The age of arms has ended (First story) This call is positive (Second story) The addressee is the government (Sidebar)	Positive	Guns must fall silent Withdrawal of armed elements across the border Brotherhood and solidarity under the Islamic flag Reference to the War of Independence Democratic peace resolution for new Turkey	Abdullah Öcalan İmralı	No mentioning of the PKK	Smiling BDP deputies while reading Öcalan's message Öcalan wearing a suit, depicting him as a political leader Large crowd at Newroz site. Caption said that people performed folk dances and had "fun"	PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan International press
CUMHURİYET	Peace process Human interest	Transition to "the new era" (First story) Tension in the parliament (Second story) We will learn to forgive (Sidebar) The withdrawal will not take place immediately (Sidebar)	Cautious	New Turkey, new Middle East Unity of Turks and Kurds under the Islamic flag Now the guns shall fall silent and ideas and politics shall speak Reference to the National Oath and the War of Independence	PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan	PKK	Large crowd at the Newroz site Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan	Abdullah Öcalan Tayyip Erdoğan Ordinary people BDP deputy Hasip Kaplan "Washington" EU International press Arab media

HABERTÜRK	Peace process Economic consequences Human interest	Time for peace (First story) We won't allow executions (Second story)	Positive	Let the guns fall silent and withdraw across the border The new era of politics, and not guns Reference to the Battle of Gallipoli and the War of Independence Common future on the ground of democratic politics	Öcalan	Terror organization	Large crowd at Newroz site with Newroz fire in the background A smiling young woman in folkloric dress Governor of Istanbul and other protocol members jumping over Newroz fire in Istanbul	Abdullah Öcalan Tayyip Erdoğan
MİLLİYET	Peace process Human interest Economic consequences	Farewell to arms (First story) Beyond the call, practice matters (Second story) 1 million people, 500 journalists (Sidebar) The region will now rear up (Sidebar) EP's [European Parliament] concerns about freedom continue (Sidebar) Flag reaction from the minister (Sidebar)	Positive	Let the guns fall silent and politics speak New era of democratic politics Peace, brotherhood and solution Reference to the National Oath and the War of Independence Democratic and peaceful resolution for new Turkey	Öcalan	No mentioning of the PKK	Large crowd at the Newroz site Kindling of the Newroz fire	Abdullah Öcalan Tayyip Erdoğan European Parliament Minister of Interior Muammer Güler Business people Tuncay Özilhan, Ali Kibar and Ali Ağaoğlu

SABAH	Peace process, with peace being referred to as the government's victory Human interest Economic consequences	PKK is retreating (First story) Let the guns fall silent and get out (Second headline to the first story) No executions for the retreating ones (Second story) Message is positive, but practice is important (Sidebar)	Positive	Let the guns fall silent and get out New era of democratic politics The ones who cannot read the Zeitgeist will go to the dustbin of history and will be dragged into the abyss Peace, brotherhood, solution. Time for embracement and reconciliation	İmralı	PKK	Large crowd at the Newroz site Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan	Tayyip Erdoğan Abdullah Öcalan Pro-Kurdish DTP Co-president Selahattin Demirtaş Amnesty International EU and US Business world
SÖZCÜ	Terrorism Fear of division	Power proudly presents- APO AND PKK SHOW (First story) The armed murderer of Mehmetçik came down the mountain and spoke in the following way:	Negative, provocative	No excerpts from the letter	Apo Head of terrorists İmralı murderer	Terror organization PKK Traitors Terrorists	Large crowd weaving PKK flags and APO posters Two photographs of armed guerrillas from the Newroz site, whose faces were covered with kaffiyahs	Minister of Interior Affairs Muammer Güler MHP President Devlet Bahçeli

		We defeated AKP, we made them sit around the table (Second story) Bravo Minister (Third story) Partisan media deceive, no laying down of arms (Fourth story) PKK declared armistice 7 times in 29 years, but did not keep its promise (Sidebar) Even if PKK retreats, 800 terrorists will remain (Sidebar) Karayılan challenged (Sidebar) May it poison you so that you get no benefit from it! (Editorial)					Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) deputies in the parliament Minister of Interior Muammer Güler	

TARAF	Peace process	The spring of peace (First story) I've found Öcalan's call positive (Second story) Newroz of the new era (Third story)	Positive	Withdrawal across the border Emphasis on democratic politics Let the guns fall silent and ideas speak Birth of new Turkey and new Middle East	Abdullah Öcalan	PKK	Large crowd at the Newroz site A friendly photograph of Öcalan shot with soft lightening, which depicts him in casual dress with warm colours Tayyip Erdoğan A man from Newroz celebrations, whose hands are open in a gesture of thanking God A small child from Newroz celebrations wearing a colourful outfit and a red bandana, on which it said "Newroz"	Abdullah Öcalan Tayyip Erdoğan PKK executive Murat Karayılan
TÜRKİYE	Peace process Terrorism Human interest	Guns fell silent. It is time for peace (First story) The addressee of the withdrawal is the government	Positive	It is now the era of politics Let the guns fall silent and ideas speak Withdraw across	Öcalan	PKK	Large crowd at the Newroz site with Newroz fire in the background Tayyip Erdoğan	Tayyip Erdoğan Abdullah Öcalan

		(Second story, which was placed above the logo) Prime Minister Erdoğan: Flag should have been there (Sidebar) Reaction from MHP, CHP is silent (News box) World media announced the story as flash news (News box) Support for the process from the EU and the US (News box)		the border Turks and Kurds have lived together under the flag of Islam for nearly thousand years "Shoulder to shoulder" martyrdom of Turks and Kurds in the Battle of Gallipoli Reference to the National Oath during the War of Independence Common future and unity and solidarity of Turks and Kurds			A smiling little girl in folkloric dress	
YENİ ŞAFAK	Peace process Terrorism	Newroz message from İmralı to the PKK: Let the guns fall silent [and] exit out of the border (First story) Erdoğan: The interlocutor is the government (Second story	Positive	Let the guns fall silent and ideas speak Bloodshed shall be stopped Withdrawal across the border Common martyrdom of Turks and Kurds	İmralı Öcalan	PKK Kandil (Qandil) The organization	Large crowd at the Newroz site Kindling of Newroz fire Prime Minister Erdoğan and his wife with the Queen of Netherlands	Abdullah Öcalan Tayyip Erdoğan Murat Karayılan

		Flags should have been there (News box) World press: The conflict is ending after 30 years (Sidebar) Qandil promised: We are going to comply with the process (Sidebar) News analysis: The addressee of the call is Qandil (Sidebar)		in the Battle of Gallipoli Reference to the National Oath in the War of Independence Reference to three prophets A new era is beginning Union of Turks and Kurds against those who want to "divide" and "dissociate" "us"				
YENİÇAĞ	Terrorism Fear of division	They ended in victory	Negative, provocative	No excerpts from the letter	Baby killer Notorious killer İmralı murderer	Terror organization Terrorists	A PKK guerrilla with covered face making victory sign with his fingers A group of guerrillas with covered faces weaving PKK flags and Öcalan's posters A young man making victory sign and wearing	No citation

							a t-shirt on which it said "Kurdistan" People waving PKK flags and Öcalan's posters at the Newroz celebrations A political cartoon depicting Öcalan as a monster	
ZAMAN	Peace process	We want no armed activity inside Turkey (First story) What matters is practice (Sidebar) The call to the PKK that 'the epoch of arms has finished' (Second story)	Positive	Withdrawal across the border Emphasis on democratic politics Let the guns fall silent and ideas speak	The leader of the terror organization Öcalan	PKK Terror organization The organization	Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan Large crowd at the Newroz site Smiling BDP deputies who are reading Öcalan's message	Tayyip Erdoğan Abdullah Öcalan

The nationalist newspaper gave voice only to two political figures, who criticized the process: The Nationalist Movement Party leader Devlet Bahçeli and the Minister of Interior Affairs Muammer Güler. Bahçeli was totally against the process, while Güler criticized that there were no Turkish flags at Newroz celebrations.

Yeniçağ used fewer words and more visuals on its front page to give a similar message. The headline of the newspaper said "They ended in victory". Yeniçağ supported this message with a large photograph of a PKK guerrilla from the Newroz site. The guerrilla, whose face was covered with kaffiyah, was making a victory sign with his fingers.

As a matter of fact, Yeniçağ and Sözcü were the only newspapers which published guerrilla photographs from the Newroz site. In a photograph used by Yeniçağ, a group of guerrillas were waving PKK flags and Öcalan's posters, and on Sözcü's front page there were two photographs showing guerrillas with covered faces from Newroz celebrations.

The two nationalist newspapers had a similar approach regarding the naming of Abdullah Öcalan and the PKK. Sözcü and Yeniçağ were the only newspapers which employed agitating negative depictions of Öcalan, such as "İmralı murderer". Sözcü referred to Öcalan as "Apo", short for his first name Abdullah, "head of terrorists" and "İmralı murderer", whereas Yeniçağ used the following depictions: "baby killer", "notorious killer", and "İmralı murderer." Both newspapers referred to the PKK as a "terror organization", whereas Sözcü also called the PKK members as "traitors".

The other nine newspapers refrained from calling Öcalan such agitating names. In the great majority of instances, the PKK leader was referred to mainly with his name or simply last name, Öcalan, without connecting him to the PKK. The pro-government newspaper Sabah, using Prime Minister Erdoğan's discourse, called Öcalan "İmralı," which refers to the prison island where he stays. Another pro-government newspaper Yeni Şafak and the mainstream Hürriyet newspaper referred to the PKK leader as "Öcalan" or "İmralı" interchangeably. Interestingly, only one newspaper referred to Öcalan as the "PKK leader", and that was Cumhuriyet, which approached his message cautiously. It is also noteworthy, that, apart from the two nationalist dailies, there was only one newspaper which associated Öcalan with "terrorism". The Islamic-oriented Zaman newspaper, which stood close to the government in 2013, referred to Öcalan as the "leader of the terror organization."

Öcalan's messages of "Let the guns fall silent and politics speak" and "withdraw across the border" were the most highlighted ones. All of the selected newspapers, except the nationalist Sözcü and Yeniçağ, highlighted these two messages in their coverage. Seven newspapers, Hürriyet, Habertürk, Milliyet, Sabah, Türkiye, Taraf, and Yeni Şafak, informed their readers on their front page coverage that a "new era of democratic politics" was beginning. A derivative of this message was the emergence of "a new Turkey and a new Middle East", which was brought out by Cumhuriyet and Taraf. However, while Taraf associated the notion of "new Turkey" with democratic politics, Cumhuriyet's coverage did not entail such an association. Zaman newspaper excerpted "the emphasis on democratic politics" from Öcalan's letter; however, it did not associate it with the notion of "new Turkey".

Öcalan's reference to the War of Independence was another common topic which was accentuated in the news discourse. Five newspapers, Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Milliyet, Türkiye and Yeni Şafak made reference to the War of Independence, indicating that Turks and Kurds fought together for the liberation of the country from foreign occupation after the World War I. Another historical reference point in Öcalan's discourse was the Battle of Gallipoli, which was fought during the World War I. Habertürk, Türkiye and Yeni Şafak accentuated in their front page coverage that Turks and Kurds were "martyred shoulder to shoulder" for this country during the Battle of Gallipoli.

Öcalan's religiously connoting message of "unity and brotherhood of Turks and Kurds under the Islamic flag" was highlighted by Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet and Türkiye. The conservative, pro-government newspaper Yeni Şafak, which made reference to the shoulder to shoulder martyrdom in the Battle of Gallipoli excerpted Öcalan's reference to three prophets in its news coverage, but it did not refer to the "Islamic flag."

All of the selected newspapers, except Sözcü and Yeniçağ, cited the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan and Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan. Taraf and Yeni Şafak also cited Murat Karayılan, the acting head of the PKK at the time. Apart from these figures, pro-Kurdish names, DTP Co-president Selahattin Demirtaş and BDP deputy Hasip Kaplan were cited by Sabah and Cumhuriyet, respectively. The Minister of Interior Affairs Muammer Güler, who criticized that there were no Turkish flags at the celebrations, was given voice by Milliyet and Sözcü. Sözcü also cited nationalist MHP President Devlet Bahçeli, who criticized the whole peace process.

The cited sources reflect the elite-oriented face of the peace process. They also show that the peace process mainly remained an "internal matter" and was not internationalized. There were few international sources cited. Cumhuriyet and Sabah gave voice to the US and the EU, while Milliyet covered the European Parliament's concerns regarding the process. Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet informed their readers about the international press's coverage of the event. The process, albeit elite-oriented in character, was mainly dominated by political elites. Economic elites such as business people were given voice only by the liberal mainstream newspaper Milliyet in a sidebar at the bottom of the page. Likewise, the voice of the non-governmental organizations was not heard much. Only Sabah newspaper referred to the Amnesty International's following comment: "The momentum created by the ceasefire must be protected." And finally, ordinary people were cited by only one newspaper, namely Cumhuriyet.

The qualitative frame analysis of the news coverage of Öcalan's message at Newroz 2013 shows that the Turkish press, except the nationalist dailies, supported the peace process.

6.3 A Qualitative Frame Analysis of Case 2: The Coverage of the PKK's Withdrawal Announcement

PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan called the organisation to withdraw from Turkey in his Newroz message. The PKK cadres responded to Öcalan's call for withdrawal positively, and the armed organization's then acting leader Murat Karayılan announced in a press conference at their base in Mount Qandil in the Kurdish Autonomous Region in Northern Iraq on 25 April 2013 that they will withdraw gradually and with arms from 8 May 2013 onwards. Karayılan warned that the PKK would stop the withdrawal and would retaliate if the Turkish military conducted any operation during the withdrawal process.

The PKK's withdrawal announcement constituted a major key event in 2013. This section presents a qualitative frame analysis of the selected eleven newspapers' front page coverage of the event.

6.3.1 Hürriyet: The Headline Implied Support for the Peace Process

Figure 28: Hürriyet's front page, 26 April 2013

Hürriyet used the "peace process" frame and informed its readers that PKK cadres approved Abdullah Öcalan's withdrawal request. Referring to the PKK headquarters in Mount Qandil in the Kurdish Autonomous Region in Northern Iraq, Hürriyet formulated its headline as follows: "Qandil is also ok." "We are withdrawing on May 8th with arms," the deck said. The lead gave voice to Murat Karayılan who declared that "the PKK members would start to withdraw gradually in an armed manner from May 8th onwards." The lead informed that the destination of the withdrawal was Northern Iraq. Karayılan was reported as asking "the administration of Northern Iraq to show understanding for them". The lead highlighted Karayılan's following words:

> In case of an operation it will stop [Subhead]
> We'll leave using the same way we entered. In case of an operation or bombardment targeting our withdrawing forces, the withdrawal will immediately stop and [our forces] will use the right to retaliation.
>
> Freedom to everyone including Apo [Subhead]
> Constitutional reform should be done. In the process where everyone, including Leader Apo will be free, the guns will be totally deactivated. For the resolution of the Kurdish question countries like the US and Russia as well as the European Union should give support. ("Kandil de Tamam," 2013).

Hürriyet used a small photograph for this news story, which showed a crowd of people at the PKK headquarters. The caption informed the readers that the PKK's announcement, which was done in a tent pitched in Mount Qandil, was covered by approximately 100 journalists. The title of the caption said: "A large group of people in Qandil."

In a news box below the photograph, Hürriyet gave the information that the National Security Council "considered additional measures for the efforts to be persistent."

Hürriyet applied a "peace process" frame in its coverage. The headline of the news story expressed support for the process, giving the underlying message that the peace process was going well. The mainstream newspaper highlighted the PKK's acting leader Karayılan's announcement with a neutral discourse, refraining from any commentary expressions on the event. Hürriyet also refrained from using negative depictions of the PKK, and its members.

6.3.2 Cumhuriyet: A Cautious Stance towards the Peace Process

Figure 29: Cumhuriyet's front page, 26 April 2013

News about the PKK's withdrawal announcement constituted the headline story of Cumhuriyet on 26 April 2013. The headline was as follows: "Qandil's plan is with arms". The deckhead of the story gave the information that the withdrawal was to start on May 8th, and that there would be "no farewell to arms unless a new constitution is made, and Öcalan is released".

The lead of the story summarized the topic in the following way:

> A 3-stage plan (Subhead)
> PKK executives stated that, parallel to the negotiations between the government and İmralı, the withdrawal would start gradually and without the cessation of arms. Murat Karayılan, who pointed out that they would "retaliate in case of an attack", asked for the monitoring of the withdrawal by independent committees and for the summoning of conferences in Northern Iraq, Turkey and Europe.

> He listed the conditions (Subhead)
> … Karayılan laid down the conditions for the second phase as the "new constitution" and "the termination of all special warfare structures such as village guards and special forces." Karayılan stated that the cessation of arms will come to the agenda after the "release of everyone including Öcalan". ("Kandil'in Planı Silahlı," 2013)

A sidebar on the front page of Cumhuriyet cited political parties, without giving the names of the cited sources. The first party represented in the sidebar was the oppositional Republican People's Party (CHP), which voiced discontent about the PKK's announcement in the following way: "What was expected has become true. Qandil drew the road map as if it is an authority. We want peace but we cannot tolerate this. Disarmament is essential." The second party given voice in the sidebar was the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), which said that "With government's policies, which have reached the point of betrayal, the terror organization has been made equal to the state. Once they are free, they will put us in prison." The ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) was the last party which was cited: "The work

in progress is right. From now on, what will be talked about will be the holding of each other's friendly hands and not guns."

There were two news announcements at the bottom of the news story, which said the following: "Difference in discourse between AKP and Qandil" and "The US 'applauded'; the EU is 'content'"

Cumhuriyet published a small photograph from the press conference, which was organized by the PKK at its headquarters in Mount Qandil. The photograph was served by the state news agency Anadolu Ajansı.

In its coverage of the PKK's withdrawal announcement Cumhuriyet used the "peace process" frame, yet displayed a cautious approach to the peace process, which was in the similar vein with its news discourse regarding the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan's Newroz message. The newspaper refrained from calling the PKK as a terror organization, and used the expression "PKK executives" for Murat Karayılan and other top PKK representatives. However, it was noteworthy that the newspaper named the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan as "İmralı", referring to the prison island where he stays. In Cumhuriyet's discourse, this expression connoted a critical and cynical approach to the peace process. The sequence of cited sources also reflected the newspaper's stance towards the peace process. The first cited source was the Kemalist-social democrat Republican People's Party (CHP), which Cumhuriyet is known to be close to. CHP voiced discontent about the PKK's announcement for it represented the armed organization as an "authority", which was capable of drawing its road map for peace. Discontent of a similar vein was also apparent in the discourse of the nationalist MHP, which interpreted the event as the rise of the PKK

to an "equal status with the state", and voiced concern about it. The ruling party AKP was quoted as the third in the sequence and it was content about the withdrawal announcement. It can be argued that the sequence of the citation reflected Cumhuriyet's stance towards the government as well as the peace process, which was possibly seen as the government's political enterprise. The broadsheet with its claim on objectivity approached the event from a point of impartiality; but the sequences of the cited sources entailed clues about the newspaper's stance towards the government and the peace process.

6.3.3 Habertürk: Saluting Prime Minister Erdoğan for His "Courage" To "End the Terror"

Figure 30: Habertürk's front page, 26 April 2013

In its coverage about the PKK's withdrawal announcement, Habertürk praised then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan for the success of the peace process. "His courage finished terror," the headline said. The deck of the news story presented the withdrawal announcement as an "unconditional withdrawal". Next to the headline was a photograph of Erdoğan. The lead of the news story said that "The most important factor in the ending of terror was Prime Minister Erdoğan's courage and insistence. He made the state extend its hand to those who want to return from the dead end road." The lead was as follows:

> They saw the dead end (Subhead)
> The leader of the terror organization Öcalan knew that he could never defeat the Turkish Army. He [also] knew the determination of Turkey. He wanted a hand to be extended to him and wanted to leave this dead end road by holding on to this hand.
>
> The result of courage (Subhead)
> Prime Minister Erdoğan has taken a major political risk and made use of it. He made the state offer its hand to those who realized that one could not get to anywhere through terror. The ending of the terror is the result of this persistence and courage ("Cesareti Terörü Bitirdi," 2013).

Habertürk applied both "peace process" and "terrorism" frames in its coverage of the event. The problem was identified as "terrorism" and the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan was portrayed as the "leader of the terror organization", who had come to realize that he could never defeat the "Turkish Army" (army written with a capital letter expressing reverence), and who wanted mercy. The whole peace process was depicted as the success of a persistent and courageous leader, who had taken "a major political risk", and had the "state extend a hand" to the weaker party to "end the terror". The mainstream newspaper concluded that the terror had ended as the result of Erdoğan's "persistence and courage". Habertürk's coverage of Abdullah Öcalan's Newroz message entailed signs of a pro-government approach. In the

coverage of the second case, the PKK's withdrawal announcement, this approach was more evident.

The second headline used in the news cluster about the PKK's announcement informed the readers about the withdrawal process. "Three-step process for a complete solution," the headline said, and the short text was as follows:

> Karayılan explained the three-step process in the following way: "The first phase is withdrawal. The second phase is a constitutional reform for Kurds, [and] the abolishment of the village guard system. Finally, the cessation of arms [will come] when everyone including Apo is free" (Habertürk "Tam Çözüm için Üç Aşamalı Süreç," 2013).

Habertürk used a larger photograph from the PKK's press conference compared to Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet. The photograph showed three top PKK executives, Murat Karayılan, Hacer Zagros, and Zeki Şengali in front of a multitude of microphones. Karayılan's smiling face was noteworthy in the photograph.

The third news story was placed under the photograph, the headline of which said the following: "Now, a new era has been entered." The lead of the story quoted Karayılan saying that "the PKK members in Turkey would start withdrawing in groups." "In case of an operation or bombardment targeting the withdrawing PKK members, the withdrawal will stop," Karayılan said, and asked for the support of the US, the EU and Russia. The lead also informed the readers about Karayılan's proposal that independent committees should monitor the process.

On left to this story was a news box which gave the "balance sheet" of 30 years of conflict: "7 thousand 918 martyrs; 5 thousand 557 civilian martyrs; 22 thousand 101 dead PKK members. Total 35 thousand 576." How Habertürk classified the

casualties is worth mentioning. The mainstream newspaper differentiated between "martyrs", "civilian martyrs" and "dead PKK members", which pointed to an "us" versus "them" dichotomy.

Finally, the newspaper found a quarrel between two deputies in the parliament newsworthy. In a sidebar, at the bottom of the news cluster, the readers were informed that CHP deputy Tarhan and BDP deputy Sakık had a quarrel.

In sum, Habertürk used "peace process" and "terrorism" frames in its coverage of the event, and was openly pro-governnment in its coverage, which hailed then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan for "ending the terror" with his "courage and insistence". The newspaper depicted the event as a positive development, which was also supported by its visual material, namely a photograph showing the three PKK executives with smiling faces. Habertürk named the PKK as a "terror organization" and Öcalan as "the leader of the terror organization."

6.3.4 Milliyet: A "Peace Process" Frame

Figure 31: Milliyet's front page, 26 April 2013

Milliyet framed the PKK's withdrawal announcement within the "peace process" frame. The headline of the newspaper on 26 April 2013 was as follows: "On May 8th outside the border." The deck informed the readers that "the most important stage in the process was reached" and that the "PKK announced that it would withdraw in 12 days." The lead of the news story was as follows:

> At the historical press conference in Qandil, the PKK announced its own calendar. Karayılan said that they would start withdrawing on May 8th, yet the cessation of arms was out of question for the time being ("8 Mayıs'ta Sınır Dışına," 2013).

Noting that more than 100 local and international journalists attended the press conference, the lead quoted Karayılan's following expression: "This is not easy for us; it is a historical decision. But we have taken this decision for peace." The text continued in the following way:

> … Karayılan announced that the PKK members would pass to Northern Iraq 'in conflict avoidant ways', from the routes they had come.

> 'Even wolves would be obstacles' (Subhead)
> Karayılan, who said that a three-stage process was being gone through, pointed out that in the first phase Abdullah Öcalan did his bit; the second phase would be the new constitution, and the disarmament would be in the final phase. Karayılan defended the armed withdrawal of the PKK members with the following words: "How can people withdraw without guns in the mountains? Even wolves would be obstacles" ("8 Mayıs'ta Sınır Dışına," 2013).

Milliyet used two photographs with this news story. The larger photograph was from the press conference, which showed a crowd of journalists in front of the PKK executives. The smaller one was of Milliyet correspondent Aslı Aydıntaşbaş, who was depicted in between two female PKK guerrillas. The caption gave the information that the press conference had started five hours late due to Murat Karayılan's delay, and that PKK members had examined everyone very carefully.

Milliyet published a second story related to the PKK's announcement on its front page. The story, which was on the National Security Council's (MGK) announcement, had the following headline: "Process compliant announcement from the MGK." The lead reported that at the end of the MGK meeting it was announced that "the measures to be taken for the efforts to provide a permanent result were evaluated."

Milliyet used the "peace process" frame in its coverage of the PKK announcement, and quoted Karayılan as saying that it was a "historical decision". The mainstream newspaper had a positive approach to the peace process, and refrained from using the "terrorism" frame.

6.3.5 Sabah: The Withdrawal Didn't Make the Headline

Figure 32: Sabah's front page, 26 April 2013

Sabah published the PKK's announcement as the second story on its front page. The story, which was framed within the "peace process" frame, had the following headline: "PKK is withdrawing on May 8th." The lead quoted "Qandil" as saying "The gateway to democratic politics instead of guns has been half-opened". The lead summarized what was happening in three bullet points:

1. The withdrawal from the territory of Turkey to Northern Iraq will be gradual and will be completed as soon as possible.
2. The ceasefire declared by the PKK on March 23 will also continue during the withdrawal process, and guns will not be used.
3. The withdrawal process will be monitored by "independent committees" and any misconduct will be interfered. ("PKK, 8 Mayıs'ta Çekiliyor," 2013)

Sabah used two photographs with this news story, one showing the mountains, and the other one the participants at the press conference in Qandil. At the bottom of the page was a political cartoon depicting Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan rolling out the red carpet for the leaving PKK. The cartoon said "Go quickly!"

Figure 33: Political cartoon by Salih Memecan, Sabah, 26 April 2013, p.1

Sabah's coverage was within the "peace process" frame, and the pro-government newspaper did not refer to any other frames in its coverage. The armed organization was simply referred to as "PKK" without any further depiction. It was noteworthy

that the PKK executive Murat Karayılan, who made the announcement, was not quoted on the front page of the newspaper, and Karayılan's proposal that the withdrawal process should be monitored by independent committees was given as a fact.

Sabah's approach to the PKK's announcement was neutral; however the newspaper gave its message on the peace process with its headline story entitled 'Peace is conquest, not war'. The headline was a quotation from the Constitutional Court President Haşim Kılıç's speech at the 51st anniversary of the court. In the lead, Kılıç was further cited saying "In all religions and beliefs there are common rules, which define peace as conquest and not war." Sabah's headline story quoted Kılıç's following words in the text:

> Heart's ways should be opened (Subhead)
> We can reach an order of peace easier with the opening of heart's ways then with written texts. Even if the tension rises, the patience of our people for events, its social maturity and its commitment to democratic values reduces our concerns about future.
>
> Hate speech should be abondened (Subhead)
> Freedom of speech and association cannot be the source of hate speech which separates society. Hate speech, unfortunately, prevents us to come together and establish dialogue. Through giving less space for these hate speeches we must have the opportunity to talk about peaceful resolutions ("Savaş Değil, Barış Fetihtir", 2013).

Sabah's headline indicated support for the peace process, yet, just as in Case 1, the pro-government newspaper defined peace as "victory", or more specifically in this case, as "conquest".

6.3.6 Sözcü: Provocative Anti-Peace Process Coverage

Figure 34: Sözcü's front page, 26 April 2013

Sözcü allocated its whole front page to the PKK's withdrawal announcement. The nationalist newspaper's coverage was mainly framed within the "terrorism" frame. The banner of the newspaper said "Only Sözcü wasn't there". Below the banner was a large photograph from the press conference in Qandil, showing PKK executives Murat Karayılan, Hacer Zagros and Zeki Şengali in front of the microphones. Each of these three executives was introduced in the caption with the following wording: "Woman terrorist" Hacer Zagros, "Head of terrorists" Murat Karayılan, and "Terrorist" Zeki Şengali. At background of the photograph there was a poster of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan. The newspaper placed a caption box on that poster which said the following: "The poster of Abdullah Öcalan, the head of terrorists who is in İmralı." The lead of the news story criticised the journalists who attended the press conference in a derogatory way: "All the media- natives, foreigners, pro-government ones and the claque of the PKK- ran to the lair of the terrorists in Qandil and live broadcasted [from there]." The lead continued in a provocative way:

> Head of terrorists Murat Karayılan was going to make an announcement yesterday about the so-called withdrawal of the bloody organisation. 160 journalists flocked to Qandil, the hotbed of terror, in order to watch the PKK show. Only SÖZCÜ did not go to the heads of terrorists who are the killers of our 30 thousand children. The ones who went were made to wait in a village in Qandil. Their telephones were seized. They were searched one by one. It was shameful. No statement was made for hours. Terrorists used the unmanned aerial vehicles in the region as an excuse and showed reluctance in appearing before the press. At the press conference, they engaged in propaganda for the bloody organisation ("Bir Tek Sözcü Yoktu," 2013).

The second headline on the page was as follows: "Big shock for Tayyip! There is no cessation of arms!" The deckhead of the story said that the "bloody terror organisation announced to the world that it would withdraw on May 8th." The lead was informing the readers that "as opposed to what the Prime Minister had said, 800 terrorists were going to withdraw gradually with arms." "The heads of terrorists in

215

Qandil" hadn't listened to any of what Prime Minister Erdoğan had said, and had announced their own calendar for withdrawal.

The deckhead of the third story asked the question of "what would the withdrawing PKK members do". The headline gave the answer to this question: "They will be trained in Qandil, [and] fight against Esad in Syria!.." The lead of the story said that "40 thousand soldiers from the 170 thousand stationed in the Southeast had been withdrawn". As opposed to this number, "only 800 PKK terrorists" were going to withdraw. "The terrorists, who were going to withdraw gradually, would continue their political and military training in the camps in Northern Iraq, [and] some of them would go to Syria and join the war."

The forth news story was about Karayılan's announcement. In the lead of the story Sözcü wrote that "the head of terrorists Murat Karayılan, who had been threatening Turkey about the withdrawal," had announced six points. Sözcü reported three of them:

1. If the Turkish Armed Forces attack the withdrawing ones, the withdrawal will stop, and retaliation will follow.
2. While the withdrawal continues, the Turkish state should not incite!..
3. Let the process continue, change the constitution, and let Öcalan be free… ("Karayılan'dan küstah tehdit!" 2013)

In the headline of the story, the PKK executive's words were interpreted by Sözcü as an "insolent threat." Next to this news story was a sidebar, which had a cynical language. "Apo show during lunch," the title of the sidebar said. The story gave the following information: "Terrorists offered food to the 160 journalists who came to Qandil. They all ate it with appetite. Hence, the journalists who went from Turkey ate the bread of the bloody-handed terrorists." The menu of the lunch was given in a

216

box placed next to the lead: "Fried chicken, rice with vegetables, season salad, various beverages, and plenty of bread." Sözcü also used a photograph from the lunch, the caption of which was as follows:

> They sat at the lunch table of the PKK. This food didn't stick in their throats. If the government sits at the negotiation table with Apo, then the journalists will sit at the lunch table with heads of terrorists. This was also experienced in Qandil ("Bu Yemek Boğazlarından Geçti," 2013).

Another photograph above this one showed the journalists lining in front of a PKK guerrilla, who was searching them. "The press's shame photo," the caption head said. The text depicted the journalists who went to Qandil as "being surrendered to the armed PKK members."

Sözcü made extensive use of the "terrorism" frame, and blamed the journalists for engaging in a shameful act by attending the conference in the PKK's headquarter in Qandil, which was depicted in a dehumanizing way as the organisation's "lair". The nationalist newspaper's coverage was overtly against the peace process.

6.3.7 Taraf: "We Have Seen Today, Thank Goodness"

Figure 35: Taraf's front page, 26 April 2013

Taraf welcomed the PKK's withdrawal announcement on its front page with the following banner: "We have seen today, thank goodness", and informed its readers that the PKK "officially" announced that it would withdraw on May 8th. The newspaper's pro-peace stance was reflected in the lead:

> The most critical step of the resolution process that will end the dark period which has cost the lives of 40 thousand of our people in the last 30 years was taken yesterday. At the press conference in Qandil, Murat Karayılan said "We are withdrawing from May 8th onwards" ("Bugünleri De Gördük, Çok Şükür," 2013).

The first subhead defined the PKK's announcement as a "historical announcement". The text which followed said that the most critical step in the resolution process had been gone through. Taraf wrote that the government had taken a great risk by launching the resolution process. The second subhead said "We are withdrawing to Northern Iraq". However, what was noteworthy in Taraf's coverage was that in the text that followed the subhead, Northern Iraq was referred to as "South Kurdistan," pointing to the PKK's discourse which implies that Turkey's south-eastern region is "North Kurdistan". The third subhead said that "The parties should be cautious", and gave the information that "the withdrawal would be gradual in the form of groups and from the routes used by the PKK." If the army attacked during the withdrawal, it would be retaliated. The lead also said that the PKK demanded the monitoring of the process by independent committees.

Like Sözcü, Taraf also used a photograph of the three PKK executives, Murat Karayılan, Hacer Zagros and Zeki Şengali standing in front of microphones. In this photograph the three PKK executives were smiling. As opposed to Sözcü, which depicted them as "terrorists", Taraf defined them in the caption with the titles they used within the organisation. The caption also gave the information that the press

conference was covered by many international media institutions, such as Reuters, AFP, BBC and Al Jazeera, as well as by important local news agencies such as Anatolian News Agency, DHA and Cihan.

In the space next to the newspaper's logo was a sidebar, which had the following title: "A historical day in Qandil". Written in a "human interest" frame, the sidebar contained details from the day, such as how the journalists first gathered in front of the municipality of Qandil, how they were searched before entering the press conference site, how they were asked to turn off their mobile phones during the conference, and how Karayılan began his speech by thanking Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams who wrote Öcalan's biography for TIME 100 list. With this sidebar, Taraf used a small photograph from the press conference.

The second news story on the front page was about the second phase of the peace process which would follow the withdrawal. "It is time for equal citizenship," the headline of the news story said. The lead gave space to Murat Karayılan's words about the aftermath of withdrawal process:

> Karayılan said that the time will come for the second phase after the withdrawal: Especially, the making of a constitution which would provide equality of the Kurdish people, is vital.

> It is the state's turn to take a step (Subhead)
> Karayılan stated that the second phase is more related to the state's obligations and said that "With the constitutional reforms the resolution conditions for the Kurdish question will be born."

> A constitution which ends denial (Subhead)
> Karayılan said that making of a new constitution which would end the denial of the Kurdish people and guarantee the freedom of all identities, was vital at this stage.

> Third phase is normalisation (Subhead)
> The third phase will be "normalisation." Karayılan defined this as the phase when the guerrilla will be disarmed and everyone including Apo will be free ("Sıra Eşit Vatandaşlıkta," 2013).

A sidebar next to this story gave the information on how the press conference was covered by international news agencies. The title was as follows: "He called on the world from Qandil." The short text of the sidebar informed the readers on how the news agencies had framed the event in the following way:

> Milestone in the war (Subhead)
> Reuters: Kurdish militants, who have been fighting for autonomy in Turkey for decades, will start withdrawing to Iraq in two weeks.
>
> He asked for sensitivity from the TSK [Turkish Armed Forces] (Subhead)
> AP: Karayılan underlined that the warriors will not withdraw unarmed. AFP: Murat Karayılan asked for sensitivity regarding the withdrawal from the TSK ("Kandil'den Dünyaya Seslendi," 2013).

Taraf used a small photograph from Qandil with this sidebar, which showed a PKK guerrilla waving hand to journalists, who were carried at the back of station wagons.

Another photograph used on the front page showed then Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, President Abdullah Gül and President of the Constitutional Court Haşim Kılıç. The caption, the title of which said "Warning for Hate Speech," gave voice to the Constitutional Court President Kılıç who criticised the Nationalist Movement Party leader Devlet Bahçeli by saying that "Freedom of expression and freedom of association cannot be the source for hate speeches. Violent expressions and racist approaches cannot take advantage of the protection of freedom of speech".

In its coverage of the PKK's announcement, Taraf also gave voice to seven members of the Wise People Commission. In the text, Taraf's then Editor-in-Chief

Oral Çalışlar, who was also a member of the commission, was reported saying that "Turkey reached the maturity to solve the Kurdish question without arms. The government, BDP and PKK made an important move." Another commission member Erol Göka said that "there would be no trouble during the withdrawal," while Cemal Uşşak was content that "we were progressing in the direction that our society had longed for years." Uşşak wished the process had started earlier. Muhsin Kızılkaya was also optimistic that there would no problems. He said that the requirements of the agreement between Öcalan and the state were being fulfilled one by one, and that no problem seemed to be arising. Şükrü Karatepe stressed the importance of mutual trust, and Tarhan Erdem thought that the withdrawal operation was based on the political agreement between both parties. "The political decision is a right decision," Erdem said. Ahmet Faruk Ünsal pointed out that "the resolution process found great acceptance in the society" and thought that "there would be no problem during the withdrawal". Finally, Ahmet Taşgetiren said that the withdrawal had already started.

The main frame applied by Taraf newspaper was the "peace process" frame. Taraf also referred to the "human interest" frame, but with less salience. The newspaper accentuated in its coverage that the PKK's announcement was "historical", comprising a "milestone in the war". The newspaper's pro-peace stance was reflected in the headline: "We have seen today, thank goodness." It was noteworthy that Taraf referred to the PKK executives with their titles used within the organization. For example, Murat Karayılan was referred to as the Chairperson of KCK [Koma Civakên Kurdistan (Group of Communities in Kurdistan)]. In addition, the newspaper allocated space for PKK's demands and also gave voice to several

members of the Wise People Commission, and the President of the Constitutional Court, who criticised the nationalist party leader for his hate speech. The newspaper's visual discourse also supported the peace process. The photographs of the smiling PKK executives, and the PKK guerrilla waving at journalists supported this pro-peace stance. It can be argued that, just like in Case 1, Taraf's coverage was the closest to peace journalism.

6.3.8 Türkiye: A "Peace Process" Frame, With "Peace" Being Depicted As "Victory"

Figure 36: Türkiye's front page, 26 April 2013

The pro-government conservative daily Türkiye applied the "peace process" frame in its coverage, but "peace" was referred to as "victory". The newspaper used Atatürk's famous quote, "As they have come, so they will go" in its headline. The founder of the Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is quoted saying this phrase in response to the foreign occupation of Istanbul at the end of World War I. Türkiye used this phrase to denote the PKK's withdrawal announcement. The exclamation mark at the end of it was noteworthy. The deckhead of the news story was formulated in a more direct manner: "The withdrawal will start on May 8th." The headline and the deck together connoted the message that the PKK's withdrawal was the victory of the state. The lead was as follows:

> Qandil: We will complete the withdrawal from the routes we have used all along.
>
> First withdrawal, then cessation of arms (Subhead)
> The date has become clear with Qandil's announcement, which has come after Öcalan's call in Newroz to "withdraw beyond the border". PKK's Qandil representative Murat Karayılan said that the withdrawal was to start on June 8th [a mistake by the newspaper] and would be completed as soon as possible. PKK will go to N. Iraq in groups from the routes they use for entering and leaving Turkey. Qandil announced that the withdrawal will be finished in the first phase, and the cessation of arms will be the next step. ("Geldikleri Gibi Gidecekler!" 2013).

As opposed to Sözcü, which announced with big font size on its front page that there the PKK would not leave arms, and that it was the failure of government, Türkiye asserted that the cessation of arms would follow the withdrawal. The pro-government conservative daily Türkiye's subhead "First withdrawal, then cessation of arms" gave the implicit message that the process was proceeding in line with the government's demands.

A sidebar entitled "Reactions", which was placed next to the lead story, gave voice to some Turkish political figures. The first political figure was the ruling party AKP's deputy Burhan Kuzu. Kuzu, who was the president of the Constitution Commission in the parliament, asked everyone to support this process. "The criticism is unwarranted. The important thing is to stop the blood," Kuzu said. The second quoted political figure was the main oppositional party CHP's President Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu. Regarding the PKK's decision of armed withdrawal, Kılıçdaroğlu was reported as saying that "what was expected did happen." The sidebar said that CHP's Central Executive Committee was of the opinion that the withdrawal should be unarmed. The last political figure quoted in the sidebar was the Nationalist Movement Party leader Devlet Bahçeli, who said that "the withdrawal was an insidious tactic of the organisation aimed at gaining time."

Finally, at the bottom of the sidebar was a news box which informed the readers that the National Security Council had modified its language in its latest report for the sake of the Resolution Process.

Türkiye used no photographs with its lead story, and gave no space to the PKK's demands which were announced by Murat Karayılan.

6.3.9 Yeni Şafak: "The Game Is Over"

Figure 37: Yeni Şafak's front page, 26 April 2013

The conservative pro-government daily Yeni Şafak announced the PKK's withdrawal announcement with the following banner: "The game is over." The lead of the story said that "the PKK terror came to the end of the bloody game" and gave the information that the decision to withdraw across the border, which was taken within the framework of the resolution process, was announced in Qandil. "The PKK members in Turkey were to leave the country gradually as soon as possible from May8th onwards and from the routes they used for coming." Yeni Şafak applied the "peace process" frame as its main frame, but also made reference to the "terrorism" frame by representing the armed conflict as a "bloody game" of the "PKK terror."

The lead further informed that the KCK Executive Council Chairperson Murat Karayılan said that they "expected understanding from the Northern Iraq administration during the withdrawal of the PKK members." The second phase would be passed through with the withdrawal, and the resolution process would be completed with the third step, which Karayılan defined as the "normalization". "Karayılan claimed that the arms will be laid down after this phase," the lead said.

In the lead of the headline story, Yeni Şafak also referred to the international news agencies, which informed their subscribers about the PKK's decision as "news flash". The subsection of the lead regarding the international news agencies was as follows:

> An important milestone (Subhead)
> The world's leading news institutions passed the decision as "flash news" to their subscribers. Reuters gave the development with the following headline: "PKK members will withdraw from Turkish territory from May 8th onwards." AP commented as "The decision is an important milestone in the name to finish the movement which cost the lives of ten thousands of people." ("Oyun Bitti," 2013).

The attendance of the international news institutions to the press conference in Qandil was further accentuated in the caption of the photograph used with the news story. The caption head of the photograph from the press conference said that there was no live broadcasting from the conference. The text that followed informed that more than 50 news institutions including Reuters, AFP, Al Jazeera, BBC and the Anatolian News Agency had covered the press conference. The caption which was formulated in a "human interest" frame, said that the journalists had "chicken, rice, salad and beverages for lunch", and that the "PKK members did not allow live broadcast vehicles to enter the area" and "mobile phones were not taken to the place where the announcement was made."

The sidebar used with the news story pointed to the National Security Council (MGK) decision that that supported the resolution process. "The resolution is in the MGK report" the title of the sidebar said. The readers were informed that the National Security Council for the first time evaluated the resolution process in its report, and made a slight modification in its discourse. Previously, the council used the term "combatting terrorism", which referred to the PKK, and in its latest report, the language had changed from "combatting terrorism" to "combatting all terror organisations."

There were two news boxes below the sidebar. The first one was entitled "35 thousand lives in 30 years," said that 35 thousand people including "21 thousand organisation members" had died in PKK attacks", which began in 1984. "The cost of the terror to the country reached 300 million dollars," the text said. Here again, the problem was defined as "terrorism" and the blame of the armed conflict was put solely on the PKK's shoulders.

The second news box reflected the reactions of the US and EU. The title of the news box was as follows: "White House: We are applauding". The short text of the news box said that "the withdrawal decision was echoed in the US and the EU. White House said 'We are applauding the peaceful resolution efforts,' while the EU Commission referred to the development as a "new step for peace and prosperity".

6.3.10 Yeniçağ: An Anti-Peace Process Stance Based On "Terrorism" And "Fear of Division" Frames

Figure 38: Yeniçağ's front page, 26 April 2013

Yeniçağ applied "terrorism" frame as the main frame in its coverage of the PKK's withdrawal announcement. The nationalist newspaper also made use of the "fear of division" frame, and defined the PKK as the "separatist terror organisation." It dehumanized the "other", in that it referred to the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan as a "baby killer", and the PKK executives Murat Karayılan, Hacer Zagros and Zeki Şengali, who made the withdrawal announcement, as the "ringleaders" of the organisation. Just like the other nationalist newspaper Sözcü, Yeniçağ referred to the PKK headquarter in Qandil as the "lair" of the organisation.

The withdrawal announcement itself did not make the headline; rather, the newspaper highlighted the oppositional voices within the PKK, who were critical of the resolution process. The headline of the newspaper was as follows: "The organisation is in a state of ferment: Not peace, but pawn process". The lead was written in the following way:

> Reactions are arising from within the organisation to the bargaining the government conducts with Abdullah Öcalan, the 'baby killer' in İmralı: PKK, which will be removed from Turkey, will be used against Syria and Iran. ("Örgüt Kaynıyor: Barış Değil, Piyonluk Süreci," 2013)

Continuingly, the lead claimed that the oppositional voices within the organisation criticised the "ringleader of the terror organisation" Abdullah Öcalan's "*Misak-ı Milli*" (National Oath) approach and the "brotherhood of peoples" under the Islamic umbrella thesis. The text continued in the following way:

> Working for building the Turkish-Kurdish brotherhood is in vain. Kurdish participation in the War of Independence is almost non-existent. Alliance with the Turkish Republic means the continuation of colonialism. If Kurdistan was a British or French colony, we would have been free by now. ("Örgüt Kaynıyor: Barış Değil, Piyonluk Süreci," 2013)

The nationalist newspaper quoted three oppositional figures, Zülküf Azev, Nejdet Buldan, and Dursun Ali Küçük. Zülküf Azev is reported as writing in a news site close to the organisation that "the main reason of the peace-negotiation-disarmament process is the Turkish Republic's failure in the Middle East as a result of its exaggeration of its power. Kurds to provide support for the project is political suicide. The emerging Kurdish power in Western Kurdistan and the risk of its merging with South Kurdistan and reaching the Mediterranean is the Turkish state's biggest nightmare scenario" ("Örgüt Kaynıyor: Barış Değil, Piyonluk Süreci," 2013). The mayor of Hakkari's Yüksekova district Nejdet Buldan was quoted asking the following question: "Why Öcalan, why now?" The answer given to this question was the following: "The West of Kurdistan has rebelled. According to the results from there, the East will stand up as well. In the North there is the Kurdish struggle. Tayyip wants to become 'Sultan'; local and parliamentary elections are coming up. The state of the Turks which is surrounded by the Kurds needs to find an exit point" ("Örgüt Kaynıyor: Barış Değil, Piyonluk Süreci," 2013). Finally, Dursun Ali Küçük, who is depicted by the newspaper as being one of closest "organisation members" to Öcalan, was reported as reacting to the process with the following words: "*Misak-ı Milli* (National Oath) means the annexation of Kirkuk and Mosul alongside the Kurdish federation, as well as a part of Syria and Western Kurdistan to Turkey. If there was no US intervention in Iraq, there would be no Kurdistan federation" ("Örgüt Kaynıyor: Barış Değil, Piyonluk Süreci," 2013).

Yeniçağ newspaper used a photograph of the three PKK executives, Murat Karayılan, Hacer Zagros and Zeki Şengali in front of the microphones. The caption

underneath the photograph, which showed the PKK executives with smiling faces, was as follows:

> The government's negotiations partners (Caption head)
> The executives of the separatist terror organisation hosted the press in their lair in Northern Iraq and did not miss the opportunity for making a show which was presented to them. PKK's ringleaders in Qandil, Murat Karayılan, Hacer Zagros and Zeki Şengali made the announcement together ("İktidarın Müzakere Ortakları," 2013).

The discourse of the "opportunity for a show" was also apparent in the headline of the second news story, which was placed underneath the photograph. "Qandil gang did not miss the opportunity for a show," its title said. The news story framed the PKK's withdrawal announcement as a "threat". The subhead of the lead was as follows: "He threatened: TSK [Turkish Armed Forces] will not conduct any operation". In the text, Murat Karayılan, who was depicted as the "ringleader of the terror organisation in Northern Iraq", was reported announcing that "the PKK terrorists would start gradually withdrawing from Turkey from May 8th onwards, and that, in case of an operation of the Turkish Armed Forces, they would engage in combat and stop the passing beyond the borders" (Yeniçağ, "Kandil çetesi, şov fırsatını kaçırmadı", 26 April 2013). The lead continued in the following way:

> All PKK members including Apo will be released (Subhead)
> Karayılan, who reminded that, according to the negotiations, the Kurdish identity should be constitutionally recognized upon the completion of withdrawal process, listed the other promises made to them as follows: The process will be supervised by independent committees, and all PKK members including Apo will be released. Barzani will officially recognize our existence in Northern Iraq ("Kandil Çetesi, Şov Fırsatını Kaçırmadı," 2013).

In the news story, the PKK was depicted as a threatening organisation, and the PKK's demands were given as promises by the government. Finally, Yeniçağ gave space to the oppositional voices from the Turkish parliament. The sidebar below the second story said that "Karayılan's threatening announcement from Qandil raised the

tension". The first quote from the parliament belonged to the Nationalist Movement Party leader Devlet Bahçeli, who referred to the withdrawal decision as "nothing more than a sly and cunning tactical step in order to gain time" (Yeniçağ, "Elebaşına tepki çığ gibi…", 26 April 2013). The same party's Vice-President Faruk Bal was quoted as saying "shame on those what made this to Turkey", whereas the Republican People's Party's (CHP) Parliamentary Group Vice President Muharrem İnce claimed that the PKK was threatening. Making a language game, Mehmet Cemal Öztaylan, a deputy from the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), was referring to Karayılan as a "snake", whereas the retired general Edip Başer was pointing out that it would be a rather "childish" to expect that the PKK would leave their arms and go. "They won't go unreciprocated," the retired general said.

In sum, Yeniçağ framed the PKK's withdrawal within "terrorism" and "fear of division" frames. The nationalist newspaper stood against the resolution process with its news discourse. The headline story and the second story gave the underlining message that the PKK and its leader Öcalan, who was depicted as the "baby killer", were not sincere in their approaches, and that in reality they had separatist intentions, which sought the unity of great Kurdistan. The frequent naming of the PKK as a "separatist terror organisation" pointed to the "terrorism" and "fear of division" frames. All the voices given space in the coverage were against the withdrawal decision and the resolution process in general. Compared to its coverage on Öcalan's Newroz message, Yeniçağ's news discourse regarding the PKK's withdrawal announcement was less emotionally provocative, yet still the newspaper took an overtly anti-resolution process stance.

6.3.11 Zaman: The "Peace-Process" Frame as the Dominant Frame

Figure 39: Zaman's front page, 26 April 2013

Zaman newspaper applied the "peace process" frame in its coverage of the event. The headline of the newspaper on the consecutive day of the PKK's withdrawal announcement was as follows: "The withdrawal will be gradual; the cessation of arm is conditional." The newspaper referred to the PKK members as "terrorists" in the lead, however, in the news body, the PKK members were referred to as "militants". Zaman's correspondent Serkan Sağlam reported from the press conference in Qandil. The lead of the news story gave the following information:

> The calendar of the withdrawal across the border which constitutes the first phase of the resolution process has become clear. KCK Executive Council Chairperson Murat Karayılan, who announced that the withdrawal across the border will start from May 8th onwards, did not give an exact date on when the withdrawal will finish. Öcalan's release was set as a condition for the complete cessation of arms ("Çekilme Kademeli Olacak Silah Bırakma Şarta Bağlı," 2013).

The conditions for the entire decommissioning of weapons were listed in the news body in the following way:

> In the KCK statement the following expressions were used: "Normalization process is the process of the permanence of peace, social reconciliation, equality and freedom. In parallel to the practice of this process, in which everyone including Leader Apo, will be free, entire decommissioning of weapons and disarmament of the guerrilla will be the next on the agenda."

> It was emphasized that the first phase would be completed with the withdrawal across the border. The second phase comprised legal and constitutional reforms for Turkey's democratization in the true sense. It was stated that the abandoning of special warfare structures such as village guard system and special forces, etc., and the creation of a favourable environment for the democratic civil society mentality were necessary. ("Çekilme Kademeli Olacak Silah Bırakma Şarta Bağlı," 2013).

Zaman's approach to the PKK announcement was informative. The newspaper's correspondent attended the press conference and provided information from the statement, while refraining from any emotive connotations.

Two sidebars were used with the headline story. The title of the first one informed that "200 KCK suspects were released in two months." The text gave detailed information on which courts released how many members of the organisation. It was noteworthy that KCK was referred to as a "terror organisation" in the text.

The second sidebar was on the National Security Council (MGK) report. The title of the sidebar summarized the information given in the text in the following way: "Support to the process by the MGK, and continuation of the fight against terrorism." In the body of the sidebar it was said that the National Security Council report released at the end of the council meeting had given two messages at the same time: "support for the resolution process" and "continuation of the fight against terrorism"

Zaman applied the "peace process" frame as the main frame. Although the newspaper also referred to the "terrorism" frame in its coverage, the "peace process" frame was the dominant one. The photograph of the smiling PKK executives from the press conference also accentuated this frame. In the caption it was said that "the press conference organized by Murat Karayılan in Qandil was attended by nearly 100 local and international journalists."

6.3.12 Discussion

The qualitative frame analysis of the coverage of the PKK's withdrawal announcement also supports the findings of the qualitative frame analysis Case 1 and the quantitative research. As shown in Table 10, all of the selected newspapers except the nationalist dailies Sözcü and Yeniçağ applied the "peace process" frame as the main frame in their coverage. Eight of these nine newspapers, (Hürriyet, Habertürk, Milliyet, Sabah, Taraf, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak, and Zaman) had a positive

approach towards the peace process. Only Cumhuriyet approached the event with caution. Among these supportive newspapers, Habertürk, Yeni Şafak and Zaman also applied the "terrorism" frame, which defined the PKK as a "terror organisation." The "terrorism" frame was extensively used by the nationalist dailies Sözcü and Yeni Çağ. Yeni Çağ also referred to the "fear of division" frame, warning its readers of the underlying "separatist" intentions of the PKK.

The majority of newspapers (Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Taraf, Türkiye, and Yeni Şafak) referred to the PKK only with its name without any further depiction. Habertürk and Zaman used the expression "terror organisation", whereas the nationalist dailies Sözcü and Yeni Çağ went a step ahead by calling them "bloody terror organisation" and "separatist terror organisation", respectively. Sözcü referred to the PKK executives as "woman terrorist", "head of terrorists", "heads of terrorists", whereas Yeniçağ called them "ringleaders" and "baby killer".

All newspapers gave the information that the PKK would start withdrawing gradually from 8 May 2013 onwards. An important aspect of the withdrawal, namely the information that the PKK would stop the retreat and retaliate in case of an attack by the Turkish military was overlooked by five newspapers. Four pro-government newspapers at the time, Sabah, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak and Zaman, and Milliyet did not give this information to their readers on their front page coverage.

The PKK's demands were also covered differently. Sabah, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak and Cumhuriyet did not give space to the organisation's demand for a constitutional reform. Sabah, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak, and Millliyet did not include its demand for the release of everyone including Abdullah Öcalan. The PKK's call to US, Russia and

the EU to support the process only found a space in Hürriyet's front page coverage, whereas the demand for the monitoring of the withdrawal process by independent committees was covered by only Cumhuriyet, Habertürk, Sabah, Taraf and Yeniçağ. The rest of the newspapers, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sözcü, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak and Zaman, did not give space on their front pages for this demand. Finally, the PKK's demand for the abolishment of special warfare structures such as village guards and special forces was only covered by Cumhuriyet, Habertürk and Zaman. The majority of the selected newspapers (Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Sözcü, Taraf, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak and Yeni Çağ) chose not to touch this sensitive issue in their front page coverage. News writing is a selective process, as a newspaper has a limited space. Thus, it is normal some issues will be foregrounded while others will be left out. However, regarding the coverage of the PKK's demand one thing can be surely said: The pro-government newspaper Sabah, Türkiye and Yeni Şafak chose to weed out the PKK's demand in order to make the event more acceptable for their readers.

All newspapers except Sabah cited PKK executive Murat Karayılan, who made the announcement. Only Sabah did not cite him but instead chose to refer to "Qandil" to indicate the PKK administration. The cited sources reflected the elite-oriented approach in news coverage, as most of the cited sources were elites. Apart from Karayılan, National Security Council report was covered in the news; political leaders and the Constitutional Court President were given voice. Only Taraf allocated space to members of Wise People Commission. International voices were not heard much either. Only Cumhuriyet and Yeni Şafak cited the US and the EU. The coverage of the event by the international news media was also given less space.

Only Taraf and Yeni Şafak gave space to how the event was covered by the international news media.

The qualitative frame analysis of the news coverage of the PKK's withdrawal announcement on 25 April 2013 supports the findings of the first qualitative case and the quantitative research. All the newspapers, except the nationalist dailies Sözcü and Yeniçağ, applied the "peace process" frame. Cumhuriyet approached the process with caution, it supported the idea of "peace", yet criticised the practise of the resolution process. The other seven newspapers, Hürriyet, Habertürk, Milliyet, Sabah, Taraf, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak and Zaman, supported the peace process in their coverage.

Table 13: A qualitative frame analysis of news coverage of PKK's withdrawal announcement

	FRAME(S)	HEADLINES	APPROACH TO THE PEACE PROCES	MESSAGES EXCERPTED FROM PKK ANNOUNCEMENT	NAMING OF THE PKK EXECUTIVES	NAMING OF THE PKK	VISUALS	CITED SOURCES
HÜRRİYET	Peace process	Qandil is also OK	Positive	Armed withdrawal The withdrawal will stop in case of an operation and retaliation will follow Constitutional reform should be done Freedom to everyone including Öcalan US, Russia and the EU must support the resolution process	Murat Karayılan	PKK	A photograph of the large crowd of journalists in Qandil	Murat Karayılan National Security Council
CUMHURİYET	Peace process	Qandil's plan is with arms (First story) What did the parties say? (Sidebar) Difference in discourse between AKP and Qandil (News box) The US	Cautious	Gradual withdrawal Retaliation in case of an attack Monitoring of the withdrawal process by independent committees Summoning of conferences in Northern Iraq, Turkey and Europe	İmralı (for Öcalan) PKK executives Murat Karayılan	PKK	A small photograph from the press conference	Murat Karayılan Political parties CHP, MHP and AKP US and EU

		'applauded'; the EU is 'content' (News box)		The abolition of all special warfare structures such as village guards and special forces Cessation of arms after everyone including Öcalan is released				
HABERTÜRK	Peace process Terrorism	His courage finished terror (First story) Three- step process for a complete solution (Second story) Now, a new era has been entered (Third story) Balance sheet of 30 years (News box)	Positive	Three-phased process: First phase is withdrawal; second phase is constitutional reform for Kurds and abolishment of the village guard system; final phase is the cessation of arms after the release of everyone including Apo. The withdrawal will stop in case of an operation or bombardment against the retreating PKK members Proposal of the monitoring of the process by independent committees	Terror organisation leader Öcalan Leader of Qandil Murat Karayılan Kongra-Gel Presidency Council Member Hacer Zagros KCK Executive Council Member Zeki Şengali	Terror organisation	A photograph of PKK executives Murat Karayılan, Hacer Zagros and Zeki Şengali with smiling facial expressions	Tayyip Erdoğan Murat Karayılan CHP deputy Tarhan
	Peace process	On May 8th outside the border (First story)	Positive	Withdrawal will start on May 8th	Murat Karayılan Abdullah Öcalan	PKK	A photograph from the press conference	Murat Karayılan National Security Council

MİLLİYET		What flies is not Heron but Predator (Sidebar) Process compliant announcement from the MGK [National Security Council] (Second story)		Cessation of arms is out question for the time being This is not easy for us; it is a historical decision. But we have taken this decision for peace PKK members will pass to Northern Iraq in conflict avoidant ways and from the routes they came. Three-phased process: Öcalan did his bit in the first phase; the second phase will be the new constitution, and the final phase will be disarmament			A smaller photograph showing Milliyet correspondent Aslı Aydıntaşbaş with two female guerrillas. All are smiling to cameras.	Military sources
SABAH	Peace process	'Peace is conquest not war' (First story) PKK is withdrawing on May 8th (Second story)	Positive	The gateway to democratic politics has been half-opened The withdrawal will be gradual and will be completed as soon as possible. Ceasefire will continue during the withdrawal process	Qandil	PKK	A photograph of the mountains, smaller photograph showing the crowd at the press conference A political cartoon showing Prime Minister Erdoğan rolling out a red carpet	"Qandil"

				Withdrawal process will be monitored by independent committees			for the PKK	
SÖZCÜ	Terrorism	Only Sözcü wasn't there (First story) Big shock for Tayyip! There is no cessation of arms! (Second story) They will be trained in Qandil, fight against Esad in Syria!.. (Third story) Insolent threat from Karayılan (Forth story)	Negative, provocative	Gradual withdrawal with arms on May 8th In case of an attack by the Turkish military, the withdrawal will stop and retaliation will follow During the withdrawal, Turkish state should not incite Let the process continue, change the constitution and let Öcalan be free	Woman terrorist Hacer Zagros Head of terrorists Murat Karayılan Terrorist Zeki Şengali The head of terrorists who is in İmralı Heads of terrorists	Bloody terror organisation	A large photograph of the PKK executives in front of microphones A smaller photograph of journalists lining in front of a PKK guerrilla, who is searching them A photograph from the lunch offered to journalists in Qandil	"Head of terrorists" Murat Karayılan Prime Minister Erdoğan
TARAF	Peace process Human interest	We have seen today, thank goodness (First story) It is time for equal citizenship (Second story) A historical day in Qandil (Sidebar)	Positive	Gradual withdrawal in groups from the routes used by the PKK to Northern Iraq / "South Kurdistan" starting on May8th In case of an attack by the Turkish army, there will be retaliation. PKK's demand for the	Chairperson of KCK Executive Council Murat Karayılan Member of the Presidential Council of Kongra-Gel Hacer Zagros Member of KCK Executive Member Zeki	PKK	A photograph of three PKK executives in front of microphones with smiling facial expressions A photograph of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan,	Murat Karayılan President of the Constitutional Court Haşim Kılıç Members of the Wise People Commission Oral Çalışlar, Erol Göka, Cemal Uşşak, Muhsin

		He called on the world from Qandil (Sidebar) "We have reached the maturity for unarmed resolution" "I wish the process started earlier" "The withdrawal was realized with the political decision of the sides" (Sidebar)		monitoring of the process by independent committees A new constitution, which will end the denial, provide equality for Kurdish people and guarantee the freedom of all identities, is vital It is the state's turn to take a step The third step is normalisation with the disarmament of the PKK and releasing of everyone including Öcalan	Şengali PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan		President Abdullah Gül and President of the Constitutional Court Haşim Kılıç A photograph of a PKK guerrilla waving at the passing by journalists, who were carried at the back of station wagons	Kızılkaya, Şükrü Karatepe, Tarhan Erdem, Ahmet Faruk Ünsal International news agencies Reuters and the Associated Press
TÜRKİYE	Peace process	As they have come, so they will go! Reactions (Sidebar) AK Party member Kuzu: Everyone should support the process Kılıçdaroğlu: What was expected did happen Devlet Bahçeli: The withdrawal is an insidious tactic	Positive	The withdrawal will start on May 8th and be completed from the routes used by the PKK Withdrawal is the first step, cessation of arms will be the next step	Qandil PKK's responsible person for Qandil Murat Karayılan	PKK	No visuals	Murat Karayılan AKP deputy Burhan Kuzu CHP President Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu MHP President Devlet Bahçeli

YENİ ŞAFAK	Peace process Terrorism Human interest	The game is over (First story) The resolution is in the MGK [National Security Council] report (Sidebar) 35 thousand lives in 30 years (News box) White House: We are applauding (News box)	Positive	The PKK members in Turkey will leave the country gradually and as soon as possible from the routes they used for coming. Cessation of arms in the third phase, which Karayılan refers to as "normalization	İmralı (for the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan) KCK Executive Council Chairperson Murat Karayılan	PKK	A photograph from the press conference	Murat Karayılan National Security Council International news agencies Reuters and AP White House EU Commission
YENİÇAĞ	Terrorism Gear of division	The organisation is in a state of ferment: Not peace, but pawn process (First story) Qandil gang did not miss the opportunity for a show (Second story)	Negative	Gradual withdrawal from May 8th onwards In case of an operation by the Turkish military, withdrawal will stop and PKK will engage in combat Release of all PKK members including Öcalan Constitutional recognition of Kurdish identity Supervision of the process by independent committees	"Baby killer" Abdullah Öcalan Ringleader of the terror organisation Abdullah Öcalan Ringleader of the terror organisation in Northern Iraq Murat Karayılan PKK's ringleaders in Qandil Murat Karayılan, Hacer Zagros and Zeki Şengali	Separatist terror organization	A photograph showing the three PKK executives in front of microphones with smiling faces	Zülküf Azev, Nejdet Buldan and Dursun Ali Küçük, who are reported to have voiced reactions to the withdrawal decision Murat Karayılan MHP President Devlet Bahçeli CHP Parliamentary Group Vice President Muharrem İnce MHP Vice

								President Faruk Bal AKP deputy Mehmet Cemal Öztaylan Retired general Edip Başer
ZAMAN	Peace process Terrorism	Withdrawal will be gradual, cessation of arms is conditional (Headline) 200 KCK suspects have been released in two months (Sidebar) Support to the process by MGK [National Security Council], and continuation of the fight against terrorism (Sidebar)	Positive	Gradual withdrawal across the border from May 8th onwards Öcalan's release as a condition for the complete cessation of arms Normalization as the process of the permanent peace, social reconciliation, equality and freedom. Everyone including "leader Apo" should be free Entire decommissioning of arms and the disarmament of the guerrillas will be the next on the agenda. The first phase is the withdrawal, the second phase comprises legal and constitutional	KCK Executive Council Chairperson Murat Karayılan Öcalan	PKK Terror organisation KCK	A photograph showing the three PKK executives in front of the microphones where Murat Karayılan is smiling	Murat Karayılan National Security Council

				reforms for Turkey's democratization in the true sense. The abandoning of special warfare structures such as village guards and special forces and the creation of a favourable environment for the democratic civil society mentality are necessary				

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

The results of this study show that the Turkish press, by and large, supported the "resolution process" in 2013. The quantitative and qualitative frame analyses of news representations published in eleven selected newspapers indicate that the "peace process" frame appeared in a great number of news stories. The majority of the frames used in 561 news stories published by the selected newspapers on the consecutive days of the key events in 2013 were "peace process" frames. Taraf had the highest usage of this frame. The antimilitarist, liberal newspaper constructed 77.8% of its news stories within the "peace process" frame. It was followed by Milliyet (69.8%), Yeni Şafak (69.2%), Hürriyet (68.6%), Sabah (67.8%), Zaman (67.4%), Habertürk (66.7%) and Türkiye (64.8%). Left-oriented, Kemalist oppositional daily Cumhuriyet had a more cautious approach to the peace process and constructed only 54.9% of the news stories within the "peace process" frame. On the other hand, the two nationalist newspapers Sözcü (19.7%) and Yeniçağ (25.8%) referred to the "peace process" frame with the least observed frequencies, and when they used the frame, "peace process" often carried a negative connotation.

The qualitative frame analyses of the coverage of Öcalan's Newroz message in March 2013 and the PKK's withdrawal announcement in April 2013 also support this result.

Hürriyet, the leading mainstream newspaper, informed its readers about Öcalan's historical Newroz message with the following headline: "The age of arms has ended." Milliyet's headline was similar: "Farewell to arms." Habertürk, Taraf and Türkiye accentuated "peace" in their headlines. Habertürk's headline was "Time for peace", Taraf's "The spring of peace", and Türkiye's was "Guns fell silent. It is time for peace." The conservative dailies Yeni Şafak and Zaman's headlines were less emotionally-loaded. Yeni Şafak's headline was as follows: "Newroz message from İmralı to the PKK: Let the guns fall silent [and] exit out of the border." Zaman prioritized Prime Minister Erdoğan's response to the PKK leader Öcalan's message and gave voice to the former in its headline story: "We want no armed activity inside Turkey." In a neutral approach Cumhuriyet published the news with the following headline: "Transition to 'the new era'". Sabah also made use of the "peace process" frame; yet, the pro-government mainstream daily referred to peace as "victory". Its headline reflected this attitude: "PKK is retreating". A similar underlying message of "peace as victory" was apparent in Yeniçağ's coverage; however, the nationalist newspaper read the event from a completely different angle than Sabah and projected it as the victory of the PKK. "They ended in victory," Yeniçağ's headline said. The other nationalist newspaper Sözcü was also critical of what was happening. In a sarcastic way, the newspaper informed its readers of Öcalan's message with the following headline: "Power proudly presents: Apo and PKK Show." Evoking "fear of division" in its coverage, Sözcü's lead of the headline story was as follows:

> … the terror organization turned the Newroz celebration in Diyarbakır into a power show. Thousands of PKK rags [flags] and Apo posters were opened. There was no one single Turkish flag… Is this what they call "the peace process"? Tayyip says "the developments are positive". We ask him as well. Is this [what you call] "one state, one nation, one flag"? ("İktidar İftiharla Sunar- Apo ve PKK Şov!" 2013)

7.1 Nationalism as an Ideological Obstacle to Peace Journalism

İrvan (2006) argues that nationalism constitutes an ideological obstacle to peace journalism. The results of this study support İrvan's argument. Among the eleven selected newspapers for quantitative and qualitative frame analyses, the nationalist dailies Sözcü and Yeniçağ were the ones which referred to "terrorism" and "fear of division" frames with strikingly high percentages. "Terrorism" frame, which defined the problem as "terrorism" and saw the solution as the military victory of the state against the PKK, constituted 37.7% of Sözcü's total frames, and 30.3% of Yeniçağ's total frames.

Similarly, Sözcü and Yeniçağ applied the "fear of division" frame, which aimed to evoke the deep fear among the Turkish public about the division of the state a result of separatism, with much more salience. Whereas seven of the selected newspapers (Hürriyet, Habertürk, Sabah, Taraf, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak and Zaman) did not refer to this frame at all, 16.9% of the frames applied by Yeniçağ, and 11.5% applied by Sözcü were "fear of division" frames. For instance, of the eleven selected newspapers, only these two dailies applied "terrorism" and "fear of division" frames in the coverage of Öcalan's historical Newroz message, where he called the armed organization to "let the guns fall silent and politics speak" and to "withdraw across the border". Both newspapers employed an agitating rhetoric, and neither of them published any excerpts from Öcalan's letter.

In its coverage of Öcalan's Newroz message, Sözcü framed the peace negotiations between the PKK and the government as the "defeat" of the state, and named the PKK members as "traitors". Sözcü had an emotionally provocative rhetoric towards

the peace process, as it was indicated by the excessive usage of exclamation marks on its front page coverage. This agitating rhetoric was also evident in the naming of the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan and the PKK members. The quantitative part of the study shows that in 36.4% of all depictions Sözcü referred to Öcalan as the "head of the terrorists", and in 25% of the depictions as "the murderer" or "İmralı murderer". As such, the other nationalist daily Yeniçağ referred to Öcalan in 69.8% of its depictions with derogatory names.

The underlying message of Yeniçağ's front page coverage of Öcalan's Newroz message was strikingly similar to that of Sözcü. The newspaper's headline for the front page story was: "They ended in victory." The large photograph of a PKK guerrilla making a victory sign with his fingers used in the middle of the front page accentuated this message. The lead of the headline story, which applied both "terrorism" and "fear of division" frames, constitutes an example of how the nationalist daily constructed the event in its discourse:

> Supporters of the terror organization, with which the government collaborates in targeting the "nation-state" structure of Turkey, celebrated their victory in Diyarbakır, the city they declared as their capital. They were exhilarated with their baby killer leader Apo's message ("Zaferle Bitirdiler," 2013).

Dehumanization of the "other" constitutes a serious obstacle to reconciliation processes. The media, with its agenda setting power, can fuel a conflict by disseminating negative "enemy" images based on the dehumanization and demonization of the "other". As Bahador notes, these images are means to "sell the war" (Bahador, 2015) to the public. For true reconciliation, the "enemy" must be re-humanized and empathy between the former adversary groups must be promoted (Halpern and Weinstein, 2004). Dehumanization usually involves the use of sub-human portrayals such as animals. In their coverage of the PKK's withdrawal

announcement the nationalist dailies Sözcü and Yeniçağ both made use of the metaphor "lair" to refer to the PKK base in Mount Qandil, where the press conference was organized.

7.2. Representation of the "Other" in Turkish Press

This study argues that peace journalism should be conceptualized as an "other-centred" ethical position with nonviolence and sacredness of life constituting the ethical vantage points. Apart from the nationalist dailies, the "other", in our case, the PKK and its leader Abdullah Öcalan, were represented through a nonviolent lens by the Turkish press during the period of 2013. In the majority of instances (51.4%), the imprisoned PKK leader was referred to only with his name without any negative adjectives. In 14.8% of the instances, the PKK leader was named as "İmralı", referring to the prison island where he stays. The naming "İmralı" was mostly used by pro-government dailies Sabah, Türkiye and Yeni Şafak, and more specifically during the first months of 2013. This expression faded away from April 2013 onwards, when the Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stopped calling Öcalan as "İmralı" after the PKK leader's Newroz message. The Turkish press, albeit being careful regarding the naming of the PKK leader, tended to disconnect him from the PKK in news representations. A great of number selected newspapers refrained from calling him the "PKK leader". This expression was mostly used by Taraf (33.3%), which was followed by Cumhuriyet (15.2%). Likewise, in 51.4% of the cases, the PKK was represented simply with the acronym without any further depiction. The expression "terror organization" was used by Zaman with the highest frequency (53.6%), which was followed by the nationalist newspapers Yeniçağ (46%) and Sözcü (35.1%). It can also be said that, apart from the nationalist dailies, the mainstream Turkish press re-humanized the other by refraining from naming the

PKK and its leader Abdullah Öcalan with demonizing expressions, such as "baby killer", "murderer", or "traitor", which were commonly used in the past. In this respect, Turkish press's coverage of the peace negotiations between the Turkish state and the PKK in 2013 was close to peace journalism.

On the other hand, regarding the quotation patterns the press was far from peace journalism, which supports that news should be people-orientated. The quotation pattern reflects the elite-oriented structure of the resolution process. The most cited sources were the state sources (23.4%). Kurdish political figures, mainly BDP deputies, were cited almost as much as the state sources (23.2%). The novelty of the resolution process was that it presented Abdullah Öcalan to the Turkish public as the legitimate, negotiating leader of the PKK. Öcalan and PKK leadership constituted the third frequently cited sources (16.8%). The ordinary people (4.7%), NGOs (3.6%), experts (2.7%) and business people (1.3%), were not given much space, and foreign sources constituted only 6.5 % of all cited sources pointing to the fact that the peace process was not internationalized.

The press contributed to the normalization of the process. The peace process related stories hit the headlines and were widely covered in the press until the end of April 2013. In the course of time, the peace process has become a routine, not newsworthy of making the headlines. The last visit of the Kurdish political delegation to Öcalan in 2013, for example, did not make the front pages in any of the selected newspapers.

7.3. State-Imposed Peace Journalism?

Indexing hypothesis argues that news is indexed to governmental debate. This indexing becomes more salient in the areas of military decisions and foreign affairs, where oppositional voices are less likely to be heard unless there is a crack in governmental circles (Bennett, 1990). Even if the elites disagree about governmental policies such as in the case of the pre-Iraq War period in the United States, previous research has shown that news representations are likely to support governmental policies (Entman and Page, 1994).

Gadi Wolfsfeld (1997, 2004, 2007) argues that the news media are "fair-weather friends" with governments in peace processes, which seems to be in contradiction with the indexing hypothesis at the first sight. However, Wolfsfeld also contends, that the news media tends to support the governments in peace processes, when the political leadership can control the process (2004, p.31).

In the case of Turkey, the single party rule of AKP and its leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has exerted control over the media during the resolution process. For example, as mentioned in Chapter 4, during the earlier days of the peace process, in 2011, Erdoğan held a closed meeting with media owners and chief editors, where he demanded "sensitivity" from the media when communicating news about "terrorism and violence", referring to the Kurdish issue. All of the five major news agencies of the country, Anadolu Ajansı (AA), Ajans Haber Türk (AHT), Ankara Haber Ajansı (ANKA), Cihan Haber Ajansı (CİHAN) and İhlas Haber Ajansı (İHA) complied with Erdoğan's demand.

The dismissal of Milliyet's editor-in-chief Derya Sazak upon Erdoğan's request following the newspaper's publication of the minutes of a meeting between the PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan and the visiting Kurdish deputies is also an example of how the government exerted pressure over the news media during the resolution process. The Freedom House's 2014 Freedom of the Press Report on Turkey criticizes the AKP government for exerting "systematic political pressure" on the media leading to the "firing scores of journalists for reporting what was considered critical of the government" (Karlekar, 2014). As such, the Reporters without Borders' the World Press Freedom Index ranked Turkey 154th among 180 countries. The report defines Turkey as an "authoritarian regional model" (Reporters without Borders, 2014, p.22), with 60 journalists in detention at the end of 2013, "making Turkey one of the world's biggests prisons for media personnel" (p.22).

In the case of the resolution process, the mainstream Turkish press, with the exception of the nationalist press, indexed itself to government policies regarding the Kurdish issue. Even the fading of the expression "İmralı" after Erdoğan's change of rhetoric shows this indexing attitude of the media. When the state pursued a hawkish policy towards the PKK, the press followed its footsteps by focusing on the "martyrs" (Gencel Bek, 2009), as it was the case prior to the resolution process. In 2013, what changed was the government policy itself. "Peace" had become the official policy of the state, and the government tended to use the press as a channel for its public relations efforts to prepare the public for future outcomes of its negotiations with its counterpart.

Such "propaganda of peace" is not peculiar to the Turkish case. As discussed earlier, McLaughlin and Baker argue that the Northern Irish peace process witnessed

propaganda of peace that had "the purpose of bringing society, culture or nation behind a core idea or principle", namely the promise of peace and economic prosperity (2010, p.11).

In the Turkish case, some newspapers adopted peace journalism principles voluntarily. Peace journalism has been accepted by Turkey's largest media group, Doğan Media Group, as an ethical principle.[21] Two days after the first Kurdish delegation's visit to Öcalan, on 5 January 2013, Aydın Doğan, the owner of the group, sent a letter to his employees calling for a "discourse of peace" to contribute to the peace process. Doğan said the following:

> Recently, some significant developments regarding the solution of the terror problem and the Kurdish question have occurred. Although our primary function is to observe the course of the process objectively and interpret independently, it is also our duty to follow a highly responsible broadcasting policy for our country's interests. In this respect, during this process, we must refrain from conflictual approaches that may affect the process negatively, and pay strict attention to protect the language of peace. When choosing our discourse, our words, we must consider the perception they will create and act accordingly (Can, 2013).

In the Turkish media system, where there is a low level of professionalization and high levels of state interference, political clientelism and instrumentalization of the media by owners, who seek to use their media outlets as "weapon"s for their investments in other fields or sectors (Kurban and Sözeri, 2012, p.25), it is difficult to assess whether the news media's support for the resolution process can be attributed to peace journalism. Under these circumstances, can the news coverage of the peace process in 2013 be referred to as peace journalism?

---

[21] See http://kurumsal.dogangazetecilik.com/kurumsal_yonetim_menu_1_2.asp

The answer is both, "yes" and "no". "Yes", because the news coverage supported the negotiation process, it humanized the other, and it contributed to the normalization of the peace process. And "no", because peace cannot be without justice and democracy, and so is peace journalism.

If a name is to be given to the journalism performed in Turkey regarding the peace negotiations between the Turkish state and the PKK in 2013, it would not be wrong to call it "state imposed peace journalism".

7.4. Agency versus Structure Debate

Turkish media system resembles Hallin and Mancini's (2004) Mediterranean model in all of the four dimensions: the structure and development of media markets, political parallelism, the development of journalistic professionalism, and the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system.

In the profit-oriented capitalist system, news media constitute a business on its own, and the Turkish news media are dominated by a handful of conglomerates, which have investments in other sectors, such as energy, telecommunications, finance, and construction. In addition, Turkish news media are instrumentalized by the owners for their other commercial activities. Andrew Finkel notes that "the greatest danger facing the Turkish media is pressure based on the financial interests of its proprietors… Industrialists and financiers are attracted to newspaper and television ownership not just as businesses in their own right, but as 'loss leaders' for their other commercial activities" (2000, pp. 155- 156).

Turkish media system is also marked by a high degree of political parallelism. During the AKP's term since 2002, the political pressure on the news media has

increased, and the mainstream media have been reshaped by the government. For instance, approximately 25 percent of the newspaper circulation has moved toward groups that are closely allied with AKP (Çarkoğlu, Baruh, and Yıldırım, 2014, p.301).

Journalistic professionalism is low in Turkey. Formal protection of editorial autonomy has not existed in Turkey, and journalists have had to deal with pressures regarding their editorial activity and high level of self-censorship (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010, p. 529). The low level of professionalism is also linked to the demise of trade unions, staff cuts among journalists, and selective remunerations. For example, there is only one labour union, Turkish Journalists Union which has lost its membership base due to neoliberal policies that have been implemented since the 1980s.

Turkish media system with its low circulation rates, low level of professionalization, weak horizontal solidarity, high level of political parallelism and state interference, political clientelism and instrumentalization of media by the owners constitutes a major obstacle in the implementation of peace journalism.

Can peace journalism survive in such a media environment? Is there space for the agent within this constraining structure? Here, I would like to briefly refer to a Buddhist notion: "pattica-samuppāda" or the doctrine of "dependent co-origination" (Macy, 1991). Western analytical thinking views causality as linear and unidirectional, where "cause" and "effect" are separate categories. In Buddhist thinking, "reality appears as a dynamically interdependent process" (Macy, 1991, p. 84). Pattica-samuppāda presents causality as a function of relationships "where cause and effect cannot be categorically isolated or traced unidirectionally" as "no effect

arises without cause, yet no effect is predetermined, for its causes are multiple and mutually affecting" (p. 19).

In this relational understanding of the world, we cannot separate the "agent" and "structure" as binary oppositional analytical categories as they are intertwined, and there is always space for agency.

This research started with the discussion of Lynch and McGoldrick's following definition of peace journalism: "peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices- of what stories to report and about how to report them- that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict" (2005, p.5). This much quoted definition focuses on the individual, professional journalist as the locus of change, pointing to unidirectional causality. The professional individual journalist operates within a media system, which is part of a larger socio-economic and political system. As discussed above, Turkish media system constitutes a serious obstacle for the implementation of peace journalism. The expectation that change will come through words only is naïve. Peace journalism should also discuss the structural constraints that surround the individual journalist and act for change also through deeds such as supporting the right of journalists to form organizations that would protect and empower the individual journalist vis-à-vis the structure.

As Herman and Chomsky argue in *Manufacturing Consent*, the purpose of the media is "to inculcate and defend the economic, social and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state" (2008, p.351). In our case, AKP has consolidated its authoritarian rule throughout the years, forcing the news

media system to support its power. This pressure has been exerted through various means and channels, which have been discussed in this study. As Hackett (2011) contends, peace journalism needs the support of powerful external allies in order to be able to support structural changes in the dominant media. Who are these allies? Hackett writes that alternative media can make external allies as they share with peace journalism some common traits, which he lists as: "dissatisfaction with the objectivity regime, commitment to critically explore structures of power, opposition to poverty, resistance to domination along axes of gender, class and ethnicity, and attempt to reverse the under and misrepresentation of subordinate groups" (p.48). This argument leads to another question: do the alternative media have the power to stimulate change in the mainstream commercial media? In a relational understanding of the world it does. There is space to keep the optimism.

This whole question, however, is related also to another discussion. Peace journalism claims that the news media should support peace. This is a half-portion argument. As Lynch himself argues, "peace is notoriously polysemic, to the point where it can sometimes seem to mean all things to all people" (2014, p.46). Defining peace is a political act, and peace journalism must also discuss what kind of peace it supports.

Peace is a process and not an end-point that can be attained and fixed. Life is change and so is peace. Peace is always becoming. Yet, we need strategic universals to help us to walk on the way of peace such as justice and democracy. One of the reasons why the "resolution process" has failed to realize its promise is that the Justice and Development Party government has never talked about what kind of peace it supported, and what they meant by "peace". Even the naming of the process as the "resolution process" discursively points to an issue, in the state's view the "separatist

terror" to be resolved through a managed process, but peace is more than that. Peace is not "victory", and a peace process involves more than an agreement. It not just involves the disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration of former combatants to society, but also reconciliation processes for the conflict-torn society to heal its wounds by transforming the self-other relationships.

A dialogical understanding of self-other relationship, where self is conceived as being "multi-voiced" (Hermans, 2001) and "permeated by otherness" (Dunne, 1996) and where the self is called to responsibility by the other not to kill, neither physically nor symbolically, would be very helpful to transform the prevailing relations in society.

The "Kurdish Question" is a constructed phenomenon as discussed earlier. A survey conducted in 2010 with a sample of 10,393 people from 59 provinces, 374 districts and 902 urban neighbourhoods and villages (KONDA, 2011) sheds light on how Turks and Kurds in Turkey see the "Kurdish Question". The two groups have significant differences in their perceptions of what constitutes the root causes of the conflict. 84% of Turks think that the problem stems from the "provocation of foreign states"; 82.7% see the PKK as a root cause; 71.3% think that separatist intentions of Kurds cause the problem; and 64.8% see the underdevelopment of the region as a root cause (p. 119).

The interviewed Kurds, on the other hand, don't perceive the PKK or its supposedly separatist intentions as a root cause. Turks and Kurds agree on the underdevelopment of the region being a root cause of the problem. 78.3% of Kurds think that the underdevelopment of the region is a root cause. This constitutes a larger majority

263

compared to the 64.8% of Turks who see underdevelopment as a root cause. 63.3% of the interviewed Kurds think that "the state treats Kurds differently"; and 61.2% sees the problem as "Kurds' identity issue". The percentage of Kurds who see the "provocation of foreign states" as a root cause is 53 (p.119).

These statistics show that for the majority of Turks the "question" is related to the security of the state. The problem is perceived as either a threat to the internal security (PKK and secessionism) or the external security (provocation of foreign states) (p.121). For the majority of Kurds, on the other hand, the "question" is economical as well as socio-political discrimination; and it is more of an identity issue, rather than security.

For the Turkish state it has been a security and underdevelopment problem. The root causes of the conflict have been viewed by the state elites as cultural and economic "backwardness" of the region and "separatist terror".

Security is a basic human need and so are identity and freedom. Peace journalism defines peace "not as the absence of conflict, but the absence of violence" (Lynch, 2014, p.50), and according to peace researcher Galtung (1990), the denial of these needs is violence itself. For peace to take root in Turkey, various perceptions on the conflict need to discussed, and different needs of peoples need to be addressed. The peace process in Turkey, or the so-called "resolution process" has not included many voices to the discussion. As the results of this study show, mainly political elites spoke during the process; voices for peace from ordinary people or NGOs or even from the business community were not included much in the dialogue.

"Peace" has been defined by the authoritarian rule of the AKP government, first, in a rather ambiguous way, as "resolution", and then as "military victory over the PKK". As this study shows, the Turkish press has indexed itself to government policy regarding the Kurdish question. In 2013, the government policy supported the peaceful "resolution" of the issue. From 2015 onwards, the government policy has changed into a more hawkish position.

With the halting of the resolution process by the government and the escalation of the conflict, especially in the Kurdish populated eastern and south-eastern regions of Turkey, the discourse of the mainstream press has observably changed. "Terrorism" and "fear of division" frames seem to be applied in greater frequencies, and the representation of the "other" seems to have changed into a demonizing and dehumanising manner. What is visible to the bare eye is that war journalism has started to dominate the news coverage of the conflict, which reminds one of Tılıç's remarks about the news coverage of Turkish-Greek relations. When the government policy towards Greece changed in a positive way, so did the style and content of the Turkish media reports. Tılıç (2006) contends that these seemingly positive changes could not be attributed to peace journalism because they were not the "result of an independent journalistic initiative" or "a media initiative" and the current trend could be "easily reversed with a change of policy at government and state levels" (p.24).

The positive trend in Turkish mainstream press regarding the news coverage of the resolution process seems to have been reversed with a change of government policies. Further research in the field, which will compare the coverage of the Kurdish Question in the years of 2013 and 2015 onwards, may explain this reverse thoroughly.

REFERENCES

8 Mayıs'ta sınır dışına. (2013, April 26). *Milliyet*, p.1.

Agger, B. (1989). *Socio(onto)logy: a disciplinary reading.* Champaign: University of
   Illinois Press.

Akgül, E. (2015, November 02). *24 gazeteci ve yazar milletvekili oldu.* Retrieved
   May 16, 2016, from Bianet: http://bianet.org/bianet/medya/168898-24-
   gazeteci-ve-yazar-milletvekili-oldu

Akkaya, A. H., & Jongerden, J. (2014). Confederalism and autonomy in Turkey: The
   Kurdistan Workers' Party and the reinvention of democracy. In C. Güneş, &
   W. Zeydanlıoğlu (Eds.), *The Kurdish question in Turkey: New perspectives
   on violence, representation, and reconciliation* (pp. 186-204). Oxon and New
   York: Routledge.

AKP'yi yendik, masaya oturttuk. (2013, March 22). *Sözcü*, p.1.

Augustine. (1950). *The city of God.* New York: Random House Inc.

Azar, E. E. (1990). *The management of protracted social conflict: Theory and cases.*
   Aldershot: Dartmouth.

Bahador, B. (2015). The media and deconstruction of the enemy image. In J. Hoffmann, & V. Hawkins (Eds.), *Communication and peace: Mapping an emerging field* (pp. 120-132). Oxon and New York: Routledge.

Bakhtin, M. (1984). *The problems of Dostoevsky's poetics.* (C. Emerson, Ed., & C. Emerson, Trans.) Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Barış zamanı. (2013, March 22). *Habertürk*, p.1.

Barkey, H. J., & Fuller, G. E. (1998). *Turkey's Kurdish question.* Lanham, Boulder, New York and Oxford : Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Bar-Tal, D. (2000). From intractable conflict through conflict resolution to reconciliation: psychological analysis. *Political Psychology, 21*(2), 351-365.

Barthes, R. (1977). The death of the author. In *Image music text* (S. Heath, Trans., pp. 142-148). London: Fontana Press.

Bayramoğlu, A. (2015, November 11). *The process of resolution: from politics to arms.* Retrieved May 18, 2016, from Democratic Progress Institute: http://www.democraticprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/October-2015-Assessment-ENG.pdf

Bennett, W. (1990). Toward a theory of press - state relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication, 40*(2), 103-125.

Bennett, W., Lawrence, R. G., & Livingston, S. (2006). None dare call it torture: indexing and the limits of press independence in the Abu Ghraib scandal. *Journal of Communication, 56*, 467-485.

Bilton, T. (2002). *Introductory sociology.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bir tek Sözcü yoktu. (2013, April 26). *Sözcü*, p.1.

Bu yemek boğazlarından geçti. (2013, April 26). *Sözcü*, p.1.

Bugünleri de gördük, çok şükür. (2013, April 26). *Taraf*, p.1.

Burkitt, I. (2010). Dialogues with self and others - communication, miscommunication and the dialogical unconscious. *Theory & Psychology, 20*(3), 305-321.

Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism.* London and New York: Routledge.

Burr, V. (2003). *Social constructionism* (2nd ed.). London and New York: Routledge.

Burton, J. W. (1990). *Conflict: human needs theory.* Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Can, E. (2013, January 5). *Aydın Doğan'dan barış dili çağrısı.* Retrieved December 22, 2013, from Radikal:

http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/eyup_can/aydin_dogandan_baris_dili_cag
risi-1115478

Cesareti terörü bitirdi. (2013, April 26). *Habertürk*, p.1.

Christensen, C. (2007). Concentration of ownership, the fall of unions and government legislation in Turkey. *Global Media and Communication, 3*(2), 179-199.

Christians, C. G. (2010). Non-violence in philosophical and media ethics. In R. L. Keeble, J. Tulloch, & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution* (pp. 15-30). New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Christians, C. G. (2011a). Universalism versus communitarianism in media ethics. In R. S.Fortner, & P. Fackler (Eds.), *The handbook of global communication and media ethics* (Vol. 1, pp. 393-414). Malden and Oxford: Wiley and Blackwell.

Cross, S. E., & Gore, J. S. (2012). Cultural models of the self. In M.R.Leary, & J.P.Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity* (Second ed., pp. 587-614). New York and London: The Guilford Press.

Çam, A., & Şanlıer Yüksel, İ. (2015). Türkiye'de medyanın 2002 sonrasında dönüşümü: Ekonomi politik bir yaklaşım. In U. Aydın (Ed.), *Neoliberal muhafazakâr medya* (pp. 66-102). İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Çarkoğlu, A., & Yavuz, G. (2010). Press-party parallelism in Turkey: an individual level interpretation. *Turkish Studies, 11*(4), 613-624.

Çarkoğlu, A., Baruh, L., & Yıldırım, K. (2014). Press-party parallelism and polarization of news media during an election campaign: the case of the 2011 Turkish elections. *The International Journal of Press/Politics, 19*(3), 295-317.

Çekilme kademeli olacak, silah bırakma şarta bağlı. (2013, April 26). *Zaman*, p.1.

Çelik, A. B. (2012). Ethnopolitical conflict in Turkey: from the denial of Kurds to peaceful co-existence? In D. Landis, & R. D. Albert (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnic conflict: international Perspectives* (pp. 241-260). New York, Dordrecht, Heidelberg and London: Springer Science+Business Media, LLC.

Çoban, B. (2010). Medya, toplumsal bellek ve barış. In B. Çoban (Ed.), *Medya, barış ve savaş - Savaş ortamında barış medyasını yaratmak* (pp. 9-41). İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayıncılık.

Danermark, B., Ekström, M., Jakobsen, L., & Karlsson, J. C. (2002). *Explaining society: critical realism in the social sciences.* London and New York: Routledge.

Derrida, J. (1982). Différance. In *Margins of philosophy* (A. Bass, Trans., pp. 1-27). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Derrida, J. (1997). *Of grammatology.* Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press .

Dixon, J. C., & Ergin, M. (2010). Explaining anti-Kurdish beliefs in Turkey: Group competition, identity, and globalization. *Social Science Quarterly, 91*(5), 1329-1348.

Dunne, J. (1996). Beyond sovereignty and deconstruction: the storied self. In R. Kearney (Ed.), *Paul Ricoeur: the hermeneutics of action* (pp. 137-158). London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Ellis, S. M. (2013, March 5). *IPI expresses at Erdogan criticism of peace negotiations news report.* Retrieved December 22, 2013, from International Press Institute: http://www.freemedia.at/home/singleview/article/ipi-expresses-concern-at-erdogan-criticism-of-peace-negotiations-news-report.html

En renkli kutlama. (2013, March 22). *Yeni Şafak*, p.1.

Ensaroğlu, Y. (2013). Turkey's Kurdish question and the peace process. *Insight Turkey, 15*(2), 7-17.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: towards clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication, 43*(4), 51-58.

Entman, R. M., & Page, B. I. (1994). The news before the storm: the Iraq War debate and the limits to media independence. In W. Bennett, & D. L. Paletz (Eds.), *Taken by storm: the media, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy in the Gulf War* (pp. 82-101). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ersoy, M. (2016). War- peace journalism in the Turkish press: Countries come to the brink of war. *The International Communication Gazette, 0*(0), 1-20.

Fairclough, N., Jessop, B., & Sayer, A. (2004). Critical realism and semiosis. In J. Joseph, & J. M. Roberts (Eds.), *Realism discourse and deconstruction* (pp. 23-42). London and New York: Routledge.

Finkel, A. (2000). Who guards the Turkish press? A perspective on press corruption in Turkey. *Journal of International Affairs, 54*(1), 147-166.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977.* New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf .

Foucault, M. (1984). What is an author? In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault reader* (pp. 101-120). New York: Pantheon Books.

Fuchs, C. (2011). *Foundations of critical media and information studies .* New York: Routledge.

Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research, 6*(3), 167-191.

Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural violence. *Journal of Peace Research, 27*(3), 291-305.

Galtung, J. (2006). Peace journalism as an ethical challenge. *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition, 1*(2), 1-5.

Galtung, J., & Jacobsen, C. G. (2000). *Searching for peace: the road to TRANSCEND.* London and Sterling, Virginia: Pluto Press in association with TRANSCEND.

Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news. *Journal of Peace Research, 2*(1), 64-91.

Galtung, J., & Vincent, R. C. (1992). *Global glasnost: toward a New World Information and Communication Order?* Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Game, A. (1991). *Undoing the social towards a deconstructive sociology.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Gamson, W. A. (1989). News as framing. *The American Behavioral Scientist, 33*(2), 157-161.

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: a constructionist approach. *The American Journal of Sociology, 95*(1), 1-37.

Gamson, W. A., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W., & Sasson, T. (1992). Media images and the social construction of reality. *Annual Review of Sociology, 18*, 373-393.

Gamson, W., & Modigliani, A. (1987). The changing culture of affirmative action. In R. Braungart, & M. Braungart (Eds.), *Research in political sociology* (Vol. 3, pp. 137-177). Greenwich: JAI Press.

Geldikleri gibi gidecekler! (2013, April 26). *Türkiye*, p.1.

Gencel Bek, M. (2009). Turkish journalists and ethical self-reflexivity through on-line training? *Future of Journalism Conference.* Cardiff: Cardiff University.

Gencel Bek, M. (2010). Karşılaştırmalı perspektiften Türkiye'de medya sistemi. *Mülkiye, XXXIV*(269), 101-125.

Gergen, K. J. (1994). *Realities and relationships: soundings in social construction.* Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press.

Gergen, K. J. (2009). *An invitation to social construction* (2nd ed.). London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Gezgin, U. B. (2010). Gazetecileri barışçıllaştırmak yerine barışçılları gazetecileştirmek. In B. Çoban (Ed.), *Medya, barış ve savaş - Savaş ortamında barış medyasını yaratmak* (pp. 65-94). İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayıncılık.

Gilroy, P. (2000). *Against race: imagining political culture beyond the color line.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press .

Goffman, E. (1986). *Frame analysis- An essay on the organization of experience.* Boston: Northearn University Press .

Gunter, M. (2013). Reopening Turkey's closed Kurdish opening? *Middle East Policy, 20*(2), 88-98.

Gunter, M. M. (2008). *The Kurds ascending: the evolving solution to the Kurdish problem in Iraq and Turkey.* New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gülcan, E. (2012, March 1). *BIA Media monitoring report 2011.* Retrieved August 1, 2014, from Bianet: http://www.bianet.org/english/freedom-of-expression/136599-bia-media-monitoring-report-2011-full-text

Hackett, R. A. (2006). Is peace journalism possible? Three frameworks for assessing structure and agency in news media. *Conflict & Communication Online, 5*(2), 1-13.

Hackett, R. A. (2010). Journalism for peace and justice: towards a comparative analysis of media paradigms. *Studies in Social Justice, 4*(2), 179-198.

Hackett, R. A. (2011). New vistas for peace journalism: alternative media and communication rights. In I. S. Shaw, J. Lynch, & R. A. Hackett (Eds.), *Expanding peace journalism* (pp. 35-69). Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Hall, S. (1992). Cultural studies and its theoretical legacies. In L. Grossberg, C. Nelson, & P. Treichler (Eds.), *Cultural studies* (pp. 277-294). New York and London: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1997a). Introduction. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 1-11). London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications in association with The Open University.

Hall, S. (1997b). The work of representation. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices* (pp. 13-74). London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications in association with The Open University.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: three models of media and politics.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2012). Introduction. In D. C. Hallin, & P. Mancini (Eds.), *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world* (pp. 1-7). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Papathanassopoulos, S. (2002). Political clientelism and the media: Southern Europe and Latin America in comparative perspective. *Media, Culture & Society, 24*(2), 175-195.

Halpern, J., & M.Weinstein, H. (2004). Rehumanizing the other: empathy and reconciliation. *Human Rights Quarterly, 26*(3), 561-583.

Hamaguchi, E. (1985). A contextual model of the Japanese: Toward a methodological innovation in Japan Studies. *Journal of Japanese Studies, 11*(2), 289-321.

Hanitzsch, T. (2004). Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace journalism and mass communication theory. *Journalism Studies, 5*(4), 483-495.

Hanitzsch, T. (2005). The peace journalism problem: failure of people or failure of analysis? In T. Hanitzsch, M. Löffelholz, & R. Mustamu (Eds.), *Agents of peace: public communication and conflict resolution in an Asian setting.* Jakarta: FES.

Hanitzsch, T. (2007b). Situating peace journalism in journalism studies: a critical appraisal. *Conflict & Communication Online, 6*(2), 1-9.

Haram zıkkım olsun! (2013, March 22). *Sözcü*, p.1.

Hawkins, V. (2011). Peace process or just peace deal? The media's failure to cover peace. In I. S. Shaw, J. Lynch, & R. A. Hackett (Eds.), *Expanding peace*

journalism: comparative and critical approaches (pp. 261-284). Sydney: Sydney University Press.

Herman, E. S. (1996). The propaganda model revisited. *Monthly Review, 48*(3), 115-128.

Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: the political economy of the mass media.* New York: Pantheon Books .

Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (2008). *Manufacturing consent: the political economy of the mass media [E-reader version].* Retrieved April 9, 2016 from: *http://www.bookzz.org.*

Hermans, H. J. (2001). The dialogical self: toward a theory of personal and cultural positioning. *Culture & Psychology, 7*(3), 243-281.

Hermans, H. J. (2002). The dialogical self as a society of mind: introduction. *Theory Psychology, 12*(2), 147-160.

Ho, D. Y.-f., Chan, S.-f. F., Peng, S.-q., & Ng, A. K. (2001). The dialogical self: converging East-West constructions. *Culture and Psychology, 7*(3), 393-408.

Howarth, D. (2002). Discourse theory. In D. Marsh, & G. Stoker (Eds.), *Theory and methods in political science* (2nd ed., pp. 115-133). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Institute for War and Peace Reporting. (2004). *Reporting for change: a handbook for local journalists in crisis areas.* Retrieved May 8, 2013 from Institute for War and Peace Reporting: http://iw3.iwpr.net/sites/default/files/iwpr_training_manual_english.pdf.

International principles of professional ethics in journalism. (n.d.). Retrieved May 27, 2016, from Ethic Net: http://ethicnet.uta.fi/international/international_principles_of_professional_ethics_in_journalism

İktidar iftiharla sunar - Apo ve PKK şov! (2013, March 22). *Sözcü*, p.1.

İktidarın müzakere ortakları. (2013, April 26). *Yeniçağ*, p.1.

İrvan, S. (2006). Peace journalism as a normative theory: premises and obstacles. *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition, 1*(2), 34-39.

İrvan, S. (2007). Turkish media under the light of polarized pluralist system. *(Unpublished article).*

Jabri, V. (1996). *Discourses on violence: conflict analysis reconsidered.* Manchester nad New York: Manchester University Press .

Kandil çetesi, şov fırsatını kaçırmadı. (2013, April 26). *Yeniçağ*, p.1.

Kandil de tamam. (2013, April 26). *Hürriyet*, p.1.

Kandil'den dünyaya seslendi. (2013, April 26). *Taraf*, p.1.

Kandil'in planı silahlı. (2013, April 26). *Cumhuriyet*, p.1.

Karakaş, B. (2015, February 28). *Dolmabahçe'de tarihi açıklama.* Retrieved May 18, 2016, from Milliyet: http://www.milliyet.com.tr/dolmabahce-de-tarihi-aciklama/siyaset/detay/2021055/default.htm

Karayılan'dan küstah tehdit! (2013, April 26). *Sözcü*, p.1.

Karlekar, K. D. (2014, May 12). *Why is Turkey's media environment ranked 'not free'?* Retrieved July 20, 2014, from Freedom House: http://freedomhouse.org/blog/why-turkey-media-environment-ranked-not-free#.U8v1o_mSxqF

Kaya, R., & Çakmur, B. (2010). Politics and the mass media in Turkey. *Turkish Studies, 11*(4), 521-537.

Keeble, R. L. (2010). Peace journalism as political practice: a new, radical look at the theory. In R. L. Keeble, J. Tulloch, & F. Zollmann (Eds.), *Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution* (pp. 49-67). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Kinder, D. R., & Herzog, D. (2009). Democratic discussion. In R. M. Valelly (Ed.), *Princeton readings in American politics* (pp. 358-379). Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Kirişçi, K., & M.Winrow, G. (1997). *The Kurdish question and Turkey: an example of a trans-state ethnic conflict.* London and Portland: Frank Cass .

KONDA Araştırma. (2011). *Kürt Meselesi'nde algı ve beklentiler araştırması.* KONDA Araştırma ve Danışmanlık: İstanbul.

Köse, A. (2013, August 16). *Sevda Alankuş ile barış gazeteciliği üzerine.* Retrieved February 09, 2014, from www.marksist.org: http://www.marksist.org/roportajlar/12533-sevda-alankus-ile-baris-gazeteciligi-uzerine

Kriesberg, L. (2005). Nature, dynamics, and phases of intractability. In C. A.Crocker, F. O. Hampson, & P. Aall (Eds.), *Grasping the nettle: analyzing cases of intractable conflict* (pp. 65-97). Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press .

Kurban, D., & Sözeri, C. (2012). *İktidarın çarkında medya: Türkiye'de medya bağımsızlığı ve özgürlüğü önündeki siyasi, yasal ve ekonomik engeller.* İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı- Demokratikleşme Programı.

Laclau, E., & Bhaskar, R. (2007). Discourse theory vs critical realism. *Journal of Critical Realism, 1*(2), 9-14.

Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1987). Post-Marxism without apologies. *New Left Review, I*(166), 79-106.

Lee, S. T. (2009). Peace journalism. In L. Wilkins, & C. G. Christians (Eds.), *The handbook of mass media ethics* (pp. 258-275). New York and London: Routledge.

Levinas, E. (1969). *Totality and infinity: an essay on exteriority.* (A. Lingis, Trans.) Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: Duquesne University Press .

Loyn, D. (2003, February 20). *Witnessing the truth.* Retrieved November 21, 2014, from Open Democracy: http://www.opendemocracy.net/media-journalismwar/article_993.jsp.

Loyn, D. (2007). Good journalism or peace journalism? *Conflict & Communication Online, 6*(2), 1-10.

Lynch, J. (1998). *The Peace Journalism option.* Retrieved January 11, 2016, from Global Issues: http://www.globalissues.org/article/534/the-peace-journalism-option#ThePeaceJournalismOption

Lynch, J. (2002). *Reporting the World: a practical checklist for the ethical reporting of conflicts in the 21st century, produced by journalists, for journalists.* Taplow Court, Taplow: Conflict & Peace Forums.

Lynch, J. (2006). What's so great about Peace journalism? *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition, 1*(1), 74-87.

Lynch, J. (2007). Peace journalism and its discontents. *Conflict & Communication Online, 6*(2), 1-13.

Lynch, J. (2010b). Peace journalism. In S. Allan (Ed.), *The Routledge companion to news and journalism* (pp. 542-553). London and New York: Routledge.

Lynch, J. (2014). *A global standard for reporting conflict.* New York and London: Routledge.

Lynch, J., & Galtung, J. (2010). *Reporting conflict: new directions in peace journalism.* St.Lucia, Queensland: The University of Queensland Press.

Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace journalism.* Stroud: Hawthorn Press.

Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2010). A global standard for reporting conflict and peace. In R. L. Keeble, J. Tulloch, & F. Zollmann (Eds.), *Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution* (pp. 87-103). New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2012). Responses to peace journalism. *Journalism, 14*(8), 1041-1058.

Macy, J. (1991). *Mutual causality in Buddhism and general systems theory: The dharma of natural systems.* Albany: State University of New York Press .

McDowall, D. (2004). *A modern history of the Kurds* (Third ed.). London and New York: I.B.Tauris.

McGoldrick, A. (2011). Empathy and ethics: journalistic nepresentation and its consequences. In I. S. Shaw, J. Lynch, & R. A. Hackett (Eds.), *Expanding peace journalism* (pp. 122-144). Sydney: Sydney University Press.

McLaughlin, G., & Baker, S. (2010). *The propaganda of peace - The role of media and culture in the Northern Ireland peace process.* Bristol and Chicago: Intellect.

Murray, J. W. (2000). Bakthinian answerability and Levinasian responsibility: forging a fuller dialogical communicative ethics. *Southern Communication Journal, 65*(2-3), 133-150.

Nisbett, R. E., Peng, K., Choi, I., & Norenzayan, A. (2001). Culture and systems of thought: holistic versus analytic cognition. *Psychological Review, 108*(2), 291-310.

Nordenstreng, K. (1998). Professionale ethics: between fortress journalism and cosmopolitan democracy. In K. Brants, J. Hermes, & L. v. Zoonen (Eds.), *The media in question: popular cultures and public interests* (pp. 124-134). London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications .

Norris, C. (1999). *Roy Bhaskar interviewed.* Retrieved January 9, 2016, from The Web Site for Critical Realism: http://www.criticalrealism.com/archive/rbhaskar_rbi.html

Olson, R. (1989a). *The emergence of Kurdish nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion, 1880-1925.* Austin: The University of Texas Press.

Olson, R. (1989b). The Koçgiri Kurdish rebellion in 1921 and the draft law for a proposed autonomy of Kurdistan. *Oriente Moderno, 69*(1/6), 41-56.

Olson, R. (1992). *Kürt milliyetçiliğinin kaynakları ve Şeyh Said İsyanı (1880-1925).* (B. Peker, & N. Kıraç, Trans.) Ankara: Öz-Ge Yayınları.

Oyun bitti. (2013, April 26). *Yeni Şafak*, p.1.

Örgüt kaynıyor: Barış değil, piyonluk süreci. (2013, April 26). *Yeniçağ*, p.1.

Özonur, D. (2015). Devlet ağzıyla konuşmak: Anaakım basında savaş, barış ve Kürtler. In U. Aydın (Ed.), *Neoliberal Muhafazakâr Medya* (pp. 103-136). İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: an approach to news discourse. *Political Communication, 10*, 55-75.

Peterson, A. L. (2001). *Being human: ethics, environment and our place in the world.* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

Phillips, J. (2000). *Contested knowledge: a guide to critical theory.* London and New York: Zed Books Ltd.

PKK, 8 Mayıs'ta çekiliyor. (2013, April 26). *Sabah*, p.1.

PKK'ya "silah dönemi bitti" çağrısı. (2013, March 22). *Zaman*, p.1.

Potter, J. (1996). Discourse analysis and constructionist approaches: theoretical ackground. In J. T. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research methods for psychology and the social sciences* (pp. 125-140). Leicester: British Psychological Society.

Randall, D. (2011). *The universal journalist* (Fourth ed.). London: Pluto Press.

Reporters without Borders. (2014). *World Press Freedom Index.* Retrieved July 20, 2014, from http://rsf.org/index2014/en-eu.php

Richmond, O. P. (2005). *The transformation of peace.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Richmond, O. P., & Franks, J. (2007). Liberal hubris? Virtual peace in Cambodia. *Security Dialogue, 38*, 27-48.

Romano, D. (2006). *The Kurdish nationalist movement - Opportunity, mobilization and identity* . Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ross, S. D. (2006). (De)Constructing conflict: a focused review of war and peace journalism. *Conflict & Communication Online, 5*(2), 1-19.

Saussure, F. (1983). *Course in general linguistics.* London : Duckworth.

Savaş değil, barış fetihtir. (2013, April 26). *Sabah*, p.1.

Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: a content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication, 50*(2), 93-109.

Shinar, D. (2000). Media diplomacy and 'peace talk'. *Gazette, 62*(2), 83-97.

Shinar, D. (2007). Epilogue: Peace journalism- The state of the art. *Conflict & Communication Online, 6*(1), 1-9.

Sıra eşit vatandaşlıkta. (2013, April 26). *Taraf*, p.1.

Silah devri bitti. (2013, March 22). *Hürriyet*, p.1.

Silah sustu barış zamanı. (2013, March 22). *Yeni Şafak*, p.1.

Silahlar sussun, dışarı çıkın. (2013, March 22). *Sabah*, p.1.

Silahlar sussun, sınır dışına çıkın. (2013, March 22). *Türkiye*, p.1.

Silahlara veda. (2013, March 22). *Milliyet*, p.1.

Smith, M. J. (1998). *Social science in question.* London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications .

Somer, M. (2002). Ethnic Kurds, Endogenous Identities, and Turkey's Democratization and Integration with Europe. *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics, 1*(4), 74-93.

Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the subaltern speak? In C. Nelson, & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271-313). Champaign: University of Illinois Press.

Şener, M. (2007). Türkiye İşçi Partisi. In M. Gültekingil (Ed.), *Modern Türkiye'de siyasi düşünce* (Vol. 8, pp. 356-417). İletişim Yayınları.

Tam çözüm için üç aşamalı süreç. (2013, April 26). *Habertürk*, p.1.

Tehranian, M. (2002). Peace journalism: negotiating global media ethics. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 7*(2), 58-83.

Tılıç, D. (2006). State-biased reflection of Greece-related issues in Turkish newspapers: From being "the other " to "we". *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition, 1*(2), 19-24.

Trustee appointed to Zaman Media Group. (2016, March 4). Retrieved April 9 from Hürriyet Daily News: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/trustees-appointed-to-zaman-media-group-.aspx?PageID=238&NID=96044&NewsCatID=509

Turkey's Constitutional Court closes DTP. (2009, November 12). Retrieved May 28, 2016, from Hürriyet Daily News: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/default.aspx?pageid=438&n=constitution al-court-votes-to-xx-turkey-pro-kurdish-part-2009-12-11

Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi İnsan Haklarını İnceleme Komisyonu. (2013). *Terör ve şiddet olayları kapsamında yaşam hakkı ihlallerini inceleme raporu.* Retrieved from Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi: https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/insanhaklari/belge/TERÖR%20VE%20Ş İDDET%20OLAYLARI%20KAPSAMINDA%20YAŞAM%20HAKKI%20İ HLALLERİNİ%20İNCELEME%20RAPORU.pdf

Uce, V., & De Swert, K. (2010). Turkey and the polarized pluralist model introducing Turkey to the Three Media System Models: the content of TV news in eleven countries. In B. Dobek-Ostrowska, M. Glowacki, K. Jakubowicz, & M. Sükösd (Eds.), *Comparative media systems: European and global perspectives* (pp. 63-76). Budapest and New York: Central European University Press.

UNESCO. (1978, November 28). *Declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war.* Retrieved May 06, 2016, from United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO): http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13176&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

UNESCO. (1945). *UNESCO Constitution.* Retrieved 6 17, 2015, from
www.unesco.org: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-
URL_ID=15244&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Valkenburg, P. M., A.Semetko, H., & DeVreese, C. H. (1999). The effects of news
frames on readers' thoughts and recall. *Communication Research, 26*(5), 550-
569.

Van Bruinessen, M. (1992). *Agha, shaikh and state: the social and political
structures of Kurdistan.* London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.

Van Bruinessen, M. (1994). Genocide in Kurdistan? The suppression of the Dersim
Rebellion in Turkey (1937-38) and the Chemical war against the Iraqi Kurds
(1988). In G. J. Andreopoulos (Ed.), *Conceptual and historical dimensions of
genocide* (pp. 141-170). Philedelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: bringing culture back
in. *Journal of Communication, 57*, 60-78.

Vliegenthart, R., & Van Zoonen, L. (2011). Power to the frame: bringing sociology
back to frame analysis. *European Journal of Communication, 26*(2), 101-
115.

White, P. J. (2000). *Primitive rebels or revolutionary modernizers? The Kurdish
national movement in Turkey.* New York: St Martin's Press, Inc.

Wolfsfeld, G. (1997). Fair weather friends: the varying role of the news media in the Arab-Israeli peace process. *Political Communication, 14*(1), 29-48.

Wolfsfeld, G. (2003). Media, conflict and peace. In P. J. Maarek, & G. Wolfsfeld (Eds.), *Political communication in a new era: a cross-national perspective* (pp. 139-159). London and New York: Routledge.

Wolfsfeld, G. (2004). *Media and the path to peace.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press .

Wolfsfeld, G. (2007). *The news media and peace processes- The Middle East and Northern Ireland.* Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.

World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers. (2014). *World Press Trends: Custom Report.*

Yeğen, M. (2007). Turkish nationalism and the Kurdish question. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 30*(1), 119-151.

Yeğen, M. (2011). *Son Kürt isyanı.* İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları.

Yeğen, M. (2013). *Devlet söyleminde Kürt sorunu* (6 ed.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Yeğen, M. (2015, May). *The Kurdish peace process in Turkey: Genesis, evolution and prospects, Working Paper 11.* Retrieved April 18, 2016, from http://www.iai.it/sites/default/files/gte_wp_11.pdf

'Yeni döneme' geçiş . (2013, March 22). *Cumhuriyet*, p.1.

Zaferle bitirdiler. (2013, March 22). *Yeniçağ*, p.1.

APPENDIX

Appendix A: Coding sheet

1. **Title of the newspaper**

( ) Hürriyet   ( ) Milliyet   ( )Sabah   ( ) Zaman   ( ) Habertürk

( ) Yeni Şafak ( ) Cumhuriyet ( ) Sözcü   ( ) Türkiye   ( ) Taraf

( ) Yeniçağ

2. **Date**

( ) January 2013   ( ) February2013 ( ) March 2013   ( ) April 2013

( ) May 2013   ( ) June 2013   ( ) July 2013   ( ) August 2013

( ) September 2013 ( ) October 2013   ( ) November 2013 ( ) December 2013

3. **Position of the news story**

( ) Headline   ( ) Headline above the logo   ( ) Second story on the front page

( ) Other

4. **Title of the news story:**

   ………………………………………………………………………….

5. **Frames used in the news story**

   a. Peace process   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

   b. Responsibility   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

   c. Terrorism   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

   d. Fear of division   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

   e. Economic consequences   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

   f. Human interest   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

6. **Cited sources in the news story**

   a. State sources   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

   b. Turkish political figures   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

c. Kurdish political figures ( ) Yes ( ) No

d. PKK/ Öcalan ( ) Yes ( ) No

e. NGOs ( ) Yes ( ) No

f. Experts ( ) Yes ( ) No

g. Business people ( ) Yes ( ) No

h. Ordinary people ( ) Yes ( ) No

i. Celebrities and opinion leaders ( ) Yes ( ) No

j. Foreign sources ( ) Yes ( ) No

7. **Naming of Abdullah Öcalan**

a. İmralı ( ) Yes ( ) No

b. Öcalan ( ) Yes ( ) No

c. PKK leader ( ) Yes ( ) No

d. Head of terrorists ( ) Yes ( ) No

e. Head of separatists ( ) Yes ( ) No

f. Head of the terror organization( ) Yes ( ) No

g. Baby killer ( ) Yes ( ) No

h. Political leader ( ) Yes ( ) No

i. Murderer ( ) Yes ( ) No

8. **Naming of the PKK**

a. Terror organization ( ) Yes ( ) No

b. PKK ( ) Yes ( ) No

c. Qandil ( ) Yes ( ) No

d. The organization ( ) Yes ( ) No

9. Naming of the PKK members

    a. PKK members   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

    b. Terrorists   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

    c. Militants   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

    d. Guerrillas   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

    e. Baby killers   ( ) Yes   ( ) No

    f. Separatists   ( ) Yes   ( ) No