

**Identity Perception Within the Framework of
Media Jargon and New Governmental Policies**
(Socio-Political Investigation of Armenian Conference)

Ece Karadođan Doruk
Murat GreŖçi
Halil İbrahim Zeytin

ABSTRACT

Today's policies desire ethnical, religious, sexual and cultural identities to define themselves with their own identities on public platform and new policies are shaped with the pressure from these new identities. Steadily increasing their presence on public platform, these identities further demand rights and liberties, which are perceived as a threat by other identities that conform to general structure of the society. This threat perception results in polarization of the society on the basis of us, and the others. Such polarization in society carries along with it conflicts and the media's perspective on these identities further marginalizes these identities, pushing them further away from one another. In fact, the media enflames the conflict environment between identities through emphasizing differences between others and us.

In the study, "Media Discourse: Socio-Political Analysis of Armenian Conference", it has been emphasized that the demands of ethnic, sexual, religious, cultural and many other identities in social life for their rights and freedom that increase parallel to their desire to display themselves and create space in the public sphere for themselves are the main determiners of political discourse. How does new politics meet these demands in the period when the respective identities require more rights and freedom with respect to the previous ones when they encounter with a new structure? What is the position of the media in this discourse?

In the frame of this study, the transformation of the media in social life during the period that witnesses the changes in today's concept of politics with the influence of liberalism and particularly as a result of the process in which the dominant approach of modernism substituted by more liberal policies as well as its perspective towards the identities will be analyzed.

In this respect, we have studied news pieces by 5 newspapers in the Turkish media on "The Ottoman Armenians During Fall of the Empire: Scientific Responsibility and Problems of Democracy" Conference, published between September 24 and September 26, 2006. We have preferred rhetoric analysis method so as to demonstrate how newspapers constructed and put into text form news on the matter, to identify the rhetoric in those texts and to interpret the meaning structure concealed in underlying structure.

Introduction

Realisation of a democratic and pluralist environment of communication required presence of a multi-dimensional political and cultural structure. Emergence of different ethnical and religious identities in public arena and the pressure they developed under wills of recognition are leading to re-definition of notions like religion, secularism, citizenship, legality and collapse of ideologies, therefore to development of a more freedom minded

structure that enables differences to be maintained together without making the other, attempting to make identical. For this reason, ruling elite and leaders of society have adopted a more liberal approach in order to address all identities, started relieving themselves from rigid imposition of modernity. This situation is manifested in policies of both government and political parties aspiring to rule the government. We see that the entire system renounces imposing acts on identities and considering them non-existent, thereby confronts serious pressure made by pressure groups both within and outside the system for their adoption of approaches taking human happiness as the basis.

The main factor determining the identity of individual is the social, cultural and economic environment in which he is born. When a person is born, he is born with his identity. In other words, an individual starts reflecting all characteristics of the group when he is born into a social, religious, ethnic and economic environment. Here, we can say that the subjective identity of individual starts taking shape before his social identity. Sense of social belongings and dependencies to which an individual belongs and feels dependent indicate us the thing in which we believe and how we will define ourselves. The aim of individual in willing to define himself results from the fact that others are also willing to define as he defines himself. As recognition of identities holds importance for start-up and continuation of social relation between identities, it is also important for providing social order.

The new world in the new century takes its part with the specifications of its own particulars and this situation brings with it a very heterogeneous structure. "Universal freedom concept worn-out in its own contradictions, having lost its attraction power, based on universal equality starts to be replaced by a war of identities. Cultural identities, sexual identities, ethnical identities have become leading symbols of politics."¹ In fact, we are facing a structure that enforces limits of meanings of notions and provides it to go further. As opposed to acting from a concept of individuals with no identity, particularly with an enforcement brought about particularly by modernity, nation state and global system prior to existing process, today we witness this limit being enforced, thus cultural identities starting to raise their voices and express more assertively their will to be recognised. However, one of the most important problems in front of today's liberal democracies is the recognition of different cultural identities. The most important difficulty ahead of a recognition policy at official level is that it is based on the principle of equal representation of all citizens as required by definition and implementation of liberal democracies. On the other hand, recognition of different identities in public arena brings with it another problem into agenda. Since non-personality of public organisations is the basis in contemporary democracies, citizens give up the identities in question against state's egalitarian treatment of themselves independently from ethnical, religious, cultural identities, thereby paying a cost. However, according to dominant view, public arena is an undefined sphere. The problem arises right at this point, on the issue of bipartisanship of public arena. This brings with it, recognition of public arena.

In fact, a new notion can be referred here. This notion is the notion of cultural democracy. Each state targeted by cultural democracy is first liable with creating an environment and mechanisms where legality of ethnical and cultural differences will be approved by the state. In fact, there were two options ahead of real democracies as of the first half of 20. Century. A democracy of Rousseauian individuals, citizens with no identity or a

¹ Ernesto Laclau, **Universality, Identity and Emancipation**, Translated By Ertuğrul Başer, Birikim Publications, İst.2000, p.9

democracy of Althusserian societies. It is necessary to evaluate benefits and impediments manifested by both options over historical process in connection with the problem of providing an environment where demands resulting from different requirements can be met by the state under the principle of fairness more than providing equality among identical individual citizens with respect to requirements in a large part of real democracies towards the end of century. Within the real time of our present day, we are left with a social structure shaped up around differences. This togetherness draws the entire structure into a different formation. At a time when identities demand more rights and freedoms with respect to the previous one in the face of new structure, to what extent does the new politics meet these demands of rights and freedoms? Where of this jargon does media stand? Is media inciting hatred, animosity against identities? How were the repercussions of Armenian Conference on newspapers of Tercüman, Radikal, Zaman, Hürriyet, Evrensel between the dates of 23-25 September 2005 realised? Is the content of these repercussions in a feature to incite hatred and furore towards identities, or a product of an effort towards providing possibilities for the majority to express itself? Is the media making the participants of the conference the other by marginalising the issue? Our study will be shaped up under guidance of these questions.

Democracy and Recognition of the Other

Democracy is not only about recognition of political equality, same rights to all citizens of the society. Democracy is a means to balance social inequalities. In fact, democratic culture is an attempt of harmonisation of unity and diversity, freedom and integrity. It is based on the principle of respect for the power of majority and rights of minorities. Such that, democracy formulates that the majority of present day can transform into a minority of tomorrow and at the same time the minority of today can transform into a majority of tomorrow, thereby a form of administration where rights of present-day minorities are recognised. Democracy is nourished with a continual dynamism and activity and unending discussion in the society by producing diversity of social subjects, therefore it provides an environment where these differences can co-exist in a social structure in which diversity exists. Here, objectivity of collective characteristics and subjectivity of individual participations both nourish and conflict with each other. Likely belongings are to diverse and separate. In each case, these selected closeness never represent a single or enforcing participation; it is in their essence to register in a pluralist location.

“Politics is not a completed, abstracted and corner-smoothed arena of objects, it is constituted as intertwined in flow. Dynamic developments of powers which may be effective towards each other take place within its structure.”² Mannheim puts forth politics before us in the form of a field of struggle. This struggle is the struggle of social forces that take up different shapes. It is a field of struggle done by classes to live their field of freedom and to express themselves.

Individuals constitute their identities with their relations vis-à-vis state comprising the largest part of public arena. Subjects' capability to open up a place for themselves in public arena and therefore own an identity, depends on the ability of state to provide them with a location of representation. In other words, state is required to recognise these social singularities. It is in this way that these subjective identity holders can defend themselves in

² Karl Mannheim, **Ideology and Utopia**, Translated By Mehmet Okyayuz, Epos Publications, 2002, Ankara, s.194

public arena and hope recognition in public arena.³ State; is both an instrumental and a symbolic key for acceptance of these singularities, that does not crush opposing singularities and see them as danger. State, in its present-day concept of democracy is expected to present possibilities to enable these singularities to manifest themselves, help them in their formation. The state based on the rule of representation should have the task of enabling the society it has to represent, to get organised independently from that. The essential task of state, “is

To give each component of civilian society, the place it deserves in public discussion and particularly to enable no one of them to be strangled because of opinion of majority, left on the shores, left unnoticed. Respect for minority rights is one of the cornerstones of democratic sincerity. Respect for this right is possible through scrupulous arrangement of justice and equality and abidance by them.”⁴

Even when identity defining belongings relate majorities in essence like women’s identity, they are entirely dependent on the principle of minority. Belongings are a means of differentiation in the face of global society, belongings serve the function of a means for creation of a globe where social belonging is lived more intensely, more personally within wider and compulsory belonging globe of social belonging. Community type social structures in which the same identity holding individuals are brought together as also seen in our country today, are in fact old social building stones. However, it is also a form of social organisation functioning along with democracy. Before being afraid of these mushrooming and continually growing communities, it needs to pay attention to subjected yeast that processes them and gnaws their traditional allegations thoroughly if any.⁵ Heeding to demands of these subjective identity holder individuals will relieve the state from a Machiaevellan state structure and draw the state into an organisational structure that embraces all subjective identities serving the function of a bridge.

The real problem in social and political life around the world and in Turkey is about sharing power. Besides, by whom and how power will be shared and provision of political means for citizens to enter into politics to give them the possibility to express views on general interests are other problems.⁶ The problem does not end in here. To what extent the belongings in other words subjectivity of individuals in the society are accepted by social belonging is another problem. Individuals constituting their personal identities with their subjectivity, so believe in their individualism. They enter into social relations. Therefore, they want to take part in public arena with these subjective identities. Emergence of these subjective identities in public arena contradicts with general identity politics. General identity politics and state do not want these characteristics to enter into public arena and take part in political sphere. In this sphere, state resorts to path of limiting freedoms within social and political sphere due to general identity policies.

Media Jargon and New Governmental Policies

Newspapers, radio, television and internet embraces masses, thereby transform public arena and public arena is being shaped up with the impact of media. Media is increasing its power in shaping up public arena, also with the new possibilities it created. For

³ Marcel Gauchet, **Development of Religion, Secularism Within Democracy**, Translated By Mehmet Emin Özcan, Dost Publications, Ankara, 2000 s.102

⁴ Marcel Gauchet, **a.g.e.**, s.103

⁵ Marcel Gauchet, **a.g.e.**, s.80-81

⁶ Marcel Gauchet, **a.g.e.**, s.60

viewers/buyers in the eyes of media, consumers in the eyes of advertisers, it is not possible to escape from new images created by media.

Media is one of defining determinants in cultural sphere with both quality and quantity dimensions in advanced capitalism of twentieth century. Media, addresses a larger public section quantitatively than many devices like religion, family, school, law classified as traditional ideological devices. Besides, individuals have become dependent on information that goes through circulation of mass communication means headed modern communication means, television in particular in the production and consumption of information. ‘The chief characteristic of these means of which fields of influence are continually widening by means of technical developments is that they can spread events and interpretations to large masses in a very short time, therefore they can seize the possibility to lead their opinions.’⁷ Media in present-day cultural life is in dominant position in the formation of practices, meanings and values regarding lives of individuals, and at the same time in the formation of values, meanings and images regarding common life.

Enchantment/motivation of media on individuals takes place with the codes it makes. Due to impossibility to know and understand what is taking place around an individual under present day conditions, the only power to meet information and knowledge requirements of individuals is media. For this reason, it is media owners that hold media power, editors, publishers, information producers performing all information production works who decide what, at what level and how individuals will know. The logic of codes generated by media and the events it attempts to express are reflected by going through a prism of manufactured product of media. As expressed by Marx, in all places where there is production, it needs to refer to an ideology. In view of Marx, there is a dependent and independent dialectic relation in all production relations and for this relation, there is a directing and directed, strong and weak, determinant and determined information producer and consumer, an ideology. In classical Marxist approach, “ideological role of media, is simply legalisation of wealth and power.”⁸ The truth reflected by media is in reaching the individual by passing through an ideological filter.

We obtain our information acquisition and view formation on the majority of events taking place around us, largely with the knowledge processed through information and generated by media. The type of jargon generated by media is shared by many persons more or less at the same time.⁹ Media, while realising this, benefits from many information and jargon. Media simplifies the complexity of information, makes it plain, transforms into slogans, then presents in an easily comprehensible manner to create a change of view and attitude in the individual. Presentation of messages by media in the form of a slogan, as easily comprehensible prototypes, particularly destruction of jargon and furthermore tearing off, simplification of the critical point of view included within the jargon from the jargon itself, thereby enabling the individual to think more plain and simple is explained by Jaques Ellul with the expression that “modern man’s refuge in visual representation as an easy, sufficient and short path is found boring”¹⁰. Modern world man delved in the richness of visual world is kept away from the jargon and its content. It is because, the individual is not required to deal much with the realities of world in modern world. He has to deal with his own realities, but on the other hand he has to shape up the production system that shapes up the real life of individual on his behalf. At this point, the process of transformation of information to knowledge, in other words editing of truth, takes place with keeping information subject to editorial process by media. “Media, with this jargon it creates, takes hold of mentalities of

⁷ Münci Kapani, **Introduction into Science of Politics**, Bilgi Publications, Ankara, 1988, s.150

⁸ Mehmet Küçük, **Media, Government, Ideology**, Ark Publication, Ank. 1999, s. 274

⁹ Mehmet Küçük, **a.g.e.**, s.370

¹⁰ Jacques Ellul, **The Fall of Words**, Translated By Hüsamettin Arslan, Paradigma, İstanbul, 1998, s. 166

masses under its sovereignty, and puts them in a dimension that makes them anonymous, alone and personality deficient.¹¹

The society is provided with ruling elites established on relations between bilateral controversies. The rich and the poor, men and women, whites and blacks, natives and foreigners, high education people and poorly educated people, heterosexuals and homosexuals, believers and non-believers, moderates and radicals, those healthy and sick, the famous and the unknown and generally there are power relations formed by controversies between Us and Them. Like the rich against the poor who are determinant on relations as a result of social consensus, men against women, whites against blacks, natives against foreigners, groups representing us against them are becoming determinants of communication. When Us defines itself, it defines Them in fact. Us includes a consensus, acceptance considered normal by the society. The notion of us 'is the security of respect we have shown towards ourselves, our own value, our position, our rights as reflected on the whole world. With the position we hold in our hands, we feel ourselves under security and safety.'¹² Whereas they are a threat, not accepted and rejected by the society, even for the maintenance of social life. Media represents the group representing us in the society. The others; poor, women, black, foreigner, poor educated, homosexuals, non-believers, radicals put under the classification of them, because of the ruling class they represent, become part of a negative, prejudiced jargon as defined by us, leave aside manifesting themselves in media. Media makes the presentation of the other systematically with negative characteristics. This jargon of making other is made with many methods like 'denials and privileges (I am not against them, but..., There are good people too among them... etc.), group differences and competition, comparisons emphasising the us/them controversy in general (We are working very hard, but they have nothing to do) and transfer (It is not important for me, but the people in the country, city, road or section take it seriously)'¹³. Because of the possibilities in its hand, media decides on which social groups will be presented to public and what will be said about them and particularly how it will be said. When looked from this perspective, we conclude that media messages are ideological productions. In other words, media is a genetic part of social ruling structure.

In the formation of individual, media as included under social mechanisms like school, religion, family named as ideological tools of state by Althusser, serves the ruling class under this direction. Noam Chomsky says if the thoughts of individual are kept under control, options are limited by someone, it will not be hard to say that the role played by individual is a significant role. It means that control is in the hand of controllers and the segment to whom they serve. In view of Chomsky, the rest is meaningless.¹⁴ Media should be able to constitute a democratic platform where everyone is treated equally with respect to political participation; no official discrimination is applied with respect to sex, ownership, ethnic origin.

¹¹ Sadık Güneş, **Media and Culture**, Vadi Publications, Ankara, 1995, s. 168

¹² Ünsal Oskay, **Introduction Into Mass Communication Theories**, Der Publication, İst., 1992, 315

¹³ Mehmet Küçük, **a.g.e.**, s.356

¹⁴ Noam Chomsky, **Democracy, Truth and Dream**, Translated By Cevdet Cerit, Pinar Publications, İst, 2001, s.19

The Problematic to be Analysed with the Research

In this study, analysis of how the conference titled “Ottoman Armenians in the Period of Collapse of the Empire: Scientific Responsibility and Problems of Democracy” that took place between 24-26 September 2006 is transmitted by the Turkish Media through references, is aimed. Our fundamental presumption before analysis is that “Turkish Media could not adapt to developing markets, resisted change, developed a resistance towards expression of fundamental rights and freedoms, reinforced a conservative point of view”.

Research Method

In this study, the jargon analysis method is preferred with the purpose of displaying how the conference titled “Ottoman Armenians in the Period of Collapse of the Empire: Scientific Responsibility and Problems of Democracy” that took place between 24-26 September 2006 is brought into texts by being edited in different newspapers, determining related text jargon and examining the meaning structure hidden in deep meaning. Jargon analysis is concerned with different realities, jargon effects, political relations, power relations, forms of information and ideology, corporate connections and regularities – or irregularities formed by those using the jargon.

In view of Edibe Sözen, “Jargon is the practice of language; they are processes regarding language practices that transform into action with ideology, knowledge, expression, style of declaration, negotiation, power and the intervention of power. Jargon as a process is arranged with inner rules of acts of expression and speaking. Inner rules of jargon constitute jargon orders; jargon is constituted of arranged jargons. Theoretical approaches regarding jargon, consider jargon like a text, while practical approaches consider as exchanges of meaning emerging in mutual speeches of people.”¹⁵ “The aim in jargon analysis that has become gradually very popular in recent years, is in the definition of Teun A. Van Dijk, ‘fundamentally an examination of misuse of social rule, representation and regeneration of tyranny and inequality by means of texts’. Therefore, jargon analysis is an opposing form of analysis and the analyser assumes a definite attitude in disclosing generation of social inequality through texts. The most important difference of jargon analyses from quality content analysis is that it takes up the text as a whole without separating into pieces and displays how the dominant jargon inside the text is constructed.”¹⁶

The fundamental mechanism of our study is to be able to determine contextual reasons of the mode of reflection on 5 different newspapers positioned in different parts of opinion range and differing jargons of Armenian Conference. In this context, the ideological connection of the notion passed through a process of selection and turned into news with relevant organisations will be the sphere on which we will focus our interest. The news jargon constitutes the most suitable context for analysis of relation between language and ideology.

At this point, the news jargon model of Van Dijk becomes the basic path of our study. Dijk in his book titled “News Analyses” refers to two different structures in jargon analyses; macro structure and micro structure of jargon. In view of Dijk, thematic structures, news headlines, spots and introductions constitute macro-presumption of news text. In this context, the

¹⁵ Edibe Sözen, **Jargon**, İstanbul, Paradigma Publication, 1999, s.20

¹⁶ Süleyman İrvan, “The Problematic of Method in Text Analysis”, **Media and Culture**, (3-5 May 2000, 1. National Communication Symposium Communiques,)Ankara Gazi University Communication Magazine, 2000, s.81

headline, spot in the feature of news summary and introduction sections are in the feature of manifesting the “jargon” of news at macro level. Whereas micro structure is in the feature to manifest the analysis of meaning connection established with other expressions, briefly the analysis of text at micro level.¹⁷ The most important function of jargon made at macro and micro level, is in the expression of Stuart Hill “making definition of situation”¹⁸ and the ideology existing regarding the issue, in other words judgement visible. In the jargon analysis we will make within the scope of this study, text jargon will be taken up at both macro and micro level.

Van Dijk, taking up media jargon within an analytical framework where traditional approaches in the form of interpretation based on text and social tradition based on context are blended, claims that ideology is expressed in jargon and re-generated. Jargon studies of which different introductions of two groups as us and them constitutes the starting point, requires examination of the context constituted by historical, political and social history of the controversy in jargon, power relations and groups, determination of positive and negative views on Us and Them, disclosure of information presumed and perceived and examination of word selection and syntactical structure emphasising views of polarised groups.¹⁹

Almost all mass communication means are using certain language mechanisms as jargon strategy with the purpose of maintaining the values and point of view they hold, in other words their ideologies. As known, jargon analysis, takes up text as a whole and attempts to manifest under which ideology it is referred by analysing the language. For jargon analyses, language editing holds importance more than numerical data. However, numerical data or categorisation of related news provide facility to researcher in the name of making jargon analysis in a more efficient manner. We, in our study aimed at both reaching a more general view and enabling to make a comparison as we will confront in the conclusions section by putting how many news related with the subject were included in this context, how many news were positive, negative or impartial (language, approach, view of person taken as reference, way of expression of view of person taken as reference, etc.) on a chart.

Unit of Research

In our research, analysis of at what level the conference titled “Ottoman Armenians in the Period of Collapse of the Empire: Scientific Responsibility and Problems of Democracy” that took place between 24-26 September 2006 was included by the Turkish Media, is aimed. In this context, publications made by newspapers of Tercüman, Evrensel, Hürriyet, Radikal and zaman from a different range of thoughts throughout the week are selected as research unit. Within this context, the news in the newspapers of the deviationism range were investigated within the scope of the study; such as the Tercuman (representing the nationalist discourse.), Evrensel, Radikal (representing the conservative Left and Left discourse.), Hurriyet (representing the liberal discourse.) and Zaman (representing the nationalist conservative discourse.). Publications of related newspapers between 23 September and 30 September were scanned on internet environment, news related with the subject were made subject to jargon analysis. In this context, news editing for before and after the conference, will be guiding for us in the name of reaching our aims.

¹⁷ Van Dijk, Teun A. **News Analysis**, New Jersey: Lawrance Erlbaum Associates Publishing, 1988.

¹⁸ Shoemer, Pamela ve Stephen D. Reese (1997). “**The Impact of Ideology on Media Content**”, Media, Culture, Politics, Edited By: Süleyman İrvan, Ankara: Ark, s.103

¹⁹ Güler Ülkü, “**The Problematic of Method in Jargon Analysis and Van Dijk Method**”, Relations Between News Truth and Ruling Class, Edited By: Çiler Dursun, Kesit Promotion: Ankara, s.376

Data and Analysis

TERCÜMAN NEWSPAPER

DATE	TITLE OF NEWS	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	IMPARTIAL
23.09.2005	Cancellation Ruling on Armenian Conference from the Judiciary		X	
24.09.2005	They Want to Raise Sevres From Grave		X	
25.09.2005	They Are Democrats For Themselves		X	
26.09.2006	Bemusement and Diversion Will Be Light		X	
26.09.2006	They Talked Without Documents		X	
27.09.2006	Applaud on One-Sided Conference		X	
27.09.2005	Hang That Picture on Your Wall		X	
29.09.2005	Their Aims Were Ideological		X	

Tercüman Newspaper published nine news during the dates the conference was held. All of these news (100%) are constituted of negative news. Tercüman Newspaper transmitted news on the conference for 7 days. In this context, it was noticed to be the newspaper covering the conference in the highest number of days. Though Tercüman acted in the widest range as the number of days, it generally included a main news each day, but showed that it did not consider other dimensions of the issue. When we examine news jargon of Tercüman Newspaper, a conservative point of view that is in parallel with dominant jargon, courageously initiating to be an ideological tool of state, reinforcing animosity on me and the other and in this context towards expression of freedoms in public arena is noticed.

When we analyse the news that appear in Tercüman Newspaper, it is seen that they are based on an ideological point of view both at macro level and micro level. Both headlines and spots as well as syntactical structure of news text, word selection, bonds of meaning established between sentences, person whose views are covered and perspectives of persons and organisations whose views are included are generally one dimensional. With the most clear expression of this size, “the purpose of realising such a conference will harm state and society, such structures are provocation of circles attempting to divide up the motherland”.

The headlines of “Cancellation Ruling on Armenian Conference from the Judiciary”, “They Want to Raise Sevres From Grave”, “They Are Democrats For Themselves”, “Bemusement and Diversion Will Be Light”, “They Talked Without Documents”, “Applaud on One-Sided Conference”, “Hang That Picture on Your Wall”, “Their Aims Were Ideological” and “I Thought I was in Bulgaria” determine the jargon of Tercüman Newspaper at macro level without leaving any room for suspicion. Clearly, all headlines indicate that the newspaper did not approach the issued in impartial manner and mixed news with comments, thereby an ideological guidance was prioritised by the newspaper. In this context, it is seen that the newspaper looks at the issue at macro level from a perspective of “national interests” and it did not prefer respecting the “freedom of discussion”. Besides, it is observed that at macro level, “Enemy of Turkey”, the “other” is created clearly, and the newspaper entered into serious polemics to humiliate the other or to invalidate its jargons.

When we examine the news on Tercüman Newspaper, we see that news texts are generally in conformity with the headline and a language is used in the name of continuing existing ideological dictum. Media language, particularly news language and meaning generation of media are with respect to dual controversies. Media assumes its dynamism with its structure based on dual controversies (Sözen 1997:43). Tercüman Newspaper frequently includes dual controversies in its text jargon, almost creates the “other” and criticises the “others” with clearly commenting expressions in a moralist attitude by intervening into situation.

Particularly the words of “they” on the news titled “They Are Democrats For Themselves” is one of the sharpest examples of creating the other.

Briefly Tercüman Newspaper assumed a quite negative attitude towards the conference in the news it made regarding Armenian Conference and mixed news with news frequently and adopted a guiding jargon. Here, the ideology of the newspaper and its attitude towards government have been determinant. Tercüman newspaper is a member of nationalist view and it is known with its proximity to MHP Party; in this context, it embellished its jargon on the conference with “negating” and “critical” items due to both its sensitivity towards the issue and also its opposition to government party – though implicitly.

RADİKAL NEWSPAPER

DATE	TITLE OF NEWS	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	IMPARTIAL
23.09.2005	This Time A Judiciary Brake on Armenian Conference. Judiciary Halted Science	X		
23.09.2005	Harsh Reaction From Prime Minister: It Does Not Conform With Democracy	X		
23.09.2005	Judiciary Locked Up Science	X		
23.09.2005	Full Text of Resolution			X
23.09.2005	Çiçek’s Outburst Had It Postponed	X		
23.09.2005	Academics: Judiciary Exceeded Its Authority	X		
24.09.2005	YÖK: Intervention Into Constitution Supported Autonomy. Administrative Court Annoyed Even YÖK	X		
24.09.2005	Conference Starts Today			X
24.09.2005	Do Not Become A Tool of Ideology	X		
24.09.2005	Çiçek: My Views Did Not Change		X	
24.09.2005	BÜ Lecturers: Prejudiced	X		
24.09.2005	Day Long Activity	X		
24.09.2005	EU: This Event Will Be Included in Report	X		
24.09.2005	Turkey Has Become Ridiculous	X		
25.09.2005	The Word Genocide Was Also Used in the Conference, The World Still Turns Around, Turkey Still Awaits	X		
25.09.2005	This Is My Country I Am Going Home	X		
25.09.2005	We Have Beaten Dragons	X		
25.09.2005	Baykal, Spoke In the End: It Is Saddening	X		
25.09.2005	Gül: Let Us Draw A Lesson	X		
25.09.2005	Erdoğan: This Is a Provocation	X		
26.09.2005	Conference Ended Without Any Accident			X
26.09.2005	Last Day In Conference	X		
26.09.2005	Baykal: This Conference Is Not Scientific		X	

Radikal Newspaper made 23 news on the dates Armenian Conference was held. 18 of these news (78%) were written with a positive perspective, while 2 of them (9%) reflected a negative perspective, 3 (13%) were written with a bipartisan perspective. When we analyse the news covered in Radikal Newspaper, they are seen to be based with an ideological perspective at both macro level and micro level. This ideological perspective can be expressed

as establishing a positive perspective towards the conference and criticising persons or organisation opposing this activity. Both headlines and spots, as well as syntactical structure of news texts, word selection, connection of meaning established between sentences, approaches of persons whose views were covered is in general “for definite execution of conference in the context of freedom of thought”. In view of Radikal Newspaper, this conference is a scientific activity and political pressures towards scientific activity may put the country under serious problem within the process of European Union.

Headlines like “Judiciary Halted Science”, “Judiciary Locked Up Science”, “Academics: Judiciary Exceeded Its Authority”, “BU Lecturers: Prejudiced”, “EU: This Event Will Be Included In Report”, “Turkey Became Ridiculous”, “The Word Genocide Was Also Used in the Conference, The World Still Turns Around, Turkey Still Awaits” determine macro framework of the jargon of Radikal Newspaper without leaving any room for suspicion. All headlines manifest with a clear expression that the newspaper did not approach the issue in a bipartisan manner and an ideological interpretation was prioritised by the newspaper by mixing news with comments. In this context, it is observed that the newspaper looks at the issue solely from the perspective of “freedom of thought” and controversy of the situation with the official dictum and lack of multi-dimensionality in the conference were not taken into the centre through the news transmission process.

When we examine the news on Radikal Newspaper from micro perspective, we see that news texts are generally in conformity with the headline and a positive language on the conference is also built in the body of news. It is possible to look at micro level analysis of news on Radikal Newspaper from two perspectives. The first one of them is on which jargon the news on the conference are based. Secondly, it is about on which direction of views the approaches towards the issue of persons whose views on the conference are transmitted are. Radikal Newspaper made 23 news in total on the issue and a large majority of them were edited in the form of transmission of views of different circles.

While Radikal Newspaper made an extensive coverage of views of persons and organisations adopting a positive attitude regarding the conference, the views of opponents of the issue were lost among lines. This approach, is also understood from the headlines in the table. We had previously mentioned that identities of persons indicated as reference through news generation process and the decision on which dimension of their speeches they would transmit were extremely important for the ideological function of news. In this context, when the situation of Radikal Newspaper is being defined, it could be said that they generally showed persons with similar views as reference and in that context they adopted a news transmission process which is not multi-dimensional.

ZAMAN NEWSPAPER

DATE	NEWS HEADLINE	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	IMPARTIAL
22.09.2205	Armenian Conference Cancelled This Time Under Court Ruling		X	
22.09.2205	An Alternative to Bosphorus University Was Held in Ankara		X	
23.09.2005	Last Minute Cancellation to Armenian Conference From Judiciary		X	
23.09.2005	Armenian Conference Will Be Held in Bilgi University			X
23.09.2005	Case Against 5 Authors Asking For Non-Postponement of Armenian Conference			X
23.09.2005	Annoyed At Protestors of Armenian Conference		X	
23.09.2005	Dink: We Armenians Have An Eye On This Soil		X	
23.09.2005	Views Differed in the One-Sided Conference		X	
23.09.2005	Kenan Evren: Armenian Conference Was Beneficial		X	
23.09.2005	Türk Sağlık Sen Condemned Armenian Conference		X	
23.09.2005	İstanbul University Will Also Hold An Armenian Conference		X	
23.09.2005	Baykal: Armenian Conference Is Not Scientific, Objective and Balanced		X	
23.09.2005	Professor Reacting to Conference Was Taken Out of the Hall		X	
24.09.2005	Who Said What In the Armenian Conference?			X
24.09.2005	Disputing Moments in the Armenian Conference		X	
24.09.2005	Protests With Eggs on Cengiz Çandar		X	
25.09.2006	Armenian Conference Ended			X

During the dates Armenian Conference was held, 17 news in total were made regarding the issue on Zaman Newspaper. While 13 (76%) of these news were negative, 4 (24%) were written with an impartial perspective. When we analyse the news that appeared in Zaman Newspaper, we see that they are based with an ideological perspective both at macro level and micro level. This ideological perspective can be expressed as constituting a negative perspective towards the conference and devaluing the persons who arranged this activity.

Both headlines and spots, as well as syntactical structure of news text, word selection, meaning bond between sentences, perspectives of people whose views were covered are generally in parallel with the official dictum. In this context, a meaning transmission that the dominant jargon of newspaper was such that the conference had no scientific value, it was executed on a tilted perspective and it was protested by many non-governmental organisations can be accepted as the dominant jargon of newspaper. It can be said that Zaman Newspaper

reinforced animosity over me and the other and in this context, news were based with a conservative perspective towards expression of freedoms in public arena.

Headlines like “An Alternative to Bosphorus University Was Held in Ankara”, “Annoyed At Protestors of Armenian Conference”, “Dink: We Armenians Have An Eye On This Soil”, “Views Differed in the One-Sided Conference”, “Türk Sağlık Sen Condemned Armenian Conference”, “İstanbul University Will Also Hold An Armenian Conference”, “Professor Reacting to Conference Was Taken Out of the Hall” determine the macro framework of the jargon of Zaman Newspaper. It is seen that in most of the headlines, the newspaper did not approach the issue in an impartial manner and news were mixed with comments, thereby an ideological direction was persistent. In this context, it could be said that the newspaper looked at the issue within an official framework of view and it did not attach any importance on realisation of freedom of expression.

When we examine the news on Zaman Newspaper from a micro perspective, we see that news texts are generally in conformity with headlines and a language is used in the name of continuation of existing ideological jargon. Identities of persons or organisation whose views are covered are an ideological choice. While you edit news, you always include similar views, then you will have assumed an ideological attitude and enables representation of different views in your text. In that context Zaman Newspaper made places available on its pages for expression of views of persons who are close their jargon.

Zaman Newspaper, established a news jargon that does not want the conference to be held like Tercüman newspaper. The newspaper taking a very ideological base with this attitude, did not refrain from making those who do not share its views the other and excluding them. Besides, the newspaper did not attach much importance to adaptation of the freedom of thought and expression, from the very first day it put emphasis on the fact that the conference had no scientific dimension, thereby emphasised that it would be correct not to hold it.

EVRENSEL NEWSPAPER

DATE	NEWS HEADLINE	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	IMPARTIAL
24.09.2005	Meeting Forbidden, Demonstration Free		X	
24.09.2005	They Protested a Non-Existing Conference		X	
25.09.2005	Conference Started In Dispute			X
25.09.2006	Protests Continued Yesterday Too			X
25.09.2005	Erdoğan: Provocation		X	
26.09.2005	Armenians Are Not Enemies		X	
26.09.2005	Attacks with Eggs on Bilgi		X	

Evrensel newspaper published 7 news in total regarding the event between dates 24-26 September when the Armenian Conference would be held. 5 (70%) of the published news were positive news, 2 (30%) were impartial news. Evrensel newspaper was the newspaper to cover the conference in minimum with respect to both the number of days news on the issue were published and the number of news published. Evrensel, covered the conference by publishing only 7 news for 3 days. Evrensel newspaper assumed an attitude for execution of conference with its form of approach regarding the issue. It brought news reflecting a positive perspective on the news to the agenda. Such that, it gave an extensive coverage of explanations of speakers defending Armenian thesis, explanations were kept long to give a positive impression on the conference with the presentation of news. It is seen that those who said Armenian genocide did not exist were given less space on the newspaper compared to

those who said it happened. This situation does not exceed a few sentences and sometimes one sentence.

When looked from a macro and micro perspective, Evrensel newspaper approaches as a party right from the first day of conference. The newspaper, adopting the jargon on the opposite side of official jargon of state and doing that in the name of freedoms falls into controversy with itself with a headline it puts on the first day. The news of “Conference Forbidden, Demonstration Free” is in favour of demonstrations being forbidden along with the conference. The newspaper asks why demonstrations were not disallowed like the conference was disallowed. It demands prohibition of protests against conference by those from the opposite view. In the separation of me and the other, the newspaper manifested its attitude in the face of the view it adopted, right from the first day. While wanting freedoms to be adopted by those who accept its view, it does not want this right to be used by those outside its own view.

When we examine the newspaper from a macro perspective, these headlines draw our attention: the headlines of “Meeting Forbidden, Demonstration Free”, “They Protested a Non-Existing Conference”, “Conference Started In Dispute”, “Protests Continued Yesterday Too”, “Erdoğan: Provocation”, “Armenians Are Not Enemies”, “Attacks with Eggs on Bilgi” establish macro framework of the newspaper. The newspaper, with its macro framework, refers in its news texts that the government recognised freedom to those who adopted the official jargon and put those who adopted this view subject to limitation. Furthermore, the newspaper positioned against those who adopt the official jargon, shares this view with its readers in a detailed and expansive manner. It is seen that Evrensel portrayed an ideological perspective and an anti-democratic perspective in news generation process too. From the first day the Armenian Conference was started to the very last day, we see a systematic attitude against official jargon in the newspaper. Evrensel, fails to develop an impartial perspective on the issue in its news jargon, it even presents news with one-dimensional perspective.

When looked at news generation process of Evrensel newspaper from a micro perspective, we see a meaning generation which is conformant with the perspective provided from a macro perspective. In the lower text of news under the headline “Conference Started in Dispute” reflected with an impartial perspective, Evrensel put forth certain segments of the events in the name of making views of the opposite site meaningless. Meaning bonds of the text of news which seems like an impartial transmission of news on the headline are in the feature of displaying disparage of official view, how meaningless were the outbursts of protestors of conference.

Evrensel newspaper is in an attitude quite partial in its approach over the issue. It maintained this attitude from the news it made on the first day Armenian Conference was held. The newspaper displayed a separation of us and the other in a very sharp manner. It did not consider the other opposing itself as non-existent, however it gave too few space in its pages, it particularly brought forth such ideological openings to strengthen the animosity of its own readers as it perceived the jargon of the party it labelled as being the other in an ideological manner.

HÜRRİYET NEWSPAPER

DATE	NEWS HEADLINE	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	IMPARTIAL
22.09.2005	Armenian Conference Halted			X
22.09.2005	Participants of Armenian Conference Asked For Security.			X
22.09.2005	Küçükkoğlu: Ruling Will Provide Legal Basis		X	
22.09.2005	Erdoğan: I Can Not Approve	X		
22.09.2005	EU Commission: Ruling is Provocation	X		
23.09.2005	Conference Will Be Held in Another University			X
23.09.2005	Disputable Words From the Lawyer Who Had the Conference Banned		X	
23.09.2005	Support for Halting of Armenian Conference			X
23.09.2005	Reaction to Halting of Armenian Conference			X
23.09.2005	Prime Minister Erdoğan: I Do Not Approve	X		
23.09.2005	Conference Cancelled With 2 Votes In Favour 1 Against			X
23.09.2005	Rector: Conference Will Be Held in Our University			X
24.09.2005	Disputed Conference Started With Protests			X
24.09.2005	Dual of Words in Disputed Conference		X	
24.09.2005	The World's Eyes on the Conference	X		
24.09.2005	Support for Conference from Baykal	X		
24.09.2005	Conference Is Protested		X	
24.09.2005	Erdoğan Criticised Ruling of Cancellation	X		
24.09.2005	Gül: Turkish People are in Peace With Their History	X		
24.09.2005	Formula Found			X
24.09.2005	Assault on İnönü With Eggs and Tomatoes		X	
25.09.2005	LAT: Armenian Conference Is Opening a New Era	X		
25.09.2005	We Have An Eye On This Soil, Our Roots Are In Here		X	
25.09.2005	Tension Creating Dispute		X	
25.09.2005	Lesson from İnönü			X
25.09.2005	Turks and Armenians Suffered Deeply		X	
25.09.2005	Provocative Act Before Negotiation	X		
25.09.2005	Everyone Said Their Words Freely	X		
25.09.2005	Freedom for Protests Too	X		
25.09.2005	They Shared The Same Sandwich	X		
25.09.2005	When Hülya Loves Dükü	X		
26.09.2005	Another Armenian Conference From İÜ		X	
26.09.2005	Foreign Press: Turkish Judiciary Under Nationalist Influence	X		
26.09.2006	It's Diaspora's Turn		X	
26.09.2005	Erivan, You Talk About These Too		X	
26.09.2005	Conference For Having Armenian Thesis Accepted		X	
26.09.2005	I Will Bring Newspapers to AP	X		
26.09.2005	I Saw The Tomatoes on My Shoulder in Hürriyet			X
26.09.2005	No Tomatoes Left in District Market			X
26.09.2005	Number of Armenians In View of Pasha		X	
26.09.2005	This Comedy Was Not Good		X	
26.09.2005	What They Said			X
27.09.2005	Positive But One-Sided		X	
27.09.2005	Announcement of Offense About Prime Minister Erdoğan and Oli Rehn			X
27.09.2005	Both Support and Criticism From MP's			X
27.09.2005	Turkey Relieved With the Armenian Conference	X		

27.09.2005	Harsh Reaction to Forbidding Court From University	X		
27.09.2005	Ankara Demolished An Important Taboo	X		
27.09.2005	No Voice From Erivan		X	
27.09.2005	AP: Give the Same Support to Pamuk		X	
27.09.2005	A Joint Commission Will Be Established			X

Hürriyet newspaper made 51 news between the dates Armenian Conference was held. 18 (35%) of these news were positive, 17 (33%) were negative, while 16 (32%) were impartial. Hürriyet newspaper published 51 news within a period of 5 days, thereby became the news allocating maximum place for the event. Besides, views of both sides were included in great detail, full text of all press releases and discussions were published, thereby a balanced news presentation was realised in its general appearance. The newspaper with this attitude, was not imprisoned within the narrow framework of an ideological perspective. However, the newspaper did not assume a very clear line in the face of official jargon. It brought the perspective supporting realisation of conference, however it realised that by keeping away from an ideological presentation, creating a multi-dimensional environment of discussion without making it single dimensional.

Hürriyet newspaper continually mentioned in its news that failure to carry out the conference was not seen positively neither by the government nor the European Union, thereby tries to create pressure on those who do not want the conference to be executed. It covered particularly the announcement of Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan. Therefore, it covered extensively that the government displayed an attitude in favour of freedoms and the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was not happy with the situation. Besides, announcements of the European Union, jargon of World public and comments on foreign media were brought to news of the paper to stop execution of conference by means of judiciary and application of serious pressure on those who do not want the conference to be performed.

Within the macro framework, they are trying to make their references largely via Armenia by bringing beyond those who claim there was a genocide or not, living the issue in Turkey and being a party to the event through negation of the opposite party. Disparaging Armenia has become more preferable in news jargon. Armenia and Erivan were particularly kept on the agenda, thereby those adopting a nationalist jargon in recent days were brought down the agenda, instead Armenia was talked more about. It is observed that the newspaper kept those who adopted official jargon away from eyes, thereby it tried to keep them away from clashes, focus the animosity in the society more on Armenia rather than nationalists.

When we examine Hürriyet newspaper from a micro perspective, we see that headlines reflecting a negative perspective are also in conformity with contents of texts. The newspaper reflects the conference as a field of controversy, resembles outbursts of those who say ‘there is no genocide’ to a verbal dual. From the date Armenian Conference held to its completion, Hürriyet newspaper sometimes stood in favour and sometimes against execution of conference. It is not possible to base the perspective of Hürriyet newspaper on one side. If it is right to an extent to say it was constituted entirely on a negative perspective, it is wrong to say it was constituted entirely on a positive perspective. The positive attitude assumed by the newspaper in the beginning of conference was dispersed thoroughly towards the end of conference. It started to be based continually close to official jargon. While non-execution of the conference was evaluated as a strike on scientific freedom along with freedom of thought and expression, the consideration of ‘it would rather be not made’ gained weight with news

made towards the end of conference. It is because there is no initiative on the Armenian side to hold a conference in which Turkish thesis would be discussed. The opposite party continues to express its statements with the same decisiveness. In fact, Hürriyet drew attention to malevolent intentions of the opposite party with the news of “No voice in Armenia”. If Armenia has malicious intentions, the conference should be perceived as a one-side initiative towards having Armenian thesis accepted. For this reason, views of CHP General Chairman Deniz Baykal are covered. Consequently, in view of the newspaper, if the opposing party is not changing its views, the Turkish party should not change its views either. If the opposite party is announcing that it did not renounce its views, the Turkish side too should embrace its thesis firmly. It should not care about Armenian thesis, talk negatively about the conference, disregard Armenian thesis. The newspaper adopts the perception of news making edited on controversies as a guide. The determinant thing is the Armenians perceived as the other. Malicious intentions of the Armenians also determine our views. Hürriyet, developed a news making jargon that carried the perception of ‘we should also be bad, if the other is bad’. Correctness and incorrectness of Armenian thesis holds no significance. No single news is made regarding interrogation of these issues. In view of Hürriyet, the conference is one-sided, but the line of the newspaper is also one-sided. It is largely filled with news realised with a logic of what you say are wrong, mines are right or just the opposite. The reality of Hürriyet is away from creating a platform of discussion with multi-dimensional form of generation. The generation of reality moves over dual controversy of me-you, news editing of the event is constituted of sentimental approaches shaped up over a quarrel of me-you.

Conclusion

In our study titled “Media Jargon and Identity Perception within the Framework of New Governmental Policies (A Socio-Political Examination of Armenian Conference)”, we tried to examine reflection of change occurring or we think to have occurred in politics, on media jargon. We have seen that, forms of jargon arising on the basis of identities in politics are in fact being perceived as a threat to common culture existing in both life universes of individuals on social layers and also to common culture existing in media. This perception of threat is realised in the form of an attack on the one perceived as the other with the scare of being demolished, making irregular, exclusion, speaking ill. Reflections on media jargon of the event we took up under Armenian Conference specifically have indicated that, our social perception is still on creating a negating image towards thinking like us. Lack of endurance towards freedom of expression and thought which is a fundamental right is in a very dramatic dimension. Efforts for causing the Armenian Conference not to be held is for disrupting this effort enabling those who claim there is genocide to raise their voices. Thereafter, clashes of those taking part in the conference, the parties attempting to keep each other under pressure and the way media reflects events have assumed a stance instigating an environment of controversy. This situation is noticeable for manifesting how narrow our perspective towards freedoms remains. At this point, we see that media has fallen away from being multi-vocal and a course to create an environment of discussion, due to the way media takes up the issue. Media should be a place to provide an environment of discussion between the parties instead of being a party. In this event, media acted like one of the parties, failed to provide an environment that would enable the reader to obtain impartial knowledge and information.

The form of investigation in five different opinion newspapers of the conference titled “Ottoman Armenians in the Period of Collapse of the Empire: Scientific Responsibility and

Problems of Democracy” that took place between 24-26 September 2006 was attempted to be examined. How do fundamental political notions taking the freedom of individual as basis for itself and going through a transformation, find a reflection in Turkish media with this specific event? According to common view, media is expected to reflect these political, ethnic, religious, sexual, cultural identities in the society, this multi-vocalism without bearing any prejudice and become an instrument to self-expression of these identities. However, we witness how each newspaper is caught in ideological prism of each newspaper and manipulated and reflected in one single dimension when the event under examination is going through news generation system. Each one of Tercüman, Radikal, Zaman, Evrensel and Hürriyet newspapers expresses the conference in its scope as part of its ideological consideration. They are transmitting the subject they are taking up within the framework of freedom of expression and thought by making those sharing the opposite thought the other, by limiting the freedom of expression and thought of the opposite side. This state of media is a thought provoking and ironic situation both with respect to its own situation and the subject. Media, with its attitude towards the conference and groups from different views taking part in the conference, is generating a sort of conscious or unconscious system of beliefs and thoughts that direct individuals to a mistaken consciousness. Wrong conscious created towards the conference is woven with symbols, codes, images and notions reflected from the prism of media. The image created by media in the mind of individual regarding the conference can be reached solely by being analysed with symbols, codes, images and notions.

At the end of our examination, handling by media in Turkey of a subject manifested as a taboo in the society and its discussion is believed to lead to clashes within the society, takes place via negation of each other by the parties and making it irregular. Handling of ethnic, religious, sexual, cultural identities by media, takes place by excluding it, talking negatively about it, making it irregular, if these identities do not manifest any similarity with the whole of society. We are making it the other because of scare for the different, our structure of thought shaped up around our belief that it will destroy us. Therefore, we believe utilisation of any right by the party which we classify as the other can endanger our presence. In the utilisation of a right considered from fundamental rights like the freedom of thought and expression, we may be unable to endure it being used by the side labelled as the other.

The attitude assumed by these five newspapers we have selected from Turkish media, in this and similar events on the Armenian Conference in specific are in identical characteristics. All newspapers immediately exclude the view which is not close to its own view, perceives it as irregular and danger. They are following a publication policy shaped up on the basis of scare. It needs not to accuse newspapers for the attitude they adopt. It is because institutions, like individuals are part of social life. Since our mode of approach in social life to those different from us is not different from that, it would be guilefulness in our view, to expect newspapers to portray a different attitude. The form of look of individual to those other than himself in the social life, is being shaped up on the basis of scare. Different dynamics within social life; indicate that economic, cultural, political powers should approach the conscious of individual by making it scared of those other than himself. Whether in economic structure or political, cultural life, we are witnessing a war that goes on between the powerful and the weak. There is such a perception in the society. Society and life is the field of struggle of controversies. The winner of this struggle is determined by the powerful. Then, those other than us are the persons against whom we launch a struggle to exist. If we want to win a victory, we need to be strong and beat the other party. When it is like this, the form of approach developed by newspapers regarding the conference is in parallel with this thought in our social perception. We can say that dialectic jargon of newspapers results from a

dialectic action and it is shaped up with establishment, maintenance and reinforcement of controversies.

Resources

Laclau, Ernesto **Universality, Identity and Emancipation**, Translated By Ertuğrul Başer, Birikim Publications, İstanbul,.2000.

Mannheim Karl, **Ideology and Utopia**, Translated By Mehmet Okyayuz, Epos Publications, Ankara, 2002.

Gauchet Marcel, **Development of Religion, Secularism Within Democracy**, Translated By Mehmet Emin Özcan, Dost Publications, Ankara, 2000

Küçük Mehmet, **Media, Government, Ideology**, Ark Publication, Ankara, 1999.

Münci Kapani, **Introduction into Science of Politics**, Bilgi Publications, Ankara, 1988.

Ellul, Jacques **The Fall of Words**, Translated By Hüsamettin Arslan, Paradigma, İstanbul, 1998.

Güneş, Sadık **Media and Culture**, Vadi Publications, Ankara, 1995.

Göle Nilüfer, **Modern Privacy**, Metis Publications., İstanbul, 2001.

Oskay, Ünsal **Introduction Into Mass Communication Theories**, Der Publication, İstanbul, 1992.

Chomsky, Noam **Democracy, Truth and Dream**, Translated By Cevdet Cerit, Pınar Publications, İstanbul, 2001.

Sözen, Edibe **Jargon**, İstanbul, Paradigma Publication, 1999.

İrvan, Süleyman “**The Problematic of Method in Text Analysis**”, Media and Culture, (3-5 May 2000, 1. National Communication Symposium Communiqués, Ankara Gazi University Communication Magazine, 2000.

Teun A. Van Dijk, **News Analysis**, , New Jersey: Lawrance Erlbaum Associatess Publishing, 1988.

Shoemer, Pamela and Stephen D. Reese “**The Impact of Ideology on Media Content**”, Media, Culture, Politics, Edited By: Süleyman İrvan, Ark Publications., Ankara. 1997.

Ülkü, Güler “**The Problematic of Method in Jargon Analysis and Van Dijk Method**”, Relations Between News, Truth and Ruling Class, Edited By: Çiler Dursun, Kesit Promotion, Ankara. 1999.

www.zaman.com.tr

www.hurriyet.com.tr

www.tercuman.com.tr

www.radikal.com.tr

www.evrensel.net