

AN ATTITUDE ANALYSIS OF THE TURKISH MEDIA BEFORE THE IRAQ INTERVENTION AND PEACE JOURNALISM:

Examples from Milliyet, Cumhuriyet and Zaman Newspapers

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ABSTRACT

Media cannot be impartial as far as democracy is concerned. As a new arena of knowledge, peace journalism – which is also named as Preventive/ Citizen/ Public-Oriented Journalism - accepts this idea as its primary principle. Today freedom of speech, or the freedom of expression, is recognized in the international and regional human rights law and it gives media a privileged position as the apparatus of fulfilling this ideal. On the other hand, media has also responsibilities in the development of peace culture and democracy. Avoiding itself from conflicts and discrimination and working for democracy and peace is the only way for the media to be free and objective. This study, on the other hand, will try to go behind the idea that says journalists have an active role in solving depression periods and will try to focus on the concrete function of peace journalism as a concept or way of understanding. Consequently, the major interrogations of this study will be as follows: What is peace journalism and what is the motivation behind it? What are the circumstances of establishing peace journalism? What are the problems that peace journalism is faced with? Is it really possible for a media organization to practice peace journalism?

Keywords: peace journalism; conflict; cultural violence; negative peace / positive peace; resolution; media ethics; peace keeping

Irak Müdahalesi Öncesi Tezkere Oylaması Sürecinde Türk Medyasında Tutum Analizi: Milliyet, Cumhuriyet ve Zaman Gazetesi Örneği

ÖZET

Medya organları barış tartışmalarına karşı tarafsız kalamayacağı düşüncesi, yeni bir gazetecilik anlayışı olan Barış Gazeteciliği'nin temel çıkış noktasını teşkil eder. Bu çalışma gazetecinin krizlerden çıkış sürecinde aktif rol oynaması fikri üzerine tartışmaların ötesine geçmeye ve barış gazeteciliğinin somut işlevselliği üzerine eğilme amacındadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı sadece gazetecinin faaliyetleriyle barışı teşvik edip etmemesi gerektiğini bilmek değil, bununla birlikte barış gazeteciliğinin uygulanabilirliğinin eleştirel tahlilini yapmaktır. Medya işlevini yerine getirirken ifade özgürlüğü, basın özgürlüğü gibi bir takım haklardan da ayrıcalıklı olarak yararlanır. Bununla beraber medyanın sorumlu tutulamayacağına hükmedilemez. Medyanın hukuki olduğu kadar etik bir takım değerlere itibar etmesi gerektiği de genel kabul görmüş bir düşüncedir. Bu değerlerden bir tanesi de medyanın hem hukuki hem ahlaki anlamda barış için hizmet etmesi gerektiği yolundaki görüştür. Sivil toplumun en önemli beklentilerinden biri olan özgür medya, siyasi, ekonomik, kültürel kamplaşma ve çatışmalardan kendini soyutlayabildiği oranda bağımsız ve tarafsız bir şekilde bu rolü üstlenebilir. Bizim çalışmamızın konusu olan ve “Barış

Gazeteciliği“ olarak nitelendirdiğimiz yaklaşım, kitle iletişimi tekniklerinin anlaşmazlık ve çatışmaların önlenmesine ve barışçı yollarla çözümüne yönelik amaçlarla kullanılmasını amaçlar. Biz de bu çalışmamızda söz konusu gazetecilik yaklaşımını, Milliyet, Cumhuriyet ve Zaman Gazeteleri örneğinde inceleyeceğiz.

Anahtar kelimeler: barış gazeteciliği, çatışma, kültürel şiddet, olumsuz barış / olumlu barış, çözüm, medya etiği, arabuluculuk

Introduction

The conventional understanding of journalism assigns an excessive importance on the concept of objectivity. Peace Journalism criticizes this understanding for hiding behind a general objectivity discourse and as an alternative, depending on the power of media in contributing to the formation of the discourse and the agenda, it follows an outline that aims to highlight such concepts as equality and to provide solutions to conflicts. With regards to its potential in eliminating the problems created by the situation idealized under the name of objectivity by conventional journalism, which keeps the journalist and the reader away from being the focus point of the news, Peace Journalism is significant.

Media organs cannot remain impartial against peace discussions. This is the building block and the starting point of Peace Journalism, which is a relatively new understanding of journalism. According to this understanding, journalists are not passive observers or solely narrators. Besides these, they are strong-willed actors that investigate the background of conflicts and contribute to their solution. It is possible to examine this new understanding of journalism within the framework of the following questions: Can a journalist devote his/her writing to the service of peace, and should he/she? Should he/she deliberately shape his/her work for a peaceful shared life? The answers to these questions are not compromising between the supporters of peace journalism and proactive journalism, but it is constructive in any case. In this study, the routine breaking peace journalism is discussed in terms of its concrete functionality, by going beyond the debates about the active role of the journalist in resolving crisis. The purpose of the study is not only focusing on the debate about whether the journalist should encourage peace through his/her activities, but also critically analyzing the applicability of peace journalism. In a clearer expression, this study seeks answers to the following questions: “Can a media structure that follows this model be functional? If it can, can it function for a long term? What will be the effects of the media on its surrounding actors during the process of instituting and retreating of

peace journalism? To what extent can the applicability of peace journalism be made possible in the presence of factors like propaganda, disinformation and their derivatives?"

Peace Concept – Journalism Relationship

Peace concept has many different meanings and definitions depending on the different cultures, understandings, life styles and religions. There are also different theories that describe the peace concept in different areas such as international relations, social studies, economical studies, cultural studies and religious studies.

Besides being wished for throughout the world, the internalization and application of the peace concept is not quite possible. First of all, it is necessary to consider the definition of the peace concept objectively, regarding that it has been interpreted differently depending on the parties, time and setting.

In the web dictionary of Turkish Linguistic Society, the definition of the word peace is, “the situation after the ending of a war is indicated with an alliance” and “the environment form with harmony, mutual understanding and tolerance.” (*Türk Dil Kurumu, Büyük Türkçe Sözlük*, 2009)

Norwegian peace researcher Johan Galtung (1969), who came up with the concept of peace journalism, defines peace as the absence of violence and as creativity (pp.167-191). Galtung (2003) makes two consistent definitions of peace: 1) The absence or minimization of any kind of violence and 2) A non-violent and creative conflict transformation/solution. According to the same author, peace means eliminating and minimizing violence by pacifist methods (p.9).

Galtung (2003) adds the “creativity” that intends to eliminate the cause of the disagreement even if a conflict does not exist, to the definition of peace that is generally made as the state where the violence, conflict, hostility, aggression does not exist.” (p.9) In other words, it is needed to include the element of creativity in terms of developing new ideas for generating solutions and changing parameters in a deadlock to reach the solution.

It is possible to distinguish peace as negative peace and positive peace. The conceptual opposite of peace is not only war but also violence in all its versions. Negative peace indicates a risky, fragile and temporary structure besides the disappearance of conflict, violence and war. On

the other hand, positive peace, which aims to eliminate the reasons for the conflict and in which compromising between parties is provided, can be healthy, constant and permanent.

Johan Galtung (2003) mentions three different types of violence: direct, cultural and structural. He defines direct violence as the physical violence applied by a subject, the cultural violence as the cultural characteristic that legalizes direct or structural violence, and structural violence as a preventable breach that causes a supply of humane necessities at a level under the actual available level (pp. 40 – 43).

Galtung (2003) states that an action that appears in one edge of the structure, he defines as the “violence triangle”, affects the other edges as well. For instance, “direct violence” might emerge by the effect of a previously formed “cultural violence,” and direct violence also breeds cultural violence.

As a result of analyzing violence and evaluating the present situation and things that can be done, positive peace aims to put a stop at structural violence by eliminating the elements that cause violence. Negative peace is the state where violence does not exist or is eliminated. Positive peace is a more dynamic definition with reference to the element of disagreement/conflict, and is expressed as a process that contains the creative activities of eliminating, solving and transforming the conflict (Galtung, 2003, pp.9-10). Positive peace corresponds to a process. In a peace concept that is not considered as a process, cultural, economic and political obstacles will always prevent elements that form the society and the state to maintain peace. The duty of the media should be “peace keeping.” As Holguin (1998) puts it “in the last seven years peacekeeping has developed from a mere security function to broad spectrum of activities involved in the prevention, mitigation and termination of conflicts as well as in the post conflict reconstruction. (Holguin, 1998, p.639)

With regard to this, the journalist should act as an investigator by tracing the reasons that cause conflict and violence, provide a more profound understanding of the visible and invisible consequences of violence and guide people in contributing to positive peace. In other words, the journalist should be a side to positive peace. As Irvan (2006) indicated, the objectivity idea, which is one of the most important values of conventional journalism, is not a valid situation for the application of the peace journalism approach. By being a side to the solution and peace, peace journalism denies impartiality. In replacing the conflict culture with the peace culture, the fourth power will be the role of media. In short, as media undertakes this role, it will act by disregarding

the conservative obstacles relating to the loss of objectivity, theoretical and practical problems about the kind of peace that is being tried to be constituted and economic, political and institutional limitations in the media structure (Shinar, 2004).

The necessary elements for “Positive Peace” to accrue at the social and international level can be stated as follows:

- Formation and adoption of institutions and rules that aim to solve the conflicts; providing and maintaining perpetuity by participation,
- Setting national and international law on strong foundations by regulations that aim to provide justice,
- Forming and embedding the appropriate language and discourse for the social and international compromise culture that takes the values of peace concept as reference.

For realizing these elements, the primary responsibility is of governments. On the other hand, in forming and embedding the appropriate language and discourse for the social and international compromise culture that takes the values of peace concept as reference, media should take responsibility as the fourth power because peace is too important and necessary to leave to the hands of governments. In addition to the legal and political precautions that governments will take to end the conflicts in the contemporary world, the discourse and the language used in media has great importance. Media is an effective actor in the process with its power of mobilizing societies to participate in the process of positive peace and of molding public opinion.

The Definition of Peace Journalism, Propounding Reasons

Media has great importance in constituting and maintaining democracy. In carrying out this role, it benefits from some privileges such as freedom of press and expression. However, it cannot be claimed that media is not responsible for anything. The necessity of media to consider some ethical values beside legal values is another generally accepted idea. One of these values is the opinion that media should serve peace both legally and morally. This opinion forms the basis of the “Peace Journalism” approach that has been started to be expressed conceptually in the last 30 years. Although as a concept “Peace Journalism” was developed by Johann Galtung, the idea of journalism and media serving peace globally is much older. Various national and international

documents have highlighted the necessity of media to serve peace, as emphasized by those who have taken Peace Journalism as a principle.

The International Convention for the Use of Radio Broadcasting to Promote Peace is the first written text to be regarded in terms of the responsibility of media to broadcast to promote peace. It was signed in 1936 in Geneva, in the light of considerations on the use of radio as a mass medium for realization of international peace. According to this convention, which is still recognized, radios commit and guarantee realistic broadcasting, intended to provide peace and international compromise (Becker, 2010).

Once again, the “Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution to the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War” adopted by the UNESCO General Conference at its twentieth session, Paris, 22 November 1978, is an essential turning point in the process that evolved into Peace Journalism. An example that can be pointed out in Turkey in this context is the Declaration of Rights and Responsibilities of Turkish Journalists adopted in 1998 (Tokgöz, 2008, p.404).

Those who think that these principles should be applied both nationally and internationally, also point out that media should not be contented with taking responsibility for peace and constituting and maintaining it, but also adopt an active political attitude (Becker, 1982, pp.227-240). According to this approach, it could be claimed that media and journalist as the implementer should act against the usual “mirror” theory in the name of peace, international compromise, social justice and democratic freedom and rights, and not just reflect the reality as it is, but also determine the elements of reality, shape the reality, present models and examples, focus on solution suggestions and act directly towards peace. From this point of view, it could be accepted that the fundamentals of peace journalism have been included in the journalistic ethics and in the legal basis of media for a long time (Becker, 1982, pp.227-240).

The approach referred as “Peace Journalism” in this study is a model “suggest alternative ways of conflict reporting that can contribute to processes of de-escalation, peace building and reconciliation instead of escalating, exaggerating or ignoring conflicts (Blasi, 2004, p.2).” Peace journalism requires a multi-directional analysis of disagreements. There are certain criteria that should be taken into account while doing this analysis:

- Violence never completely contradicts with its purpose

- A solution without violence is always possible.
- There are more than two sides in every disagreement.
- Every side has a rightful claim in their own perspective. (Lynch, McGoldrick, 2005, p.18)

Peace journalism is a whole of activities that should be applied in media, aimed to identify and solve the structural and cultural reasons that create violence, by doing the disagreement/conflict analysis in every aspect. The concept of Peace Journalism has to focus on undertaking the uphill duty of preventing the distortion of the facts and revealing the concealed facts. One of the natural consequences of this approach is the exhibition of extremism of all parties, with the victimhood of the parties that are affected by the conflict. One of the other points that Peace Journalism focuses on is avoiding journalism that might make conflict, war and violence ordinary, and paying attention to the peace and compromise stories and adverse effects that may have arisen or that may arise after the conflict (Shinar, 2008, p.166).

However, thinking that peace journalism, which brings peaceful solutions at forefront and undertakes a moral responsibility, is an approach that will be contented with giving solely “good news” would not be a realistic thought. It is also necessary to report conflicts in a more fair and constructive way. It can also be said that this situation proposes reporting and journalism in the perspective of humane and moral values in the media.

From this point of view, it can be said that the peace journalism approach is a more active and creative alternative to the war journalism approach that focuses more on how conflicts occur rather than their cause and effects and falls behind suggesting constructive approaches to problems. The supporters of peace journalism criticize the disagreement/conflict approach of the mainstream media, which has the advantage of reaching large masses and addressing to the majority of people. Shinar (2008) summarizes the general criticism points compiled from the peace journalism theorists:

- Violence, sensationalism, personalization, patriotism, and prejudice against certain countries, groups and persons are preferred.
- Instead of analyzing complex conflicts, their origins, reasons and conditions, simple descriptions are preferred.
- Instead of a larger humane extent and conflict extent, conflicting sides are preferred.
- Conflict is only included in news when violence occurs or is about to occur.

- Instead of longer terms of “conflict solution” or change processes, a state of “us against them” is created as if there was a sports match; events, causes, damages, victims, winners and losers are emphasized.
- News relating to peace is regarded as “less newsworthy.” (p. 166)

The social responsibility that the media has to undertake in this social transformation requires it to support peace efforts as an active participator. The wars that have taken place in a wide area including the Balkans, Middle East and Afghanistan, and cause serious criticism on the account of media, has a great influence on the formation of this point of view. The media applications implemented during these wars have promoted peace journalism. On the other hand, the supporters of peace journalism complain about peace oriented broadcast in the worldwide media for being limited to personal preferences, and war and violence broadcast for representing the majority. In other words, competition, ratings and circulation concerns make war and violence more attractive in comparison to peaceful news, which is weaker in action and shock.

This useful material is described as follows:

War presents the images and scenes of an action. It is associated with heroism and conflict. It focuses on the emotional aspect rather than logical and meets the newsworthiness demand: present, extraordinary, dramatic, simple, rattling, can be personalized and creates consequences... These attractive colors grow with an orderly polarization, unexpected news and primary emotions special to cultural conflicts; it makes war something else than a simple traditional war, within this image and sound variety. (Shinar, 2008, p.167)

Another element that negatively affects the popularity of peace journalism is that media has made it a practice to adopt the formal and political discourses made by states and governments, and this habit has lasted since the cold war era (Shinar, 2008, p.167).

The most significant examples of this are the patriot attitudes and statements adopted by notable people that appeared in the USA media after the terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center Twin Towers. It could be thought that this attitude is a continuation of the tradition of commitment to the government or formal political discourse.

One of the most important reasons why peace journalism became a current issue is preventing, or at least bringing into question and creating alternatives to the negativity of war journalism, which has gathered a lot of attention during the Gulf War in 1991.

Behind the formation of this concept is the idea of contributing to social or international peace instead of worrying about circulation or rating, by using the public informing opportunities in the hands of media and especially of reporters and editors (Çavdar, 2009, p.146).

According to Lynch and McGoldrick (2005), peace journalists should take action in order to analyze the structural and cultural reasons of conflict and violence in the social and international areas and not just be contented with the consequences of these facts, but also present the reasons that create them. In addition, both the society and the formal authorities should be informed and take action. It will be inevitable that the journalist will turn towards certain preferences. For example, a journalism action aiming this will try to emphasize more compromising, emphasizing and pacific ways that will ease or eliminate the disagreement, instead of differences that inevitably lead to conflict. Thus, the journalist or the media becomes a catalyst that motivates its audience to be an actor that demands pacific solutions instead of being solely the audience or the side. In fact, it can be thought of as it is possible to take sides because such bias is not problematic (Çavdar, 2009, p.146).

Under the usage of the term “Preventive Journalism,” notionally called peace journalism or peace correspondence, a reactive situation lies. It can be said that the reason for the formation of the “Preventive Journalism” approach is preventing the negative effects of the “Preventive War” doctrine formed by the USA state organs before the Iraq occupation. The purpose of this approach is emphasizing the idea that one of the duties of journalists is determining the problems and causes and preventing the consequent conflicts in every area with a risk of conflict (Çavdar, 2009, p.146).

One of the significant arguments of the antagonists of peace journalism is that the responsibility of “preventing conflicts and making them constructive instead of destructive” does not belong to journalists but to everyone. It is more available for journalists to intercede in conflicts because of their profession, so they are closer to undertake this responsibility. This approach can be considered among the ethical arguments of peace journalism (Peleg, 2007).

Rather than being a definitive concept, peace journalism appears as a normative doctrine (İrvan, 2006). “What underlies the peace journalism which is a normative doctrine rather than a definitive one is that it brings sanctions for doing what, how and when.” (Tokgöz, 2008, p.403)

As a matter of fact, the majority of the studies that support this concept are workshop work, case studies and rule setters, rather than being notional. Instead of being descriptive, the concept

of peace journalism assumes a directive attitude by bringing certain behavior norms that are necessary to be followed. It is easy to see how the structure of this notion is pragmatically formulated in the “17 Rules of Peace Journalism” (Lynch, McGoldrick, 2005, pp.28-31). In this respect, as in all normative theories peace journalism shows the “right” thing and has an educational character rather than a descriptive one. We can say that it gets this character from the social responsibility role assigned to the media members. This approach, which is said to have taken peace journalism as the basic processor, can be stated as “the necessity of the media to be responsible to the society in order to realize some basic functions of mass communication in the modern society.” (Peterson, 1963, p.74)

On the other hand, according to Gadi Woldfsfeld (2004), it is possible for media to play a destructive role beside a constructive one in bringing peace. The response of peace journalism at this point is that “if media can cause tension between the parties of conflicts, it can also play a positive role in constituting peace.” (Shinar, 2004)

From this perspective, a peace journalist can be thought as an activist and militant who have defined his/her purpose as the constitution of peace no matter what and how, rather than a theorist that acts notionally.

Applicability and Mutual Criticism

Hanitzsh (2007), who has criticized peace journalism, considers this concept as inadequate for depending on a very individualist approach. He argues that it ignores some structural elements of media which are very effective in reflecting the news that goes beyond the personality of a journalist. This approach also suggests transforming structural effects of the media and news preparation process, rather than changing the journalists and the media into peace journalists, which is a difficult task.

News preparation cannot be considered as a simple mechanism with perspectives and preferences of individuals; the direct and indirect factors on the structural effects include the media type, legal and ethical values relating to the media, the ownership structure in the media, the relationship network with patronage and the interests of the broadcaster, infrastructure, security, access to resources, journalism practices and understanding in the country, relationships with the political system, effects of the oppression groups, and economical and commercial expectancies/requirements.

These sorts of approaches are considered extremely naïve because they load more effect on the individual attitude of the journalist than it is on practice. According to this, the real weight in the media are such structural elements as the organization of the media, editorial line, independence and ownership states, patronage issue, political links with ratings and circulation. Indeed, it is necessary to take the media's structural elements into account in order to analyze the applicability of peace journalism in actual situations. Otherwise, this approach, which has undertaken the difficult task of preventing conflicts and constituting peace, cannot become something else than a wish or a starry-eyed hypothesis. It is a highly controversial subject that to what extent these elements that affect the operation of media in different ways will allow individual journalism approaches. For this reason, it is a necessity to consider peace journalism by taking into account these structural and environmental elements that affect the operation of media in account.

It is necessary to evaluate how much chance this doctrine poses for the operation of media organs as huge firms that are run according to the complex modern business systems and whose economical-political links are spread as the arms of an octopus, and to test the realism of this doctrine. The process that news goes through from the source to the audience cannot be limited to the perspective and transfer of a single journalist. In this context, it is shaped with the structural power of the news system. On the other hand, the journalist always has alternative ways to pass the news to the audience. In short, structural and individual factors always work together.

On the other hand, the most accepted point in the traditional journalism approach, which is the most criticized point in peace journalism, is that the news language and content are presented without humans. It could be said that the most important reason of this criticism is that especially in news about conflict and wars, deaths and destruction is degraded to numbers. A journalism approach that takes human out of its focus and emphasizes the numerical data in news has become the means of serving conflict culture. Susan D. Ross (2006) claims that journalists are not aware that the language and images they use throughout the world become conflict increasing elements. An example for this is the absence of news about deaths and injuries during the Iraq War, in which the media came under fire for showing the war as a remote controlled and "dehumanized" action. Ross (p.2) states that a high tendency to ignore people exists in traditional journalism and defines peace journalism as follows: "If you introduce the dead people, tell about

their ages, families, jobs, life stories in short; then your audience can empathize with you.” (akt. Çubukçu, 2007, p.4)

Sevda Alankus (2009) attracts attention on how traditional journalism reproduces some contradictions and defines traditional journalism as a journalism approach that seeks the newsworthiness in shock and extraordinariness, uses elites as news sources, finds it adequate to quote the discourses of parties in providing objectivity and balance, and realizes world and reality designs that are built on contradictions such as good-bad, and guilty-victim (pp.112-113). It would not be wrong to say that such journalism will increase marginalization among people and societies and so reinforce inequalities.

Peace journalism brings a new approach that points at a necessity of staying away from discriminatory definitions, discourses and comments that are emphasized in the name of sensationalism in war journalism. However, the habits that the traditional journalism approach has created on the audience stands as an obstacle to the applicability of peace journalism, and, unfortunately, this can reveal itself not only in individuals, but also in media institutions and ideologically (İrvan, 2008, pp.265-277).

The obstacles to the improvement and acceptance of peace journalism can be stated as follows: the ownerships structure of the media, media-state-government relationships, embedded journalism applications which seem like advantageous in accessing the source of the news immediately but actually easy to be shaped, and populist and nationalist discourses dominant in societies, governments that have the sanctioning power on the media.

Tehrani (2002), who examined the applicability conditions of peace journalism, states clearly in what circumstances it is non-applicable. According to Tehrani (2002), p.80), spiral of silence that forms in situations where the media resources are managed by a single structure exploits the consensus on vital subjects and therefore reduces democratic flexibility. In such a harsh environment, peace journalism or media ethics cannot remain standing (p. 80).

Tehrani (2002), states that nine commercial international media organizations in developed countries and public media monopolies in the rest of the world controls the flow of information, and questions if peace journalism, following media ethics, is possible in a world where information is in the hands of monopolies. Likewise, while the commercial media system rules over the news and entertainment media, the public media systems are in an effort of controlling the flow of information through censoring and similar methods (pp. 59 – 61).

The Content Analysis of News and Articles Related to the Resolution: Milliyet, Zaman, Cumhuriyet Newspapers

Resolution Voting Period

When the importance of international communication in inter-society relations and in the world perception of societies is taken into account, our research on how the resolution voting period in the Turkish Grand National Assembly was represented took place in the Turkish media in terms of peace journalism gains importance.

In this context, it will be useful to take a look at the resolution text that was rejected in the Turkish Grand National Assembly on March 1, 2003, and the voting period in the parliament. In 2003, the USA suggested that it is necessary to organize a military invasion to Iraq because of its support for international terrorism and possession of mass destruction weapons. The USA started a pursuit of logistics support, and requested permission from the Turkish government for establishing military bases in certain provinces of Turkey to use during the operation and for using Turkish soldiers when necessary. However, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs and President being in the first place, formal channels conveyed to the USA government that leaning towards such an operation was not possible without taking the consent of the United Nations. After certain contacts were managed, the Turkish government appealed to the Turkish Grand National Assembly to ask for authority to send soldiers abroad and deploy foreign soldiers in Turkey, on March 1, 2003. In the voting held following the confidential communications, out of 533 deputies, 264 deputies voted for the acceptance of the resolution, 250 deputies voted against it and 19 deputies abstained from the vote. The resolution was not approved by the assembly because the majority was not constituted (see Notes).

Assuming that people follow the things going on around the world mostly from the media, it is appropriate to say that getting information about conflict and war environments and forming public opinion, attitudes and manners in the light of this information is realized by the means of communication instruments. In this context, the purpose of this research is to answer the questions of how the resolution voting period during the USA's second intervention to Iraq was

represented in the Turkish national media, what kind of a language key was used in terms of peace journalism in the news relating to the crisis period between Turkey and the USA after the rejection of the resolution in the Turkish parliament and which words were used to express which situations. This is done by examining three different standing daily newspapers (*Milliyet*, *Zaman*, *Cumhuriyet*).

Purpose

Peace journalism has the purpose of contributing to the realization of peace and making the news relating to conflict and war environments with a peace oriented approach. It gives prominence to transferring news from standing on the side of peace in a way purified from prejudice, even during conflict and war.

According to the traditional journalism approach and war journalism, it is observed that conflict and war news are transferred in the shadow of marginalization and in the frame of “us and them” polarization. Peace journalism has emerged as a critical and constructive alternative to this approach, which breeds conflict and war with the emphasizing the rightfulness/wrongfulness of the parties in the preparation process of news relating to conflict and war. In this study Turkish media approach will be analyzed in a relation with the “resolution voting period”.

The study aims to find out the extent to which news texts include messages of war discourses with the form and content characteristics of these news, and how the media uses this as a means. Positive and negative aspects of turning conflicts into news texts are tried to be specified. It is aimed to determine the hidden, implicit, invisible messages besides the easily perceived and seen messages in the process of turning conflicts into news.

Scope

In our research, three newspapers from the mainstream media were chosen to be analyzed: *Milliyet* with a claim of being social-democratic, *Zaman* defined as Islamic media and show a socially and politically liberal tendency besides being conservative and *Cumhuriyet* which shows the characteristics of an idea newspaper.

These newspapers are chosen because of their national and daily character and effective circulation rates. Their different political positioning is taken into account. In the study, news and

comments relating to the “Resolution Voting Period,” which were published between February 23 and March 8 in 2003, were analyzed.

Method

In this study, the research will be conducted in the light of the discourse analysis and language studies of Teun A. Van Dijk. The discourse analysis method is used because it emphasizes the positive and negative highlights on “us” and on “them”. Discourse analysis tries to reveal the subtext and goes behind the surface of a particular text. The primary resource review technique is scanning through the newspapers between February 23 and March 8 in 2003 and analyzing the critical discourses.

It is possible to understand the mass communication process by thinking the preparation and reading phases as a whole (İnal, 1997, p.146). The influence of media can be definitive on our thoughts and approaches about social events and concepts. We cannot ignore the influence of media in making sense of the society we are in and of our own reality.

While the dominant ideology is reproduced in media texts, the news can turn into discourses that reflect the dominant ideology. In media texts, the chosen words determine individuals’ perception of life, thoughts and evaluations, and social ideologies (İnceoğlu, Çomak, 2009, p.45).

We tried to reveal the structures and strategies in the texts and relate these to the present social and political context, by examining the news texts and comments in the three newspapers that we chose.

There are two basic analysis types as macro and micro structures in Van Dijk’s discourse analysis. “Macrostructures are higher-level semantic or conceptual structures that organize the ‘local’ microstructures of discourse, interaction, and their cognitive processing. (Van Dijk , 1980, p.5). General evaluations about news can be obtained from news titles, main and sub headings and introductions. In the main part of news, there are reactions and comments about the event; also background information about it, its context and date are found.

The points to be taken into consideration when examining the micro structure of a news text are word preferences (for example, legitimizing the actors in an event) and the syntactic structure (for example, whether the sentences are active or passive can be important in increasing or decreasing responsibility).

Findings

The articles in *Cumhuriyet*, *Zaman* and *Milliyet* were made subject to quantitative and qualitative analysis. It would be useful to take a look at the quantitative data before analyzing the articles in the newspapers we have chosen.

Table 1: Number of articles about resolution

Number of articles about resolution	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles %	Number	Ratio to all articles %	Number	Ratio to all articles %
Total	241	22,23	242	29,84	310	24,8

Table 2: Type of articles about the resolution

Type of articles about the resolution	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles %	Number	Ratio to all articles %	Number	Ratio to all articles %
News	141	58,5	196	81	224	72,3
Column	98	40,7	45	18,6	85	27,4
Interview	2	0,8	1	0,4	1	0,3
Total	241	100	242	100	310	100

Table 3: Page that articles about resolution take place

Page that articles about resolution take place	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles %	Number	Ratio to all articles %	Number	Ratio to all articles %
1st Page	17	7	12	5	14	6,1
Inner Pages	90	37	71	29	90	39,1
Total	107	44	83	34	104	45,2

Table 4: Features of the title in articles about the resolution

Features of the title in articles about the resolution	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
Sub-title	3	1,25	-	0	-	0
Title	13	5,4	10	4,13	11	3,55
Total	16	6,65	10	4,13	11	3,55

Table 5: Contextual features of the title in articles about resolution

Contextual features of the title in articles about resolution	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
Objective	22	9,13	32	13,22	33	10,65
Not Objective	61	25,31	27	11,16	66	21,3
Total	83	34,44	59	24,38	99	31,95

Table 6: Questioning the solution oriented characteristic of articles about resolution

Articles about the resolution	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
Solution oriented	12	4,98	2	0,82	6	1,94
Solely transfer	27	11,2	56	23,14	24	7,74
Both	2	0,83	-	0	-	0
Total	41	17,01	58	23,96	30	9,68

Table 7: Questioning the necessity of the acceptance of the resolution

Acceptance of the resolution	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
Necessary	29	12	16	6,6	1	0,32
Unnecessary and dangerous	20	8,2	17	7	96	30,97
Impartial	57	23,7	63	26	24	7,74
Total	106	43,9	96	39,6	121	39,03

Table 8: Analysis of different aspects of the resolution

Resolution's	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
Economical aspect	37	15,3	22	9	26	8,4
Social aspect	6	2,5	8	3,3	6	1,9
Moral aspect	12	5	4	1,7	10	3,2
Relationships with North Iraq	-	0	-	0	1	0,3
Total	55	22,8	34	14	43	13,8

Table 9: Considering the resolution as a threat

	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
Economical	4	1,66	1	0,41	5	1,6
Social	3	1,25	2	0,82	6	1,94
Moral	12	4,98	3	1,23	10	3,2
Neighborhood	2	0,83	1	0,41	4	1,29
Religious	-	0	-	0	-	0
Historical	1	0,41	2	0,82	3	0,97
Total	22	9,13	9	2,69	28	9

Table 10: Questioning of the presence of foreign armed forces

	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
It is a threat for independence	6	2,5			22	7,1
It is not a threat for independence	13	5,4	NOT	COVERED	-	0
It will lead to chaos	-	0			2	0,65
USA is exploiting the international system	2	0,83			6	1,94
Total	11	8,73			30	9,69

Table 11: Questioning if there are nuclear and chemical weapons in Iraq's possession as a threat to the world

	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
There are weapons	1	0,415	3	1,23	3	0,97
There are no weapons	-		3	1,23	2	0,65
Impartial	-		2	0,82	3	0,97
Total	1	0,415	8	3,48	8	2,59

Table 12: The description of Saddam Hussein and his regime

	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
He is a dictator	-	0	2	0,82		
He is the legal representative of Iraq	1	0,415	1	0,41	NOT	COVERED
Total	1	0,415	3	1,23		

Table13: Questioning if Iraq is a threat to world peace

	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
It is a threat	3	1,25	1	0,41		
It is not a threat	-		-		NOT	COVERED
Total	3	1,25	1	0,41		

Table 14: Basic messages in articles about the resolution

	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURİYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
Impartial analysis of the controversy	4	1,66	14	5,79	5	1,61
Humane aspect emphasis	10	4,15	7	2,89	10	3,23
Simple explanations and conflicting parties are emphasized	28	11,62	33	13,63	35	11,29
Conflict solution is suggested	12	4,98	-	0	6	1,94
Events and consequences, damage and victims, winners and losers are emphasized	18	7,47	7	2,89	32	10,32
Total	72	29,88	61	25,21	88	28,39

Table 15: Emphasized points within the pacific approach in articles about the resolution

	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURİYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
Peace / solution of the disagreement	22	9,13	11	4,54	38	12,26
Reality	5	2,08	5	2,07	10	3,23
Society	5	2,08	5	2,07	8	2,58
Solution	13	5,39	-	0	6	1,94
Total	45	18,67	21	8,68	62	20

Table 16: Emphasized subjects within the scope of war approach in the articles about the resolution

	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURİYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
War/violence	12	5	6	2,48	6	1,94
Propaganda	13	5,4	8	3,31	22	7,1
Elites	3	1,2	2	0,82	4	1,29
Victory	-	0	-	0	-	0
Total	28	11,6	16	6,61	32	10,23

Table 17: Language in articles about the resolution

	MILLIYET		ZAMAN		CUMHURIYET	
	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %	Number	Ratio to all articles about resolution %
Victimizing, emotional expressions	10	4,15	4	1,65	8	2,58
Demonizing, emotional expressions	17	7,05	9	3,69	22	7
Objective and peacemaker	12	4,98	17	7,03	5	1,61
Objective	202	83,82	212	87,6	34	10,97
Total	241	100	252	100	69	21,26

Evaluation of Findings

Milliyet:

From the point of view of the macro analysis, it was seen that rather than conducting a negative broadcasting about the war, the newspaper had mainly focused on the political aspect of the resolution, some of the articles highlight that the resolution is economical based, while some claim that the resolution is a military requirement.

Other than these, it was possible to see a limited number of news texts that include speeches and comments emphasizing the maintenance of peace, highlight the negativity of war and act in a way that makes us realize the importance of peace journalism.

Within the micro analysis, it was seen that some of the news texts rhetorically emphasize the necessity of the resolution. The news texts which reflect the illegal face of the war placed at the end of the pages.. In some news texts, entering Iraq is reflected as an ordinary requirement with emphasis on the unquestionable power of the Turkish army.

Some headline news seems like preparing the Turkish society psychologically to the acceptance of the resolution and to a war. In some news, the impression of the protection of “national honor” during the proceedings is given. It is seen that the acceptance of the resolution is taken for granted. The moral aspect of the war and the legitimacy of the intervention to Iraq are not questioned or examined, but meeting Turkey’s expectations and quelling “reasonable” concerns are emphasized. Once again, “national honor,” national interests and security emphasis dominate. Some columnists discuss the politics that Turkey should follow, depending on the reality/realism that the war will occur anyways. Only a few columns in the inner pages have

questioning emphasis about the social aspect of the war on the people of Iraq. A limited number of writers question what purpose the resolution will serve for, examine the “moral aspect” and “public-society” relationship in the table, and include solution oriented comments about the hope for Turkey’s possibility of preventing the war.

On the other hand, unfortunately in many news texts and comments, we see that the “war is bad” and “this is not our war” statements do not tally with conscience or humanity, but with “sentimentalism” and “overlooking national interests”.

In the headline news, economically, the acceptance of the resolution is given as a result that “should happen but did not happen.” After the rejection of the resolution, it is seen that the headlines in the newspaper contribute to push people again into the war atmosphere and psychology. We see the naturalization and normalization of the war in the images and subheadings. In the columns and the USA origin news, this stands out.

In conclusion, we can say that *Milliyet* transferred the news relating the voting period of the resolution in the context of war/military, authorities/politics and economical preferences. There were not any news texts that act according to peace journalism, by “regarding the points of views of all parties,” pulling attention to the negativities that war and conflict means for humanity, and giving suggestions to maintain peace. When the news in *Milliyet* is examined, it is not appropriate to say that there is a use of language and discourse proper for national and international compromising culture that takes justice, national and international law and peace values as reference.

Zaman:

From the macro analysis, it was seen that *Zaman* was not in a completely negative attitude towards the war and emphasized the economic, political and military aspects by its news. With a great number of news texts, it creates the impression of the necessity of questioning the security and military requirements of the resolution with images and texts about military elements.

Other than these, a few number of (even though there were more when compared to *Milliyet*) news texts consider the resolution in the context of “the negativity of war” and emphasize the humane elements in establishing and maintaining peace. There were examples of pacific approaches that show the negative aspects of war and humane reactions during states of conflict and war.

When the news in *Zaman* is analyzed according to the micro analysis, it is seen that there is an emphasis on the traumatic effects of wars on human beings, and an effort of transferring the idea that the Turkish nation is in solidarity with the Iraqi nation. While the outlook on the resolution is revealed in these news texts, we see that instead of a moral context the war is discussed in an economic sense.

Before the resolution voting, the titles of the news are chosen as objective as possible. In addition to this, the impression that the government is protecting the national honor and interests is given. There is no emphasis on the badness of the war in principle. On the contrary, there are assumptions about the existence of mass destruction weapons in Iraq, in the inner pages. The density of the war news and images can be interpreted as psychologically preparing the public to the war.

Even though the objectivity is maintained in some news, anti-USA titles and some emphasis on the badness of war stand out in the inner pages. It is not possible to say that writers are clearly against the resolution. The newspaper is trying to prevent the impression of “war equals the resolution”, by the news article about “deputies being disturbed by taking antiwar messages.”

Even though *Zaman* has a more conservative identity, it is seen that the moral aspect of the resolution is far less examined than it is in *Milliyet*. The reason for this is avoiding the perception of “war equals resolution” and the writers’ clear non-opposition to the resolution. As it is seen in the title “Proposing resolution as a threat”, the threat perception is very small, so it is negligible. The scopes of pro-peace and pro-war news are close to each other. As it is observed in the title contents of Objective and Not Objective, this situation gives the impression that *Zaman* does not see the resolution as a dilemma of war and peace and avoids displaying a distinct attitude.

Cumhuriyet:

Within the macro analysis, even though it is not satisfactory, it is seen that *Cumhuriyet* emphasized the importance of peace, dragged attention to the negativities that the conflict and war will bring, more than the other two newspapers did. Another important point is that rather than the political aspect of the resolution, the economical aspect was discussed.

When the news is examined as background and context, it is seen that the discussions about the resolution were highlighted economically, rather than politically, as we have stated above. This actually points out the necessity of questioning the legitimacy of the resolution. In news texts, there is an emphasis on the acceptance of the resolution meaning being involved in the war, and probable negativities are emphasized.

In the micro analysis, the negative perspective to the acceptance of the resolution was supported with word preferences and sentence structures. The news emphasize that the military operation is unilateral and includes use of disproportionate force, and the threat the Turkish people living there are under besides the Iraqi civilians. In many news texts, there are expressions emphasizing that the war is not socially accepted and that it started with economical goals. With children's photographs used in some news articles, the message of war being a disaster for the humanity is transferred to the reader. When some news texts are examined rhetorically, it is seen that the opinions of people who emphasize the negativity of war are included. In general, it is seen that *Cumhuriyet* supports the antiwar attitude with its word order, introduction and closure of the texts, the construction of the story, the title, integrated explanation, subject and rhetoric.

The "antiwar" approach in *Cumhuriyet* progresses in the shadow of an increasing opposition to the government. In contrast with *Milliyet* and *Zaman*, a clear consensus of resolution opposition can be seen, especially in columns. However, it is not possible to say that the news and titles in *Cumhuriyet* are objective. The newspaper which builds its discourse on the perception of "anti-government equals anti-USA equals anti-war", greatly makes use of "dehumanizing emotional expression" in the light of this equation. For instance the news headlines like "Bush wants Batman as well" or "We fight with Turks" in 24th of February, 2003 reproduce the hate speech and invest for propaganda.

This anti-resolution attitude sometimes goes beyond the antiwar approach and turns into a provocative discourse: It gets involved in both "violence" and "propaganda" categories. While the antiwar and accordingly anti-USA attitude of the newspaper remains in the issues prior to March 1, there is no clarity if it is against the war because the subjects in question are the USA, and especially the Justice and Development Party (JDP) government.

Overall evaluation and comparison

If we make an overall evaluation for all the three newspapers within the context of the micro analysis, we see that *Milliyet* chose to make an emphasis on the strategic position of Turkey while transferring the resolution voting period politically and economically without making too many comments in its news texts. On other hand, *Zaman* newspaper primarily approached the resolution economically and politically and included the opinions from the Iraqi side. *Cumhuriyet*, which includes news where the importance of Turkey in peacemaking is pointed out, concepts of conflict and war are evaluated from an international angle. It can be considered more pacifists and in an effort to focus on the negativities caused by the conflict/war, in comparison to the other two newspapers.

The common point seen in all the three newspapers is that the resolution voting is the indicator that determines if Turkey will or will not get involved in a war that is not found legitimate by the international public opinion (except the USA and its allies).

When the micro analysis is made, the results appear parallel to the macro analysis. While *Milliyet* gives news about the resolution, it is seen that it includes fewer comments in comparison to *Cumhuriyet*, but even so, only one point of view is reflected, without being “the voice of the voiceless,” the Iraqis. Slightly pacific elements appeared in the rhetoric evaluation, by means of “quoted opinions.” Many opinions which are mostly parallel are included. Regarding the conservatism of *Zaman*, it would have been expected to be more pacifist, but the news are transferred in support of the resolution in the context of the military and economical expectations. The advantage of *Zaman* in comparison to the other two newspapers is that it makes an effort for increasing the power of persuasion rhetorically both by its columnist staff and by scholars’ opinions covered in its pages. *Cumhuriyet* displayed a more pacifist attitude with its word preferences and sentence structures, photographs and messages from important people.

The findings obtained from the analysis of the three newspapers validated the assumptions made before the research.

According to our hypothesis, *Cumhuriyet* brought up the resolution with its negative parts and claimed that it could lead to social, security, international relations and economical threats. *Milliyet* followed a more nationalist broadcasting policy and included the emphasis on the power of the army, negotiations on financial subjects and expectations after the war. *Zaman* was the most attentive to showing each party’s discourses and with the advantage of the usage of the

primary sources provided by Cihan News Agency, it tried to highlight the humane elements in news and comments. The interesting point here is that the two newspapers at the two edges of the political range, *Cumhuriyet* and *Zaman*, both included humane stories, and elements that emphasize involving in a conflict by the USA's side against one of our neighbor countries would lead to historical, cultural, social, religious and political problems in the future.

The world is analyzed with the associative meanings of words, apart from their dictionary definitions. The existence of emphases that naturalize and affirm conflict and hatred in media is a complicating obstacle for peace journalism during conflict and war environments.

Lack of empathy breeds conflicts. To form a basis for the USA to enter Iraq, we witnessed exclusionist, marginalizing, insulting, aggressive expressions about Iraq, such as accusing them of being ignorant, inadequate, against human rights, a threat to the world peace with the mass destruction weapons they are claimed to possess intensely in the media organizations that broadcast globally. In this way, Iraq's history, culture, religious closeness and neighbor relationships were contextually degraded and negative prejudice all around the world was spread by means of the global media managed by the USA. In strengthening the negative perception we mentioned and legitimizing the war and the occupation, the influence of the language used by the media cannot be ignored.

We can exemplify the discourse preferences in the newspapers that were subject to our research, which can pose obstacles for the applicability of peace journalism:

- Significant polarization of parties and forming categorizations such as us-them, guilty-savior, modern world-cruel Iraq state,
- Especially in headlines and comment titles, emphasis on unquestionable values such as human rights, threats against world peace, the power of our army and alliance,
- Pointing out the shocking elements instead of the questioning, critical and analytical peace journalism approach in the present conflict environment,
- Legitimizing the existing politics and broadcasting policies by including news and comments from experts that will not contradict with the dominant ideology,
- Highlighting fear, threat and violence elements in both regional and national sense, and stimulating the reader's emotions,
- Accusing people who has opinions against the resolution voting by being against the interests of the government and exposing them to negative ascriptions,

- Accepting certain assumptions about Iraq, made by the USA and its allies, whose truth cannot be examined, and transfer news and comments according to these assumptions,
- Not approaching the parties equally and with fairness, taking the powerful side's arguments as the basic parameter, (actually, what should really be considered strange is that for whatever reason, a country acts as "the police of the world," coming from the far end of the world, depending on the limitless war power, invading and overthrowing the regime in another country)
- Including expressions that can make negative associations about Iraq, Iraq regime and Iraqis who will probably lose against the USA, being the winner of a single-sided conflict,
- Supporting the prejudices and insulting expressions created by visual materials like photographs, comics and drawings.

The protection of justice and the humanity's honor globally cannot only be achieved by lawmakers, but also with the contribution of media, the fourth power that is distinctive in forming public opinion and which holds the advantage of language use and discourse control in hand, raising social awareness by using the language of peace journalism in news texts and comments. Using a pro-war and exclusionary discourse in news and comments, in other words broadcasting that is oriented at shock and sensation, reflecting the dominant party's argument rather than the all parties included can cause ignoring the core and depth of conflict and disagreement subjects. However, involving all parties' arguments may create disagreement and sensation oriented news, and therefore alienation of the audience from the idea of peace.

We can say that in the newspapers subject to our research, there are propaganda texts used in affirming the dominant opinion. Unfortunately, all the three newspapers, regardless of their political position – even the one that positions itself in the liberal/social democrat broadcasting path – degraded the conflict to certain numerical data, included sensational expressions trying to increase circulation, represented the winners and losers to the reader by evaluating the war as if it were merely a competition arena.

Hatred breeding, polarizing, marginalizing discourses in the media during the resolution voting period are determinative on the perception and figuration of the problem by the reader.

The purpose in this paper is to achieve peace journalism approach which is solution-oriented and to drag people's attention towards this direction against the tension increasing.

Conclusion

Putting the reader and the journalist in focus, Peace Journalism, which could not yet replace the existing media understanding, gives hope at achieving or maintaining the media ideal as a power that controls the government in favor of society. Especially the radical developments in communication technology provide opportunity for people who have adopted Peace Journalism. Peace Journalism draws attention to the positive peace principle which not only discusses questions and tries to find solutions to violence but also shows the reasons that bring out violence. In this context, taking creativity in its center, Peace Journalism has a great role in replacing the conflict culture with peace culture because democracy requires a media that does not derive its ratings and circulation from violence or war.

Besides being wished for throughout the world, the internalization and application of the peace concept is not quite possible. First of all, it is necessary to consider the definition of the peace concept objectively, regarding that it has been interpreted differently depending on the parties, time and setting.

The concept of peace has been conventionally approached within the frame of relationships between nations and states, and used as an antonym of the war concept. Critical peace research has taken the peace concept out of a narrow framework and gave it a new meaning including internal conflicts in the social sphere.

We can make two definitions for the concept of peace journalism. These are the absence or minimization of any kind of violence and a non-violent and creative conflict transformation/solution. We can define peace as eliminating or minimizing violence with peaceful ways.

We can describe the generally perceived concept of peace as “the state where violence, conflict, hostility, aggression does not exist.” However, this definition is not technically adequate. It is needed to add the element of creativity that eliminates the cause of the disagreement even if a conflict does not exist. In other words, it is needed to include the element of creativity in the meaning of developing new ideas in generating solutions and changing parameters in a deadlock to reach the solution.

When we take a look at the social aspect of peace, we see negative peace and positive peace. The conceptual opposite of peace is not only war, but also violence in all its versions. Negative peace indicates a risky, fragile and temporary structure besides the disappearance of conflict,

violence and war. On the other hand, positive peace which aims to eliminate the reasons that caused the conflict and in which compromising between parties is provided can be healthy, constant and permanent.

The positive peace is a process in which media has a significant role and its duty should be “peace keeping.”

As it is mentioned above the protection of justice and humanity honor cannot only be achieved by the lawmakers but it is also provided by the contribution of media which is the Fourth Estate in forming public opinion regarding its advantage to use of language. Journalism which is shock and sensation oriented generally produce and reproduce the exclusionary discourse and usually ignores the core and depth of conflict and disagreement subjects.

With regard to this, the journalist should act as an investigator by tracing reasons for conflict and violence, provide a more profound understanding of the visible and invisible consequences of violence and guide people in contributing to positive peace. In other words, the press should be a side to positive peace rather than be impartial and contribute to the process of maintaining permanent peace. In coming to realize social peace, the primary responsibility is of governments. On the other hand, in forming and embedding peacefully public language media has an essential role.

Long term deadlocks can cause polarization, replacement of reason with emotions and finally conflict with violence prone. In addition to the legal and political precautions that the governments will take to end the conflicts in the environment of today’s world, the discourse of the media and the language used in media has great importance. The solution of conflicts cannot be left solely to parties and governments; media should take responsibility in contributing to the formation of public opinion and to the positive peace process by awaking societies.

Notes

The rejected resolution text is as follows:

“In the manner that the scope, limit and time will be defined by the government;

- 1. Sending Turkish Military Forces to foreign countries and using these forces within the principals that will be defined when necessary,*
- 2. In the context of international legitimacy rules, in accordance with the article 92 of the Constitution, I respectfully offer to authorize the presence of foreign armed force for a period of 6 months – not exceeding maximum 62 thousand military officers, 255 planes and 65 helicopters – in the areas determined by the government in Turkey; the completion of foreign deployments as soon as possible except the supporting forces of foreign land forces, and completion of the*

necessary arrangements for the use of foreign air, naval and special forces to be used during a possible operation , conducting the preparations about the arrival and departure of these forces to Turkey, their status in Turkey and cooperation with Turkish Armed Forces.”

Abdullah Gül, Prime Minister

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