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War–peace journalism in the Turkish press: Countries come to the brink of war

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Abstract

The news coverage of the Turkish and Syrian jet planes that were hit by Turkey's and Syria's armies is being researched in Turkish newspapers. Stories about the Turkish jet that was hit by the Syrian army in June 2012 and the Syrian jet that was hit by Turkish army in March 2014 have been analysed as a peace journalism model. This study utilizes framing analysis to examine how Turkish newspapers covered two events (jet planes) and identify what frames 'they' tend to use. The general tendency of the Turkish press is towards accusation, blame and the creation of suspicion of the 'other' side. In this study, we find that the Turkish press is strongly affected by ownership structure, political pressure, regulations, mainstream news values and market conditions. All these factors determine journalists' usage of dominant frames on their front pages in conflict situations.

Keywords

Conflict, news framing, peace/war journalism, Syria, Turkish press

Introduction

Despite popular belief, the news is not always presented in a pure and innocent manner. It should not be forgotten that the news consists of constructed texts and articles that are disseminated to us through someone else's perspective.

Journalists try to tell us about an event using the news frame they themselves would use when writing stories. Some news stories impress themselves on people's minds and emotions strongly enough that they have an effect on their opinions or behaviour (Gans, 2003: 69). When the news frames of stories are ordinary and easy to understand, the reader has a better understanding of the entire picture.

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Wolfsfeld (2004) states that the news media have an important role in modifying the public's perception about various hostilities. It is expected for the media, given their strong influence, to take responsibility for the news they produce. Journalists take into account their own ideological position, their education, the social order and the positioning of the institution they work for and its ownership structure when using news frames in their stories. Hence, journalists determine what to highlight and how in their stories, which is partly done to emphasize or to leave out an incident in advance. It is possible to add the news sources to all of these. If we expand a little more, we find that news sources, namely the people with relevant information, direct journalists in accordance with their own motivations.

The news coverage of the Turkish and Syrian jet planes that were hit by Turkey's and Syria's armies is being researched in Turkish newspapers. Stories about the Turkish jet that was hit by the Syrian army in June 2012 and the Syrian jet that was hit by Turkish army in March 2014 have been analysed as a peace journalism (PJ) model. During this time period, the events were being referred to by 35 national daily newspapers in the Turkish press. A total of 32 newspapers were assessed during the study, with the exception of thematic newspapers (Fanatik, Fotomaç and Dünya). Considering the number of newspapers, the research was limited to front pages and headlines. After the Turkish jet was shot down by Syria in 2012, there was uncertainty and missing pilots; subsequently, the publications on this topic continued for approximately 1.5 months. However, in 2014, a Syrian jet that was shot down by Turkey had a clear status and the pilot had survived, so the media discussed the story for a shorter amount of time. A duration of 6 days was chosen to analyse these two cases in order to understand how Turkish newspapers framed these events.

We need to discuss the effects that the media and journalists have on society and what types of roles are assumed in the relationships between communities. To understand these roles in the context of the media's relationship with communities, problems and conflicts, we need to discuss 'peace journalism'. PJ was founded by Johan Galtung in the 1960s; however, the popularity of this concept began in the 1990s with the first Gulf War. Galtung (1998), the prominent proponent of this concept, defines it as healthy journalism. Galtung regards this new journalistic understanding as being healthy because PJ focuses on solving problems and being fair, balanced, truthful, human oriented and critical journalism.

In other words, Galtung developed PJ for regions of the world where conflicts occur; it is ascribing a more active role and additional responsibilities onto the media. To address these responsibilities briefly, the peace journalist needs to have a mindset of seeking solutions to prevent conflicts from turning into violence. Lee et al. (2006) explain this responsibility: Through careful, consistent and conscientious application of PJ practices, the peace journalist hopes to create a setting in which the causes of and possible solutions to the conflict become transparent (503).

Hackett (2011) describes PJ as follows: PJ is not simply about journalism. PJ is part of much broader processes and movements that challenge cultural, structural and physical violence to achieve a more peaceful world (35). PJ uses conflict

analysis techniques to implement journalism. In conflict analysis techniques, when selecting stories, writing or publishing, journalists and news editors need to pay attention if the stories are balanced, fair and accurate. In other words, when journalists write news, they need to make conflict between parties transparent and to research the history of the event and its cultural background.

For example, to only state how many people died or were injured in the conflict between Israel and Palestine is not acceptable, as that does not focus on 'processes' for Galtung (1998). However, if history and cultural background between parties are explored in publishing/broadcasting, the conflict will be transparent. In this way, many people can understand the issue and the problem. Peace journalists also display an understanding of the elements of unseen effects from armed conflicts during and after war. PJ covers the psychological difficulties, hunger, misery and violence in its subjects' stories. To solve such problems, instead of focusing on an event-based daily news mindset, PJ is a 'process-oriented' type of journalism.

Another important point in terms of PJ is balance in the story. Balance in a story means that both conflicting parties must have an equal voice, and empathy must be established between parties. Consequently, a journalist should address the conflict as it is a problem that could be solved. Also, while they are writing the story they should put their self on the opposite site to establish empathy. Publication/broadcasting in this way will not only prevent violence between parties but it will also facilitate understanding between the two sides. A journalist can thereby help to solve problems before they grow or start.

İrvan (2006) defines PJ as 'normative'; thus, PJ researchers are attempting to establish a set of norms or ethics in order to contribute to conflict resolution. Alankuş (2009) noted that PJ sees more of a problem with the structural organization of the news.

It is evident that hiding behind the principle of 'objectiveness', journalists are attempting to give messages parallel to what they want us to think. Ferguson (2000) says the method of media working on the stories affects the perception of the audience (86). In this sense, given that the Turkish community's perception may vary on Syrian issues according to the conflict and war frames reflected, journalists of neighbouring countries must be much more careful in their reported statements. As Ross (2007) has stated, the media play a significant role in international relations and violence activities, and furthermore citizens become addicted to the information provided by the media.

Therefore, media must provide dated and persuasive information. The statement and the understanding of Lynch and McGoldrick's (2010) 'wounded journalism' is a significant requirement for the Turkish press. Wolfsfeld's (2004) explanation on news definition states that when governments have full control over the media, then news will become another way of propagandizing. We have once more witnessed with this research that the publication policies of newspapers are significantly affected by governmental pressures and ideologies.

PJ and conflict situations

Certain case studies and research have shown that peace-oriented reporting has the power to de-escalate conflict. For instance, the Kondopoulou (2002) and Tiliç (2006) studies have shown how the media plays an important role in the conflict process; a recent example is the dispute over the island of Imia ('Kardak' in Turkish) in 1996.

According to Howard (2002), with conflict analysis, journalists can understand what diplomats and negotiators are trying to do and can report it more reliably. With conflict analysis, journalists can identify more sources to go to for information (13). Howard (2002) uses the term 'conflict analysis', which is useful for journalists to understand and better cover conflicts. However, there are many obstacles to PJ. For instance, the structure of the media, the language of the media, the 'rating culture' (Shinar's term, 2007a), news values and market pressure are all determinants of news structure. Wolfsfeld (2004) emphasizes that a successful peace process needs time, but the mainstream media do not have time to wait. Media workers want to convey their news as fast as possible to their audience. Wolfsfeld (2004) states that:

A successful peace process requires patience, and the news media demand immediacy. Peace is most likely to develop within a calm environment and the media have an obsessive interest with threats and violence. Peace building is a complex process and the news media address simple events. Progress toward peace requires at least a minimal understanding of the needs of the other side, but the news media reinforce ethnocentrism and hostility toward adversaries. (2)

The role of the media in conflict situations, examples

Obviously, the media do not cause conflict by themselves, but they may provoke conflict in their news stories. It should not be claimed that media should solve the problems among the conflicting parties. Melone et al. (2002) argue that the media in conflict-ridden countries often play a significant role in creating and furthering both facilitating factors and triggering factors, for example by utilizing 'oppositional metaphors' ('us' and 'them') linked to internal and external issues of 'threats' facing the nation (1).

It is, however, unfair to cast blame only on the media with regard to a conflict; nevertheless, the media have power, and while the journalist is framing the news, he or she also contributes something towards peace and reconciliation.

The Cyprus Problem is a good example of how the media are covering and framing the news stories to establish positive or negative public opinion. The 24th April 2004 Annan Plan referendum is an important example of how the Cyprus media had both a positive and negative influence on public opinion. During the referendum period, Turkish Cypriot media had a positive role and they contributed something to the acceptance of the Annan Plan.

According to Goldhagen (1996), the German media played a vital role in constructing the image of the Other, i.e., the Jewish people. Wolfsfeld (2004) states that the Oslo Peace Process is an important example of how media escalated the conflict between the Palestinian and Israeli sides. Wolfsfeld (2004) mentions the constructive role of the media in the Northern Ireland conflict. He says the media environment in Northern Ireland was also more conducive to peace. Citizens from both sides of that conflict use the same news media, and . . . this leads the press play a more constructive role (159). According to Wolfsfeld, the media environment is important for de-escalation of a conflict; however, the political environment is also important. If the political environment also demands peace, the media environment could change their reporting style from victory- to solution-oriented. Several studies have shown how political elites have an influence on media (Gans, 1979; Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Mandelzis, 2007; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996; Wolfsfeld, 1997; Wolfsfeld et al., 2002).

Media support 'national interests' and demonize the 'other' sides in the Middle East. Mainstream media use 'sensationalism' criterion to sell the news and escalate conflicts. Rinnawi (2007) states that Al-Jazeera is often admonished for sensationalism: reporting live from funerals, sites of conflict, filming dead bodies and the ubiquitous checkpoints dividing up Palestinian territories and lives. This type of presentation of stories is not helping anybody, because it does not make conflict transparent and understandable. It only creates sensations and escalates the conflict rather than contributing to a solution.

The Middle East's mass media is an important example for peace and conflict journalism. Kasbari (2007) notes that the media in the Middle East make no positive contribution to peace in the region. Kasbari (2007) states that for the past seven years, and since the outbreak of the Intifada, media in the Middle East have been engaged in reporting on conflict rather than on conflict prevention, and some media may even, voluntarily or involuntarily, have added to the conflicts (1).

Another example of media in conflict situations comes from Foqaha (2006); he gives the Palestinian media as an example to show how media follow the national policy and do not suggest anything for peace. The same things could be said for the Israeli media, as Shinar (2007b) observes in the Middle East, most Israeli, Arab and Palestinian mainstream media have not been investing serious effort in peace-oriented communication. Media in the USA and Canadian also fail to make conflicts more transparent to their audience. They are framing the Israel and Hezbollah conflict in a 'zero-sum' perspective and are thereby legitimizing the war.

Bratic et al. (2008) notes that the role of the media in the Bosnian conflict was problematic. They state that in the Bosnian conflict, propaganda from the ethnic television stations was instrumental in spreading the message of hate and inciting the conflict (14). Bratic's et al. (2008) example is another reason for journalists to take responsibility and not become a tool of propaganda, because the results would lead to undesirable problems.

Papanikolatos and Dimitras (1999) claim that mass media in the Balkans do not promote diversity (1). They give some examples from Balkan countries' mass

media. Another example of the role of the media in conflict resolution could be the Turkish and Greek media. Tılıç (2006) describes the coverage that the Greek and Turkish media provide of one another, which was conflict oriented until the earthquake in Turkey in 1999. After the earthquake, both Turkish and Greek mass media started to publish/broadcast more positive news. A few years later, the media on both sides returned to the same discourse, which is 'us' and 'the other' rhetoric. As Tılıç (2006) mentions, if the image of Greece in Turkish newspapers changed from negative to positive or if Turkish papers stopped referring to Greece as 'the other', it corresponded with a change in the official attitude of Turkey towards their neighbour (19). Tılıç (2006) also emphasizes that the official attitude and political environment are essential to media. Otherwise, there is no demand for the Turkish and Greek mass media to change their reporting style. Jaeger's (2004) study also argues that the media cannot create peace alone; they always need the proper political environment.

Northern Ireland's mainstream media is a good example of PJ in conflict situations. For Baker (2005), there has been a general consensus in support of the peace process and Agreement (Good Friday Agreement) among Northern Ireland's mainstream media (381). Several studies show that (Bratic et al., 2008; Wolfsfeld, 2001) news media in Northern Ireland played an essential role during this peace process thus facilitating its adoption in the referendum (Bratic et al., 2008). The Northern Ireland example shows how the media and political environment worked together for successful peace. By contrast, the use of government control of the media for hatred and propaganda could negatively influence conflicting parties. As Howard (2005) argues, the use of government-controlled Radio-Television Libre de Mille Collines to foment genocidal impulses in Rwanda in 1994 is one appalling contemporary example (1).

These examples show that the role of the media in conflict situations is serious, but because of the monopolization of media industries, the media start to be a tool of certain people, and this is an important obstacle confronting PJ.

Researchers have conducted qualitative and quantitative studies on Turkish media in different conflict situations such as Armenia (Boratav, 2009), Cyprus (Tılıç, 1998), the Kardak Crisis (Özgüneş and Terzis, 2000; Sunar, 2009), Greece (Hadjidimos, 1999; Manis, 2009) and the Kurdish problem (Gecer, 2014).

Turkey–Syria relations

There have always been some problems between the Turkish and Syrian states from the beginning when the Ottoman State collapsed and the Republic of Turkey was established. Those problems are mostly related to natural resources such as water. The problems between the two states became smoother when the Justice and Development Party came to power. Until the Arab Spring, Turkey and Syria were heading towards the road of becoming good neighbours, but at the point they are in now, they are neighbours with political problems. After Turkey did not accept the use of armed forces against dissenters, the quarrel over the media and

broken relationships became even worse when Syria hit a Turkish jet on the 23rd of June in 2012.

Turkish press

The general and common peculiarity of the press in Turkey is that it is a 'conglomerate' press. Besides the occasionally different standpoints of some newspapers, the general trend in the print media is to publish around topics based on politics. Independent press is very inadequate in the Turkish media system. According to Reporters Without Borders (2015) World Press Freedom Index report, the Turkish media are ranked number 149 out of 180 countries in 2015. This index describes the Turkish media system as in a 'difficult situation'. Freedom House's (2015) annual report attempts to explain these difficulties by saying: 'Media outlets bearing unfavourable coverage of the government have been closed or placed under investigation. Nearly all media organizations are owned by large holding companies with ties to political parties or business interests in other industries, contributing to self-censorship'.

Akser and Baybars-Hawks (2012) grouped the problems of the Turkish media system under five categories: (i) conglomerate pressure, (ii) judicial suppression, (iii) online banishment, (iv) surveillance defamation and (v) accreditation discrimination.

Since business people have become media owners, the sole purpose of the media has been to serve economic interests. Thence, economic interests exert conglomerate pressure on the Turkish media, and government also imposes fines over taxes. Another problem is judicial suppression according to Akser and Baybars-Hawks (2012). There is almost no room for alternative voices and critics of government policies. Journalists feel the pressure of judicial suppression, and this also causes self-censorship. Internet regulation also does not help freedom of speech for journalists. 'Online banishment' and 'surveillance defamation' are terms used by Akser and Baybars-Hawks (2012) to explain how government bans sites based on national security and private information reasons. Because so many people obtain information from the Internet, this is therefore an imposition on Internet freedom. The last problem of the Turkish media categorized by Akser and Baybars-Hawks (2012) is accreditation discrimination. Media groups and journalists are divided into two groups, which are 'friendly media' and 'sided media', and then accreditations are given based on this categorization. This distinction shows us a significant problem of government – media relations that can be summarized with the idiom 'carrot or stick approach'. Because the Turkish press has strong relations with politicians, this conflict of interest can entail setting agendas and shaping the public for their own purposes.

Tılıç (1998) argued that the ownership structure of the Turkish media strongly affects journalists, and media owners have left no room for editor independence in the news production process.

Moreover, newspapers take a political elite-centred publishing perspective. These are the dynamics we can ascertain from the political elite: state the agenda

of newspapers, and politicians influence journalists to constitute political opinion with the statements they make. Some Turkish journalists by conducting 'protocol journalism' set themselves a more passive status. Mostly, journalism based on speculation is adopted. Therefore, the professionalism in media is poor. In this case we are talking about a structure far from being institutionalized. In addition, according to Hallin and Mancini (2004), in the Mediterranean Model journalism, there is serious interference by governments. Such interference is expected in a media system that is in contact and cooperative with politics. The attitude of the government specifies what journalists are going to write and how they publish/broadcast.

At this point, we can assert that the media were affected by the political atmosphere surrounding the jet planes that were taken down by Turkey and Syria. Most of the Turkish newspapers, in consideration of publication policy, take account of the interests of the country and exercise care in circulation, because a sensational broadcasting approach is taken when the jet planes' stories are gaining importance. The general run of society has seen hate and violence statements more than knowledge in the newspapers that they follow. It is clear that violence in language is dangerous, even more so than most physical abuse, and it can bring about serious and dangerous results in the long term (Erdem, 2013: 36). Moreover, all of these aspects should be considered as ethical breaches.

Gündüz and Pembecioğlu (2013) state that when we look at ethical violations, those we come up with have shaken the confidence of the media, and it can be seen that the reality of facts and cases has changed (316). Thereby, the ways of seeing of Turkish society against Syria and its nation are identified by the news language and news frames of the stories.

Method

Krippendorff (2004) attempts to define content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) in the contexts of their use (18). He also says that content analysis entails the systematic reading of a body of text, images and symbolic matter not necessary from an author's or user's perspective (3). Singletary (1993) emphasizes that content analyses are objective and systematic in his description. The most important reason why content analysis is used in that research is to emphasize the importance of giving shape to human ideas in the messages of the newspaper. Riffe et al. (2008) define content analysis as the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods (23). As Ferguson (2000) notes, 'Those engaging in content analysis assume that messages have an effect. They also assume that an issue's place on the media agenda and how media cover a story can influence audience perceptions of the issue, the organization, and its chief executives (86–87).'

This study has attempted to use content analysis of news frames on Turkish newspapers. The concept of frame analysis was first used by Goffman (1974) ; later,

in 1978, Tuchman applied Goffman's frame analysis to news reporting, arguing that news reporting frames organize everyday reality. Fifteen years later, Entman developed Goffman's frame analysis, putting it in a conceptual frame and explaining how frames work in the media.

Entman (1993) defines framing and emphasizes the power of communicating text.

Whatever its specific use, the concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communication text. Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location-such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel-to that consciousness. (51–52)

D'Angelo (2002) calls it 'news framing,' and as he defines it the study of news framing can be viewed as a reflexive enterprise that has both uncovered the reality of news framing and provided theoretical and methodological tools with which to trace how this knowledge has grown (880).

This study utilizes framing analysis to examine how Turkish newspapers covered two events (jet planes) and identify what frames 'they' tend to use. The empirical aim of this study is to decide to what extent these frames are applied in the news. Whereas researchers have defined the conflict and peace frames, Galtung's (1998) PJ model is taken as a reference and is developed. The same coding schema was used by Ersoy (2010) to analyse Cypriot newspapers' coverage of the Cyprus Problem.

The questions of this research are:

RQ 1 – Which dominant news frames have the Turkish press used regarding the shoot-down of the jet planes? RQ 2 – Are the news frames used in the headlines more comment-, descriptive- or quotation- oriented?

In the 'Content Analysis Coding Schema', there are six categories: date of publication, name of the newspaper, headline, evaluation of the headline, conflict and peace frames in the news. The researcher has coded this 'Content Analysis Coding Schema' for each news headlines which covers a predefined and limited set of conflict and peace frames.

A total of 148 newspaper headlines were analysed in the research. Eighty-two stories were published from 23 to 25 June 2012 and 66 stories were published from 24 to 26 March 2014 in the analysed newspapers on the two planes. During the time period, 32¹¹ newspapers were assessed during the study. Considering the number of newspapers, the research was limited to front pages and headlines.

To check the reliability of the 'Content Analysis Coding Schema', a second researcher coded 10% of the same data (n = 15). Cohen's (1960) original formula was used to check the two researchers' inter-rater reliability. The formula for calculating kappa is: $k = (Po - Pc) / (N - Pc)$, where N is the the total number of

judgments made by each coder, P_o is the observed proportion of agreement by coders and P_c is the proportion of agreement expected by chance. The coders agreed on 14 judgements and one agreement was expected by chance $0.92 = (14 - 1)/(15 - 1)$. Banerjee et al. (1999) affirm that values greater than 0.75 or so may be taken to represent excellent agreement beyond chance.

Findings

The headlines are classified into three categories. These categories are 'comment', 'quotation' and 'descriptive'. News headlines classified as 'comment' predominantly contain the newspaper's views and opinions about the topic presented in headline. Headlines classified as 'quotation' contain words quoted directly from a source that are generally given in quotation marks. In the category classified as 'descriptive', the headline contains no quotation and tries to describe the situation without commenting. Headlines were analysed from this point of view, and it was seen that on the first day 23 July 2012, many newspapers' headlines did not comment about the Turkish jet. Nevertheless, comment-containing headlines increased gradually by 25th and 26th July 2012. In the headlines occurring between the 24th and 26th of March 2014 after the Syrian jet was shot down by Turkish forces, we see that headlines classified as 'comment' were more frequent on the first day, but they decreased over the following days. In light of the data, it can be said that on the first day, the use of newspaper headlines included reviews that can be associated with attempts to legitimize or criticize the event. Newspapers reflected their comments about the shot down jet in headlines in line with their publishing policies.

Dominant frames

As shown in Table 1, Turkish press headlines in June 2012 and March 2014 were significantly based on 'comment' ($n = 117$), constituting 79.1% of the headlines used by the newspapers. 'Descriptive' headlines ($n = 24$) followed the comment-oriented headlines. Quotation ($n = 7$) headlines were used only 4.7% of the time by journalists. There could be more than one news frame.

Table 1. General evaluation of the headlines.

		Frequency	Per cent	Valid per cent	Cumulative per cent
Valid	Comment	117	79.1	79.1	79.1
	Quotation	7	4.7	4.7	83.8
	Descriptive	24	16.2	16.2	100.0
	Total	148	100.0	100.0	

Table 2. Conflict-oriented frames in headlines in June 2012 and March 2014.

	June 2012			March 2014		
	N	Per cent	Total (N)	N	Per cent	Total (N)
Hate speech	5	6.1	82	2	3.0	66
Us and them	13	15.9	82	8	12.1	66
War oriented	7	8.5	82	16	24.2	66
Blame the other side	20	24.4	82	5	7.6	66
Other threats for us	2	2.4	82	7	10.6	66
Revenge	3	3.7	82	1	1.5	66
Threat	6	7.3	82	1	1.5	66

Conflict frame numbers about the headlines in the Turkish press from 23 to 25 June 2012 are shown in Table 2. According to these numbers, the most frequently used conflict frame remark was 'blame the other side' (20). When we consider the date when the Turkish military jet was shot down, the conflict frame's being shaped along this line seems significant. The frame in second place constituted 'us and them' (13), whereas 'war-oriented' (7) frames were in third place.

On the day the Syrian jet plane was shot down, the first stories published with headlines took place on 24 March 2014. As shown in Table 2, during the dates of 24–26 March 2014 the most common conflict frames in headlines were 'war oriented' (16), 'us and them' (8) and 'other threats for us' (7). All of these outlines were followed by 'blame the other side' (5), 'hate speech' (2), 'revenge' (1) and 'threat' (1) frames.

Newspaper headlines from 23 to 25 June 2012 focusing on a peace-oriented frame are presented in Table 3, revealing that the most common peace frames were as follows: 'self-reflexive criticism of government policy' (4), 'friendly discourse' (2), 'trust' (2), 'unprejudiced' (2), 'peace-oriented' (2), 'forgiveness' (2) and 'attempt to understand others' (1). Fifteen peace-oriented frames were used by newspapers in June 2012.

After the Syrian military jet plane was shot down in March 2014, newspapers headline came forward as in Table 3: 'self-reflexive criticism of government policy' under peace was reported 14 times in headlines, followed by 'peace-oriented' (3), 'friendly discourse' (1) and 'forgiveness' (1). A total of 19 peace-oriented frames were used by newspapers in March 2014.

We cannot conclude in regard to this result that the press is aiming accusations towards its own nation. The event of shooting down the Syrian jet plane on the eve of local elections to be held in Turkey resulted in emphasis on 'self-reflexive criticism of government policy' in the majority of newspapers that take an opposing stand on government policies. The aforementioned newspapers have put forth various claims in regard to the shoot down of the Syrian jet plane. Some dissident

Table 3. Peace-oriented frames in headlines from June 2012 and March 2014.

	June 2012			March 2014		
	N	Per cent	Total (N)	N	Per cent	Total (N)
Friendly discourse	2	2.4	82	1	1.5	66
Peace oriented	2	2.4	82	3	4.5	66
Self-reflexive criticism of government policy	4	4.9	82	14	21.2	66
Trust	2	2.4	82	—	—	—
Unprejudiced	2	2.4	82	—	—	—
Attempt to understand the other	1	1.2	82	—	—	—
Forgiveness	2	2.4	82	1	1.5	66

journalists have claimed that the jet plane was deliberately shot down under organized conditions in order to favour their position during the elections and alter the agenda, and they have criticized the government of their own nation with respect to the shoot down of the plane. Zaman newspaper's correspondent Soncan (2014) wrote a story right after the shoot down of the Syrian jet plane. He noted that: 'Before the local elections, in order to cause corruption allegations to be forgotten and to ensure engagement behind the war power scenario, there were hot hours on the Syrian border yesterday'. The general expectation of PJ under this condition is to unveil and criticize the harm even if it is caused by one's own nation.

The results of this study support previous studies on peace/war journalism, which found that elite-oriented news sources dehumanize the 'other' side, employing hate speech and dichotomy (good versus evil) (see Fahmy and Eakin, 2014; Lee et al., 2006; Shinar, 2009). In this case study, we have seen that Turkey and Syria came to the brink of war with contributions from the media and politicians.

Some examples from dominant frames

To help the readers to understand the dominant frames that were used by Turkish newspapers while covering the two cases, some examples are provided herein. Vatan newspaper's headline on 24 June 2012 was entitled '*They hit meanly in flight training*'. The news was related to the shoot down of the Turkish jet plane. This example shows how the newspaper used 'hate speech', 'us-them' dichotomy and 'blame the other side' conflict frames in a headline.

A newspaper that presented the headline '*Two of our martyrs have reached peace*' to its readers provided a perfect example of war journalism. Sabah newspaper reported the death of two Turkish jet pilots in 2012 under the dominant frames of 'revenge' and 'vengeance', thus somehow emphasizing that the shoot down of the Syrian jet was just. This case represents an eye for an eye frame that war

journalists often prefer to use. This is, in this case, the most perilous frame to be utilized. To counter this, possible unfavourable future consequences due to such opposition and conflicts should be emphasized. Any type of violence or war should be presented as problematic. Instead of fanning the flames and provoking, language can be used to gather the parties on common ground. Utterances that emphasize 'us and them' do nothing more than to alienate the two neighbouring countries.

Evrensel newspaper's headline on 24 June 2012 was entitled '*Bitter harvest*'. The story related to the shoot down of the Turkish jet plane. This example gives us an idea of how journalists can use different frames such as 'self-reflexive criticism of government policy' and 'attempt to understand the other'. These two frames are peace-oriented frames that question the issue and try to elucidate the conflict rather than blaming one side and showing it to be responsible for the problem. Most journalists tend to follow their 'own' government policy on this type of conflict situation and do not want to use different news frames that can cause dissidence.

An additional peace frame example comes from Cumhuriyet newspaper's headline: '*Fire dragging*'. Cumhuriyet published news related to the shoot down of the Syrian jet plane. The newspaper tends to frame the issue as 'self-reflexive criticism of government policy'. The dominant frame of the study is constructed through criticizing the Turkish government for dragging Turkey into a war with Syria.

There are journalists who claimed that the plane exceeded the borders and had been warned but also those who reported the statements of the prime minister. There are some journals that reported more descriptive headlines and allowed the reader to add interpretation.

Conclusion

It is concluded that journalism undertaken in regards to the Turkish and Syrian jet planes mostly preferred to utilize a conflict/war orientation. Journalists have to pay more attention when selecting the words used in their news. Moreover, if the news topic is related to conflict, the role and responsibility of the journalist is highly significant. We must not forget that the language used in news has formative effects on the ideas of the readers. The lingual framework of the news has more potential to reach the target audience more communicatively in contrast to language that is oriented on violence, hatred, cuss words and militaristic statements. Surely, such pre-emphasized lingual and frame distortions are likely to be based on the political atmosphere. Thus, it is unjust to state that the absolute responsibility for the form of the news is placed on the media.

Political figures can also use harsh rhetoric to legitimize some of their ideas. Journalists also highlight such strong rhetoric as they report. Unfortunately, this manner of news reporting is considered to be 'impartial'. However, impartiality and the 'independence' of the journalist are two separate concepts. An independent journalist is one who is acknowledged to be free from any pressure and to report equably and justly. Nevertheless, we witness many journalists who report in

different ways following an event, which proves the partiality that the journalists practice in their news stories. Media must pay greater attention to the linguistic approach used, especially in regard to conflict-oriented events. As much care should be taken in use of adjectives as in word choice. The fundamental duty of the press in this respect is to deliver the event that has occurred. Surely, in the process of delivering the news, tabloid journalism language must be avoided and the message should be given by emphasizing that both parties do not favour conflict due to the severe consequences that it may cause. The main objective is to underscore the words and to bring those problems that have potential to result in future conflict under discussion in a common platform. Veiling facts is not considered to be part of PJ. Journalists also have the responsibility to unite all parties related to the problem on common ground. Such occasions require discretion, stigmatization of any type of violence and event-descriptive journalism that is non-tabloid. No positive effects on the solution of the problem occur with tabloid news headlines in which conflict- and hatred-oriented statements are used. This study has analysed press headlines in regards to the shoot down of jet planes in two different years. The research questions once again are as follows:

RQ 1 – Which dominant news frames have the Turkish press used regarding the shoot down of the jet planes?

The general tendency of the Turkish press is towards accusation, blame and the creation of suspicion of the 'other' side. Within a win-lose frame, the Turkish press focuses on who will 'win' the conflict towards resolving the problem. However, even if blame is justified, it is usually counterproductive. Under attack, the other side will become defensive and will resist what you have to say (Fisher et al., 1991: 25). PJ encourages empathy for the other while covering issues important to all sides. Alankuş (2006) noted that the common pattern by which the Turkish mainstream media cover the peace process is within a win-lose frame. One can identify the win-lose frame when a journalist emphasizes one side's pains and a good-versus-evil orientation. Lynch and Galtung (2010) describe such news frames as the 'low road' because following this road is very easy for most journalists. Those journalists who choose the low road in their news form their news reports on the conflict of 'us versus them', and the marginalized part is described as 'evil'. Mass media throughout the world look at the events from an 'us versus them' dichotomous perspective (Tılıç, 2001). The Turkish media have a similar tendency when journalists are covering conflicts and problems.

RQ 2 – Are the news frames used in the headlines more comment-, descriptive- or quotation-oriented?

The Turkish press significantly used 'comment' headlines while they were covering the two cases. The Turkish government argued fairness in the shooting down of the Turkish plane, which was significant in terms of the political atmosphere of the media. Furthermore, the diplomacy-oriented approaches of the Turkish government

have eased the way for ‘commentary’-based headlines in the media. Thus, minimal levels of peace-oriented statements were presented in the headlines. The Turkish media utilized conflict/war-oriented frames for the shooting down of the jets. Therefore, the frames that were preferred were interpreted to be closer to war journalism more often.

Media must further analyse the meaning of their wording and positively influence resolution of the event. Galtung and Vincent (1992) recommend that journalists get advice from professionals in such cases. According to Galtung and Vincent, good newspapers are able to provide their readers with alternative perspectives when they get professional advice.

Because the Turkish press have strong relations with politicians, this conflict of interest entails setting agendas and shaping the public for their own purposes. In this study, we find that the Turkish press is strongly affected by ownership structure, political pressure, regulations, mainstream news values and market conditions (circulation). All these factors affect the features of the Turkish press system, and these also determine journalists’ usage of dominant frames on their front pages in conflict situations.

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1. The names of analysed newspapers are as follows: 1. Akşam, 2. Aydınlık, 3. Birgün, 4. Bugün, 5. Cumhuriyet, 6. Evrensel, 7. Güneş, 8. Habertürk, 9. Hürriyet, 10. Karşı Gazete, 11. Milat, 12. Milli Gazete, 13. Milliyet, 14. Ortadoğu, 15. Posta, 16. Radikal, 17. Sabah, 18. Sol Gazetesi, 19. Sözcü, 20. Star, 21. Takvim, 22. Taraf, 23. Türkiye, 24. Vatan, 25. Yeni Akit, 26. Yeni asır, 27. Yeni Asya, 28. Yeni Çağ, 29. Yeni Mesaj, 30. Yeni Şafak, 31. Yurt, 32. Zaman.

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Appendix I: Dominant frames in stories

NEGATIVE (towards the other)

1. 'Exclusive' Frame (to be exclusive of the 'Other')
2. 'Status Quo Oriented' Frame (supporting status quo forever)
3. 'Other is the Threat' Frame (using threaten statements to the 'Other')
4. 'Revenge' Frame (encouraging revenge to the community)
5. 'Antipathy' Frame (stay in your shoes)
6. 'Distrust' Frame (distrust the 'Other' side)

7. 'Prejudiced' Frame (being prejudice to the 'Other')
8. 'Sport' Frame (representing the issues like sport match perspective)
9. 'Unbalance Background' Frame (providing unbalance background information)
10. 'Criticize Other Side's Government Policy' (criticizing the 'Other' side's government policies)
11. 'Emphasize One Side' Pains Frame (emphasizing only own side pains)
12. 'They are our Enemy' Frame (representing the 'Other' in eternal enemy perspective)
13. 'Win-Lose' Frame (includes distinct satisfaction)
14. 'Inferior' Frame (underestimate the 'Other' ideas)
15. 'Nationalist' Frame (emphasizing red lines and as a national problem)
16. 'Who Throw the First Stone' Frame (providing no historical and cultural information and emphasizing who started the conflict)
17. 'Hate Speech' Frame (providing hate speech and insulted statements to the opposition side)
18. 'Blame the Other Side' Frame (blaming the 'Other' and show them as a cause of the problem)
19. 'Self and Other' Frame (making self and other distinction)
20. 'Just War' Frame (emphasizing only war related with the opposition side)
21. 'Good and Evil' Frame (we are good and they are evil perspective)

POSITIVE (towards the other)

1. 'Inclusive' Frame (to be inclusive of the 'Other')
2. 'Solution-Oriented' Frame (includes suggestion and solution on the event)
3. 'Understanding the Other' Frame (try to understand opposition side)
4. 'Forgiveness' Frame (using forgiveness expressions)
5. 'Empathy' Frame (put you in 'their' shoes)
6. 'Trust' Frame (trust the 'Other' side)
7. 'Unprejudiced' Frame (being unprejudiced to the 'Other')
8. 'Fair Play' Frame (representing the issues in fair perspective)
9. 'Balance Background' Frame (providing balance and background information)
10. 'Self-Reflexive Criticism of Government Policy' Frame (criticizing own government policies)
11. 'Emphasize Both Sides' Pains' Frame (pain is pain, it is same in all over the world)
12. 'We are Friend' Frame (representing the 'Other' in friend perspective)
13. 'Win-Win' Frame (includes mutual satisfaction)
14. 'Accept Other As It Is' Frame (considering the 'Other' ideas)
15. 'Anti-nationalist' Frame (emphasize unification and living together perspective)
16. 'History-Culture' Frame (providing historical and cultural information in order to understand the roots of the conflict)

17. 'Friendly Speech' Frame (providing constructive statements to the opposition side)
18. 'Applaud' Frame (if opposition side makes any good things, it needs to appreciate)
19. 'Other in the Self' Frame (try to seek the other in the self)
20. 'Common Ground' Frame (seek for common ground instead of conflict)
21. 'Good/Good or Bad/Bad' Frame (seeking good and bad things of both sides, appreciate the good things and condemn the bad things of both sides)