

THE PRESENTATION OF CLOSING CASE OF POLITICAL PARTY IN TURKISH PRINT MEDIA: EXAMPLE OF DTP AND RP

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Abstract

Democracy appears in different political atmospheres with different definitions. Especially in the societies in where culture of democracy is so new it is undeniably true that mass communication vehicles and media have a power to affect perception of concept. Also when the concept of democracy is taken into account, it is compulsory to be discussed the political parties as the most important essentialities of democracy. Especially after the closing of political parties, democratic values and discourse of democratic politic which are mentioned ever so often represent importance. As accepted antidemocratic action by society, closing of political parties also affects perception of democracy by society. Needless to say that for the formation of democracy perception in social mind, media and mass communication vehicles can affect and determine perception of democracy. This study which analyzes the handling of democracy concept by media after closing of political parties in Turkey shows clearly that concept of democracy was defined with different dimensions of definition processes. The study focused especially on the news which published on print media and also the study showed the different handlings of democracy concept and in news on different political situations.

Keywords: Media, Democracy, Closing Cases of Political Parties, News

Introduction

Political parties are accepted as indispensable organizations for running and health of democratic societies. Through political parties, societies can join directly to decision making process and they can become effective. In this context, Kapani (2000: 67) said that political parties are not only responsible for governing the country but also they are responsible for controlling the governments and offering opposition. Kapani explains opposition role of parties by giving two reasons. First one is to affect political decisions made by governments in behalf of their own ideas and second one is to offer alternative solutions to the problems of country. Working of political parties for realizing such an important mission has brought constitutional regulations which supply political parties with ensuring in democracies.

In 1990's, the third wave of democratization started to affect Middle East after Turkey and Eastern Europe. Turkey was influenced seriously by this wave and it has developed its democracy level positively during this process. Heywood (2006: 356) shows these years as the years of democratization and Heywood also claimed that political parties have regained their importance in 1990's. In this context, 1990's could be accepted as the years in which democratization and democratic rights were ensured.

Although there was a specific effort for democratization and turning political systems into democratic systems, this effort has not same results for all societies and political systems. Even though constitutional regulations are essential for all democratic systems, there are some differences in these regulations because of social structures and differences. Turkey made some regulations about personal rights, freedom of speech and democratic politics. At the same period Turkey also made constitutional regulations about political parties but European Union warned Turkey to make more constitutional regulations about political parties during European Union Membership Process and Turkey did not do anything about this warning. Today Turkey makes decisions for closing case of political parties according to 1982 Constitution of Turkey Republic.

According to 1982 Constitution of Turkey Republic a political party can be closed permanently if its program and rules are found as contradictory to 68/4th item of the constitution. After the implementation of this item 26 different political parties have been closed by constitutional court. Closing decisions are ultimate decisions and parties have no rights of objection. This proves that closing decisions are not democratic and they affected political arena negatively. Refah Partisi (Welfare Party: (RP) and Demokratik Toplum Partisi (Democratic Society Party: DTP) are the last parties closed by constitutional court in Turkey. The presentations of these two events are not same by Turkish press and reactions also are not same by public opinion.

When mutual definition and values of democracy are thought, it was seen that there was a huge differences and dichotomy about perception of democracy. In addition to this, approaches of Turkish press to democracy and democratization show differences in different periods. Closing decisions affecting political spectrum negatively were taken in hand by Turkish press in the context of democracy and this shows democracy level of Turkish press apparently.

Democracy as Concept

Democracy has become one of the most-argued concepts in political arenas during 21st century. The concept has been taken in hand by so many well-known theorists and intellectuals but political scientists can not reach a consensus about one specific definition of democracy. Dictionaries from social and political sciences give so many definitions of the term and usually it is taken in hand comprehensively. Because of its roots coming from Ancient Greece and so many discussions by intellectual made it difficult put democracy in a mutual definition framework.

Türküne explains with two ways why democracy can not be defined in a mutual framework. According to him (2003: 18) defining the democracy is difficult and intellectuals complain the confusion going on about democracy. The first reason of this difficulty and confusion is that democracy is a respectable concept. That is why, by relying on democracy, weak arguments can be turned into powerful arguments. In fact political systems which have no similarity with democracy make big efforts to present themselves as democratic systems. Second reason is that democracy can not convey so many things when it is used alone. It must take an adjective before it is used for a specific meaning.

According to Barry (2004: 319) democracy has gained a pretty emotional meaning and today political systems use the concept of democracy for different purpose and contexts. Rousseau claims that social contract theory must be accepted as the beginning of democracy theory. By using social contract theory, democracy got its position in the relation between governed and governing. About this subject Rousseau said that “A social form

which protects its members' property and life must be found and by this way every member can contact each other and also they can be free as member (Rousseau, 1992: 18). This definition forms the roots of modern democratic systems.

The origins of the term 'democracy' can be traced back to Ancient Greece. Like other words ending in 'cracy' - autocracy, aristocracy, bureaucracy and so on -democracy is derived from the Greek word *kratos*, meaning 'power' or 'rule'. Democracy thus stands for 'rule by the demos', *demos* meaning 'the people', though it was originally taken to imply 'the poor' or 'the many' (Heywood, 2007: 52). Similarly Heywood, Yayla (2004: 60) explains the term with using etymologic analysis and according to him democracy is consist of collecting words *demos* and *kratos* to define a political system. Sartori, who is well-known democracy theorist, claimed (1996: 8) that an important topic was forgotten while analyzing the term etymologically. Democracy is only a word and it is so easy to define democracy in terms of its dictionary meaning. Translating the term word by word is not to define it clearly. Whereas it represents something and its nature includes representation.

According to Meier (1972) the term is consist of "demos" which means people or citizens and "kratein" which means sovereignty in Greek. Consequently, democracy can be directly defined as sovereignty of people or citizens (Quoted by Schmidt, 2002: 14). Dictionary meaning of democracy is governing system that its decisions have social roots and they are of binding authority against society (Demir and Acar, 2005: 88). According to Kapani (2000: 137) classic meaning of democracy is participation of majority with self and equal determination to governing process of the society. All laws are made by participation of citizens in democratic systems and it should be thought that law maker is the best person for implementation and interpretation of laws and democracy is the best political system (Göze, 1995: 203).

Democracy is not only a kind of form of government which includes self-administration of people but it also necessitates having sources for realization of self-administration (Dahl, 1993: 15). Schumpeter (1971: 168) claims that democracy is an organization technique which supplies people with making decisions to reach mutual goodness of whole society. Beside this by using democracy as a form of government, societies reflect successfully their ideas to government process and they can become effective on final results. According to Touraine (1997: 25) democratic form of government gives the best freedom to more people and it has a wide range of diversity and it also protects this structure carefully.

Tocqueville said that democracy not only forms the social life of people but it also forms personal and intellectual life of citizens. Additionally to this, it makes contributions to social mind of societies and develops their mutual living perceptions (Tocqueville, 1994: 138). Modernism did not define democracy as a negative or harmful form of government and after modernism democracy has become the only rational form of government all over the world (Küçük, 1994: 19). Today so many international organizations watch democracies by using international democratic values and they formed some international standards. Now these standards are used by governments both for their internal affairs and foreign affairs for getting acceptance by international diplomacy (Schmitter and Karl, 1984: 67).

After all of these definitions and evaluations, modern political democracy makes governors liable for their actions and implementations against citizens and it also forces elected governments to cooperate with other political and social organizations to produce social consent (Schmitter and Karl, 1984: 68).

Democracy and Media Relation

Before starting to discuss the relation between democracy and media, the relation between person and communication should be understood. Social life preference of people makes them communicate each other and living together in social structure also produced the differences between people as governed and governor. These differences created people as political man in social life. When people became a political man, they needed to communicate and this situation turned communication into a compulsory process in daily life of societies.

In modern societies people want to know implementations of their governments and by knowing details about political process they can join effectively political process. That is why, in a democratic society people need freedom of speech and right to know. This gives media a vital role which supplies citizens with information for becoming democratic citizens (Belsey, 1998: 118). Because of this media should be protected from obstructive pressures and states should not limit citizens' freedom of speech and right to know. According to McNair (1998: 84) states have no controlling power over media organizations in democratic systems and in these systems journalist criticizing governments should have a wide range of tolerance. Similarly, James Mill declared that press with its freedom can enlighten public opinions about politicians' and governments' actions (2001: 79). Historically, Press gained its fourth estate role which observes political powers in societies because of controlling lord, church and people (Schultz, 1998: 132). To sum up liberal thinking accepts media as fourth estate for controlling other powers in society on behalf of citizens. This is the most important and preferential role of media in democratic societies and it also affects organization structure of media (Curran, 1997: 142).

By courtesy of free press, it has become possible to see to interests of public, personal freedoms and some other freedoms. For example, Thomas Paine defended Thomas Erskine who was charged with being detractor by using press freedom law of British constitution and Paine gained Erskine's cause with his powerful argument (Keane, 1999: 28). In this context, press freedom is not only protection of persons it also supplies poor people and powerless with defending themselves and swelling their voice (Touraine, 1997: 23). Today the relation of state with mass communication vehicles in a democratic form of government can be designated by regulatory framework and regulations for working in a free environment. Should the occasion arise, state can provide economic supports to press to protect this free environment (Demir, 2007: 17).

Initially there were positive feedbacks from the fourth estate role of media but this situation could not be steady and healthy for public opinion. Especially with rapid development in communication technologies ideological structure of media started to affect whole social, economical, political and cultural activities and working styles of democratic organizations (Erdoğan, 1999: 35). Naturally this interaction affected relation of media and democracy and it also showed negative dimensions of this relation to society (Tokgöz, 2008: 206). Gurevitch and Blumler (1997: 199) said that today media is far away from realizing its real responsibilities against society and democracy and a few huge companies control media for their own interests. Similarly Habermas claimed that media lost its democratic nature and responsibilities in capitalist system and hegemonic capitalist culture determines content of media effectively. That is why democracy has turned a utopia for masses (Oskay, 1993: 261-262).

The Relation of Media and Politics in News

From ancient ages news has become an important vehicle which transfer and produce central power and sovereignty all part of countries. With developing communication technologies news' importance for central powers has increased rapidly and news has turned into a necessity for daily life of everybody. Now it is records of societies' history for every aspects of life (Bennet, 2000: 13). Politics and politicians have not been indifferent to news and they started to fallow news and its agenda carefully. Beside this, these actors have made big effort to influence news and its structure in terms of their own interests because they wanted to take part in news structure as news for becoming popular in the eyes of masses. After this process, a cooperation and mutual interest has developed between news media and politics and they have turned into a mechanism functioning together in public mind.

Especially in terms of liberal approaches, the structural relation between news and politics is accepted as an assurance to protect democratic form of government. With this definition news is reflected as a text transferring political and social events on behalf of public interests and herald is the person doing this job for public opinion. According to Dursun (2001: 123) starting point of liberal approaches to news is consist of some concepts which include news values, professionalization of journalists and news production processes. By courtesy of these concepts news media fallow the actions and activities of politics on behalf of public opinion and news media also informs society about politics and political processes.

Marxist approaches highlights that politics is intensively inside the news production process. According to this approach, news is produced by the political group who have power and production vehicles and that is why news is turned a biased and ideological text legitimizing interests of political groups (Poyraz, 2002: 64). Generally Marxist approaches repeated that news in capitalist system is far away from reality and it is formed in terms of political interests and purposes. Beside this, Marxist approaches stated that news production is an economic process and it affects the relation between media and politics. Kaya (2010) criticized this situation and he said that media should not be consigned to market because this causes unhealthy situations for democratic life and processes. Kaya also highlights that news and its effects on democratic systems play a vital role for democratic form of government.

After all of these evaluations, now political powers can not abstain to news because of its increasing and strong effects on public's mind. At the same time politics have been turned into a vital material for news organization and politicians' themselves also have become so beneficial news sources for news media. Connection of new with this kind of intensive political content has been also supported by economic process and basics. Especially political actors wanted to use news as an advertising vehicle and news media evaluated this demand in terms of its economic contributions. When this situation is thought carefully, the relation of media and politic should be understood clearly.

Democracy Discourse in News

News is so important for democratic societies in order to realize healthy running of democracy in social structure. News also works for informing public opinion and journalist is accepted as the person who guarantees democratic society and its health. According to main stream media studies accept that media reflects social events and rational reality directly and that is why news is accepted as a text which includes objectivity, fairness and well-balanced (Çebi, 2002: 21). McNair (1998: 85) defined journalist as the person who increases reliability of economic and politic powers in democratic societies. Correspondingly, accepting journalist as guaranty of democracy affected news structure in which democracy discourse is produced anymore.

According to Tılıç (1998: 164) news should be accepted as true in main stream studies and also news must include professional values because of its holly mission. Although this definition does not include word “democracy”, journalist whose mission is to produce political reliability relies on democracy discourse which is the most powerful support for him. Consequently journalists always define themselves as the protector of democratic system and they generally use democracy discourse implicitly or visibly almost every detail of news and news material. In addition to this, today journalism and democracy are thought together in one structure and journalists are perceived as men who work for democratic society and health of democracy.

On the other hand, news studies developing in the frame of critical studies have added so many different dimensions such as structure of news organizations, dominant ideology in social structure etc. while discussing democracy discourse in news. According to this approach, news and journalist should not be seen as the protector of democracy and it is awful to think news as a source and place of democracy discourse. Critical studies also have discussed ethical code of journalist and structure of news organizations in capitalist state and they concluded that news structure and journalism are the problematic themes and these themes do not include democracy and democracy discourse. Generally democracy discourse in news was taken in hand in terms of whether supporting a political idea or not by main stream media studies and that is why content analysis method was used by this approach to analyze news texts (İnal, 1995: 113). Structural point of view to news studies took news texts in hand in terms of linguistic and it disposed of the argument which claims that news naturally includes democracy discourse in its structure. Structural approaches stated that news text are genuine text and they have their own discourse but this discourse generally are produced originally when news is written in its own context (İnal, 1995: 116).

The effort of forming democracy discourse and producing social consciousness in news structure can not be explained only looking to news definitions of main stream media studies. When the reality of elites’ becoming news source and first definers is considered, it is clearly seen that behind democracy discourse there are political interests and politicians’ demands. Herman (2004: 269) supported this evaluation and he stated that media workers serve politicians’ and elites’ interests and they also work for making propaganda of these people. At the same time news texts are closed to others discourse and descriptions by news professionals and description of people who do not harm to interests of elites can be used in news structure. This proves that democracy discourse wanted to produce in news structure is a narrow and limited framework.

Method

In this study, approaches of press to democracy concept after closing of political parties and usages of the concept by press while transferring news about closing of parties were analyzed. In the content of the study news published after closing of Welfare Party (RP) and Democratic Society Party (DTP) was analyzed. Critical Discourse Analyze Method was used for the analysis and as sampling four national newspapers Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak were selected. The reason of why Yeni Şafak and Cumhuriyet were selected for analysis is that two newspapers embraced different publishing policies and political approaches to the events in terms of zeitgeist. Although Yeni Şafak embraced a conservative publishing policy, it highlighted more democracy and democracy discourse after the closing of two parties in its news structure. Beside Cumhuriyet's representation of the line coming from center to left, its attitudes about closing of political parties determined its selection as sampling. Hürriyet and Sabah were selected because of their representations of main stream media and their high sales rate. Another reason for selection of Hürriyet is that newspaper arranged its attitudes about democracy according to circumstances of zeitgeist. Moreover, change in ownership of Sabah affected its democracy perception and this changed newspaper's attitudes to democracy in different periods. Because of this newspaper was added in sampling of the study.

Findings

Presentation of Closing Case of Welfare Party in Common Written Press

Hürriyet

On 17 January Hürriyet published its first news about closing of Welfare Party with using the title of "Historical Decision" on its first page. Newspaper used the photo of members of Constitutional Court as news material and newspaper tried to highlight in its news discourse that this decision is a historical decision which will affect Turkey's future. Especially news discourse highlighted the fact that closing decision was made by 9 members of court and only two members were opponent. Word "only" was used frequently and by doing this newspaper wanted to produce a biased discourse which legitimizes the decision of constitutional court. Beside this newspaper also wanted to produce a discourse that closing decision was wanted by a huge part of society. Although it was not legal, newspaper claimed that leader and directors of party could be arrested after publication of decision on Official Newspaper. On the other hand, newspaper did not use any sentence or word implying democracy or democratic values in its news text and discourse. It did not make any discussion in news text whether the decision was suitable with democratic values or not and closing of parties in modern democracies. Consequently, it is clearly said that usage of news sources by newspaper has a problematic point of view and generally newspaper formed news text in order to create a syntactic closure in accordance with biased approach of Hürriyet to the decision.

News on the same date was published by Hürriyet with the title of "If you did not hide corruptions, this would not happen". Title was said by Leader of Mainland Party (ANAP) Mesut Yılmaz when he visited Necmettin Erbakan the leader of Welfare Party closed by constitutional court. Newspaper internalized expressions of Mesut Yılmaz and it transferred his sentences without using commas. Moreover, newspaper tried to produce a discourse implying that Welfare Party did not fight corruptions cases to find judgment and this is the reason of its closure. Similarly other news, this news did not include any sentences or words implying democracy and democratic

values. Also news discourse was formed according to a biased acceptance which did not discuss legality or legitimacy of closing of political parties in democratic societies.

Inside pages, newspaper separated two big pages for the closing of Welfare Party by using the title of “Refah Case”. In this pages newspaper gave huge places to explanations from European Union and USA which criticized seriously closing of Welfare Party in terms of anti-democratic decision of constitutional court and they declared that this decision will harm the relations with EU and USA and it will also weaken the power of democracy in Turkey. Although newspaper gave these explanations on these pages, according to news discourse this decision will not weaken democracy of Turkey. Contrary to this, the decision will strengthen democracy in Turkey and Turkey guaranteed its democratic future by closing Welfare Party in terms of secularism. Newspaper also used some explanations from different international organizations which support the closure of Welfare Party to strengthen its news discourse. By doing this, it is clearly said that Hürriyet generally has a problematic and biased source usage and almost all of its news tried to produce a discourse supporting the closing decision. Furthermore, news discourses in Hürriyet were affected by the relations of newspaper with Welfare Party and its publication policy highlighting secularism I news discourses.

Sabah

Sabah released its first news about closing of Welfare Party on 17 January 1998 and it used sentence of “Finger cut by Sharia does not feel pain”. News gave detailed information about closing case and news discourse tried to legitimize the decision by giving legal theories. That is why news discourse was formed in this context and it was closed to other ideas or opinions. Newspaper aimed to produce a biased discourse which legitimizing the closing of Welfare Party. Similarly Hürriyet, Sabah defined members of Constitution Court who were against the closing decision as opponent and in this context these persons were reflected as negative sides of the case. Beside this, newspaper repeated so many times the fact that these members are not jurist and their backgrounds have no relation with law. By doing this newspaper tried to reduce reliability of the decision of opponent members and it used photos of two members to show or introduce them to society in a negative discourse.

Newspaper also used the sentence of Haşim Kılıç who is one of the member of Constitutional Court and is against the closing of Welfare Party to support its general approaches to the decision. For example, Sentence of Kılıç “Welfare Party is not against secularism and I do not believe this claim” was used so many times in news text within negative sentence structures to produce negativity about him and also his decision. Also news has a problematic point of view about source usage because it did not give any opponent ideas or explanations criticizing closing case of Welfare Party. Generally Sabah used news structures for this event and it tried to produce a discourse supporting the closing decision in news structure. On the other hand it ignored so many times opponent ideas and explanations. When it gave place to opponent ideas or explanations of people who are against the closing decision in within negative sentence structures.

Cumhuriyet

Similarly other newspapers, Cumhuriyet released its first news about closing decision of Welfare Party (RP) with using the title of “Welfare Party was closed”. Newspaper defined Constitutional Court members who voted against closing of Welfare Party as conservative and because of this they voted against closing decision. Although this is an ideological evaluation of process, newspaper wanted to transfer this information as realistic and reliable. However, there is no evidence to prove voting behavior of these two members. In fact newspaper embraced a leftist and nationalist perception as publishing policy and because of this it defined two members in the context of contradiction of us-other in its news discourse. Moreover newspaper used a photo of Erbakan who was preying and according to news discourse this picture proves that Welfare Party can not internalize to secularism and because of this Welfare Party deserved to be closed by Constitutional Court. Newspaper also tried to reflect Welfare Party as meeting point of anti-secular groups and ideas in its news discourse by using some interesting and unrealistic explanations from its news sources. Interestingly, Cumhuriyet selected its news sources among secularist persons and it did not use any news source from different point of views such as conservatives, liberals, social democrats etc. In one another news Cumhuriyet claimed that the closing decision is jurist and it can be criticized but newspaper did not use any legal scholars to support its news discourse. Because of this it is clearly seen that Cumhuriyet tried to produce news discourse supporting the closing decision and it used words and adjectives for defining the opponents against closing decision to produce negativity and otherness about them in news discourse.

So many times Cumhuriyet did not pay attention to its news discourse because it confused news and comment in news texts and this caused news texts to experience syntactic closure on behalf of newspaper’s ideology and ideological publishing policy. Moreover, newspaper did not discuss the decision in terms of democracy and whether it is suitable for democratic values or not. Contrary to this, according to news discourses produced by Cumhuriyet this decision was necessity for health and running of democratic system.

Yeni Şafak

Yeni Şafak published its first news about the closing of Welfare Party on 17 January with using the title of “Strategy search in RP”. Main theme of news is about meeting organized by directors from Welfare Party and what their behavior will be about the future. In news spot and title it was highlighted that Welfare Party will not terrorize the situation and directors warned their supporters not to use violence in demonstrations. By doing this news discourse was produced in the context of Welfare Party will not any relation with negativity, fundamental behavior or violence. Newspaper used so many explanations form politicians, intellectuals and opinion leaders who criticize the closing decision and defined the decision as antidemocratic. Especially news discourse was formed according to acceptance that the decision was clearly antidemocratic and that is why whole news was written to produce and legitimize this discourse. In order to realize this, newspaper used some sentences defining the decision as antidemocratic to support its general news discourse such as ‘Parties can only be closed by electors’, “The closing decision will stay as a black patch on democracy for a long time” etc. In the structure of this news so many sentence implying the result as antidemocratic were used to internalize general news discourse.

Yeni Şafak published different news on the same date and it used the title of “Closing decision is not legal”. Newspaper used Aydın Menderes whose father was punished by death and his party was closed by military coup as news source. Menderes’s explanations were internalized by newspaper because these explanations were used as news titles and spots without using commas. Yeni Şafak highlighted Menderes’s explanations’ some part about democracy and antidemocratic decision of constitutional court to affect and meet ideological demands of its readers. By doing this newspaper produced news discourse which criticizes the decision and this discourse also reflects approach of newspaper to the decision as democratic.

Beside these details, newspaper also used news from abroad which supports its general news discourse. In order to do this, Yeni Şafak gave details and titles published by foreign presses in news texts such as “Coup to democratic values”, “The decision can not affect the power of RP”, “Fossilized state ideology” etc. By doing this newspaper strengthen its general discourse about the closing decision with using explanations inside and outside public opinions and presses.

The presentation of Closing of Democratic Society Party by Written Press

Hürriyet

Newspaper published its first news about the closing of Democratic Society Party (DTP) on 12 December 2009 with using a standard title that “DTP was closed”. According to news discourse party was closed because of its relations with terror and terrorist organization. Newspaper used this information so many times in news structure and it used explanations of the President of Constitutional Court as news source. By using official explanations, newspaper strengthened its general news discourse and also it reflected itself as an objective news organization because official explanations and information were always accepted by readers as reliable. Beside this, news’s titles, spots and other material highlighted frequently the relation of Democratic Society Party with terror and this produced suitability between official explanations and Hürriyet’s news discourse.

On same date Hürriyet used the title of “We took the Batasuna decision into account” for its different news. According to news discourse Democratic Society Party was closed because of its relations with terror and this decision is compatible with decision of European Court of Human Rights about Batasuna which was a closed political party in Spain. Again explanations of President of Constitutional Court were used so many times to produce a discourse reflecting closing decision was democratic. Also newspaper gave examples from European Court of Human Rights and it highlighted similarities of the two decisions in news to support its general discourse. Newspaper also stated that Democratic Society Party used violence so many times and this is not suitable for the European Convention of Human Rights and that is why, its closure is democratic and legal in news discourse. When it is observed carefully, it is clearly seen that Hürriyet tried to legitimize the closing of Democratic Society Party by giving democratic examples from international democratic organizations and by doing this it also legitimizes and strengthens its general news discourse as democratic and objective. Moreover it also used explanations and news titles affirming the closing decision from international news organizations to strengthen its general news discourse. On the other hand it is clearly seen that newspaper has a problematic and biased source usage in order to support and legitimize its own publishing policy.

Sabah

Newspaper published its first news about the closing decision of Democratic Society Party on 12 December 2009 and it used the title of “Prohibition to Pigeon and Freedom to Falcon”. Title of the news implied that continent members of Democratic Society Party were disciplined but aggressive parts of the party were not” and news discourse general was formed to legitimize the closing decision by giving official explanations of Haşim Kılıç who is the Director of Constitution Court. Especially Haşim Kılıç explained the decisions with giving examples from European Court of Human Rights and newspaper used this detail as supportive and legitimizing effect for its general news discourse.

Newspaper released different news about the decision with using the title of “Batasuna has set a good example”. News was formed to support the closing decision and in this context its discourse generally highlighted examples and legal reasons from European Union. Sources usage of this news also was formed according to acceptance that the closing decision is legal because almost all sources of the news stated that the decision is legal and everybody must be respectful to it. Moreover, according to news highlighted that democracy has no relation with terrorism and people must continue with their democratic struggles with legal political parties. In this context, newspaper used supportive explanations of Ahmet Türk one of the directors of Democratic Society Party.

Cumhuriyet

Cumhuriyet published its first news about closure of Democratic Society Party on 12 December 2009 under the title of “DTP was closed”. In this news, explanations of Ahmet Türk one of the director of DTP were given comprehensively and his sentence of “The problem can not be solved by closing parties” used as news spot. Newspaper used explanations of a lawyer as expert opinion in news structure and according to these explanations closing decision of Constitutional Court is democratic and suitable with the Batasuna decision of European Court of Human Rights. Generally, news discourse produced by Cumhuriyet tried to legitimize and strengthen the closing decision of Democratic Society Party. In order to do this, newspaper highlighted relations of Democratic Society Party with terror and news discourse was formed according to this mentality. Beside this, so many times newspaper defined democracy and terrorism in order to persuade its readers about relations of Democratic Society Party with terror.

Newspaper also used so many explanations to support its general news discourse under the title of “Democracy can not accept relations with terror”. In this news it used different ideas about the decision but these ideas have only one mutual point that democracy and terror can not be realized inside the same structure and this was used by newspaper to strengthen its general news discourse. In addition to this, news discourse was produced professionally because all the ideas were given by news structure but only mutual point of them was processed and turned into news discourse.

Yeni Şafak

Newspaper used the title of “Their needs were realized” for its news about the closing decision of Democratic Society Party. According to information given by newspaper Government wants to solve terror problem of Turkey but some groups in politics and also some groups in Democratic Society Party do not want the solution of terror problem. Also these groups wanted to stop Democratic Opening started by the government and

newspaper evaluated the decisions in terms of its harm to politics of the government. Why newspaper tried to produce a supportive discourse for the government is that Yeni Şafak has powerful and economical relations with the government and news discourse charged some people with preparing suitable environment to stop democratic opening process. Newspaper also tried to produce a discourse implying and highlighting democratic values. According to news discourse newspaper is against the closure of parties in Turkish political life and it gave detailed information about closed parties since 1923. After this Yeni Şafak claimed in news discourse that closure of parties did not improve democracy in Turkey, contrary to this democratic system in Turkey has been destroyed seriously after closure of parties.

Newspaper also published one another news with using title of “DTP was closed by general compact”. This news used explanations of Haşim Kılıç as news source and news structure was formed according to his official explanations. Consequently news text was experienced a syntactic closure in terms of its meaning and this proves that newspaper tried to legitimize the decision made by 11 members of Constitutional Court. Similarly other newspaper, Yeni Şafak highlighted the relation of Democratic Society Party with terror in its news discourse and newspaper blamed director of DTP with not finishing with terror.

Conclusion and Discussion

In this study, it was aimed that how Turkish press took the democracy discourse in hand in different times after closure of political parties. Especially it was clearly seen that conditions of the country affected the perception of democracy when compared it periodically. Democracy as a discourse was taken in hand too differently after closure of two different parties in two different conditions. Actually these differences were affected and changed news discourse seriously of same newspapers in different times. This perception clearly proved that there are two different approaches to democracy by newspapers after the discourse analysis of news published by selected four newspapers about the closure decision of Welfare Party and Democratic Society Party.

Closure of Welfare Party was only criticized by Yeni Şafak in that period and this closure decision was defined as antidemocratic by news discourse so many times. Newspaper also tried to reflect this decision as harmful and damaging decision to democracy and democratic values of Turkey in terms of its publishing policy. Beside this newspaper used so many news sources in news texts but all of these sources were selected from supportive side of the event. That is why it is clearly said that newspaper has a problematic and also biased policy about selecting its news sources. News discourses are generally legitimized or strengthened by this kind of source usages. On the other hand, other newspapers tried to produce general news discourses supporting closure decision of Welfare Party. Sabah, Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet embraced ideological publishing policies which were suitable conditions of zeitgeist. Consequently, news discourses generally were against democratic values and supportive for closure of Welfare Party. These newspapers also tried to produce a threat about political and secular system of country because they targeted Welfare party as convention center of antidemocratic and fundamental groups. This perception legitimized their news discourses supporting closure of political parties.

Contrary to closure of Welfare Party, Turkish press approached to the closure of Democratic Society Party with positive and more democratic manners. At first there is a big difference about perception of democracy when compared the former period. All newspapers tried to explain its approaches to the decision by using democratic values or examples. Also it can be said that four newspapers have almost similar democracy definitions and their

news discourses also have similarities about closure of Democratic Society Party. Newspapers tried to prove legitimacy of the decision by giving explanations from different political perceptions and examples from European Union. Batasuna Party closed by European Court of Human Rights was generally used by newspapers in order to strengthen its news discourse affirming the closure of Democratic Society Party. Moreover, newspapers also embraced mutual news frames highlighting the relation of Democratic Society Party with terror and violence. Thanks to this, newspapers produced supportive news discourses for closure of Democratic Society Party in news frames and they reflected the decision as democratic and necessity of democracy. Newspapers also used demonstrations about closure of Democratic Society Party in news frames and especially violence and aggressive manners of demonstrators were defined antidemocratic and not suitable for democratic culture. Newspaper also stated that every political movement which accepts democratic manners and democratic political perception should take its place in political spectrum but relations with terror and terrorism have no meaning in the dictionary of democracy.

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