

# Ideological Framing in Television News: The Case of “Settlement Process”

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**Abstract**—Television news has gained a new dimension in terms of ideological approaches as a result of such factors as globalization, cross monopolization, presence of international companies etc. and certain strategies have been developed at the production, presentation and distribution stages of news. In this study, television news about a process called “settlement process” was investigated. In this framework, news about the settlement process on TV channels of TRT 1, ATV, FOX TV, NTV, HABERTÜRK, TRT HABER and STV was investigated using the content analysis method in terms of the strategies the ideology construction, attitude towards the party in power, attitude towards parties in opposition and attitude towards BDP (Peace and Democracy Part) and Imrali (the island where Abdullah Ocalan, head of PKK, is kept). First, the aforementioned TV channels were selected randomly from 3 groups in order to be able to reveal the representational capacity of commercial, news and public channels.

The study covers 557 news items broadcast in the main news bulletins between the dates of 15 March 2013 and 15 March 2013. While there was a positive attitude towards the government in a sizable portion of the news about the settlement process (63.6%), the attitude of 25.3% of the news was impartial towards the government and 11.3% had a negative attitude. On the other hand, there was a negative attitude towards the Opposition in a considerable portion of the news about the settlement process (56.1%). The attitude of 35.9% of the news towards the Opposition was impartial whereas 8.0% had a positive attitude. While 34.9% of the news about the settlement process used the legitimization strategy from among the ideology construction strategies, 22.8% used the unification strategy, 15.7% the reification strategy, 15.6% fractional and 11% concealment/mystification strategy.

**Keywords**—Attitude, Ideological Framing, Television News.

## I. INTRODUCTION

THIS study, acting on the purpose of investigating the question of whether a television news item is a medium that only conveys and informs, or a component of an ideological system that affects and guides many things in society through a case study (“the settlement process”), deals with the issue in terms of theory and practice. To this end, titles such as “Framing and Foregrounding in News” are handled in the theoretical section of the study. On the basis of these theoretical bases, channels were selected randomly from 3 groups in order to be able to reveal the representative skills of commercial, news and public TV channels within a period of one month (15.03–15.04.2013). Taking into consideration

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the different numerical weights of the channels in different groups within the study population, TRT 1, ATV, FOX TV, SAMANYOLU TV, NTV, HABER TÜRK and TRT HABER were included in the sample. The 557 news items that became the subject of the study were the ones that were presented in the main news bulletins of the channels in question.

## II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Under this title, subjects such as framing in news and ideology-building strategies were investigated in detail in order to present the conceptual basis of this study.

### *Framing and Foregrounding in News*

Frames are considered to be devices that help individuals identify, perceive, diagnose and name events and information. Framing as a power has a great influence on recognizing and understanding social problems and political issues [1]. Foregrounding, on the other hand, is defined as a psychological process where media emphasis on certain issues increases the importance of those issues and activates already existing information in people’s minds regarding those issues [2]. Some studies on television news and foregrounding effect state that television news first helps people reach political judgments by pointing out some aspects of social life and then enables them to make political preferences [3]. It can be said that through a critical point of view, some aspects of the issue covered in the news that may attract the attention of the public are selected and then presented sometimes with certain associations. Just like a Picture frame that distinguishes a picture from the other objects on the wall, inevitably definitions of states are made in news reports about problems and events and in fact how those problems will be discussed is determined [4]. Framing analysis has become quite a productive field in recent years and many communication researchers have conducted studies on this topic. In definitions related to framing, there are references to presentations, selections and an emphasis about what it is that exists, what the developments are and what the problem is. In an opinion about frames indicate the following two points. These are features of news reporting and are principles of information that are retained in mind [5].

One may think that with framing, those who control people in terms of ideology reinforce their forces. As a matter of fact, it can be said that framing narrows and restricts meaning, and stabilizes in the end. Excluding the postmodern point of view, it can be suggested that this is a conclusion that is reached as a result of the nature of framing. Journalism operates within the limits of frames and news reports sometimes get fixed along

those limits. The journalist can act only within the limits of framing. Meaning, too, takes shape within this framework and extends to its limits. Dominant framing generates social meaning as dominant social narrative [6]. As a matter of fact, the controlling forces-that determine frames- are institutions. Within the frames are discourses of the power holders in question. It can be considered that people who experience these discourses through news will also make sense of the world through these same discourses. Thus, it becomes no longer important, after accepting that those that determine frames are social and political institutions, to reveal what kind of frames the reporter has generated and even associate with objectivity. Instead of this, the economy-politics of institutions, why they have generated those frames, the position/lack of position of the reporter here, his/her role/lack of role, and the gradual transformation of media into a secondary descriptor of events become important. At this point, the purpose of the researcher seems not to define a news frame but instead to define the ideological limits that frame production. Based on this, one can reveal ideological clues as to what is offered to receivers in the negative case of news reporting. In the positive case of news reporting, for whom these ideological clues are functional in what way is defined. Thus, one can ask how and why reporters are made to generate the dominant ideology as a rhetoric wrapped in "dominant framing", and conclude that those who control framing ideologically reinforce their own power structures [7].

Scheufele, on the other hand, argues that according to the studies on the process of selection of news and studies on media content, three possible sources of influence construct the framework of the news:

- The first source of influence is newsmen-centered influence. Newsmen usually build the structure of frames by making sense of information coming from the source of the news. The structure of frames can be influenced by various different norms, ideologies and manners and is usually reflected through news framing by newsmen.
- The second factor affecting news framing is the selection of frame as a result of medium level political trends that are expressed as organizational routines.
- The last factor that affects news framing involves external sources of influence such as political actors, authorities, interest groups and other elites [8].

Therefore, framing is not a simple selection of word; it is important in terms of reproduction of the dominant discourse as it is an attempt about how a news item should be interpreted and evaluated [9].

Another element that media often use is foregrounding, which is worth dwelling on. Foregrounding is defined as a psychological process where in the broadest sense media emphasis on certain problems both increases the importance of those problems and activates information about those problems that already exists in people's memories [10]. Grossberg et al. maintain that both agenda setting and foregrounding are mostly psychological models and that these approaches affect how we will behave as long as we act in accordance with what we know or believe [11]. Apart from all

these details, ideological manipulations are made during the process of formation of news and masses can be shaped in line with strategies determined according to this.

#### *Functions and Operation of Ideology Building Strategies*

The most prominent function among the various functions that ideology performs in almost every society is its use as a tool to legitimize the system and actions of leaders [12]. In the process of lending legitimacy to what is dominant, ideology, according to some thinkers, follows certain operational strategies. According to another argument is to enter, as in all other discourses, the discourses of the press are related to their economic and theoretical positions and especially specific states of different news media. At this point, different cultural and economic features of the press come together and lend a special significance to it regarding generation of ideology [13].

Reproduction of the dominant ideology means the dominant class's reproduction of the material, political and ideological conditions of its own existence. Reproduction of the dominant ideology is not a simple repetition, or a simple reproduction. It is a contract to renew and unify previously scattered and conflicting ideological components in new opposing trends and class struggle waged against previous forms and within a unity that has been gained thanks to this struggle [14]. The ideas of the dominant class are dominant ideas in all periods. In other words, the class that manages the material power in a society at the same time manages the intellectual power. The class that keeps means material production under at its disposal also has control over means of mental production. Therefore, generally, those who are devoid of means of mental production come under the influence of the ideas of the dominant class [15]. Each class that replaces the previous dominant class presents its own interests as the common interests of the whole society in order to attain certain [16]. In this process, mass media constitute a significant step. This situation means, for individuals who lack the opportunity and means to receive news and information through anything but mass media, seeing the world through the eyes of that mass medium, understanding it as it understands it and even behaving in the way it wants [17].

Althusser argues that mass media are one of the ideological tools of the state which is by the dominant power to legitimize its ideology. According to him, mass media, as an ideological tool of the state, operate by using the ideology [18]. Mass media are directed, like other ideological tools of the state, towards the same goal and contribute to the reproduction of the relations of production, in other words reproduction of relations of capitalist exploitation.

Fiske contributed to this process by explaining some terms under the title of ideological analysis. Replacement (displacement), incorporation, (involvement)/integration, masking and meaningful non-existences, and commoditization can be cited among these terms. With the term replacement, which ideological theoreticians borrowed from Freudian dream theory, Fiske refers to the fact that when a subject or a worry is suppressed ideologically, the interest taken in this

subject is replaced with a legitimate and socially acceptable subject. Incorporation-integration is the elimination of opposition which occurs when dominant classes incorporate elements of resistance coming from subordinate classes into the ideology. It gives individuals the message "Do not worry, be incorporated/get involved". Fiske calls the situation where, by linking social movements to social interests, the fact that the emerging problems have been caused by capitalism is concealed masking or meaningful non-existence. Another term in this regard is commodization. Due to the fact that capitalism above all is a system that produces commodities, enabling produced commodities to look natural lies at the heart of many ideological practices. Individuals learn to understand through commodities produced to meet desires, think through commodities produced to solve problems and thus are made to need commodities [19].

John Thompson, similar to Eagleton, described five general methods in the operation of ideology, namely legitimization (legitimation), hiding/mystification (dissimulation), unification, segmentation and reification and some typical symbolic building strategies corresponding to these methods [20].

- Legitimation (legitimization): Rationalization, universalization and narrativization strategies are typical strategies of legitimation. It is individuals' regarding asymmetrical relationships existing in society, in other words unjust formations and unequal relationships as natural and adopting them. In this regard, legal system and international norms guide both the system and individuals. The legal system, in particular, expresses both a comprehensive reconciliation based on individuals' consent and a system of rules that require imposing of sanctions if disobeyed. Its basis is "legitimacy". Legitimacy necessarily requires existence of a dominant class. There could be no legitimacy in an environment where there is no ruler. Legitimacy depends on sovereignty, in other words to hegemony. Hegemony, on the other hand, is a way of ensuring social consensus, i.e. consent, by ruling classes.
- Hiding/Mystification (Dissimulation): Displacement, mystification and figures of speech (metaphor, metonymy and deduction and induction) are typical strategies of ideology. The heart of the matter is concealed, or to put better, is cast aside and attention is diverted to other areas. This diversion is both implemented by the dominant ideology and at the same time an effort is spent to make it look natural.
- Unification: It is the functioning of ideology through standardization and symbolization of unity. It involves bringing together people who have no material ties, or no relationships of interest under a concept or an umbrella in the face of a problem. The attribute "we" is foregrounded. An ideological platform is reached through concepts such as the nation, the flag and national unity. It is known that, in this context, the best method for work to be done is known to be propaganda.

- Segmentation: It operates through differentiation and elimination of the other. It follows a path in stark contrast to unification. The large main system is divided into pieces on the basis of subjective criteria. Those who gather around a certain view constitute the center whereas those are left out are deemed alien, unfaithful and hostile.
- Reification: It involves operation of the ideology through naturalization, eternalization and simplification. Here, transitory historical situations are claimed to be natural and it is emphasized that they will continue infinitely. For example, historical explanations about and reasons for women's getting behind men are carried over to the present time or women's physical shortcomings are claimed to be the natural cause of inequality and the society is led to believe so [21].

These categories at the same time form a rather general framework for ideological analysis as proposed by Fiske [22].

David J. Sholle, too, as a result of the analyses he made, reached some conclusions as to how television practices serve an ideological purpose. According to Sholle, ideology operates on television in the form of sedimentation, reification, adaptation, mollification, legitimation (legitimization), depolitization, fossilization, and reverse contestation [23].

Ideology, which is seen to be forceful imposition of the ideas of a dominant minority on majority, causes, thanks to the strategies mentioned above, and subjects to advocate ideologies as if they are their own without needing use of force. This study was conducted using John Thompson's typical symbolic building strategies as explained above as well as taking into account attitudes displayed towards news sources.

Following the relevant review of literature, the research questions below were included:

- *Research Question 1:* What is the attitude towards the party in power in the news about the settlement process?
- *Research Question 2:* What is the attitude towards the opposition in the news about the settlement process?
- *Research Question 3:* What is the attitude towards BDP and Imrali in the news about the settlement process?
- *Research Question 4:* What kinds of ideology building strategies were used in the news about the settlement process?
- *Research Question 5:* Do the attitude assumed towards the government, the opposition, BDP and Imrali in the news about the settlement process and the ideology building strategies used differ according to the TV channel where the news broadcast?

### III. METHODOLOGY

In terms of the research design, the present study has a descriptive character as it describes news about the settlement process. In addition to this, this descriptive design also has the "common relationship" design as it attempts to reveal whether the parameters investigated in the news (ideology building strategies used in the news, attitude towards the government in the news, attitude towards the opposition in the news, attitude towards the BDP and Imrali in the news) varied with the type

of channel (TRT 1, ATV, KANAL D, NTV, HABERTÜRK, TRT HABER, STV) or not. In order to reveal the ideology building strategies used in the news about the settlement process, the attitude towards the government, the attitude towards the opposition, and attitude towards the BDP and Imrali in a descriptive manner and respond to the relevant research questions, frequency analysis and cross table calculations were performed from among the descriptive statistics. Moreover, chi-square analyses of the cross tables were made.

Within the scope of the study, news on the settlement process broadcast in the TV channels of TRT 1, ATV, FOX TV, NTV, HABERTÜRK, TRTHABER, and STV was investigated using the content analysis method in terms of ideology building strategies, attitude towards the government, attitude towards the opposition, and attitude towards BDP and Imrali. Firstly, in order to be able to reveal the representative power of the commercial, news and public TV channels, the aforementioned channels were selected randomly from the 3 groups. The study covers a total of 557 news items between the dates 15.03 and 15.04.2013 (The said dates also cover the March 21<sup>st</sup> Newruz Festival (Eastern New Year), which is very important in terms of the issue in hand, and the first letter from Imrali). The 557 news items, which constitute the subject matter of the study, are the news items that broadcast in the main news bulletins of the said channels. 18% of the news items were broadcast on TRT HABER, 17.4% on NTV, 13.6% on HABERTÜRK, 13.5% on FOX TV, 10.8% on ATV and 10.2% on TRT 1. Descriptive analyses of the news items were made within the framework of the aforementioned criteria and an attempt was made to reveal whether these criteria exhibited variation with television channels or not through cross tables and chi-square analysis.

The news items in question were investigated using a "TV News Coding Form" consisting of 13 criteria in three groups. The three items included in the coding form were intended to measure the formal elements of the news, four items the structural elements of the news, and six items the ideological dimensions of the news. The coding form was prepared on the basis of the scientifically proficient sources in the relevant literature. Coding was conducted by students enrolled in the Graduate School of Social Sciences Radio-Television-Cinema Master's Program in the 2012-2013 academic year taking the course titled "Qualitative Approach in Communication and Research and Studies". The same news contents were coded by different students and the correlation between them was at the level of 0.90. In this way, reliability of the study was ensured. The validity of the study was shown through "content validity" and "face validity".

The study includes 557 news items between the dates 15.03 and 15.04.2013. The data obtained as a result of the content analysis were processed in electronic environment using the SPSS 17.0 statistical software. As the study has a generally descriptive nature, descriptive statistics (single and multi frequency analyses) were used in order to answer the research questions. In order to demonstrate whether the ideological analyses made on the news displayed variation with channel,

cross tables were used as well as chi-square analyses so as to determine whether the variation was significant or not.

#### IV. FINDINGS AND COMMENTS

Under this title, attitude towards the government in the news, attitude towards the opposition, attitude towards BDP and Imrali and the descriptive findings of the ideology building strategies used in the news were included as well as cross table and chi-square analysis findings, which were intended to determine whether the said ideological reflections exhibited variation with the TV channels or not. In this sense, the first step "in the government attitude towards the news" is discussed.

##### A. Attitude towards the Government in the News and the TV Channels

In this section, an attempt was made to determine the direction of the attitude towards the government in the news investigated in the first stage. Table I involves the results of the frequency analysis regarding the attitude towards the government in the news about the settlement process. As can be seen in Table I, a significant majority of the settlement process news, 63.6%, has a positive attitude towards the government. On the other hand, 25.3% of the news has a neutral attitude towards the government and 11.2% has a negative attitude. According to these results, it can be said that the TV channels were predominantly in favor of the government in their news about the settlement process.

TABLE I  
ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE GOVERNMENT IN THE NEWS ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS

Attitude	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Positive	279	50,1	63,6
Negative	49	8,8	11,2
Neutral	111	19,9	25,3
Total	439	78,8	100,0
Sum total	557	100,0	

Once the attitude towards the government in the news about the settlement process was revealed in a descriptive way, we made an attempt to reveal whether this attitude varied with the television channels in question or not was through cross table and chi-square analyses. According to the results of the cross table analyses made between the attitude towards the government in the news and the TV channels, the attitude towards the government was positive in 84.9% of the process news on TRT HABER, in 69.4% of the news on HABERTÜRK, and in 64.2% of the news on NTV. However, this percentage falls to 50.8% on FOX TV. On the other hand, the high percentage on the part of FOX TV in comparison to other TV channels in the process news where a negative attitude was exhibited towards the government is noteworthy. This is so much so that the process news where the attitude towards the government is negative is 2% on TRT HABER, 2% on HABERTÜRK, 4.1% on SAMANYOLU TV, 10.2% on NTV, whereas the percentage of such news on FOX TV is at a highly significant level, that is 44.9%. According to the

results of the chi-square analysis, the low percentage (in comparison to the other channels) which FOX TV has in relation to the attitude towards the government in the settlement news process and the high percentage it has in relation to the negative attitude towards the government in the news is different at a statistically significant level ( $\chi^2=130,516$ ,  $sd=12$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

#### *B. Attitude towards the Opposition in the News and the TV Channels*

In the news items under investigation, once the attitude towards the government was dealt with, a similar investigation was conducted on the attitude towards the opposition in order to answer the relevant research question. Table II includes the results of the frequency analysis regarding the attitude towards the opposition. As can be seen in Table II, there is a negative attitude towards the government in a sizable portion of the settlement process news, 56.1%. On the other hand, while 35.9% of the attitude of the news towards the opposition is neutral whereas 8.0% has a positive attitude. It can be said that television channels exhibit an attitude that is predominantly "against" the opposition in the settlement process news.

TABLE II  
ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE OPPOSITION IN THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS NEWS

Attitude	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Positive	24	4,3	8,0
Negative	169	30,3	56,1
Neutral	108	19,4	35,9
Total	301	54,0	100,0
No Reply	256	46,0	
Sum Total	557	100,0	

After the attitude towards the opposition in the news about the settlement process was revealed descriptively through frequency analysis, whether this attitude varied with the TV channels or not was investigated using cross table and chi-square analyses. According to the cross table analyses made between the attitude towards the opposition in the news and the television channels, the attitude towards the opposition was negative in 81.6% of the TRT HABER's settlement process news, 63.0% of the NTV's news, and 52.6% of the TRT 1's news. On the other hand, NTV and FOX TV stand out in the news where a positive attitude was exhibited towards the opposition. This is so much so that 4.2% of the process news where the attitude towards the opposition was positive was on TRT HABER, 4.2% was on ATV, and 4.2% was on SAMANYOLU TV, whereas the percentage was 29.2% on NTV and 25.0% on FOX TV. According to the results of the chi-square analyses, the low percentage which FOX TV had in the negative attitude towards the opposition in the news about the settlement process (compared with the other channels) and the high percentage it had in the positive attitude towards the opposition in the settlement process news (together with NTV) are, statistically, significantly different ( $\chi^2=42,220$ ,  $sd=12$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

#### *C. Attitude towards BDP and Imrali in the News and TV Channels*

In the aforementioned news, after the attitudes toward the government and the opposition were revealed, a similar investigation was also conducted for BDP and Imrali. Table III includes the results of the frequency analyses regarding the attitude towards BDP and Imrali. As can be seen in Table III, the attitude towards BDP and Imrali is neutral in a sizable portion of the news (46.9%) about the settlement process. On the other hand, while 35.5% of the news has a positive attitude towards BDP and Imrali, 17.6% of the news is negative. According to these results, it can be said that television channels mostly have a neutral attitude towards BDP and Imrali in the news about the settlement process.

TABLE III  
ATTITUDE TOWARDS BDP AND IMRALI IN THE NEWS ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS

Attitude	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Positive	113	20,3	35,5
Negative	56	10,1	17,6
Neutral	149	26,8	46,9
Total	318	57,1	100,0
No reply	239	42,9	
Sum Total	557	100,0	

After the attitude towards BDP and Imrali in the news about the settlement process was revealed descriptively, an attempt was made to demonstrate whether this attitude varied with the aforementioned television channels or not through cross table and chi-square analyses. According to the results of the cross table analyses made between the attitude towards BDP and Imrali in the news and the television channels, the attitude towards BDP and Imrali is positive in 45.5% of the process news on TRT HABER, in 43.8% of the news on NTV, and in 41.0% of the news on ATV. However, this percentage drops to 34.9% on FOX TV. On the other hand, the high percentage which FOX TV has in comparison to the other channels in the process news where a negative attitude is exhibited towards BDP and Imrali is noteworthy. This is so much so that while attitude towards BDP and Imrali is negative in 2.6% of the process news on HABERTÜRK, in 12.5% of the news on NTV, and 17.9% of the news on ATV, this percentage is 32.6% in FOX TV news. According to the results of the chi-square analyses, there is a statistically significant difference between the low percentage (in comparison to the other channels) that FOX TV has in the positive attitude towards BDP and Imrali in the news about the settlement process and the high percentage it has in the negative attitude towards BDP and Imrali ( $\chi^2=29,416$ ,  $sd=12$ ,  $p<.005$ ).

#### *D. Ideology Building Strategies in the News about the Settlement Process*

Under the three titles given above, studies were conducted on the attitude towards the government, the attitude towards the opposition and the attitude towards BDP and Imrali in the news about the settlement process. Now, ideology building strategies were investigated under this title. In this context,

findings from the frequency analysis were given in order to reveal the use of ideology building strategies descriptively. Table IV includes the results of the frequency analysis regarding the ideology building strategies used in the news about the settlement process. As can be seen in Table IV, the legitimization strategy was used in 34.9% of the settlement process news, the unification strategy in 22.8%, the reification strategy in 15.7%, the segmentation strategy in 15.6% and the hiding/mystification (dissimulation) strategy in 11%.

TABLE IV  
IDEOLOGY BUILDING STRATEGIES USED IN THE NEWS ABOUT THE SETTLEMENT PROCESS

Ideology building strategies	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Legitimation	365	34,9	34,9
Hiding/Mystification (simulation)	115	11,0	11,0
Unification	238	22,8	22,8
Segmentation	163	15,6	15,6
Reification	164	15,7	15,7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1045</b>	<b>100,0</b>	

After the ideology building strategies used in the news about the settlement process were revealed descriptively, an attempt was made to demonstrate whether the attitude in question varied with the television channels in question or not through a cross table. In the cross table results, differences are observed among channels especially in the legitimization strategy. While, from among the ideology building strategies, the legitimization strategy was used in 91.5% of the news on STV, the same strategy was used in 86% of the TRT 1 news, 77.3% of the news on NTV, and 71% of the news on TRT HABER. However, the use of this strategy decreases to 37.9% in the news about the process on FOX TV.

The percentage of the FOX TV news in the hiding/mystification (dissimulation) strategy stands different from among the other channels. This is so much so that, of the ideology building strategies, hiding/mystification was used in 37.7% of the ATV news, in 36.8% of the TRT 1 news, 32.4% of the STV news, and in 30.3% of the HABERTÜRK news. However, unlike other TV channels, this strategy was not used at all in FOX TV news. Again, of the ideology building strategies, the unification strategy had quite high percentages on TRTHABER (78%), HABERTÜRK (63.2%) and NTV (51.5%).

#### IV. CONCLUSION

It can be said that this study, which investigates the way the TV news dealt with the process also called “the settlement process“, which is claimed to be of historic importance for the Turkish Politics and Society, has, in general, a descriptive nature (in terms of the research design). The attitudes towards the government in the main news bulletins of the TV channels under investigation are generally positive. At the same time, this means that the said TV channels support the settlement process. TRT HABER, HABERTÜRK and NTV exhibit a positive attitude towards the government in the majority of

their news. Especially TRT HABER maintains this attitude in almost all of its news whereas it has been revealed that FOX TV has a more negative attitude in this regard. Given that TRT HABER is a public channel, the attitude it displays becomes more meaningful. FOX TV’s negative attitude towards the government is worth giving a thought considering that it is a commercial channel. It is seen that the channels that exhibit a positive attitude towards the government stand out in an investigation of the channels that display a negative attitude towards the opposition. Three channels, two being public, stand out in their negative attitude towards the opposition: TRTHABER, NTV and TRT 1. As was pointed out above, TRTHABER and NTV rank high among the channels that demonstrate a positive attitude towards the government. These results also bear significant implications in regard to the structural validity of the study. Just as FOX TV comes last in the news that has a positive attitude towards the government, it ranks top in the news that has a positive attitude towards the opposition (in concordance with the other). This indicates that FOX TV has consistently maintained its opposition to the process. A similar study to the one that investigated the attitudes of the television channels towards the government and the opposition in the news about the process was conducted for BDP and Imrali. It is seen that the TV channels included in the study generally exhibited a neutral attitude towards BDP and Imrali. However, it is also observed that a sizable portion of their news exhibits a “positive” attitude. These results are in fact consistent with the attitudes of the news channels, which seem to be generally positive towards the government and negative to the opposition. Television channels, which are largely in support of the process, display, so to speak, a cautious optimism towards BDP and Imrali. They want to support the process on the one hand but on the other hand they appear to avoid creating an image of themselves in favor of the terrorist organization. In the distribution of the attitudes towards the BDP and Imrali by television channels, a picture similar to the ones displayed towards the government and the opposition arises. It is seen that the channels that exhibit a positive attitude towards the government have also developed a positive attitude towards BDP and Imrali. In this study, it was observed that TRTHABER, NTV and ATV, similar to their positive attitude towards the government, showed a largely positive attitude towards BDP and Imrali. FOX TV, on the other hand, in concordance with its “negative” attitude towards the government and its “positive” attitude towards the opposition, exhibits a significantly “negative” attitude towards BDP and Imrali in its news about the settlement process.

Another subject of the investigation into the news about the process concerns the ideology building strategies used in the said news. The results of the investigation indicate that the building strategies in question are compatible with the results of the previous studies. This is so much so that, given the fact that the most frequently used ideology building strategies are “legitimation” and “unification”, it seems more significant that the attitude in most of the news is “positive” towards the government and “negative” towards the opposition. In other

words, the positive attitudes of the news channels towards the process are implemented through the ideology building strategies of “legitimation” and “unification”. Not surprisingly, the “legitimation” strategy is used in a sizable portion of the news on STV, TRT 1, NTV and TRT HABER. Likewise, the percentages of the use of the “unification” strategy by the said channels are quite high. It should not be forgotten that the attitudes of the channels in question are “positive” towards the government and “negative” towards the opposition. On the other hand, again not surprisingly, the percentage of the use of this strategy by FOX TV is quite low in comparison to the other channels.

These results support the claims, mostly by critical theoreticians, that mass media is a tool for building meaning in conformity with the wishes of the dominant powers. Almost all of the channels except for FOX TV are endeavoring to have the public adopt the “settlement process” rather than presenting news using the “legitimation” strategy. In Althusser’s words, each and every channel becomes an ideological tool of the state. It is not surprising that especially state channels stand out in this “legitimation” and promotion campaign. In this study, too, it is seen that the subject reconstructed in accordance with the desires of the dominant powers and the government and is presented within a new frame. The fact that commercial channels as well as public channels are in the forefront of this act of ideology building brings to mind the concept of “hegemony”. As can be remembered, the source of rule in hegemony is directly the state apparatus. In this case, the state apparatus may have potential to manipulate mass media that do not belong to it [24].

The “Gezi Park Incidents”, which took place in many cities notably Istanbul in the months following the data collection of this study, and which support the results of this study, appear to be the most important example of social unrest and “resistance” in Turkey over the past decades. On the initial days of the “Gezi Incidents”, some television channels preferred to broadcast a documentary on penguins rather than cover the incidents and people began to question what was being hidden from them through the “hiding/mystification” building strategy. The way these demonstrations, which targeted and protested against the government, were presented on television channels evolved in time into debates on these same television channels where their understanding of news making was questioned and television news people had to criticize themselves regarding their coverage of the “Gezi Incidents”. The results of the “Gezi Incidents” without ever subjecting them to quantification and the results obtained from the news about the “settlement process” news, which were subjected to analysis after being thoroughly quantified present a concrete expression of news framing on an institutional basis. As was stated above, the primary purpose of news framing is to present to the viewers a limited meaning that was built within clear cut limits rather than revealing the truth. It seems that here this was achieved by exhibiting an attitude that is in favor of the process. This offers us the point of view of the dominant powers.

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