

AN ASSESSMENT OF SYNDICALIST MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY AND THE PRESENTATION IN THE PRESS: THE SAMPLE CASE OF THE STRIKE DECISION OF HAVA-İŞ UNION

PROCJENA SINDIKALNIH POKRETA U TURSKOJ I PREZENTACIJA U TISKU: PRIMJER ODLUČIVANJA O ŠTRAJKU HAVA-İŞ SINDIKATA

*Erdal DAĞTAŞ, Eylem TUNA ÇOBAN**

Faculty of Communication Sciences, Anadolu University, Eskişehir, Turkey; Institute of Social Science, Marmara University, Marmara, Turkey*
Fakultet komunikoloških znanosti, Anadolu sveučilište, Eskişehir, Turska; Institut za društvena istraživanja, Sveučilište u Marmari, Marmara, Turska*

Abstract

After the process of the newly transformation in the structures of production and by the reconstruction of capitalism, the new right politics has been determinative in the disorganization of the working class. The new production flexibilities in manufacturing, have not only made new forms of exploitations arisen, but also affected the labor organizations deeply. In this context, the strike decision taken on July 20th, 2007 and applied by the Civil Aviation Union of Turkey (Hava-İş) has been assumed to be as a sample significant resistance against new right politics that had been opposed by the labor who didn't accept to lose their employee personal rights. In this work, the presentation of the strike initiative of Hava-İş in Turkish press has been taken as the main problematic of the essay and the context of the mission committed by mass media, which has been used as the legitimating space of the new right politics. Additionally, our aim was to find out what kind of discourse has been used for the issue of the construction of news and also the issue of structural bias in the news has been intended by examining the journals representing the Turkish press which are as follows: Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Yeni Şafak. The general presupposition of this work was given such as the media in Turkey develops a discourse in favor of the employers about the trade union movements and strikes, and that it contributes to the dominant ideology about the working life organized by the new right policy in order to orient the workers to contribute to this social reproduction. In fact, taking in consideration the principal views and applications of A. Teun van Dijk, the critical discourse analysis model has been utilized in this essay.

Sažetak

Nakon procesa novih transformacija u n strukture proizvodnje i rekonstrukcijom kapitalizma, politika novog prava je odlučujuća u neorganiziranosti radničke klase. Nova fleksibilnost u proizvodnji, nije samo dovela do novih oblika eksploatacije, već je također duboko utjecala na radničke organizacije. U tom kontekstu, odluka o štrajku donesena 20. srpnja 2007. koju je primjenio Sindikat civilnog zrakoplovstva Turske (Hava- İş) bila je primjer značajnog otpora protiv nove politike prava koja je bila nasuprot radnicima koji su odbijali gubitak svojih radničkih prava. U ovom radu, predstavljena je inicijativa štrajka Hava- İša u turskom tisku, koji je uzeti kao glavni element rada i u kontekstu misije masovnih medija, koji se koriste kao legitiman prostor politike novih prava. Osim toga, naš cilj je bio saznati kakav je diskurs korišten za oblikovanje vijesti, te je istraženo pitanje strukturne pristranosti u vijestima kroz analizu novina koje predstavljaju turski tisak: Cumhuriyet, Hurriyet i Yeni Şafak. Polazna hipoteza ovoga rada je bila da mediji u Turskoj koriste diskurs koji zagovara korist poslodavaca i da to pridonosi dominantnoj ideologiji o životu radnika kojim upravlja politika novih prava, da bi se radnici usmjerili da pridonose društvenoj proizvodnji. Uzimajući u obzir glavne stavove i primjene A. Teun van Dijka, u radu je korišten model analize kritičkog diskursa.

Introduction: Theoretical Basis

In capitalist societies, the struggle between different classes emanating from conditioning of production ways necessitated the formation of social solidarity and organization networks. These networks of social solidarity and organization gained acceleration in accordance with the social state concept after World War II /1/. With legal arrangements in time and as part of democracy, these networks were transformed into unions as we know today. However, with the withdrawal from social state concept in time, and the efforts of making new right-wing politics operate globally following the second half of 1970s, a new phase called global capitalism began /2/, /3/. In this new phase, flexibility in production brought along new ways of exploitation, and also it lead to major problems in social solidarity and organization fields.

New right-wing politics effective in political, social and economic areas had also an impact on media. In 1980s, with the influence of new right-wing politics, changes took place via mass communication tools. Losing its traditional functions to a large extent, media lost its relative autonomy from state and capital groups and was dominated by the leading investment groups /4/. When the presentation of union movements and labor class in media is examined considering the overall picture of media atmosphere and its economic-political structure, it can be claimed that social role and content of media have changed. Thus, media content which is distant from *labor* and *labor journalism* has become widespread.

In news media, news texts have been enclosed with the discourses of dominant people and institutions. The major cause of this situation is attributed to "professional codes of ethics" of journalists. The place and time constraints in the process of making news, the codes of ethics such as, "impartiality, objectivity and fairness" which the journalists are supposed to have provide credibility for the explanations made by dominant people and institutions in news discourse /5/. Understanding news as a discourse is put forward in the analyses conducted through critical approaches by taking power and ideology concepts into consideration, and by dealing with news in the context of history, economy and society /6/.

Method of the Study

In this study, the syndicalist movements and the presentation of strikes in press in Turkey have been analyzed based on the strike decision taken by Hava-İş Union (Civil Aviation Union of Turkey)

on 20th July 2007 and terminated with a mutual negotiation on 29th August 2007. The study is limited to three newspapers representing the Turkish press: *Cumhuriyet*, *Hürriyet* and *Yeni Şafak*. These newspapers are deliberately chosen as they differ in their publishing policies and target audiences based on their ideologies. *Cumhuriyet* adapts national left politics, *Hürriyet* adapts liberal politics, and *Yeni Şafak* is in favor of Islamic right politics; thus they are chosen as the sample newspapers of the study.

As the method of the study, syntactic and semantic analyses have been made using Adrian Teun van Dijk's *critical discourse analysis model*. In this sense, *macro* and *micro* structures of news texts are examined and ideological elements are analyzed. *Macro structure* features such as lead paragraphs, headlines and subheads, mid-heads, pictures, news sources, background and context information, and evaluation of sides of the incident are analyzed. Syntax, word choice and rhetoric of news texts are taken into consideration in *micro structure* analysis.

Quantitative Data Obtained from Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Yeni Şafak Newspapers

Table 1: Distribution of News Items Related with Hava-İş Union's Strike Decision

Newspapers	Number of News Items
Cumhuriyet	23
Hürriyet	41
Yeni Şafak	5

As seen in Table 1 the highest number news items regarding the Hava-İş Union's strike decision is in Hürriyet newspaper, followed by Cumhuriyet and Yeni Şafak newspapers consecutively. It is seen that Yeni Şafak newspaper which has an Islamic and conservative publishing policy covers the subject quite fewer. In that sense, it could be indicated that Yeni Şafak newspaper has not sufficiently put emphasis on Hava-İş Union's strike decision.

Table 2: Distribution of Pictures Related with Hava-İş Union's Strike Decision

Newspapers	Number of Pictures
Cumhuriyet	14
Hürriyet	32
Yeni Şafak	4

As seen in Table 2 the highest number of pictures regarding the Hava-İş Union's strike decision is in *Hürriyet*, followed by *Cumhuriyet* and *Yeni Şafak* consecutively. It is observed that *Yeni Şafak* newspaper published the fewest number of pictures.

Qualitative Data Obtained from Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Yeni Şafak Newspapers

News Headlines

Since maximum information is tried to be given with minimum number words in news headlines, words are carefully chosen while forming the headlines in news-making. In addition to that, headlines which introduce the lead paragraph of a news text are also important in adjusting a certain frame of comments for the readers. Besides, van Dijk /7/, /8/, /9/ indicates that there may be ideological elements in headlines.

Top-line: No agreement in collective bargaining talks says Atilay Ayçin, General Manager of Civil Aviation Union: **Headline:** Our members under pressure (*Cumhuriyet*, 24th July 2007, p. 3).

Top-line: Tourism agencies call for negotiation, Union and Turkish Airlines executives continue accusations. - **Headline:** Turkish Airlines ready to use lock-out weapon (*Cumhuriyet*, 25th July 2007, p. 12).

Headline: Sides getting tough in the air (*Cumhuriyet*, 29th July 2007, p. 13).

Top-line: Fight escalates - **Headline:** Crisis in the air (*Cumhuriyet*, 2nd August 2007, p. 12).

Top-line: We gave the best pay rise in Turkey to our employees says President of Turkish Airlines - **Headline:** Kotil complains about the Union (*Cumhuriyet*, 3rd August 2007, p. 12).

Top-line: Yes vote for strike in Turkish Airlines; Civil Aviation Union seeks negotiation. - **Headline:** No need for a blind stubbornness (*Cumhuriyet*, 11th August 2007, p. 13).

In most of the news texts in *Cumhuriyet* a top-line is used. While the top-lines include information clarifying the headlines, headlines incorporate the statements of both sides. The overall theme of headlines is conveying the mutual sarcastic expressions of both sides; the strike decision is used as an element of fight between the two sides. It should be pointed out that metaphors describing the sides of this disagreement are used in headlines. These can be described as "lock-out weapon", "blind stubbornness". The metaphor of "lock-out weapon" refers to the right of Turkish Airlines (THY) administration to lay off the employees in case they vote yes for strike. Intransigence is conveyed through weapon, which is a tool for violence. The

metaphor of "blind stubbornness" evaluates the sides from the point of not understanding each other with a reference to the fact that the tension between Turkish Airlines administration and Hava-İş Union is turning into obstinacy. Another characteristic of the news texts and headlines concerning the subject is that they include the statements of people and institutions that might be affected by the strike.

Headline: Star Alliance warns: Strike in Turkish Airlines makes no one happy (*Hürriyet*, 22th August 2007, p. 8).

Headline: Yılmaz: The PM says "Be reasonable"; the strike will lose 5 years to Turkish Airlines (*Hürriyet*, 2nd August 2007, p. 11).

Headline: A strike in Turkish Airlines might hit economy (*Hürriyet*, 4th August 2007, p. 11).

Headline: Turkish Exporters Assembly: Do not hit economy with Turkish Airlines strike; do not lay employees off (*Hürriyet*, 6th August 2007, p. 10).

Headline: From Association of Turkish Travel Agencies to Turkish Airlines employees: Think about Turkey while voting (*Hürriyet*, 6th August 2007, p. 10).

Headline: 'Yes' to strike by 460 votes in Turkish Airlines (*Hürriyet*, 10th August 2007, p. 1). Employees said yes to strike, Turkish Airlines put the 'lock-out' card on the table (*Hürriyet*, 10th August 2007, p. 10).

Headline: Agreement in Turkish Airlines (*Hürriyet*, 28th August 2007, p. 1). 3 ministers conciliated the two sides, THY strike resolved on 92 million YTL (*Hürriyet*, 28th August 2007, p. 8).

The headlines in *Hürriyet* summarize the news text and outline the main theme of the text. Additionally, in some headlines it should be noted that there are reductions on the core of information. In general there appears a negative attitude against the strike decision of Hava-İş Union. Statements made by THY executives, economy world and government officials are put in headlines. These statements in general are the sort of statements that will have an effect on the voting process over the decision to go on a strike or not. After the decision is made to go on a strike, the headline "'Yes' to strike by 460 votes in Turkish Airlines" which implies the small vote margin in favor of the employees casting their 'yes' votes for strike appears. Along with that, after the resolution to go on strike, the counter statement by THY executives "Employees said yes to strike, Turkish Airlines put the 'lock-out' card on the table" appears on headline.

Headline: THY not to raise their offer even after a strike (*Yeni Şafak*, 4th August 2007, p.5)

Headline: 'Our aim is not strike' (*Yeni Şafak*, 12th August 2007, p. 5).

Headline: Second round today between Hava-İş and

THY (*Yeni Şafak*, 20th August 2007, p. 6).

In the headlines of *Yeni Şafak*, there is a negative representation of the strike decision by Hava-İş Union. The headlines “*THY not to raise their offer even after a strike*” and “*Our aim is not strike*” exemplify this case. In the other headlines there are no inclinations towards any sides. In that sense, it can be argued that headlines in the newspaper are supportive of the THY executives’ statements.

Lead Paragraphs and Main Event

According to van Dijk, news narratives consist of macro-prepositions. These are mainly themes. One discourse may be comprised of more than one theme and these are constructed within the discourse. Structures, on the other hand, are formulated through macro-rules. These are reduction of information (not including information such as place, period and time in the headline), generalization and construction. Through abovementioned elements information is reduced, the core or main idea of the news is given, thus a “summary” is made /10/.

In *Cumhuriyet*, analyzed lead paragraphs and main events are in accordance with the headlines. Lead paragraphs and main events are constructed related and in accordance with the headline. The reasons behind the intransigence in collective labor agreement between THY and Hava-İş Union are not given in lead paragraphs and main event; the tension between the sides after the decision to go on strike is taken is put forward. The lead paragraphs and main event are framed within the tension between the two sides and the discourses of the institutions claiming to be affected by this strike decision other than the two sides. Head of Touristic Hotels and Investors Association (TUROB) Timur Bayındır sets an example to this with his statement. On the other hand, it has been indicated in the lead paragraphs that the government has got involved in the process with a commission of three ministers in order to negotiate between THY executives and Hava-İş Union after the strike decision.

Another important feature that appears in the context of lead paragraphs and main event is that news agencies differ in terms of the news reports they distribute. Although news reports distributed by *Economy Service* and *İstanbul News Service* bear resemblances in reporting the events between Hava-İş Union and THY executives, the presentation style of this reporting is enclosed in line with the statements made by THY executives until the voting in which THY employees voted for the strike. This enclosure is supported with quotations taken from especially economy world. After the ‘yes’ vote to

strike, *Economy Service* is critical of THY executives as seen in the headline “Strike in air delayed” (25th August 2007). “Turkish Airlines is trying everything to block the Union which decided to go on strike after the unproductive negotiation talks.”

In *Hürriyet* newspaper, the leading actors in lead paragraphs and main event are THY executives, institutions who claim a possible strike will hit their commercial structure, and government officials. By including the bad case scenarios in case of THY employees’ going on a strike in the lead paragraphs, the main events of the news texts are constructed on this context. This condition aims at putting pressure on THY employees in order to dissuade them from going on a strike. Apparently *Hürriyet* stands in favor of THY executives; in that sense the discourses of dominant people or institutions are reproduced.

The lead paragraphs in *Yeni Şafak* newspaper generally include statements made by THY executives or government officials. In one news report in *Yeni Şafak* we come across the statements of Atılay Ayçin, General Manager of Hava-İş Union. When this news report is analyzed, it is seen that his statement indicating that their main is not strike is featured. The other news reports including the statements made by THY executives or government officials are based on the statements made by government officials.

News Sources and Evaluation of the Sides

In the analyzed news reports, the situation descriptions and comments of *accredited news sources* defined as dominant people and institutions in society are referred to. The general tendency in news reports are framed by accredited news sources (General Manager of Turkish Airlines Technic Corp. İsmail Demir, Hava-İş Union Secretary General Mustafa Yağcı, President of Turkish Airlines Temel Kotil, General Manager of Hava-İş Union Atılay Ayçin, Chairman of THY Board Candan Karlitekin, Chairman of Turkish Exporters Assembly (TİM) Oğuz Satıcı, Minister of Transport İsmet Yılmaz, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Minister of Labor and Social Security Murat Başesgioğlu, Minister of Finance Kemal Unakıtan, Chairman of Touristic Hotels and Investors Association (TUROB) Timur Bayındır, Chairman of Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (TÜRSAB) Başaran Ulusoy, etc.).

It has been found out that in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper the news reports made by *Economy Service* are framed with the discourses of THY executives and institutions and associations from economy world; the ones made by *İstanbul News Agency* are framed with the discourses affirming

Hava-İş Union. Further, the General Manager of Hava-İş Union who is the representative of workers takes place in the newspaper; the workers who are the subject of strike decision do not. This situation leads to the perception that the developments concerning the strike decision are only a matter of obstinacy between the employer and union administration.

On the other hand, the representation of the statements made by the chairmen whose institutions or associations are expected to be affected by the strike decision make up a third side to the issue. Chairmen of some institutions and associations such as Chairman of Turkish Exporters Assembly (TİM) Oğuz Satıcı, Chairman of Turkish Hotels Association (TÜROFED) Ahmet Barut, and Chairman of Turkish Private Aviation Enterprises Association (TOSHİD) Şahabettin Bolukcu made statements on the effects of a possible strike on Turkish economy. These statements are important and meaningful in that they carry an oppressive aspect towards THY employees. Though *Cumhuriyet* fulfilled the fairness code expressed by pluralistic approaches by including the statements made by all the sides of the case, it caused the reproduction of dominant ideology in news texts.

In *Hürriyet*, the accredited news sources of the analyzed news reports are generally comprised of THY executives, government officials, and institution and association representatives from economy world. Statements of Hava-İş Union and labor associations are rarely included. The statements of Atılay Ayçin, General Manager of Hava-İş Union are not referred to alone. It is observed that *Hürriyet* occasionally included the representation of alternative discourses. This shows the reproduction of the dominant discourse through the representation of situation descriptions and comments made by dominant figures in society.

In the news reports, the sides of the case are displayed as THY management, certain commercial institutions that are going to be affected by a possible strike in THY and Hava-İş Union. In the overall picture, it is observed that statements made by THY executives make up the majority. Vast inclusion of the statements of people from THY executives and from people making statements parallel to those of THY executives such as Temel Kotil, President of THY; Timur Bayındır, Chairman of Touristic Hotels and Investors Association (TUROB); Başaran Ulusoy, Chairman of Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (TÜRSAB) concretize this situation.

Yeni Şafak took its news reports from news agencies; it included the situation and comment descriptions of those accredited news sources. The fact that mostly THY executives and government

officials are referred to as accredited news sources reflects a stance parallel to the publishing tendency of the newspaper. In the news texts, the sides of the case are shown as THY executives and Hava-İş Union; and the newspaper tried to keep its distance equally to both sides. This could be explained with the newspaper's relation with the governing Justice and Development Party (AKP). AKP government defines itself as conservative democrat, and this complies with the overall publishing policy of the newspaper. The government made some announcements emphasizing its objectivity towards a possible strike decision by Hava-İş Union, the newspaper undertook a similar attitude towards the issue in the news texts in order to treat the issue objectively.

Background and Context Information

Background information refers to the social and political aspects of the events; and also emphasizes a structural and historical feature. Background information differs from context information and could include the dates and contexts of real events. Nonetheless, sometimes it could be hard to differentiate the two (van Dijk, 1991: 115).

In *Cumhuriyet* the events between the sides are portrayed as tension. The articles that the sides failed to negotiate on in the 21st Term Collective Bargaining Agreement talks which lead to the decision to go on a strike are identified; however, these articles are not explained. In most of the news reports the underlying reason behind the decision to go on strike has been reduced to simply a disagreement on *pay rise*. On 28th July 2007, the statement made by Atılay Ayçin, General Manager of Hava-İş Union, announcing the fact that the demands of the union members are not limited with economic rights is seen in the news report with the headline "Strike to emerge from voting". Besides, statements made by economy world members such as Timur Bayındır, Chairman of Touristic Hotels and Investors Association (TUROB); Başaran Ulusoy, Chairman of Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (TÜRSAB) and government officials such as İsmet Yılmaz, Minister of Transport are also included in the news texts. Therefore, the background and context information in the news reports are in accordance with the headlines and news texts.

In *Hürriyet* newspaper, the background and context information in the news reports are in accordance with the headlines and news texts; and they are constructed on the basis of discourses of THY executives, government and commercial institutions to be affected negatively by the strike. In

that context, the discourse of the news is generated in favor of the dominant institutions and associations. At that point, publishing the statements of Atılay Ayçin, General Manager of Hava-İş Union, in the framework of THY executives' discourses causes the news to be enclosed on the basis of THY executives' discourses.

In *Yeni Şafak*, no background information has been found on why Hava-İş Union is going on strike, which articles are causing disagreements and what kind of historical developments have taken place in collective bargaining agreement talks since March, 2007. In that sense, although the newspaper tries to appear objective, in reality it handles the issue on the basis of statements made by THY executives and government officials.

Syntactic Analysis

In news texts, the context formed by words is the grammatical structure of language. The analysis of sentence structures in news texts is significant in terms of putting forward the constructed discourse in news. In syntactic analysis, sentences are examined in terms of being long/short, simple/complicated, passive/active /11/, /12/. In this study, the sentences are examined in terms of being active/passive since the active or passive sentence structures are indicators of the ideological stance of the newspaper, and active-passive sentence constructions in news reports define the position of actor in news text.

In most of the news reports in *Cumhuriyet*, the statements of both sides are given with active sentence structures. *Cumhuriyet* tries to stand objectively towards both sides. The news text with the headline "Voting without informing the Union" (31st July 2007) could be given as an example: The statement of Temel Kotil, President of THY, is given in active sentence structure. Kotil pointed out that a possible strike would do nothing but serve to the other airlines and said, "We would have to contract as there won't be any public support".

Hürriyet gives the statements of THY executives, government officials and representatives of commercial institutions and associations to be affected negatively by the strike in active sentence structures. These sentence structures are formed by using words such as, "...said, expressed, indicated, announced, and told". The following headlines exemplify the active sentence structures: "TUROB: The strike agenda of THY starts to hit tourism" (28th July 2007); "Karlıtekin: How dare you talk about 'flight safety' Mr. Ayçin?" (1st August 2007). On the other hand, as the statements of Hava-İş Union are

not sufficiently included and they are incorporated into the statements of THY executives, it is hard to give distinctive examples on active or passive sentence structures. Still, the news report with the headline "Hava-İş: We are not afraid of the ballot" (28th July 2007), is given with passive sentence structure by using "...is said...".

In *Yeni Şafak*, active sentence structures are used. The people and institutions whose statements are given in active sentence structures are THY executives, government officials and Atılay Ayçin, General Manager of Hava-İş Union. This indicates the fact that the newspaper tries to be fair to the issue: said Candan Karlıtekin, Chairman of Board in Turkish Airlines (THY), (4th August 2007, p.5);, Kotil told (4th August 2007, p.5); indicating that they have given time to THY administration until next weekend, said Atılay Ayçin (12th August 2007, p. 5).

Lexical Choices

Lexical choice is an important level where ideological production is often observed. "The words chosen may reflect the class the journalist belongs to" /13/; "defining the same person as "terrorist" or "guerilla/freedom fighter" reveals the ideology of the reporter, and gradually the newspaper" /14/.

In *Cumhuriyet*, the strike decision is represented as a tension developed between the two sides with the words used in headlines. On the whole the news texts are written by taking news criteria into consideration; words are chosen to provide fairness to both sides:

Disagreement between Turkish Airlines executives and Hava-İş Union getting deeper (2nd August 2007, p. 12).

Irreconcilable attitude going on in the collective bargaining talks between Turkish Airlines and Hava-İş Union involving 11.500 workers (28th July 2007, p.13).

In *Hürriyet*, it is seen that lexical choices are in accordance with the structure of news texts. When the words used in headlines are examined, a reference to the negative effects of a possible strike appears. The vocabulary used in the following headlines could be given as examples: "Star Alliance warned...", "Strike in THY would hit economy", "Union did not take our offer to the employees", "Voting in THY will affect us all", "... vote of destiny..."

Yeni Şafak refers to the fact that there is a fight taking place between the sides by using the word "round" for negotiation talks to be held between THY and Hava-İş Union. When the

overall use of vocabulary is evaluated, despite the signs which suggest they do not side with either THY administration or Hava-İş Union, publishing the statements of THY executives and government officials more vastly causes the newspaper to exhibit a pro-THY administration attitude.

News Rhetoric

In rhetoric of news texts, in order for the report to be persuasive and believable, quotations from eye-witness of the event are used. Furthermore, pictures are also examples of being persuasive and believable, /15/, /16/, /17/. Along with that, it can be indicated that reporters also witness the events as "first hand sources" and this is a rhetorical element. Thus, credibility is achieved. Also, information on place, time and statistical data serve to provide credibility.

Pictures of THY executives are commonly used with the news texts in *Cumhuriyet*. The picture of Atila Ayçin is only used for two news reports. The pictures THY executives imply confidence with body movements and facial gestures. The pictures of the heads of certain institutions and associations commenting on the issue are also published.

In *Cumhuriyet*, we can see digital data on how many people are going to cast their votes in the strike ballot, the number of 'yes' and 'no' votes and the amount of cost burden in case the pay rise the Union is demanding is given. How many people are working in THY and how many of them are union members are also given in the texts. In order to solidify rhetoric, the newspaper also made use of direct quotations. It could be suggested that the newspaper tries to be objective and fair to both sides. The statements of institution and association heads are directly quoted in the news texts.

Hürriyet has pictures and statistical tables in the reports. Most of the pictures are those of THY executives, government officials and heads of institutions and associations that claim to be affected by a possible strike; the picture of Atila Ayçin, General Manager of Hava-İş Union, is also used in news reports. Concerning the quantitative data used to increase credibility in news, the news report with the headline "Strike atmosphere cost 400 million YTL to Turkish Airlines" (11th August 2007).

Hürriyet has referred to direct quotations concerning THY executives, government officials and representatives of certain commercial associations considered to be badly affected by a possible strike. In that context, the direct quotations in most of the news reports caused ideological reproduction: Temel Kotil, President of Turkish Airlines tells they are waiting for Hava-İş Union to negotiate, and said "Our offer is on

the table, we are expecting them to come to the table".

Yeni Şafak published pictures which form the rhetoric of the news; however, there is no use of quantitative data. No distinctive differences have been observed in terms of the newspaper's attitude towards the sides. Pictures are used in four published news reports out of five. Two of those have THY employees' pictures; and the other two have those of THY executives' and Atila Ayçin's. Direct quotations are, along with dominant actors, related with the union. In that sense, they have tried to portray a balanced attitude.

Conclusion and Evaluation

Concerning the strike decision of Hava-İş Union and the developments thereafter, except for *Cumhuriyet*, the other newspapers (*Hürriyet* and *Yeni Şafak*) followed a publishing style in parallel to their publishing policy.

Cumhuriyet portrayed a hesitant attitude towards the strike. The news reports published by *Economy Service* and *İstanbul News Agency* bear significant differences. The reason behind that is that *Economy Service* evaluated the statements made by commercial institutions and associations, and government officials in terms of domestic economy, and tried the construct this on the basis of dominant discourses. On the other hand, the fact that *İstanbul News Agency* built the news texts on the basis of Hava-İş Union statements caused the newspaper to produce a hesitant discourse on the concrete demands of the working class.

In *Hürriyet* and *Yeni Şafak*, it could be pointed out that generally a discourse enclosed in favor of THY administration was reflected to the news reports. *Hürriyet* brought to its news texts the negative expressions on strike decision via the statements made by THY executives and government officials. *Yeni Şafak* integrated pro-THY administration statements more often; yet tried to present itself as objective to the sides of the case. At the time of the strike decision it could be noted that AKP was in power and the newspaper embodied a political attitude matching with that of the government. In that sense, although *Yeni Şafak* tried to appear objective, it reflected the strike news reports via THY executives' and government officials' statements.

As a summary, the analyzed newspapers exposed similarities in favor of the *structural bias* as they made ideological production in the discourse of the examined news texts of the issue. This once more revealed the phenomenon that the press associations which are active in the reproduction of dominant ideology (Gramsci, 1997) are, as Louis Althusser /18/ puts it, "the ideological tools of the state".

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