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Implications of the 'Arab Spring' on Turkish Media: Newspapers Columns

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Implications of the 'Arab Spring' on Turkish Media: Newspapers Columns

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Abstract

The social uprisings took place in the Middle East countries symbolized with the 'Tahrir Plaza' of Mısır is called *'Arab Spring'*. The *Arab Spring* has been very closelly followed by the Turkish public opinion because of geographical nearness and the closeness of Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Middle East. In this paper, the columns of Turkish newspapers were covered during a month after Tahrir uprising in January 25, 2011. The name of covered Turkish newspapers are: *Star, Sabah, Zaman, Taraf, Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet.*

In the coverage of newspapers two main discources of columnists are dominant. One discourse like this: *"Turkish democracy should be model for the Arab uprisings"*. This discourse is argued by the columnists of the newspapers who support the existing Turkish government namely *Star, Sabah and Zaman.* In years 2000, with the governments of the AKP, the press in Turkey has been polarized as the supporter of the government and not. Supported argument here is; "Turkey became democratic country, respecting democratic rule, although it is a Islamic country like other Arab countries of Middle East."

The other discourse that dominant in the newspapers Taraf, Cumhuriyet and Hürriyet who do not support government is like this: "Arab societies can not be democratic".

These two discourses were evaluated by applying Ottoman-Turkish modernization process.

At the beginning of the 19th century, modernization process (as a westernization) started first in the Ottoman Army. And during the 19th century military had been transformed into the "Ottoman Bureucracy". At the begining of the 20th century military-Ottoman bureucracy became power and established modern Turkish Republic in 1923. During the process of Ottoman-Turkish modernization, the serious social conflict emerged between the governing elite and most of the population, as result of "Westernization". The social conflict had become a conflict of "Westernization and the Islam" and called as a "center-periphery conflict" by Mardin (1973). After several military interventions, in 2002 "Islamic Party", AKP came into power in Turkey.

To determine the dominant discourses of columns, lexicalization, overlexicalization and quotation patterns were used as an analytical tools of critical discourse analysis.

Introduction

The "Arab uprising" was undeniably triggered when Muhammed Buazizi, a Tunisian street vendor, burnt himself to death on December 17th 2010, as a reaction to the bad conditions he lived in. The Arab uprisings accelerated on January 2011 and was named as the*"Arab Spring"* by the Western media. Started in Tunisia and spread to Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain and Libya, The "Arab uprising" has been a significant social movement closely monitored by the whole world. The concept "Arab Spring" has been internalized to great extent; however, people started to question this conceptualization due to unfavorable developments in Egypt and Tunisia as well the civil war in Syria.

The "Arab Spring", which is also known as The "Arab Uprising", has always been followed by Turkish public opinion as the region is geographically very close to Turkey. Moreover, *Justice and Development Party (AKP)*[1], Turkey's ruling party since 2002, has developed and followed active foreign policies regarding the region. These policies are also called "public diplomacy policies" and deal with the relationships with civil society extensively.

In this study, the newspaper columns were analyzed which were published between *January 25th and February 25th 2011*, on six Turkish national newspapers chosen for the purposes of the study. These dates refer to the time when upheavals reached its peak in Tahrir Square, the important symbol of the "Arab Spring". The newspapers analyzed in this study were grouped into two categories, namely pro-AKP government newspapers (Star, Zaman, Sabah) and those who do not support AKP government (Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Taraf).

The AKP government became the ruling party in 2002 by receiving 34.43 percent of all votes and maintained its ruling party position in 2007 and 2011 general elections by increasing the percentage to 46.58 percent and 49.89 percent respectively. Therefore, certain media have inevitably revealed their explicit support for the AKP government since 2007.

Star, a pro-government newspaper, was launched during this period. *Sabah* newspaper had already been in the sector since early 1990s; however, it was purchased by the Çalık Group who is the supporter of the AKP government. *Zaman* newspaper is owned by Fethullah Gülen Islamic Community, which is the largest one in Turkey and also known for its "moderate Islam" approach. This community has been supporting the AKP government since 2002.

One of the newspapers that do not support the government, *Cumhuriyet* has been a part of Turkish printed media since the declaration of Turkish Republic, and today the newspaper explicitly opposes the AKP government. *Hürriyet* is not an explicit opponent of the AKP government, however; it does not support the government either. *Hürriyet* has been in the sector since 1948 and is a significant newspaper in Turkish history. *Taraf* has taken its place in

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[1]The members and the supporters of the party call *"AK Party"* as a shortening. It means that "white and clear" in Turkish. In the international public opinion, it is called *"AKP"* as an abbreviation of the first letters of the "Justice and Development Party" in Turkish. Interestingly, in Turkish public opinion it is also called as "AKP" except the supporters and members of the party.

Turkish media since 2007 and is well known with its oppositional news coverage towards the military institution of Turkey in its early years. For the last two years, *Taraf* has been criticizing the AKP government especially for its Kurdish policy; and therefore, the chief editor had serious arguements with the prime minister in recent years.

The study examines especially the columns published in the newspapers since they are highly likely to reflect the ideologies of the newspapers although they seem to be the writers' personal opinions at first. For this reason, newspaper columns are preferred for the analysis in news discourse studies to a great extent. [1]

In this study, *semantic analysis* was used to identify the discourses of the newspaper columns. For the semantic analysis of the columns, *lexicalization, overlexicalization and quotations* of the texts were determined. In semantic analysis, lexicalization and overlexicalization reveal ideological meaning. It is also an analysis related to multi-accentuality of the sign and is used to unearth the emphasis of ideological meaning in the discourse observed in the critical discourse studies that assume that language is not a transparent mediator. Van Dijk, states that it is possible to identify the basic beliefs and ideologies of those involved in the news through "lexicalization" in news analysis studies. [2] The most famous example regarding "word choice" about the "actors of the news" is the use of the words "terrorist" and "freedom fighter" while describing the same person. [3]

According to Van Dijk, by using surfeit of repetiteous and quasi-synonymous terms in such a way, overlexicalization creates "over-completeness" in the news discourse that no further analysis and interpretation is needed. [4] "Direct quotations" taken from the columns are the most direct expression of the meaning that the writers want to convey.

The Early Phases of the "Arab Spring"

Muhammed Buazizi, a Tunisian street vendor, was the person who sparked the "Arab uprising" by setting himself on fire on December 17th 2010. The police had confiscated his cart and not returned it although he had officially applied three times to take it back on that day. Buazizi's burning himself was a reaction to his bad living conditions.

After December 24th 2010, the uprisings spread to other regions in northern Tunisia. When he died on January 4th 2011, *Buazizi* became the

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[1] A. Teun Van Dijk, *News as Discourse*, (New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates Publication), 1988a; *News Analysis*, (New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates Publication), 1988b.

[2] A. Teun Van Dijk, "Discourse Analysis: Its Development and application to the structure of news", Journal of Communication. 33 (2) (1983) , p. 31.

[3] A. Teun Van Dijk, News as Discourse, (New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates Publication), 1988a.

[4] Peter Teo, "Racism in the news: a Critical Discourse Analysis of news reporting in two Australian newspapers". Discourse and Society. Vol 11 (1) (2000) , p. 20.

symbol triggering the Arab uprisings. Following the death of Buazizi, the uprisings extended to Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain and Syria. Syria still suffers from the consequences of this development in the form of civil war that broke out in the country during this period.

Another outstanding symbol of the Arab uprising was *"Tahrir Square"* in Egypt, which was the square where King Faruk celebrated the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt together with his citizens in 1949. Besides, the other symbols of the *"Arab Spring"* were *"tent, rage and honor"* . [1]

At the beginning, few people participated in the uprisings, however; more and more people were involved in the demonstrations by spending the night in the tents set in the square. The main reason of the increase in the number of people participating in the demonstrations is that January 25th National Police Day was declared the "rage day" against *Mubarak* by using the slogan of: "The Solution is Tunisia". Gelvin describes the orginazers of the protests as follows:[2]

"THERE WERE SEVERAL GROUPS CALLING FOR PROTEST ON JANUARY 25. ONE INCLUDED ACTIVISTS FROM THE YOUNG WINGS OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD, ALONG WITH LABOR ORGANIZERS. ANOTHER CONSISTED OF THE ADMINISTRATORS OF THE FACEBOOK PAGE "WE ARE ALL KHALED SAID". AND THERE WAS ASMAA MAHFOUZ, A FOUNDER OF A GROUP CALLED APRIL 6 MOVEMENT, WHO POSTED A VIDEO IN WHICH SHE TAUNTED, 'I, A GIRL, AM GOING DOWN TO TAHRIR SQUARE AND I WILL TAND ALONE… I'LL HOLD UP A BANNER, PERHAPS (OTHER) PEOPLE WILL SHOW SOME HONOR'"

The masses gathered in *"Tahrir Square"* persistently demanded the resignation of Mubarak. Since Mubarak was not supported by the army, he had to resign on February 11th 2011. After Mubarak's resignation, the demonstrators cheered the following slogans in the square:

"Egypt was reborn"
"Finally, we are proud of being Egyptians"
"The sun will rise onto a more beautiful Egypt" [3]

Following Mubarek's resignation, the protests firstly took in Egypt aganist army forces, and later it continued aganist Muhammed Mursi and Muslim Brotherhood who is in power.

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[1] Mete Çubukçu, *Yıkılsın Bu Düzen Arap Ayaklanmaları ve Sonrası*, (İstanbul: İletişim), 2012.
[2] James L. Gelvin, *The Arap Uprising What Everyone Needs to Know*, (Oxford: Oxford University Pres), 2012, p. 44-45.
[3] Mete Çubukçu, *Yıkılsın Bu Düzen Arap Ayaklanmaları ve Sonrası*, (İstanbul: İletişim), 2012, p. 78.

After Egypt, ongoing protests in Algeria and Yemen took a new turn as young people consciously adopted the Tunisian and Egyptian style of protests there. In Bahrain, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Morocco, the kings faced with demands for constitutional monarchies. In Libya regime met the protests with violence, precipitating a civil war between regime loyalists and self-designated "revolutionaries". One month later, civil war began in Syria and it is still continuing.

The Reasons Lying Behind the Arab Uprising

Approximately 60 percent of population of the Arab world is under the age of thirty. Moreover, the broader Middle East and North African region is second only to sub-Saharan Africa in the percentage of youth within that bracket. [1] Moreover nearly 40 percent of this young population is "unemployed". Like all over the world, neoliberal policies have unfortunately resulted in huge losses for labor force, income disparity and high unemployment rate in the young population of the Arab world. For instance, while the young unemployment in Egypt is 43 per cent, it is 30 per cent in Tunisia. Gelvin highlights that, almost 60 per cent of the youth (between 18 and 29) are out of the labor force (in case of women it is 83 percent). When it comes to employment, education affords little advantage. The Egyptian youngsters with a college degree rank highest among the unemployment of any sector of youth. Similarly, a vast majority of college graduates spend at least four years looking for employment before landing a job in Syria. Political scientists call this phenemonon as "waithood", a period in which youths wait for (good) jobs, wait for marriage and intimacy and wait for full participation in their societies. [2]

According to Castells, the real factors leading to the "Arab Spring" are poverty and social alienation due to the practice of "fake democracy". [3] Gelvin underlines that the effect of food crisis of the world, could make Arab states vulnerable to uprisings too. [4]

Thanks to globalization and new communication technologies, the Arab world has started to have connections with the societies living in the rest of the world and learned about the other people's life styles. Democracy practices and the importance given to human rights in the Western world have been remarkably influential on the young population of the Arab world. Çubukçu states that Al-Jazeera TV channel has also been another effective factor in the change of Arab societies' views on political affairs. [5]

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[1] James L. Gelvin, *The Arap Uprising What Everyone Needs to Know*, (Oxford: Oxford University Pres), 2012, p. 19.

[2] Ibid., p. 20.

[3] Manuel Castells, "The Sociology Elders on the Social Movements in Tunisia and Egypt", *http://globalsociology.com/2011/02/07/the-sociology-elders-on-the-social-movements-in-tunisia-and-egypt/* 10.12.2012.

[4] James L. Gelvin, *The Arap Uprising What Everyone Needs to Know*, (Oxford: Oxford University Pres), 2012, p. 21**.**

[5] Mete Çubukçu, *Yıkılsın Bu Düzen Arap Ayaklanmaları ve Sonrası*, (İstanbul: İletişim), 2012.

At the beginning of the uprising, Turkish media followed the ongoing events very closely. Some aspects of the uprising were discussed on the newspaper columns according to newspapers' ideological position. In this study newspapers chosen in accordance to their ideological approach towards the AKP government. So three newspapers are pro-AKP government (*Star*, *Sabah*, *Zaman*) and three of them not (*Cumhuriyet*, *Taraf*, *Hürriyet*).

Findings of the Analysis:

Newspapers That Are Not Pro-Government
    Cumhuriyet:
    Lexicalization:
Fabricated Revolution Scenario; Civil War; Group Worship Show.

    Overlexicalization:
"Compliant, conformist, fatalist and authority-bound Arabs" (February 1st, 2011, Nilgün Cerrahoğlu).
    "No Arabic country has democracy" (February 1st, 2011, Emre Kongar).
    "The warriors of the Middle Age riding camels and carrying billy-clubs" (Egyptian Police) (February 5th, 2011, Nilgün Cerrahoğlu).
    "The Middle East's hypocrisy culture" (February 13th, 2011, Nilgün Cerrahoğlu).
    "Iron-gloved, plastic surgery decorated dictator" (Kaddafi) (February 22nd, 2011, Orhan Birgit).

    Quotation:
"The real question requiring an answer is whether the people of Arabic countries aspire for a democratic society or a radical Islamist government?" (January 30th, 2011, Hikmet Çetinkaya).

"That is the 'hypocrisy culture' of the Middle East! How can such 'hypocrisy' end up with real democracy?" (February 13th, 2011, Nilgün Cerrahoğlu).

"When we turn our face to the Middle East rather than Europe, some concepts are highly likely to be 'spoiled' depending on the prevailing conditions" (February 6th, 2011, Nilgün Cerrahoğlu)

    Taraf:
    Lexicalization:
Arab Dictators; The Middle East Junk Yard.

    Overlexicalization:

"This is the first time when Arabs have not been such supine" (January 31st, 2011, Namık Çınar).

"The Middle East houses countless dictators" (February 2nd, 2011, Ahmet Altan).

Quotation:
"While the West opted for the coexistence of religion, philosophy and science, the Middle East was confined with the religion alone, and diverged from philosophy and science, and was indifferent towards the guiding questions of philosophy, and failed to search for the answers and even forgot the real philosophy of Islam. It will not be easy to overcome this situation, to rediscover philosophy, to experience a mental revolution, to find out the questions that have been asked in the West for almost 500 years, to be curious about their answers, to head for intellectual adventures, to discover new ideas and life styles and more importantly to overthrow the "dictators" (February 2nd, 2011, Ahmet Altan).

Hürriyet:
Lexicalization:
Arab Dictators; The Arab in Loose Robe; Desert Bedouins; Barbary Insane.

Overlexicalization:
"Violence culture, a characteristic of Arabs" (February 3rd, 2011, Hadi Uluengin).

"The last stop on the way from the mosque to democracy" (February 3rd, 2011, Ertuğrul Özkök).

Quotation:
"Shall we call it 'a democratic coalition against Mubarak' that people rush into Tahrir Square even without completing the Friday's prayer by saying that 'esselamün aleyküm' …? The last stop on the way from the mosque to democracy is not known yet. We will soon find out whether it will end up with democracy or something else" (February 3rd, 2011, Ertuğrul Özkök).

"I'm looking at the photographs taken at Tahrir Square. A man is riding a camel and next to him is a man on horse… I feel confused. 'What age are we in?' says my inner voice while looking at the clothes of those in the square. I compare the photographs with those taken during Independence Day and May 1st celebrations in Turkey. In both countries (Egypt and Turkey), a considerable majority of those who attend these celebrations are Muslims. However; they are strikingly different in two countries… Fortunately, we have an 80-year history of republic and 60-year history of multi-party political life. What is more, thank God we turned our face to the West and we have European Union ideal from 200 years" (February 4th, 2011, Ertuğrul Özkök).

"People expect a democratic revolution in Egypt, democracy walking in Yemen, human rights in Sudan and individual freedom in Tunisia and they dream of freedom bonfire in Syria. That is just a waste of time. In such countries, civil government means military officers in civil clothes… Democracy means civilization. Gathering at and occupying a square as in Egypt does not bring real democracy. It is much more difficult. It is culture. It is history. It is education" (February 8th, 2011, Fatih Çekirge).

Pro-government Newspapers
   Star:
   <u>*Lexicalization:*</u>
Turkish Model; Turkish Democracy; Arab Dictatorships; Conservative Democrats.

   <u>*Overlexicalization:*</u>
"Turkey: The nightmare of Arab dictators and the hope of peoples" (February 4th, 2011, Aziz Üstel).
"Erdoğan: the leader of the 'change' in the Arab world (February 5th, 2011, Ergun Babahan).
"Turkey will be the hope for the future" (February 6th, 2011, Mahir Kaynak).
"The North Star of the Middle East" (Turkey) (February 10th, 2011, Sedat Laçiner).

"Turkish Model: Sympathized by a considerable majority of the rebels in the Arab World demanding democracy, freedom and welfare" (February 12nd, 2011, Mustafa Erdoğan).
"According to the surveys, Egyptians love Erdoğan the most, admire Atatürk and aspire to be like Turkey" (February 13th, 2011, Aziz Üstel).

   <u>*Quotation:*</u>
"The power of 'transparent democracy' is increasingly felt worldwide. This democracy type, also known as Turkish Model, conforms to the quality standards of Europe and is applied to a Muslim-dominated multi-ethnic society" (January 27th, 2011, Ardan Zentürk).

"Turkey: the role model of the revolution. The Turkey of AKP and Tayyip Erdoğan (the prime minister) points the target that Arab streets want to achieve… A model proving that Islam and democracy can coexist and simultaneously increase the welfare of the society" (February 5th, 2011, Ergun Babahan).

"Turkey is a role model country… Arab public opinion has accepted the possibility of the presence of a government elected after democratic processes, applying liberal economy, supporting conservative family structure, and also

proving itself through economic development" (February 6th, 2011, Hasan Kösebalaban).

Sabah:
Lexicalization:
Turkish Model; The leader of Middle East (Erdoğan); The Role Model (Turkey).

Overlexicalization:
"The Leadership of Middle East" (February 3rd, 2011, Hıncal Uluç).

"Turkey is a role model for Muslim countries with its democracy experience and culture" (February 3rd, 2011, Okan Müderrisoğlu).

"We will improve our current democracy, which is considered a hope for the people of Turkey" (February 19th, 2011, Mehmet Barlas).

Quotation:
"…By the way, since the last week, the ongoing debates in the USA about Egypt highlight Turkish model. The prestigious newspapers like New York Times asks the question 'Can Egypt be like Turkey?' rather than 'Can Egypt be like Iran?'... Turkish model is based on AKP policies. It is suggested that 'Moderate Muslim Brotherhood Movement', which has been inspired by AKP, can be a model for Egypt" (February 7th, 2011, Ömer Taşpınar).

"… As for the democratic future of Egypt, Tunisia and other regional countries, the presence of Turkey will present a 'road map' for the region. We are entering an era when the rising standards of our foreign policies as well as domestic ones are getting more and more crucial for both of us and the entire region" (February 5th, 2011, Tuğlu Gümüştekin).

 "… In fact, there is an unnamed bond between the Arab world (even the ones with a despotic regime) and Turkey's struggle for demilitarization of Turkish political affairs. This bond is being established by the Turkish Model, which is considered as a hope among Muslim countries. (February 1st, 2011, Mahmut Övür).

Zaman:
Lexicalization:
Model Country (Turkey); Turkish Model; AK Party Model.

Overlexicalization:
"The Middle East, AKP, Democracy" (January 28th, 2011, Ali Bulaç).
"The most popular leader among Arabs: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan" (February 1st, 2011, Abdülhamit Bilici).

"Whole Arab world takes Turkey as a role model" (February 1st, 2011, Abdülhamit Bilici).

"Turkey, the role model for the Middle East" (February 2nd, 2011, Bejan Matur).

"Egyptians want their leaders to be elected as it is in Turkey" (February 4th, 2011, Mümtazer Türköne).

Quotation:
"The target of the upheavals shaking the Middle East is to apply Turkish Model Democracy" (February 1st, 2011, Mümtazer Türköne).

"The public uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt clearly show how valuable Turkey's democratic stability in the region. In this process, Turkey's position as a 'model country' will be discussed in the world agenda as well. The real issue here is not Turkey itself but AKP, the ruling party in the last 8 years of Turkey. AKP is an undeniable political factor in the region. Turkey is an inspiring country for the well-educated and modern people of Middle East due to its success in integrating religion and democracy, ensuring sustainable economic development, as well as establishing peaceful relationships with the West during this development process. 'AKP model is quite exciting' for the peoples of the Middle East, who are forced to choose between 'political Islam' and 'authoritarian regimes'" (February 1st, 2011, İhsan Dağı).

"Muslim Brotherhood, a movement which scares the West, has recently announced that they will follow the Turkish model. Two days ago, the speech given by our prime minister during the group meeting in the parliament was broadcasted live at Tahrir Square. The Turkish model and the suggestions voiced by the Turkish Prime Minister prevent the masses on Egyptian streets from terrorizing the country and give them a real target to achieve. On the other hand, it provides a solution and trust for the radical Islam-stricken West" (February 3rd, 2011, Mümtazer Türköne).

Evaluation of the Findings:

Both pro-government newspapers (Sabah, Star, Zaman) and those who do not support the government refer to the ruling powers of the Middle East as *"Arab Dictatorships"*. However; the discourse used by these two groups of newspapers differs considerably.

The dominant discourse of the columns published on *pro-government newspapers (Sabah, Star and Zaman)* is that: *"AKP is a role model for Middle Eastern countries"*. In these columns, *Turkey* is defined as *"a successful democratic system that integrates economic and political liberalism with cultural conservatism and Islam"*. The dominance of the discourse of the

"Turkish Model" [1] in the columns published in these newspapers is explained with their "pro-government" policies. It can be claimed that The columnists writing for pro-government newspapers use the discourse of the, "Turkey is a role model for Middle East countries" in their columns in order to justify the foreign policy followed by Turkey in the Middle East.

On the other hand, the columns published on *the newspapers that do not support the government (Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Taraf)*, an *"orientalist discourse"* which makes Arabic people "other" and the discourse of *"lack of confidence of Arab socities' transition to democracy"* are dominant. In the columns of the newspaper of *Cumhuriyet* and *Hürriyet* which are older than the others, it is observed that orientalist discourse is more dominant one. In these newspapers these points of views are dominant: *"democracy is a problem of civilization"* and *"democracy will not prevail in Arab world very easily"*. It is seen here that writers of the Turkish media who internalize western values, use the orientalist discourse of the West towards the Arabs.

The orientalist discourse observed in the columns published on Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet and Taraf will be discussed considering the Turkish Modernization History and the role of the journalists in this process. As it is known in orientalist idea, *"Arabs"* are defined as *"unchangeable essence"* in the mind of Eurepeans. Similarly, all the institutions of Arab societies are defined as *"the institutions serving for Islam"* and the prevailing idea is that *"Arabs won't be able to get modernized by themselves; only the western world can modernize them".* [2]

Conclusion

The ultimate goal of Ottoman-Turkish modernization became real with the help of top-down governing elites who were influenced by western civilization, namely Western Europe. During this modernization process, a powerful demand for Westernization in cultural life, as well as for the adaptation of economic and political institutions from Europe, was clearly detected by the elites who tried to impose them to the society. *Ahmet Muhtar* one of the *"Young Turks"* expressed this desire saying *"either we will be Westernized or cease to exist."* Hence, the governing elites have a particular interest in Ottoman-Turkish modernization. Keyder defines this vanguard as "modernizing Turks" and expresses their missions as follows:

> **"**Modernization Is Identified With Westernization And Obtaining A Position In Western Civilization By Modernizing Turks. Modernism Was An Integrated Project In Their Conception; A Project That

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[1] See the discussion of the link between the 'Turkish Model' and the 'Christian Democrats' in the " 'Turkish Model' in the Matrix of Political Catholism" (Stathis N. Kalyas), in *Democracy, Islam and Secularism in Turkey*, ed. Ahmet T. Kuru and Alfred Stepan, (Newyork: Colombia University Press, 2012), ss. 189-198.

[2] Edward Said, *Şarkiyatçılık Batı'nın Şark Anlayışları,* (İstanbul: Metis), 2003.

Comprehends And Embraces All Cultural Dimensions Which Make Europe Modern. They Were Not Satisfied With Only Increasing Rationalism, Bureaucratization And Organizational Efficiency, They Also Needed A Social Transformation To Enable Secularism, Individual Autonomy And Gender Equality."[1]

The modernization project of Turkey lasted up to 1950, is called *"Westernization"* by the scholars who study on this subject. Even the modernization at the beginning of the Republican period is expressed with the concept of "total Westernization". Deliberate Westernization outside the West includes a transformation in cultural life and a civilization without transferring economic and political institutions from the West.

Ottoman-Turkish elites perceived the reforms as a top-down process in both political and ideological respects.[2] The principal target of these elites was to make the conditions in which they would resemble their equivalents in Europe while striving to reshape them. Göle underlines the fact that in Turkish modernization, governing elites imposed their own conception of Western culture in an unusual way and a transformation was constituted nearly on the *civilization scale*.[3] Taking Elias' civilization study into account, Göle states that the concept of civilization actually admits the priority of the West though it depends on a great variety of motives such as techonology, behaviour, religious beliefs and customs. "Technology, rules of behaviour, world view and all the other things that differentiate and discriminate the West from more 'primitive' societies make Western civilization esteemed in reference to civilization and it is prescribed that the model of culture has universality."[4] According to Göle, that was the reason why Turkish modernists constantly established the goal of reform as *"the level of contemporary civilization"*, namely the *level of Western civilization.*[5]

European Union (EU) membership was also considered the ultimate goal of these values and it was introduced as a must for Turkey's future: "Westernization, attaining the level of Europe has been a target pursued by Ottoman Empire and as its inheritor Turkey for two centuries. In this way,

[1] Çağlar Keyder, "1990'larda Türkiye Modernleşmesinin Doğrultusu", *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, ed., Sibel Bozdoğan-Reşat Kasaba, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), p.129.

[2] Reşat Kasaba, "Eski ile yeni Arasında Kemalizm ve Modernizm", *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik)*, ed., Sibel Bozdoğan-Reşat Kasaba , (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), p. 20.

[3] Nilüfer Göle, " Modernleşme Bağlamında İslami Kimlik Arayışı" , *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, ed., Sibel Bozdoğan-Reşat Kasaba, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), p. 73.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Op. Cit., p.74.

becoming a member of the Eurepean Union must be tackled as the natural outcome of a long-lasting project."[1]

The press has played an active role in the spread of western values to the society and also in the search for nation-wide support when it is needed. This role was also observable during the Republican period, and the values such as Westernization and being modern and truly western constituted the framework for the values of Turkish press. With the Republic, press and publication activities had a great role in the process of Turkish modernization by taking the responsibility of making the society adopt Atatürk's revolutions which were accepted as *"total Westernization"*. Particularly the newspapers that quit publication in Arabic letters soon after the Revolution of Letters had a great impact on the adoption of new letters.

The Ottoman-Turkish press which internalizes the western values and want to transfer them to the society, is still succesfull in keeping their historical mission alive. The writers in some of the contemporary Turkish dailies (in this research, the newspapers that are not pro-AKP government), use the typical *"western orientalist discourse"* towards the Arabic societies of the Middle East. [2]

The writers in some of other dailies in today's Turkish media (in this research, pro-AKP government newspapers) evaluates the combination of *"moderate Islam and democracy"* as an ideal modernization solution for the Middle Eastern countries. These writers think that, this type of modernization has been succesfully realized by *"the AKP Government "*in Turkey .

"Western type of thinking" has been an important value in Turkey's intellectual life during the modernization process. This value is still strongly alive in Turkey's intellectual life and it shows itself even if the governing elites try to be close with Islamic Middle East.

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[1] Stefanos Yerasimos, "Sivil Toplum, Avrupa ve Türkiye", *Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum ve Milliyetçilik,* ed., Stefanos Yerasimos, Günter Seufert ve Karin Vorhoff. İstanbul: İletişim, 2001, p. 21.

[2] Eldem (2010) also accepts the strong relationship between Ottoman-Turkish modernization/Westernization and the Ottoman-Turkish elites' orientalist attitude towards the Arabs, Kurds and Bedouins. He calls this attitude *"Ottoman and Turkish Orientalism"*. Edhem claims also that : "Turkish Orientalism has made a spectacular comeback in the last decade in the form of a neo-Kemalist backlash against the claim to political and social power of a rising conservative-Muslim middling class, embodied by the political success of Tayyip Erdoğan's Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party), or AKP." See the Edhem Eldem (2010). "Ottoman and Turkish Orientalism", John Wiley and Sons Ltd.

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