



PORTRAYAL OF REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND AMERICAN PRINT MEDIA IN PRE SEPTEMBER ELEVEN ERA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF NEWSWEEK AND THE TIME MAGAZINES

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Abstract

This research paper investigated the coverage and portrayal of Turkey in pre September 11 era i.e. from 1991 – 2001 by *Newsweek* and *Time*. The nature of political, military and economic relations between Turkey and the U.S. would also be analyzed. The research study is theoretically linked with the propaganda model of Herman and Chomsky. In this connection, the portrayal of Republic of Turkey would be investigated with Perspective of slanting and framing. The study encircles the duration of before 9/11 that is from 1991-2001. This era is very significant for the western media as well as Muslim world. After the collapse of USSR, the western media needed to fill or bridge the vacant to continue the confrontation. Muslims and the Muslim countries proved plain sailing for western media to target them and the Muslim world was not a hard nut for the western media to crack.. In this connection, 551 issues of *Newsweek* were analyzed. It was found that *Newsweek* published 23 articles about Turkey. Similarly 547 issues of *Time during the specific time period* were studied. It was found that 118 articles about European Muslim countries were published in 547 issues of the *Time* magazine (1991-2001). The facts about Turkey coverage revealed the greater portion of negative over affirmative coverage by the two eminent magazines of America. This coverage is 31.3% and 2.47% respectively. Out of 19 articles about Turkey in *Newsweek* and *Time* there were 17 articles which were neutral and rest of the 2 were unfavorable.

Keywords: Image, Portrayal, Republic of Turkey, American Print Media, Pre September Eleven, *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines

Turkey is officially called as the Republic of Turkey. The main land of the country, known as Anatolia, is in Asia, situated between Mediterranean and Black Sea. Turkish Thrace in the continent Europe comprised of about 3% of the country total area. It is estimated that 80% of the people of the total population of Turkey identify themselves as ethnic Turks (Nawaf E, 2002).

Kurds and Arabs are the second and the third largest ethnic minorities in Turkey. After the abolishment of Ottoman Empire, Mustafa *Kamal* laid the foundations of modern Republic of Turkey. It became a secular state in 1928, and multi party's political system was established in 1950. During 1960-61, it was ruled by military Junta, and again Military entered in power corridors (1980-1983). The reason of military intervention was political instability, inflation and act of terrorism. Since 1983, democratic system has so far been functioning successfully in the country (www.turkishembassy.org).

Disputes: It has territorial dispute with Greece; Cyprus question with Greece: dispute with Syria and Iraq over water development plans for the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (www.encarta.msn.com).

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TURKEY AND UNITED STATES

The relationship between Turkey and USA have been warm, cordial, smooth and friendly since world war II- Washington considered Turkey as a great ally due to her pro Western and American policies. The diplomatic history briefs that the present close and friendly relationships began with the agreement of July 12, 1947, which implemented the Truman Doctrine. In this connection, USA provided financial assistance in-shape of loan and aid (12.5 billion in economic aid and 14 billion in- military assistance) in- order to strengthen economic and military self reliance (Ibid).

Moreover, United State, President Harry a Truman declared in August 1946 that USA would safeguard territory, integrity of Turkey in case of USSR aggression. So, American paid high regard, to Turkey for her anti communist stance against USSR (33).

Similarly, Turkey supported USA during the war in Korea. In 1959, Turkey joined the western sponsored Baghdad pact. This pact proved a mile stone on the diplomatic road of friendly relations between Turkey and United States.

Good relations between the both countries can be understood from this example, when USA had used Turkish bases to support its interventions during the war in Lebanon in 1958. American agencies used Turkish bases for the evacuation of United States citizen during the Jordanian civil war in 1970 and the Iranian revolution in 1979 (Jentleson & Peterson,1997).

The relations between Turkey and USA were deteriorated for short span of time over the issue of Cyprus, Greece and Russian inclination towards her subsequently, the diplomatic relations between both countries improve markedly, during the first administration of President Ronald Reagan. Because the East-west conflict raised the specter of a new cold war and appropriations for Turkey, defense needs correspondingly increased. United States provided every type of economic and military assistance.

The following lists of bilateral agreement between both countries are symbol / sign of cordial relations (Ibid).

BILATERAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES

- Trade and Navigation Agreement 1929.
- Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement 1980.
- Reciprocal Promotion and Protection of Investments Agreement 1985.
- Main Donation Agreement 1991.
- Agreement on Science and Technical Cooperation 1994.
- Memorandum of Understanding on Agriculture Cooperation 1995.
- Global Learning and Observation to Benefit the Environment Agreement 1995.
- Avoidance of Double Taxation Agreement 1996.
- Customs Cooperation Agreement 1996.
- Memorandum of Understanding on Establishing the Turkey United States Business Development Council 1996.
- Turkey United States Joint Economic Commission 1996.
- Agreement on the Development of Trade and Investment Relations September 29, 1999.
- Agreement for the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy November, 1999.
- Joint Statement for Bilateral Cooperation for Financing and Development of Irrigation Projects, November, 1999.
- Agreement on Cooperation in Natural and Man Made Technological Emergency Prevention and Response, November 16, 1999.
- Agreement between Turkey and the United States Concerning the Development of Trade and Investment Relations, September 29, 1999.
- Joint Statement on Establishing Economic Partnership Commission, January 16, 2002.



Both the countries have had a joint economic commission and trade and investment frame work agreement for several years. Turkey is considered as big emerging potential market for American exports. In 2001, the United States Turkey trade balance was almost even, with each country exporting about 3 billion dollars to other (www.unitedworldusa.com/reports/Turkey/usrelationasp).

In shorts, economic and trade relations between both countries have been tremendously strengthened. That is why; the United States is Turkey's third largest export market.

In the arena of politics, Turkey shares common views with United States over the issue Middle East process, Gulf crisis, nuclear proliferation and war on terror. United States Turkish relations have focused on areas such as strategic energy cooperation, trade and investment, security, regional stability and human right issues over a period of times.

Succinctly, after 9/11, the relations between United States and Turkey are exemplary because Turkey has been supporting American agenda since 9/11. That is why; Turkey is hailed as one of the greatest friend of American in Islamic world. The West and United States appreciated her secular policies and efforts for curbing down factor of extremism and fundamentalism from their society. On the basis of strong diplomatic, economic and military relations between Turkey and United States; she was placed in the list of United States allies in this research study.

Review of literature

The researcher has sought help from a good number of books, research works and fore mostly from USA, s elite magazines namely Newsweek and Time. The relevant work and pieces of research of different men of letters and scholars, which proved handy and effective for the accomplishment of this onerous article is given below:

Terry j (1971,1975,1985), Abu Laban and Zeady (1975), V M. Mishra (1978), Edward said, (1978,1981), M. O. ASI (1981), E. Ghareeb (1983), O. M. W. Sulleiman (1983), Al-Zahram (1988), D. A. Graber (1989), John William, (1990), John Eposito (1992), Hussain and Naureckas, (1993), Daniel Pipes (1995), Abdul Yamini (1997), Sami G. Hajjar (1997), Carl W. Ernst (2000)

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The research paper investigates the coverage and portrayal of Turkey by *Newsweek* and *Time* during the time period from 1991 – 2001. The research project is theoretically linked with the propaganda model of Herman and Chomsky.

Table 1: Coverage of Republic of Turkey by Newsweek

Date	Article's Name	Writer's Name	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total sentences
April 11, 1994	We'll Save Islamic unity"	Christopher Dickey and Sami Kohen	10	21	0	31
October 30, 1995	Let's Talk Turkey	Sharon Begley	16	78	1	95
March 27, 1995	Drifting toward trouble?	Christopher Dickey & Sami Kohen	34	5	0	39
June 30, 1997	Between Allah and the Army	Sam Siebert	9	29	0	38
April 28, 1997	Tired of Waiting	Christopher Dickey	37	52	0	89
November 30, 1998	Turkey VS. Europe	Rana Dogar & Mark Dennis	28	72	0	100
March 3, 1999	A Nation Turns Inward	Rana Dogar and Sami	11	21	0	32
August30, 1999	The Big One	Jerry Adler	18	26	03	47
November 30, 1998	Terrorist's Bitter End	Thomas Sanction	11	47	0	58
Total Result			174 32.89%	351 66.3%	04 0.75%	529

Table 2: Coverage of Republic of Turkey by Time

Date	Article's Name	Writer's Name	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total sentences
November 04, 1991	His Crown, his Throne and All	Fredrick Painton	16	28	0	44
May 13, 1991	Missing Dividend	Robert T. Zintl	13	46	2	61
August 26, 1991	The Dangers of uprooting	Daniel Benjamin Bonn	12	28	0	40
October 19, 1992	Across The Great Divide	George J. Church	45	89	15	149
April 24, 1995	Beating Foes and Leading Friends	Michael S. Serril	22	43	2	67
January 8, 1996	A Blow To Secularism	James O. Jackson	16	35	2	53
January 8, 1996	Islam Winning Edge	Eric Rouleu	17	21	1	39
August 5, 1996	A Hunger for Justice	Bruce W. Nelan	27	13	0	40
October 21, 1996	Which is the Real Erbakan?"	Johanna Mc Geary and James Wilde	3	55	2	60
October 21, 1996	We have Done a lot	Lally Weymouth	9	39	0	48
Total Result			180 29.9%	397 66%	24 3.99%	601



Overall Portrayal of Republic of Turkey in *Newsweek* and *Time* with Perspective of Framing

Table: 3

Magazine	Number of favorable	Number of unfavorable	Number of neutral	Total articles
Newsweek	NIL	1 11.12%	8 88.88%	9
Time	NIL	1 10%	9 90%	10
Grand total	NIL	2 10.52%	17 89.47%	19

Table 3 highlights that out of 19 articles of Turkey in *Newsweek* and *Time*; on the whole it was found that 17 articles were neutral while 2 articles were unfavorable.

LIST OF WORDS/ PHRASES RELATED TO MUSLIM COUNTRIES APPEARED IN NEWSWEEK AND TIME:

The list of words or phrases (which are now commonly associated in slang style with Muslims) used in both magazines specifically for Turkey is under mentioned:

- Politicians of the fundamentalist leaning *Rafah* Party
- Enraged protestors
- Sympathetic violence
- The source of disturbance: Ruthless war
- Human right abuses
- Assault
- Vulnerable completely covered in dust and blood
- Terrorist attack
- Bloody war with Kurdish separatists
- conservative Turks
- Reports of torture in Turkish prisons
- Turkey's already tattered human rights image
- Intense fighting
- Keep the conservative Muslims out of government
- Fundamentalist's violence
- Military officers made it clear they would not permit the rise of Islamic fundamentalism fanaticism
- Highly organized and prolonged hunger strike
- Turkey has lived through two decades of bombings, assassinations and urban guerrilla warfare and little sympathy for leftists
- Turkey's Islamic activists
- Turkey was whipping itself into a full blown crisis.
- For the generals, fundamentalism represents a great danger for Turkey's system and security" warn that if the Islamists are denied a legitimate political voice, party militants might turn violent
- Islamic fundamentalists.
- Turkey today is faced with a Radical Islamic threat
- A measure to roll back Islamic influences in educational and social programs" there was mutual railing against the threat of political Islam Terrorism or fundamentalism
- Radical wing

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SENTENCES Of the U.S. ALLIES

As facts and figure revealed that both the magazines preferred to be neutral in case of Turkey yet there were negative sentences in order to show their aggression. Here is the list of the sentences which divulge both the flanks of the picture of Turkey:

- "Turkey has sought to eradicate Kurdish nationalism by suppressing their language, culture and political right". (negative)
- "For the generals, fundamentalist represents a greater danger for Turkey system ad security, says one western European analyst. The stanch secularist in charge of the armed forces says Turkey's constitution makes it their sacred duty to oppose the rising political influence of Islamists like Erbakan and his welfare party (RAFAH). His Government winked it Rafah's members efforts to impose Shariah (Islamic Law), encouraging women to wear veils and scarves in public and reach out Iran, Iran and Libya drastic steps in a land like Turkey, where the separation of mosque and state is article of faith" (News week June 30-1987) (negative)
- "In the process the government has accrued, a record of human rights abuses that consistently alienates it from the community of modern democratic European countries it hopes to join". (Newsweek, March 27, 1995). (negative)
- "Geography by itself favors Turkey. Peacemaking efforts in Moldova, and Nagorno Karbakh, attempts to put the West into more active intervention in Bosnia, Turkey have enjoyed a stable multiparty democracy and free elections. The government allowed private companies to thrive, opened the economy to foreign investment central Asians with Turkish heritage, are most inspired" (Time , October 19, 1992) (positive)
- "Turkish Red Crescent has been providing free food and medical care to civilians. Army promised to make restitution for any destruction for which its troop are responsible". (Time , April 24, 1995) (positive)
- Often treated with prejudice by the country's Sunni Muslim majority." "Fundamentalist leaning *Rafah party*" "the army is waging a ruthless war against the PKK (Newsweek, March 27, 1995) (negative)
- "14 year separatist was in Eastern Turkey. Turkish shock Turned to fury- Islamists" (Newsweek, November 30, 1998) (negative)
- MHP has a tradition of violence" "The MHP must control Radical elements within the party." "Both parties are reluctant to discuss Turkey poor human Rights record (Newsweek, March 3, 1999) (negative)

STRONG, PROVOCATIVE LANGUAGE USED BY BOTH MAGAZINES AND IMAGE OF MUSLIM WORLD

Strong and provocative language is the special trait of these USA's magazines if the matter is of Muslim world, in spite of the enjoyment of coherent and cordial relationship of that country with USA. The rigorous, stern and scathing language used by the so called prestigious magazines of USA is under mentioned:



"Turkey a rude shock for the secular establishment", "Turkey between Allah and the army", "The Islamic government falls, the general should be happy". "Turkey: The nation's generals are not happy serving an Islamic government". "Turkey: a blow to secularism, the big Muslim vote raises fears about traditions of pro western democracy", "Turkey's first Islamist prime Minister"

The both magazines have given maximum coverage to such topics or issues which developed negative image of Muslim countries in the minds of the reader. Changes in political scenario of Turkey; emergence of Islamic Rafah Party in secularism VS Islamic govt. issue of Cyprus, Turkey disputes which Greece and other neighboring are the eminent topics which are exuberantly put forward by the American media in order to twist and deform the true picture of the things . It is a locus standi that everything has two flanks. And the American media adapted the dark side of the thing and did it so dexterously that almost the whole of Europe was over stuffed with this bogus propaganda regarding the negative aspect of Muslim world. From the aforementioned facts and figures it is vivid that the policy of these two magazines towards Turkey was neutral but bigoted.

PORTRAYAL OF TURKEY

The theological beliefs, notions and dogmas of Muslims always proved apple of discord for them. The dilemma of the human being is that they always die for religion and fight for religion. The tussle between west and Muslim world is of theocratic type. The west and its media are repulsive towards those Muslim countries which have their base on theocracy. Because of this notional enmity the Muslims are portrayed as **others** by western mainstream media. The fables of their ferocity, ruthlessness and callousness are in plenty in American and western magazines. So in case of Turkey the type of confrontation is as old as that of Lucifer and Adam

By the scrutiny of the articles of both the magazines it is as clear as the day that America was the adherer of Secular turkey instead of Islamic Turkey. To provide support to Secular pillar these magazines magnified the western and liberal style of living in Turkey and deplored the Islamization process even if it would be in democratic means. In simple way it can be apprehend that American media moved heaven and earth in order to justify the ferocious and inhuman step of military junta over the democratic Islamic govt. The following headlines published "Newsweek issue of June 30, 1997 would vividly point out the biasness of United States media towards Islam Government "*Between Allah and the army. The Islam Government falls. The generals should be happy at least until the next round of elections.*

American mass media was the champion of military junta and encouraged its ban on political activities of Islamic Refah party

- . The biasness of American media is revealed by the scathing and sardonic coverage towards the Turkish relations with its neighboring countries, enlisting of turkey in European Union and Kurdish separatists' movement. Furthermore the internal matters of turkey like inflation and unemployment were severely attacked by these magazines. In another article of News Week April 28, 1997, Islamic Government was bitterly criticized. The following headlines clearly depict the real state of mind of the magazine "*TIRED OF WAITING? The nation's general are not happy serving an Islamic Government.*

Arbakan and his visits to different Muslim countries were depreciated by mass media of America. The facts about Turkey coverage revealed the greater portion of negative over affirmative coverage by the two eminent magazines of America. This coverage is 31.3% and 2.47% respectively.

- Out of 19 articles about Turkey in Newsweek and Time there were 17 articles which were neutral and rest of the 2 were unfavorable.

Last but not the least it can be infer in convenient manners that Turkey is an ally of USA. But as the facts and figures disclosed that USA went against its allies if it is the matter of Muslim World and its image .America was on the top of the list of enmity of Muslims. As in case of Turkey it is luminating, American mass media proved back bone of military junta in discarding the democratic Islamic regime. The facts also divulge the policy of both the magazines is the policy of USA. These magazines distort the code of ethics of Journalism to reflect the policy of their country.

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