

Ideological Meaning Consistence in News as a Cultural Text: The Presentation of Paris Riots in Hürriyet and Sabah Newspapers

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This study is about the riots which took place in Paris in November 2005. It aims to define the ideological production in news discourse. In theoretical base, a hegemonic ideology definition was made which is parallel to hegemonic reading in the frame of cultural studies and the meaning process of this definition was also emphasized. Teun Adrian van Dijk’s critical discourse analysis model is used during the study. The ideological production was determined by the analysis of news appeared in Hürriyet and Sabah daily newspapers in Turkey concerning Paris riots. The results of the study demonstrate that there is not enough context information in news; the event could be explained by social, cultural and economic reasons. It is seen that the news are popularized, personalized and reduced to its subject. The results of the study have been expressed by means of “ideological atmosphere” concept.

Keywords: News Discourse, Ideological (Re)production, Critical Discourse Analysis, Paris Riots, Structural Bias Problem, Ideological Bias, Ideological Atmosphere.

Introduction

This study analyses the presentation of Paris riots which started at the end of October 2005 in Turkish newspapers, *Hürriyet* and *Sabah*. According to these newspapers, the reason of these events was because of 3 immigrant young people. The story says “they escaped from police because of ID control and then they had electricity shock when they hid at a transformer station. 2 of them died and 1 of them injured who has Turkish origin. After that situation, some violence events had started by the people who are from the same social class of these 3 young people. In this study, these events were named as “Paris Riots”. For the research, the news which were published between 25th October 2005 and 15th November 2005 were selected. These dates represent the starting date of riots and its disappearance in the agenda. In this process, *Hürriyet* had published 15 news and 36 photographs and *Sabah* had published 18 news and 37 photographs. The reason of that time sample can be explained like that: *Sabah* had started to publish news about these riots everyday since 31st October when the same situation is 4th November for *Hürriyet*¹. Since 15th November, the related news started to lost its permanency².

The main hypothesis of this research claims that media reproduces the ideology in news discourse. The main aim of the research is to find out if the ideological presentation – which is valid for media – (Hall et al 1978; İnal 1992; Özer 1997; 1999; 2001; 2006; 2007; Özer ve Dağtaş 2003) exists in Turkish newspapers when they are analyzed within news about a social event which happened out of Turkey. *Hürriyet* and *Sabah* are popular newspapers which can be put in a central point. They can also be identified as the newspapers that “official ideology” is produced in. The relevant news of this research was analyzed with the help of van Dijk’s critical discourse analysis model. It is possible to say that there are serious amount of research since 1990s which were constructed with the help of van Dijk’s model in Turkey.³ In these researches, generally the events which were about Turkey were analyzed (Ertan-Keskin 2004). The originality and importance of this research is because of its material sample which has a foreign origin. Also the results and conceptual inferences which were formed according to that results contributes the originality and importance of this research.

Theoretical Basis

Critical news researches within the cultural studies have been started in 1970s which were about ideological production in news. Hall (*et al*)’s research (1978) can be shown as a fundamental resource. In an important level of this study, some results like “media is the secondary definer of events” were found. At the back of these kinds of researches, it is possible to suggest that reproduction of ideology can naturalize the material reality. In these researches, textual analyses and their structure which tends to reproduce the hegemony and ideology (Smith 2005) were discussed.

Critical news researches got many concept and theories from structuralism. Barthes’ “denotation and connotation” inference is very important in this point. According to him, connotation is next to denotation, they always have a mutual action, thus they seem to be in a

1 To start publishing news about riots in November may cause of its permanency in these dates or the different important discussions in Turkey’s domestic agenda before November. Of course, these estimated reasons may not reflect the reality but it is interesting to see that they have started to publish these related news everyday.

2 If it is thought in terms of “meaning”, also from that time, the meaning in news are almost equal to the meaning of news which were included in the research sample.

3 It will be enough to remind 2 PhD. theses among the first studies by using van Dijk’s model in Turkey. For example İnal’s study emerged a basis to promote Dijk’s model in communication field. İnal 1992; Ülkü 1992.

unity (Coward and Ellis 1985). Myth, which is known as connotation, can be successful when it is not explicitly emphasized and when it says “this is like it should be” and when it universalizes the history (Coward and Ellis 1985).

Althusser’s ideas were brought to field in the beginning of 1970s. Althusser separated ideological state apparatus (family, law, politics, syndicate, church, media) from police, government, army, etc. and named the latter as state’s pressure apparatus (1991). For Althusser, ideology always has a materialistic existence and ideology was written for state apparatus and practises. In this point he names individuals as “subject” (1991). By this claim, according to Althusser, it can be understood that “subject” is in a passive situation. Althusser’s subject emerges in language and discourse. In media text, subject is called and named.

Even he is not from structuralism, Gramsci’s (1992) “hegemony” concept is also important. In a nutshell, hegemony can be defined as the strategies of dominant power to get support from all people who are under its control (Eagleton 1996). Like Althusser, also Gramsci emphasized the importance of ideology in consolidation of social structure and relations (Teo 2000: 11). One of the important point to produce ideology is media. One of the basic hegemony strategy is “common sense” (Gramsci 1992). Media is functional in provision of “common sense” (Fiske 2003). About news text, media’s functionality shows itself in the activation of ideological practises which exists in discourse. This point can be connected to cultural studies’ view on media which is evaluated as the place of elite power’s institutional, ideological and discourse reproduction place (Lembo 2000).

In this point, it is fruitful to look at ideology-discourse relationship: ideology produces the reality in a specific discourse. Thus, it systematically constructs the domination relationships in discourse. Due to its domination, dominant class’ ideology names dominant class and also the class which is under domination. The thing which activates meaning in language is also this ideology. According to Hall (cited in Stevenson 1997), discourses have dominant meanings which constructs the meaning of the message. Ideological discourses refer to “already knows” and approve itself in a common knowledge depot. At the same time, it reproduces in an eclectic way (Hall 1999). Ideological discourses may add subjects which are already using language to their self world representation method. This means the emphasize of ideology in discourse and the necessity to discuss its articulation by discourse (Hall 1999). Analysis of discourse provides a way to clarify the ideologies which were stated in written, verbal and visual texts. Discourse is not a simply grammatical practises; it states a specific topic and constructs the knowledge about it. The analysis of discourse does not only examine how language and representation produce the meaning. It also examines the formation of identities and subjectivities and relationships between representation, meaning and power (Hall cited in Meyers 2004).

Discourse, using of language and texts are the most important social practises in the formulation of ideologies. If we want to understand what ideologies are in real, how they operates, how they are formed, changed and produced, and what they are doing, we need to look intensively to their discourse aspects. Language is a practise which forms a reality and something which is written or said about world is articulated in an ideological configuration (van Dijk cited in Kuo ve Nakamura 2005). Media has a central role in the production of dominant ideology. It has an ideological function like family, church and school (Kuo and Nakamura 2005). The critical analysis of discourse provides to clarify the dominant ideology which is stated in written, verbal and visual texts. Critical discourse analysis emphasizes the necessity to analyse the media language role critically. According to critical discourse analysts, the ideology in news cannot be easily seen. It is situated in selected language forms. Ideological practises which were situated in news discourse can only be clarified by critical

discourse analysts. To clarify ideological practises in news discourse means to clarify how social inequalities are reproduced (Kou ve Nakamura 2005).

The ideological production in news discourse is clarified by “meaning”. Signification is on connotation level and it states the ideological aspect of media/news discourse. Signification deals with arguable topics as a real and positive power and it affects the results. Signification of events is a part of something which is for contention, because signification is the media where the collective social meanings is created (Hall 1999). Signification refers to ideology that it produces the reality in a specific discourse. This ideology systematically setups the relations of domination in discourse.

Critical media theorists who were affected by Althusser and Gramsci’s ideas emphasized the idea which claims that the dominant ideology is produced and reproduced in news discourse. According to them, the self-reproduction of capitalist societies depends on the acceptance of dominant ideology by majority (Lodziak 1986). In this process, media helps the majority to accept the dominant ideology (Lodziak 1986). Dominant ideology is reproduced in news media. Moreover, dominant ideology is reproduced in news discourse. “To read invisible parts of messages in news means to reach dominant ideological practises.” (Özer 2001).

Finally, before the analysis, it is useful to emphasize a point: According to Stuart Hall (1993; 1999a; 2005), the three types of reading style are hegemonic, controversial and oppositional reading. This research is parallel to the hegemonic reading which has a direct impact on the readers. In this respect, it may be suggested that the other two styles have also hegemonic content. The reason of this can be explained like that: Immanent meanings which were in the messages of texts are coded in central media establishments. Everytime, the power of that centers are more than receivers who re-interpret the meanings (Morley and Siverstone 1990 cited in Morley 2005). Even the audiences are infinite active in the process of interpreting of media presentations, it is not true to equalize the active and the powerful one (Ang 1990 cited in Morley 2005). It is possible to unify that situation with the idea of stabilization of meaning in the beginning. This refers to the narrow point which is between Hall’s hegemonic reading and oppositional reading. When it is interpreted in critical news research, it is possible to claim that ideological practises are not only in hegemonic reading, also in other ways can enter to receiver’s thinking process.

Critical Discourse Analysis of Paris Riots

By means of theoretical part of this study, the analysis of Paris Riots was grounded on Teun Adrian van Dijk’s critical discourse analysis model. The reasons why this model were selected is its ability to clarify news structure and more importantly ideological presentation of news and its accordance to Turkish news language. Model was applied to news according to some interpretations and evaluations about it.

van Dijk has a plenty of studies on discourse, discourse analysis and model. (1983, 1985, 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998, 1999; 2003). Dijk considers the news as a form of public discourse. Furthermore, he mentions about the significance of the contextual factors shaping the basis of the news discourse (1988b). Dijk handles the news narration in two different linguistic analysis styles constituting “syntactical” and “semantic”. The news syntactic is the grammatical structure of the sentences used. Semantic is about the meaning of the words, sentences and thereby all the discourse. Van Dijk’s discourse analysis model is composed of two parts: “Macrostructure and microstructure”. The macrostructure is investigated under two headings: “Thematic analysis and schematic analysis”. News follows a hierarchical scheme such as, stories or arguments. The production of news is being carried out thousands times everyday under the heavy restrictions of professional routines, time, trained people and printing. This is organized by a scheme (1988b). The scheme mentioned

summarizes heading-the lead together (1991). Meanwhile, they carry out the task of introduction to the text together with the summary that has to explain the meaning of the text's macro structure completely because the main event, participations, and time take place in the lead. Summary together with the lead indicate the upper level of the scheme (1983). The text is also included in the scheme. Besides, it is possible to learn the theme of the news from headings and the news. In the macrostructure analysis, headings, the lead, main event, sources of the news, background and contextual information, and the evaluations of the news by the sides of the events, and such elements are dealt with.

In microstructure analysis, syntactical analysis, local coherence, lexical choice and rhetoric analysis are carried out. In the syntactic analysis, the structure of the sentence use is inspected. Lexical choice is highly significant in terms of ideological construction. The fact that the same person can be defined as terrorist or freedom fighter is a common example given about this subject. In the news rhetoric, to make the news persuasive and convincing, the quotes from the witnesses are included as well. At this point, photographs are also the examples of being persuasive and convincing (van Dijk 1988a; 1988b; 1991).

Headlines

When all the headlines are evaluated together, it is possible to claim that they reflect the main idea of the text and form the lead paragraph. Headlines (Hürriyet): 1. Paris Intifada has burned Sarkozy; 2. Sarko has blazed (4th November 2005). 3. Guerrilla raid in Paris at night; 4. Paris guerrillas (5th November 2005). 5. Europe is uneasy (6th November 2005). 6. Car burning record; 7. Rebellion is at the heart of Republic (7th November 2005). 8. The first blood in rebellion. Subtitle: After dead of 2 muslim young person who escaped from police, one person died in riots in France. Riots have also spread out to Germany and Belgium; 9. The first loss of life; 10. The first lead (8th November 2005). 11. Even Zidane's father cannot vote; 12. OHAL⁴ in Paris (9th November 2005). 13. The rebellion of secular youngs (10th November 2005). 14. Here's Muhittin from Urfa (11th November 2005). 15. Handshake with ghetto in Paris (12th November 2005).

It is not possible to see place, time, period and the answer of "who" in each headlines. 4th and 13th headlines is an example of a huge generalization which did not care about people's gender, age and race. 5th headline includes all European countries. 1st, 2nd, 11th and 14th are personification examples.

In headlines it may be claimed that the primary roles of that story which includes violence are Sarkozy and Paris guerrilla. Cars are burned, leads are flown, blood and lives are lost in this story. When one side of fight (Paris guerrillas) was proceeding, the other side (Sarkozy and/or French Government) fell in a situation which requires to use what it has in its hand (OHAL: Extraordinary situation administration).

It may not be true to say that there is a negative attitude about actions of activists in Hürriyet's headlines. On the contrary, it is possible to say that it tried to legitimize their riots. For example, riots were defined with the word "Intifada" which refers to Palestinian struggle against Israel. In terms of headlines, the word "rebellion" presents an important level. Rebellion refers to contumacy against dominant because of rebels' reasonable claims in terms of their point of view. Thus, it may be claimed that the words "Intifada", "burned" and "rebellion" legitimizes actions in the next headlines like "blood, loss of life, etc."

Another problem in headlines is related to personification of riots and reduction of the problem into the struggle between France Interior Minister Sarkozy and young people of

4 OHAL: Turkish abbreviation which refers to "extraordinary situation."

ghettos who were called as a “mob” by Sarkozy. Maybe Sarkozy behaved wrongly, but to restrict a problem with one person cannot be enough to explain the reality.

Hürriyet also legitimized France’s OHAL (Extraordinary situation administration) application. For example, it is normal to see effort against rebels. Also, because of rebellion other countries were disturbed, rebels raided (3rd headline), shot by gun (10th headline), drained blood (8th headline), killed someone (9th headline) and burned vehicles (6th headline). Moreover they did these for 2 young people who escaped from the police and died because of electricity (8th lead). All these are practises which can spoil law and order, and these can be seen as reasons for intervention right of French Government. This approach indicates that Hürriyet tried to present rebels positive with the name of “guerrilla”, but on the connotation level it presented them as the responsible. It may be useful to add Hürriyet’s matching of 2 sides in terms of power. The power of rebels was put on the same level of French Government which plans to use all power that it has. It is a discussion how it reflects the reality. Also, rebels had an othering process in Hürriyet (15th headline). “*Handshake with ghetto in Paris*” means that there is a ghetto in Paris and it indicates the other side who is against ghetto. Headlines of Sabah: 1. Urfa bitter in Paris (31st October 2005). 2. We did not do a wrong thing (1st November 2005). 3. Paris “street war” spreading (2nd November 2005). 4. Chirac: It is better to calm down (3rd November 2005). 5. One week passed for riots, Paris is in alarm (4th November 2005). 6. The rebellious have spreaded 20 suburbs (5th November 2005). 7. LE “CIVIL WAR”. 8. Black anger is spreading (6th November 2005). 9. Guerrillas who came from virtual environment. 10. “We will not stop till He stops”; 11. After selecting target on internet, they attack automatically (7th November 2005). 12. 68 subordinateds jumped to Europe; 13....And anger of ghetto has spreaded to Europe; 14. They killed by beating (8th November 2005). 15. “55 law code” is on operation (9th November 2005); 16. “We can burn in daytime too” (10th November 2005). 17. Surrounding by three thousand police in Paris (14th November 2005). 18. Ghetto rebellion has become a “white uprising” (15th November 2005).

As seen in Hürriyet, all headlines have information reduction in it. The 1st, 7th and 9th headlines whose predicate does not refer to an act are an example of generalization. “Black anger is spreading” and “They killed by beating” are a typical fiction example. Thus, fiction looks like generalization but refers to an act. The size of violence and parties of situation were hidden in headlines. “Urfa bitter in Paris” headline was presented as a metaphor and the bitter which is used in Urfa (a city in the south east of Turkey) kitchens were connected to bitter of the young person and his family.

The story between 2 parts were also presented as a violence in Sabah’s headlines. It is clear in the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 17th headlines. The 12th and 13th headlines tell that the struggle also reflected to onlookers. Though their proceeds, the other side prepares some preventions and use what it has against rebels (15th and 17th headlines).

The story between 2 parts were also presented as a violence in Sabah’s headlines. Because of that, same evaluation for Hürriyet is also valid for Sabah. The acts which were defined by the words like “Black anger, rebellious, subordinateds, ghetto” were shown as legit. The 10th headline reduces the riots into Sarkozy. The “He” in the headline is Sarkozy. Sabah showed Sarkozy as the fundamental reason of the so called “civil war”, loss of life and all rebellion.

Sabah could not avoid to legitimize French Government’s practises. “‘55 law code’ is on operation, We can burn in daytime too, Surrounding by three thousand police in Paris” can be seen as examples for this situation. When Sabah tried to present the rebel people in a positive way by means of using the words like “ghetto, subordinateds, black anger”, at the same time it presented these people with those expressions: the people who caused rebellious (the 6th headline), the people who caused civil war (7th headline), the people who did street

fight (the 3rd headline), the people who had murdered (14th headline), the people who burned around (the 16th headline) and the people who did everything until Sarkozy resigns. All these are practises which can spoil law and order. The person who was forced to resign is the person who is one of the first responsible of law and order. Thus, French Government was presented as a state which does not have any other chance than intervening the riots. Because of that “55th law code” was brought to agenda (14th headline) and three thousand police was there for surrounding (16th headline). Gradually, this situation legitimized the violence of French Government which is also valid for Hürriyet. Thus, when Sabah called the rebel people as “guerrilla” (9th headline), but on the connotation level it presented them as the responsible of riots. Also the matching of 2 sides in terms of power is same in Sabah like Hürriyet. The power of rebels was put on the same level of French Government which plans to use all power it has. Additionally Sabah also had some “otherings” like Hürriyet did. Ghetto rebellion has become a “white uprising” means to put ‘ghetto’ and ‘white’ to opposite sides. The transformation here is just on an act basis. Ghetto did not become white.

News Lead: Presentation of the Main Event and Consequences

Lead: The rebellious in France ghettos has not been stopped which has started 1 week ago due to the dead of 2 young person because of electricity and injury of a young Turkish when they were escaping from police. Foreign Minister Nicholas Sarkozy is in a problematic situation because of these riots. Sarkozy was criticized because of his weak control on riots and his bad expressions about ghetto people. His dream to win The Presidency elections now seems difficult. He cancelled his abroad trip and checked a police station in a ghetto region (Hürriyet 4th November 2005).

Lead: “The riots which have started due to injury of a young Turkish and dead of 2 young person have passed 1 week. The Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin organised an extraordinary meeting with his ministers. Sarkozy who said “we will clean the dirty people from the streets” was blamed to increase the tension (Sabah 4th November 2005).

The main event was announced in the leads and the news value was attributed by means of violence riots. The protest riots which have started because of dead of young people when they were escaping from police was presented as the main event. Increasing of riots were shown as the result of this main event. The escape and dead of young people is not the main event. Because the news about these dead people were published 6 days after their dead. In this process, main event has transformed and riots happened. News value was attributed to riots in terms of this point (consequence of main event). Lead is a micro-story. It presented news texts summary with some examples. News texts were filled by main event’s details.

When you look to the examples, two newspapers almost have the same content. It is not right to connect this situation to the content of these periods’ agenda. The important thing in this point is to be able to see the ideological meaning map which is drawn according to these riots. In all news which are related to this topic, it is easy to find these expressions: “The rebellious in France ghettos has not been stopped which has started 1 week ago due to the dead of 2 young people because of electricity and injury of a young Turk when they were escaping from police. Starting point of news were written like that. This situation presented some excuses for acts of rebels, (the dead of 2 young people because of electricity and injury of a young Turk; injury of a young Turk and dead of 2 young people.) but at the same time, news text refers to the illegal way of their acts which spoil law and order (2 young people when they were escaping from police; injury of a young Turk, and dead of 2 young people...): “It contains both meanings: Police is the representative of law and order; The people who escaped from the police had some illegal acts.” Gradually, it is possible to reach a meaning like: if they did not escape from the police, they would not die and all these riots would not happen. The consequence of main event on ideological level is closed with this

meaning. Newspapers cannot avoid by the occurrence of this kind of meaning. Journalism practises and news writing rules cause a meaning like that. Thus, when the headlines and the leads are evaluated together, even if the activists are right, a meaning is occurred that they spoil the law and order of society. It is possible to emphasize that this meaning represents all texts. Furthermore, the events which are in headlines and reduced into 2 parts (and/or person) were presented in leads with the same meaning. In other words, the starting of riots were reduced into mistakes of 2 young people and Sarkozy in leads, then it was personalized. For sure on connotation level, these statements can be accepted as the consequences of riots.

News Resources

Sabah published 4 news by its own correspondents. 1 news was published by the name of “foreign news” department. It did not publish any name for other news. Even if these news can be seen as news agency news, it is possible to claim that these news were produced and transformed according to Sabah’s ideological point of view. On the other hand, Hürriyet used its correspondents names. This can show that all news were presented according to Hürriyet’s ideology. The more important thing is, even they came from different resources, all the news which passed the editorial process have the same meaning as an ideological text. Macro structure analysis gave this result.

Background and Context Knowledge

The reason of ideological production in news discourse is connected to the absence of background and context knowledge. It is useful to emphasize one point about example events. Paris riots were reduced to 2 youngs’ escape from the police; Interior Minister Sarkozy commented the situation with “mob” expression. Both newspapers tried to write about the real reason of these riots. For example, it is possible to see that the main reason was shown as “unemployment” by implicit or explicit expressions. These kinds of informations melted in the structure which was built by means of conflict. Thus, experiments were not enough to put the riots to a context which was stated above. The information boxes which were put in news in Hürriyet can be seen as an example for this kind of news. According to related news, a football club manager stated that the first problem has started during a football match between France and Algeria. That person also added that activist are not accepted to any job. But this information was not sufficient when it is evaluated among all news. The news about Zidane’s father’s problem about not to have the right to vote indicates the injustice in legal rights. Sabah newspaper published some interviews which is about ideas of some French football players who grew up in these kind of neighborhoods. 3 football players referred to problems of people who lives in ghettos. But the news which consist of these informations are quite short and filled just some lines.

Micro Structure: Syntactic Analysis, Lexical Choice and Rhetoric

News were generally written by active sentence structures. Active structured sentences can be used to analyse the representation configuration of newspapers. Generally newspapers used active structure when a French Government representative or an activist is the subject of the sentence. The meaning in these sentences supports the meaning which was found in macro structure. It is also possible to say that these meanings show that both sides of riots are determined: A group of young person, with their anger, burned 9 cars last night. Minister Sarkozy said that he would go to “dangerous and unsafe” suburbs 1 day in every week. The young groups who throw stone to police in some places, ... they burned 2 police car and a police depot. Sarkozy said “guilties will be sentenced. Republic cannot accept violence”.

When the words were used by Sabah are checked, it is possible to see that riots were presented with a specific meaning: “Youngs, angry youngs, youngs who escaped from police, immigrant youngs, white young French, ghetto rebellion, ‘white uprising’, subordinateds, rebel, gangs, street fights, street war, civil war, black anger, anger of ghettos, activists, African immigrants, immigrants, immigrant young, rebel leader.”

When these words are checked, it is clear to see that a meaning occurs that the activists are not French or at least not pure French. They are immigrants and came from Africa. The statement “white young French” were not used to identify them. Oppositely, they are defined as the “other”. Words prove that the origin of riots comes from ghettos. But when the total of words are evaluated, this meaning emerges: The young people who live in ghettos became angry and started rebellion. Young gang members fought on the streets. And a civil war has started and it lasted as a street war. It is clear that news were built on violence. The violence happened because of African black immigrants. This cannot mean just a positive meaning. Their life may be full of difficulties, but instead of this situation, the news presented them as the responsible of violence.

Some words which were used in Hürriyet as follows: “Guerrilla, secular youngs, Intifada of Paris, 2 youngs who escaped from police, The youngs who started rebellion in Paris ghettos and burned cars and buildings, 2 African young person, ghetto uprising, rebel youngs.”

Same estimations can be done for Hürriyet too. Maybe the only different thing in Hürriyet is its definition about Sarkozy who is defined as Sarko. These kind of nick names may include positive meanings. But in examples some negative content were also seen like “Sarko has blazed”.

Newspapers used some photographs which showed the fired public places, young fighters, police, fireman, etc. to make the news more convincing (rhetoric). Most of the photographs are same. Some numbers were given. Some interviews with activists and their families were published. All these things reflects the plausibility of news. The meanings of photographs can be explained like this: A photograph includes a burned car and a fireman. This photograph does not only explain the violence on the street of that car, it also emphasizes that all ghetto streets are like that. All photographs which have a meaning related to violence are in that direction. Thus, the thema which was explained in texts were also supported by photographs. Gradually, the meaning tends to emphasize that the situation can be like that, the law and order can be spoilt, all of them are because of rebels. In another photograph, black women are on the street with their children in their laps and they seem to leave that place. Ghettos of Paris became a place which is not good to live. This situation’s responsible was shown as the rebels who spoilt the law and order.

In this point, it may be fruitful to emphasize a point which can give examples about photographs’ (and also text) ideological content. When Saussure explained the concept of sign, he did not explain “referent” concept (Hall 1999). In the relationship of “signifier” and “signified”, the example of cat in photograph, if this cat is equal to the meaning of a real cat on the streets, it refers to “referent”. In this context, the views in photographs explain the situation in Paris. This shows that a violent life exists in Paris, but not the source of violence. To show the source of violence, it should show the comparison of ghetto and the opposite life of it. Different point of views can only be provided by this way.

Result and Discussion

In this study, The Turkish newspapers Hürriyet and Sabah’s representation about the riots which happened in Paris in October-November 2005 were analysed. Hürriyet and Sabah reproduced the ideology in theirs’ news discourse which was related to the event (Paris riots) which happened outside of Turkey. The direction of ideological production in 2 newspapers

was more than similar, it was found almost same. In the aspect of this production, it was seen that the event were reduced to escape of 3 young people from the police and the death of 2 of them. Because of reducing the riots into the beginning, generally the violence on the street were reflected and the meaning was occurred which shows the fugitives as the responsible person. Thus, the people who lived and caused the events were presented as the spoilers of law and order. But another reason was also possible to start these big riots. The background which produced this propose is the social inequality which increases gradually in France. This point was also emphasized in news but it was very weak, restricted and crushed under the presentation of violence. Thus the immigrant policy and the attitude in violent riots of France Government was legitimized. Besides, the police oriented precautions of the government was presented as meaningful. But in *Cumhuriyet* (another Turkish newspaper), in an article (not news), the social inequalities at the back of these riots were emphasized. The article talked about the gap between classes and referred to a research which conducted in France. The results of research showed that the riots are coming soon very seriously. Even when the events are evaluated in this context, it is necessary to question the reasons of 2 young people's escape from police. As a summary, reducing of the news into the death of 2 young people can show the configuration of ideological reproduction in news discourse. All 2 newspapers tried to put their news into a context and they weakly referred to social inequality. "The normal life in Paris was destroyed by 2 youngs who escaped from police". This meaning was a configuration of ideological production and some weak points about social inequalities could not cover it.

To make the riots simple and to reduce them into personal level were also seen in the example of Interior Minister Nicholas Sarkozy. Personalization is clearly seen in all news. When the events were personalized, the background of it was kept. Some news reduced the reaction about social inequalities into some person. It was presented as if the real problem of activists was Sarkozy, not their life problems because of social inequalities. Also in the presentation of riots, a violence content story was obvious between Interior Minister Sarkozy and activists. French Government and activists were equated in terms of power balance. The power of activist was put to the level of French Government and what it has in its hand to cope with activists.

Basically, it is understandable that the newspapers want to support activists according to their attitudes in news texts.⁵ They presented excuses to legitimize the acts of activists. But when they want to do this, they also showed the activists as the people who spoil the law and order and the normal life of people. According to news, the source of violence is clearly activists. This is also stated by them. But for law and order, the government acts depended to regulations. In this point, the question emerges itself: "is not it the real source of violence French Government?" Actually, social inequalities and discriminations are violence itself. Thus, this kind of violence which was because of French Government was legitimized in news text. Also when newspapers try to support activists, they did not avoid to other activists. This attitude proposes the reproduction of the exist. This problem is a constructional problem for news establishments and the reason comes from the news production and writing practises. Because of this problem, newspapers could not avoid from these productions.

When they are technically checked, van Dijk's proposals were confirmed in news. News were presented with some numbers, photographs, etc. to prove the messages. But the photographs became the proof of the meanings which were produced in news texts. As a summary, the ideological meaning in photographs is "where rebellion happens, violence and

5 It is also possible to deduct that this attitude's reason can be the dominant approach of Turkey to France. Also the religion of activists can be shown as another reason. Some examples were found about this situation but they were not put into research area.

these kind of views can be the results". Gradually, law and order spoils, normal life turns into abnormal.

It is conceptually possible to understand the presentation of some events on the same ideological level by the newspapers which are ideologically close to each other. Because, media establishments cannot avoid ideological production and they produce the ideology according to their ideological atmosphere. Ideological atmosphere concept refers to the parallel position of ideological production and reproduction of news and the ideological construction of the media establishments. Thus, all media companies produce ideology, but its configuration can be different in different media companies. Media establishments are ideologically biased in news. This is a structural bias problem. For example the language of news cannot be neutral; it shapes our point of views and it refers that news cannot be presented objectively. It is also important to emphasize Hackett's (1985) idea about objectivity. He claims that it is better to discuss the meaning of objectivity before its application to news.

According to our results, the news that we analysed have a narrative disclosure (Bennett and Edelman 1985), they are typified, covered by dominant ideology and closed text (Eco cited in Fiske 1987: 94).

This study may bring a proposal. This kind of analysis can be more meaningful when it is built on a comparison study between different countries newspapers presentations. Analysis can be done on some topics/problems which are related to 2 countries or it can be organised on 2 different countries about their representation of an event which is about a 3rd country.

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