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Introduction

Ideologies, similar to grammars, norms and rules of natural languages, are socio-cognitive by nature. That is to say, ideologies are both cognitive because they involve basic principles of social knowledge, judgment, understanding and perception, and also social because they are shared by members of groups or institutions and related to socio-economic or political interests of these groups (Van Dijk, 1995:245).

Within this theoretical framework, Van Dijk’s approach to ideology can be located in a conceptual and interdisciplinary triangle that relates cognition, society and discourse. According to this triangle, ideologies are considered, primarily, as some kind of “system of ideas”, and hence occupy a place in cognition. Additionally, ideologies are clearly social and generally (though not always) are associated with group interests, conflicts or struggle. They may represent social problems and contradiction, or they may serve to legitimise or to resist power or dominance. Finally, the concept of ideology can be associated with language use, as can be seen in the claim that ideologies are typically expressed and reproduced in and through language. Undoubtedly, this does not imply that ideologies are expressed only by language, but it seems obvious that language use, among other social practices, plays a significant role in the reproduction of ideologies (Van Dijk, 1998:5).

Yet, language is not used in a contextless vacuum. Instead, it is used in discourse contexts that are constructed with the ideology of social systems and institutions. Since language operates within this social dimension, it has the property to reflect and construct ideology. In the context of this discussion, then, ideologies can be defined as “the basis of social representation shared by members of a social group” (Van Dijk, 1998:8). And language use, i.e. discourse performs a specific role in the reproduction of ideologies.

The role of discourse in the reproduction of ideology seems to be the focal point in studying and criticising social problems or processes. Ideologies manifest themselves at various levels of discourse. Among these levels, the level of meaning and reference plays a central role. Cognitive representations of attitudes may directly map on to semantic representations, and it is largely through meaning that also, the other, surface levels of discourse, such as those of syntax, phonology or graphical structures are affected by ideology (Kress and Hodge, 1993). On the other hand, both from a discourse analytical and socio-political point of view, it is
tempting to examine relations between discourse structures and ideological structures that
mediate power relations.

Discourse meanings are the products of selecting relevant parts of representational
models about events. That is, knowledge about events is mapped on verbally expressed
meanings of discourse, and hence partly constrained by the possible word and sentence
meanings in a given society or culture. Since representational models embody beliefs,
attitudes and knowledge which may in turn stem from such ideological models may embody
ideological aspects. Such ideological models may, for instance, manifest themselves by
meaning of texts for strategies that aim to emphasise or de-emphasise power relations by
playing down, leaving implicit or understanding responsible agency of powerful social
actors in the events represented in the text (Van Dijk, 1993:250). More specifically, at the
discursive level, the construction of the reality conveyed by mass media products has a great
impact on common people's constructions of their own discourses on the given topic. As
Potter and Wetherel claimed, ".... it looks at the subtle ways in which language orders our
perceptions and makes things happen and thus shows how language be used to construct and
create social interaction and diverse social worlds" (1987). In the process of the interaction
between the author and the reader, the task that should be fulfilled seems to be the
reconstruction of the reader's repertoire concerning the given topic, because most texts
convey assumptions about the nature of individual psychology (Banister and et al., 1995).

Meanings in discourse are usually represented in terms of propositions. Propositions
that represent the meanings of clauses and sentences have an internal structure, in which
various semantic roles may exhibit the ways participants are associated with an event in the
active or passive, or responsible positions, or as experiencers of events and actions. Such
semantic representations are seemingly a function of how events are interpreted and
evaluated in a given discourse, and therefore may be ideologically controlled in accordance
with the position or point of view of the participants as social actors. For example, semantic
roles of propositional arguments (as Agent, Patient/Goal) may be assigned depending on the
ideologically attributed roles in a discourse. Thus, in a social conflict different social actors
may be attributed different types or degrees of responsibility or involvement in positive or
negative actions. More precisely, if some of the social actors are consistently selected as
responsible. Agents of positive acts and non-responsible Patients of negative acts of
'Others', or vice versa for outgroup actors, then, the semantic structure becomes
significantly ideological (Sykes, 1985).

These biased properties of propositions can also be explained by the notions of
perspective, point of view, or position. More specifically, propositions are being constructed
from representational models as a function of the contextualized positions of the social actors,
and hence as a function of ideologically controlled beliefs, attitudes and knowledge, i.e. social
representations. In order to relate discourse and society, and hence discourse and reproduction of dominance, it is also tempting to examine the role of social representations in the minds of the subjects that populate the social world, due to the fact that social representations will also control the variable syntactic formulations of propositional structures in constructing discourses. Thus, in ideological communication there is manipulation by systematic mystification or de-mystification of meaning in recurring linguistic structures in an effort to impose a particular perspective from which social actors are expected to be perceived and experienced by the target audience.

Within this framework, the present study perceives the financial crisis experienced by the Turkish Society in February 2001 as a massive catastrophe. As a social phenomenon this financial crisis that hit the nation at all levels was discussed in detail in newspapers of all contentions. Within the broader framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, this study aims to investigate

a) how social actors in this social practice are represented in the newspaper discourse as a means of displaying different ideologies, and
b) what is the role of social representations nourished by these ideologies in the construction of the given discourse.

A detailed investigation of discourse strategies employed in newspapers in terms of the representations of social actors and their interpretation through the concept of social representation requires an interdisciplinary approach. Therefore, semantic role analysis helps to identify linguistically based representation of participant roles in sentences and then findings are explained by the social representation theory suggested by social psychologists. In this sense, semantic roles exhibit structural features that may serve to present social representations by assigning to the participants some special involvement in and responsibility for socio-political actions and events.

**Background to the Study**

In the year of 2000, the IMF directed stabilisation program extended into a three years period was put into force in Turkey. For the first 18 months of the program, the principle based on the fluctuation in foreign exchange rate in accord with the predetermined scheme was adopted in an effort to bring down inflation, which had reached three digits. Despite the fact that Turkey had created the impression that nothing undesirable would occur in terms of paying her depths of 17 billion dollars, the signs of crisis of confidence in economic and political life were noticeable at all levels of the society throughout the year of 2000. In the meantime, the New Year –2001- was welcomed. In January and February 2001 the situation was fairly calm; but it soon became evident that it was tranquility before the storm. In the end, on the 19th of
February, the dispute that took place between President Ahmet Necdet Sezer and Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit during the meeting at the National Security Council had its devastating repercussions on the domestic scene. On the 22nd of February 2001, Turkey was inevitably gave up the policy of fixed exchange rate and made a radical decision on opening the foreign currency market. This change in policy was announced by the Central Bank authorities as ‘flexible exchange rate’. This in real terms meant that the Turkish Lira was subjected to a 40 % devaluation . As a result, the IMF directed disinflation program came to a halt. In general terms, this was the situation when the 2001 financial crisis broke out.

It seems worth emphasising that Turkey’s 2001 financial crisis has two distinctive features in comparison with the financial crises experienced by other countries. First of all, the 2001 economic crisis is, in a high inflation setting, a problem of exchange of the state’s market interest-bearing domestic debt stock within a relatively modest financial system in considerably short periods of time. Secondly, in the process of applying the IMF directed stabilisation program the 2001 crisis manifests itself as a type of crisis triggered by the harmful consequences of developments political by nature. Loss of credence to the political parties, both in power and in opposition, has led to failure in producing efficacious political acts, and hence increase in social costs of the crisis (unemployment, poverty and so forth) (Celasun, 2001/2002:177).

In spite of IMF’s support and firm control, the breaking out of 2001 crisis fuelled heated discussions at all levels of the Turkish society. The focus of these discussion was mainly on the weakness in the technical design of the IMF directed program. More precisely, the projections related to reducing inflation and the foreign exchange rate scheme developed on the basis of these projections were considered as unrealistic. It was also a common belief that priorities concerning the structural reforms both economic and political in nature were not well determined and that fresh evidence to support the financial reserves was not sufficient to dissuade from great influx into foreign exchange (Celasun, 2001/2002:177). From the February 22, 2001 on, it was quite apparent that opening a new page and designing a new stabilisation program had been inevitable for the Turkish government.

The daily newspapers published on the February 26, 2001 reported Kemal Derviş’ appointment to the chairmanship of the Central Bank, with Bülent Ecevit’s words, as “A distinguished friend of ours is coming from the United States. We’re going to get acquainted with him.” In March 2001, Kemal Derviş was now in Turkey and his arrival was the focus of attention both in national and foreign press. Following a long negotiation with Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, Kemal Derviş was introduced to the public as the Minister of State responsible for the Turkish economy.
On the 20th of March 2001, ‘National Program’ of Turkey was proclaimed by Minister Derviş and by IMF authorities simultaneously in different localities. Thus, from March 2001 on, a new ‘stabilisation program’ supported by a larger sum of financial aid from IMF and World Bank has come into effect under the leadership of Kemal Derviş. The new program entails the issues of healing the imbalances both in state and private banking sectors, strengthening the control of financial institutions, and handling the charge of domestic debts as priorities. The reaction of markets seems rather encouraging; that is, there are signs that the economy has been improving. Yet, creating a more reliable political and economic environment, considering social balances, employing conciliatory methods of economic measures appear as the requirements that should be fulfilled in order to cope with both financial and social consequences of the 2001 crisis.

Following the February crisis the immediate appointment of Kemal Derviş – an international technocrat with any political affiliation- to the Ministry of State of financial affairs gained public’s support in great confidence. But the other side of the coin was not all roses. Symbolically, the name of Kemal Derviş labelled as the ‘imported’ Minister and the 2001 crisis considered as the failure of the IMF directed program itself triggered to call into question. The process of Turkish modernisation/westernization, the failure experienced in this process, the relationships with the West and its institutions, namely, the issues that have been under discussion since the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 up to the present in different political and ideological grounds.

**Turkish Modernisation / Westernisation**

World history, in modern terms, is the grand narrative of understanding civilisation on the basis of the western nations of nation-state/capitalism/rationality. History of the modern world, as Said (1978;1993) insistentely emphasises, is the attempt to construct the discourse of opposition between the western modernity and the non-western. This grand narrative is a cultural construct, which represents the understanding of the ‘other’ that should be controlled and constructed as the ‘cultural object’. That needs to be transferred into the modern. Said (1978) calls this discursive formulation of the ‘other’ as orientalism. In this sense, orientalism can be considered as a discourse that constructs and represents the ‘other’ or the ‘different’ as a non-western object. More precisely, orientalism is the name given to the construction of history which legitimises the discursive formation of the global hegemony of western modernity as essential (Kahraman and Keyman, 1998:66).

Orientalism is the Turkish context manifests itself as the identification of the West with the enlightenment. Just from the beginning of the modernisation process, even in the Ottoman Era, the West that the Ottoman intellectuals intended to attain were the ideals of the enlightenment.
Enlightenment is indeed a cosmopolitan tradition beyond the traditions of the national idea. Namely, enlightenment as a nation does not refer to a ‘national tradition’. Hence the identification of Europeanisation with the enlightenment was unavoidable for the Ottoman intellectuals. For them to become westernized also meant to be the advocate of enlightenment ideals.

The intellectuals of the Republican era, in this sense, are much the same with those of the Ottoman era. The westernization project transferred from the 1890’s to the republican era by the Turkish intellectuals has been undoubtedly an enlightenment project. In other words, westernization and Europeanisation became synonymous with the realisation of the idea of enlightenment. In Yavuz’s terms the failure experienced in the process of getting Europeanised stems from perceiving ‘Europe’ as a considerably narrow and restricted enlightenment project. According to Yavuz the adventure of Europeanisation for two hundred years resulted in orientalism; that is, we were not able to get westernised, but we became ‘orientalized’. Orientalism in the sense of perceiving ourselves through the eyes of the ‘European’ (Yavuz, 1998:101-102).

In this context of discussion, Turkish modernity is taken to mean the process of embracing and internalising all the social and cultural dimensions that made Europe/The West ‘Modern’ in an effort to participate in the West (Keyder, 1997:37). This implies that the modernisation project operates differently in non-Western contexts in the sense that it imposes a political will to ‘westernise’ cultural and social codes (Göle 1996:8). The ideology of positivism underlying the concept of modernisation attributes universality to Western civilisation and suggests that it can be applicable everywhere at any time. In this sense, the history of Turkish modernisation which displays thoroughly a civilisation conversion can be considered as one of the most radical examples of voluntary cultural shift. Here, the concept of civilisation designates the historical superiority of the West as the holder of modernity rather than referring to the historical relativism of individual cultures. In this respect civilisation does not seem to be a neutral, value-free concept; to the contrary it indicates the relation of power between the ‘western’ and the ‘non-western’ (Göle, 1998:63).

In non-western contexts, than the concept of civilisation encapsulates the idea of constant progress referring not only to a given state of development of western countries but also to an ideal to be attained. Thus, the main objective of Turkish modernisation, as Turkish modernists insistently stated, is to “reach the level of contemporary civilisation” is defined by the West (Göle, 1996:13). As a result the history of Turkish modernisation becomes a continuous effort to imitate, to westernise and to position the Turkish society in relation to presumed western superiority.
With reference to this orientalistic conception of modernity in the Turkish context, the ‘West’ represents an image or a series of images. More precisely, the ‘West’ encompasses the representation of different identities, societies, cultures such as modern, traditional civilised, savage, both in the visual and verbal discourse. In this perspective, the ‘West’ undertakes a function as a system of representation. On the other hand, it is generally observed that the West has been functioning as a model of comparing societies. These functions of the West have been employed as the dominant criteria in conceiving the similarities and differences among the societies; and the hence the West becomes the frame of reference in the sense that differences between non-western societies come to be evaluated in relation to their closeness or remoteness to westernity. But this serves a criterion of judgment more than an innocent comparison, and produces either positive or negative effects on the given society. The nations such as underdevelopment, traditionalism, backwardness, savagery, barbarism exhibit the judgmental characteristics of the given model of comparison, due to their function of defining the degrees of remoteness of the non-westerns to the western (Kahraman and Keyman, 1998:68).

Thus, modernisation in the Turkish context has been a concept and a process considered synonymous with westernisation. Interestingly enough, although westernisation is adopted by the Turkish modernists as the dominant route to follow, from time to time it has been relatively disregarded in comparison with the attitude toward modernisation. Therefore, it seems plausible to state that basically two approaches to the conceptualisation of westernization dominate the Turkish modernity project. One approach perceives westernization as an ideology and modernisation as an actional dimension and concrete evidence of it. The second approach on the other hand attributes teleological dimension to modernisation and refers to westernisation as the materialised form of it. As far as these to forms of characterisation are concerned, the complimentary nature of modernisation and westernization enables them concurrently to the legitimise each other. What seems word noticing in this connection is that whereas westernization provokes considerably, offensive reactions from some of the Turkish intellectual circles, modernisation as an abstract concept does not convey any signs of overt polarisation between the groups at the social level. For instance it is not uncommon to witness that the traditionalists and also the radical islamists do not avoid appropriating modernisation as an episteme, even though they tend to define it on the basis of different orientations (Kahraman, 2001:8-9).

Two causes might be relevant to these to representational models in the Turkish experience of modernisation. Firstly, the modernisation process in Turkey has been independently of the historical development that it followed in the western context. In other words, Turkish modernisation emerged independently from the contextual processes and was merely a mental appropriation as a premise. Therefore it used to serve solely an instrumental function, and
hence it is this instrumental function that makes modernisation to receive a general consent in certain Turkish contexts.

Concurrent to this perspective, the understanding of modernisation as an extension of westernization is also prevalent as a common social consent. According to this viewpoint, modernisation is interpreted as the reflection at various levels of the transformations that are indispensable to the act of importing the western system (Kahraman 2001:9-10). In consequence these two representational models of modernisation seemingly lead to two forms of discourse of modernity in the Turkish context: a discourse of modernity constructed on the basis of perceiving and using modernisation as a means of attaining the western knowledge of world as an ideal and a discourse of modernity taking modernisation as a process which performs an instrumental function independently of the original idea of westernization. In this context of discussion the present study aims to analyse these two forms of modernity discourse in an attempt to show the role of ideology in the construction of discourses.

Theoretical Background

The present study is located within the analytic paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis employed by Fowler et. al. (1979), Fowler (1991), Fairclough (1992;1995) and Van Dijk (1993;1996;1998). CDA has its roots in critical linguistics which encompasses the concept of discourse analysis that goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of how and why certain discourses are produced. The concept critical linguistics was first articulated by Fowler et. al. (1979) and Kress and Hodge (1979) who claim that discourse does not only reflect social structures and processes but also affirms, and hence reproduces them. Similarity Fairclough (1992), portrays a vision of discourse that is socially constituted and socially constitutive against the background of socio-cultural and political forces. For critical discourse analysts, discourse is not only a product of social processes but it contributes to the reproduction of these processes itself. Thus, CDA provides the necessary means for both unmasking the socio-political ideologies that have become entrenched and naturalised in discourse and indicating the role of language in this process of social construction.

In this line of reasoning, this study attempts to demonstrate how linguistic encoding in terms of semantic roles of reflects in ideological communication the act of imposing a particular perspective from which social events are expected to be perceived and in which social actors and relations are expected to be experienced by the targeted audience. In this sense, semantic role theory allows to identify linguistically based distribution of participant roles. Semantic roles exhibit structural features that may serve to present social representations by assigning to the social actors some special involvement in and responsibility for socio-political actions and events. Additionally an investigation of
ideologically characteristics of discourses under analysis in terms of semantic roles assigned to the social actors requires an interdisciplinary approach. Apart from carrying out a linguistic analysis, therefore, inside the social representation theory suggested by social psychologists are essential in exposing the ideologically based representation of social actors underlying the text structure as a site of hegemonic struggle.

**Semantic Role Theories**

Most of the syntactic theories deal with an argument list in which the arguments of a predicate are linked to an ordered list of variable categories. Each variable category corresponds to an argument in the syntax and to a ‘semantic role player’ (Napoli, 1989) in the situation identified by the predicate. In purely notional terms, it is possible to define a large number of roles that are played by the argument of a predicate. These are referred as ‘semantic roles’. Since grammatical roles are defined by their grammatical form, they are clearly identifiable and limited typologically in number (Palmer, 1994:5). Semantic roles, on the other hand, display differences in their notional definitions as well as inventory of these roles (Ilie, 1998:60). It is hardly known how many semantic roles are required to categorise all possible argument roles. In other words it seems difficult to justify independently the assignment of a particular noun phrase in a particular sentence to a particular semantic role (Dowty, 1989:70).

The best known attempts to carry out semantic role analysis, such as Fillmore’s semantics-based cased grammar (1968;1972), Chomsky’s syntax-based theta roles (1970;1980), Jackendoff’s (1987) localistic thematic relations, and Quirk et al’s (1985) semantic roles, aim to describe in various ways the syntactic relations between elements in a sentences and try to explain a number of syntactic and lexical regularities in the realisation of predicate-argument structures. Yet, all these studies can hardly suggest a systematic analysis of semantic roles as pragmatic features specific to certain types of discourse (Ilie, 1998:60). On the other hand, Sympon’s transitivity models (1993) Holliday’s functional approach (1994) and Van Dijk’s approach to critical discourse analysis (1993) are relatively recent studies that have dealt with the relationship between semantic roles, grammatical functions and pragmatic structures. What all this implies that the linguistic treatment of semantic roles seems to be debated issue. Therefore, we hold the same position with Palmer (1994:5) in the sense that the content and the number of semantic roles to be defined rests on the judgment of the researcher.

For the sake of brevity, holding the same position with Ilie (1998:59-61), we assume that the following statements are true:
1) Linguistically, semantic roles are cognitive notions that denote the relations between the predicates and their arguments acting as the representations of the participants involved in an event.
2) The content of semantic roles are relatively fixed.
3) The function of semantic roles is to mediate between semantic and syntactic representations.
4) The semantic role of an argument in sentences is indicated not only by the lexical structure of the predicate and by the conceptualisation of the given situation but also by the information structuring and the communicative purposes associated with the language user.

In the light of these statements, the semantic roles can be illustrated as:

**Agent** (A) is typically the ‘initiator’ or the cause of the action indicated by the verb. Agents are prototypically animate beings and there is, for that reason, often a close relationship between agency and animacy. Two more features that concern the Agents are volition and causation. This implies that the Agent is the only one among other semantic roles to act according to his/her own will to produce a certain effect. On the other hand, ‘experiencer’, ‘senser’, and ‘sayer’ can also be analysed as Agents because they refer to characteristics that are wholly restricted to animates (Palmer, 1994).

**Patient** (P) denotes the entity that is directly affected by the action identified by the verb or its endpoint.

**Goal** (G) denotes the receiver, destination of the transfer movement or result.

**Instrument** (I) represents the inanimate entity used by the Agent and causally involved in the action or state indicated by the verb.

**Source** (S) denotes the origin or starting point of a transfer movement.

**Location** (L) denotes the place of an event.

**Time** (T) denotes the time of an event.

Many linguists (Fillmore, 1968; Bresnan and Kanerva, 1989; Grimshaw, 1990; Sympon, 1991) assume that semantic roles form a natural precedence set, usually referred as semantic role hierarchy which is syntactically relevant in that the order of arguments in the argument list is identical of the roles they denote. The semantic role hierarchy may also be relevant to determining the (syntactic) status of an argument as external or internal (Grimshaw, 1990). In other words, the semantic role hierarchy determines which of the semantic roles associated with the predicate will occur in certain syntactic positions. In this sense, the semantic role hierarchy plays a significant role in the choice of grammatical categories –i.e., subject, direct object, indirect object- in the sentence. For example,
(1) John opens the door with the key.
(2) The key opens the door.
(3) The door opened.

These three sentences seem to describe the same event, but from different perspectives. These different perspectives lead to different patternings of semantic roles and grammatical categories with different syntactic functions in each case in accord with the perspective from which the event is perceived. Yet, in terms of the general agreement, semantic roles cover basically one meaning alone, that is, agent represents the doer of the action, while the patient represents the entity that is affected by some action or process, and so forth. Hence, John is the Agent and functions as subject and door is the Patient and functions as direct object in (1) and (2) and as subject in (3), and key is the Instrument and function as adverbial in (1) and as subject in (2).

With reference to a general semantic principle suggested by Fillmore (1968), in cases where both Patients and Agents, or both Instruments and Agents may be the cause of the action, if both are to be mentioned, the Agent takes the preference for the subject selection due to the fact that events are the results of the actions performed by intentional Agents. This implies that the Agents have the privilege to occupy the highest position in the sentence. On the other hand, it has been also suggested that Instruments (even locatives in some cases) occupying the subject positions can be analysed as Agents (Schlesinger, 1989; Cruse, 1973; Lyons, 1968). Hence, it seems plausible to state that there is a pragmatic role hierarchy along with the semantic role hierarchy determining the ways how pragmatic relations topic and focus and grammatical roles subject and object overlap (Lambrecht, 1995:146). Concurrent to this view, forms of social, political and cultural organisation also imply a hierarchy of power, similar to the semantic roles interacting in accord with certain hierarchies (Van Dijk, 1993: 225). Within this theoretical framework, the present study carries out a pragmatic analysis of ideologically based linguistic patterning of semantic roles assigned to the social actors with special reference to newspaper discourse.

Social Representation Theory

The term of “social representation” refers to the manner in which values, ideas, and practices are structured in and by ordinary communication, allowing people to both communicate and to order their world. Daily discourse is to be understood in the broadest possible manner, ranging from immediate conversation to mediated conversation (i.e. mass media). The particular focus of social representations is on the content of such discourse and in particular what happens to this content in the process of daily discourse: representation is regarded as a special category of knowledge and beliefs. It is essentially knowledge that is to be found in ordinary communication. Furthermore, the structure of
this knowledge is assumed to correspond to that found in ordinary communication (Manstead and Hewstone, 1999). Serge Moscovici defines social representations as “systems of values, ideas, and practices with a two-fold function: first to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in and master their material world, and second, to facilitate communication among members of a community by providing them with a code for naming and classifying the various aspect of their world and their individual and group history” (Moscovici, 1984). Thus, social representations provide a position or perspective from which an individual or group can observe and interpret events and situations. As reference points social representations enable orientation by furnishing specific interpretative views of the social and physical world.

Data Base

In modern societies, in the process of social reproduction the media perform a function that is both ideological and political. Ideologically, the media continually process materials produced in social life so as to integrate them into consistent ideological systems. In other words, the media attempt to shape and influence the ideological structure of the society in which they act. Politically, the media try to make sense of the world for others, namely the consumers of the media products. In doing so the media tend to shift readers from adherence to ideological positions or to cement them more firmly in their allegiance to ideological affiliations. In so far ideologies are tied into and arise out of social and material practice and give impression and articulation to them, the media inevitably have a political effect on social production (Kress, 1983: 43).

Along with journalistic news, values, perceptions, prejudices and cognitive strategies contribute to the representation of social actors as competing forces in the construction of media discourse. Through media discourse most readers, in turn, tend to adopt these social representations, construct cognitive models for them and generalise them with their own beliefs and attitudes. It may be this ‘symbolic power’ of the media that enables us to explain their specific role in the reproduction of ideology (Van Dijk, 1989:203-204). Thus, the media discourse, primarily in terms of a struggle for power between competing social forces, is both shaped by this struggle and, in turn influences the course of this struggle. More precisely, the mass media affect and are affected by power relations within the social system. Therefore, the media order of discourse can usefully examined as the domain of cultural power and hegemony (Fairclough, 1995:67). In this vein, the media discourse provides fertile grounds for an ideologically oriented discourse analysis (Oktar, 2001:321; Goregenli, 1999).

The present analysis has been carried on the opinion-editorial (op-ed) articles that appeared in three daily newspapers with different ideological orientations, during February and March.
2001. Following the line of the Kemalist ideology, Cumhuriyet (The Republic) is an adherent of the Turkish Republic based on a democratic and secular system of government. In this sense Cumhuriyet identifies itself with the secularist side of Turkish society which favors the values of nation-state, democracy, freedom, equality, rule of law, human rights, peace, and so forth. Akit (The Covenant) positions itself on the side of radical Islamists, and hence is an adherent of Sheria. Sabah, can be positioned within the triangle of liberalism-democracy-free market, and hence follows the line of the trends towards ‘globalisation’.

On examining the semantic patterns manifested in the sample texts, we have focused on linguistically based distribution of semantic roles as the social representations of the actors involved in the 2001 financial crisis as a socio-political phenomenon. The data base comprises 45 texts (15 op-ed articles from each newspaper under investigation) dealing with “the 2001 financial crisis and its social consequences”.

Findings and Discussions

The semantic role analysis carried on the op-ed articles appeared in the Cumhuriyet, Akit and Sabah showed that the 2001 financial crisis involved two specific sets of social actors. In order to specify the pattern of semantic role allocation to these sets of social actors in the op-ed articles under analysis, it seems necessary to label the various ways in which each category of social actor is represented under a common denominator. These common denominators merely serve as an anchor for analysis (Van Leeuwen, 1996:33). For the purposes of analysis, therefore, we called ‘the West’ those social actors such as, Kemal Derviş, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, European Union (EU), United States of America (ABD), foreign authorities (e.g. American Ambassador, The Director of IMF, etc.,); and we called the other set of social actors as ‘us’ such as the financial crisis, Turkey, Turkish economy, Turkish public/people, the government, Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit, the opposition, and so forth.

We should emphasise that is not our intention in this study to treat texts statistically. Yet, what seems worth stating is that the frequency the occurrence of social actors vary according to the stages of the writers’ arguments. For instance, in cases where the writers discuss the Government’s policy or the reasons for and consequences of the financial crisis ‘us’ is frequently foregrounded; but as soon as the writers move their discussions to the activities of the ‘West’, ‘us’ is frequently backgrounded deleted. Therefore, we tried to integrate the pattern of foregrounding and backgrounding with the way in which the given social actors are semantically represented in an effort to show the socio-political relations between them.

The findings of our semantic role analysis are in consistent with the semantic principle which states that representations can endow social actors either active or passive roles. In Van Leeuwen’s terms, activation occurs when social actors are represented as active, dynamic
forces in an activity and passivisation when they are represented as ‘undergoing’ the activity, or as being ‘at the receiving end of it’ (1996:43-45). In terms of semantic roles, the activated social actors are encoded as Agents in actional processes (identifier/carrier in relational processes), whereas passivated social actors are encoded as Patients or Goals. Let’s start the discussion with the examples of the activated social actors in the ‘us’ category as represented in the Cumhuriyet texts. It seems necessary to state that the cited sentences include only for social actors that exhibit the highest frequency of occurrence in the texts appeared in all three newspaper.

(1) **Türkiye’nin** akıllı bir komutana … ihtiyacı var.  
AGENT PATIENT PROCESS: MATERIAL  
(Turkey needs a clever commander...)

(2) **Ecevit** IMF güdümlü politikalari üretmede zorlanıyor.  
AGENT PATIENT PROCESS: MATERIAL  
(Ecevit experiences difficulties in evolving the IMF directed policies.)

(3) **Ülke** yıllardır yorulmuştur.  
AGENT circumstances PROCESS: MATERIAL  
(The country (Turkey) has got tried for years)

   **Ülke** krizlerle vurulmuştur.  
PATIENT instrument PROCESS: MATERIAL (Passive)  
(The country has been badly hit by crises)

   **Ülkenin** gücü kalmamış  
AGENT PATIENT PROCESS: MATERIAL  
(The country lost her strength)

   **Ülke** umudunu kaybetmiş  
AGENT PATIENT PROCESS: MATERIAL  
(The country lost its hope)

   Cumhuriyet March 2, 2001

(4) **Frenleri patlayan ekonomimiz** bir kurtarıcı arıyor  
AGENT PATIENT PROCESS: MATERIAL  
(Our economy whose brakes are loosened is looking for a savior)

   Cumhuriyet March 3, 2001

(5) **(Başbakanımız Ecevit)** hükümetin beceriksizliğiyle  
AGENT circumstances  
(his government’s incompetence)
Our Prime Minister Ecevit made the bureaucrats pay for the price of the crisis hitting the people gradually as a consequence of the government’s incompetence, then...

(Prime Minister Ecevit preferred to assign someone who has worked abroad rather than the well-trained and respectful people among us for finding out solutions to the crisis)

(Prime Minister, due to the demands of World Bank and IMF, hands over the 17th (stabilisation) program to Kemal Derviş)

(The Prime Minister did not avoid regarding the IMF as a must of the world and praised it)

As the cited examples indicate, in the Cumhuriyet the social actors in the ‘us’ category are represented as Agents, and hence foregrounded. Some of these Agents preserve their characteristic features such as ‘volition’ and ‘initiation’ as in the examples 2, 5, 6, 7 and 8. Therefore they are treated as the dynamic forces acting upon the present social phenomenon that the Turkish society has been facing. Yet, some other group of Agent roles, as in the examples of 1, 3, and 4, assigned to the social actors in the ‘us’ category cannot be treated as real- Agent roles because they refer to events, locations, or to institutions, and hence cannot be attributed any volition, initiative, or responsibility for performing the action indicated by the verb.

These non-Agentive roles, at the semantic level, enable us to state that an argument can be assigned double or multiple semantic roles (Jackendoff, 1987; Schlesinger, 1989). More
precisely, an inanimate and unintentional argument, such as Location or Instrument, can be promoted to the Agent role, and thus attributed animation and intention. Pragmatically, co-assigning the Agent role to Location or Instrument implies the depersonification of real-Agents.

It is also, worth noting that the social actors in the ‘West’ category are demoted to the Goal or Patient role, as in the examples 1, 4, 6, 7, and 8, in relation to the social actors in the ‘us’ category.

The social actors in the ‘us’ category have been represented almost similarly in the Akit’s and Sabah’s texts, as illustrated in the following examples:

(9) **Kendini hardt sanan çaylakların elinde** Türkiye
AGENT        PATIENT
fakru zaruret içinde bitap hale düştürüldü.
circumstance PROCESS: MATERIAL

(Incompetent politicians who think themselves in power brought poverty and exhaustion on Turkey)

(10) **Sevr şartlarına...** geri döndü
PROCESS: MATERIAL

(We turned back to the conditions of the Sevres)

... **Ulusal bağımsızlık** sadece
IDENTIFIED

**sarkılarda kalan bir hayal** mi (idi)?
IDENTIFIER Question PROCESS: Relational marker

(National independence, does it remains as a dream only in the songs?)

Akit March 3, 2001

(11) **Ecevit gibi solcu, devletçi, milliyetçi, halkçı, Atatürkçü birinin**
AGENT

**Ekonomiyi** kapitalizme ve kapitalistlere uluslar arası sermayeye.
PATIENT GOAL
teslim ediyor
PROCESS: MATERIAL

(A person like Ecevit who is leftist, etatist, nationalist, populist, and advocate of Atatürk hands over the economy to capitalism and capitalists, to the international capital)

Akit March 10, 2001
(12) **Türkiye** sıkıştığı zaman dünyanın öbür ucunda da olsa
AGENT TIME LOCATION

*bağlı insanı* bulabiliyor
PATIENT PROCESS: MATERIAL

(When in trouble Turkey can find the successful person even though he is at the far end of the earth)

(13) **emleket** yanıyor
AGENT PROCESS: MATERIAL

(The whole country is burning)

Sabah March 1, 2001

(14) **Türkiye** *Kemal Derviş’in göreve başlamasıyla* rahat
AGENT INSTRUMENT circumstance

bir nefes aldı
PROCESS: MATERIAL

(Turkey breathed a sigh of relief with Kemal Derviş’s starting to work)

Sabah March 4, 2001

(15) **Sivası yap** *Kemal Derviş’in kişiliğinde başlayan yeni ekonomi yönetimi hamlesini* içine sindirmiş değilir
AGENT PATIENT

PROCESS: MATERIAL

(The political structure has not digested yet the attempt of new arrangements in the economy initiated by Kemal Derviş)

Sabah March 4, 2001

(16) **Muhalefetin tümü iktidarın bazı ortakları**
AGENT
toplumsal uzlaşma ve siyasi uyuma ihtiyaç duyduğunu her firsatta ifade eden GOAL

*Derviş’in karşısına şimdi den dikilecekleri sinyallerini vermeye* GOAL

başlamadılar mi?
PROCESS: MATERIAL question marker

(Didn’t the opposition as a whole and some parties in the coalition in power start showing the signs of objection to Derviş who insistently expresses the need of social consent and political stabilisation ?)

Sabah March 8, 2001
(17) **Hükümet** devalüasyon yaparak toplumla olan mukavelesini bozdu

AGENT: **Hükümet**
Circumstance: devalüasyon yaparak
PATIENT: toplumla olan mukavelesini
PROCESS: bozdu

(The government violated the social contract by devaluing the Turkish Lira)

Sabah March 10, 2001

(18) **Hükümet** Kemal Dervişi Amerika’dan getirip ekonomiden sorumlu Devlet Bakanı yaparak yeni bir şansı yarattı

AGENT: **Hükümet**
PATIENT: Kemal Dervişi
SOURCE: Amerika’dan getirip
Circumstance: ekonomiden sorumlu Devlet Bakanı yaparak
GOAL: yeni bir şansı yarattı

(The government provided the grounds for a new chance by calling Kemal Dervişi from the USA and assigning him to the Ministry of State responsible for the economy)

Sabah March 10, 2001

With reference to the findings of the semantic role analysis of the social actors in the ‘us’ category, we can state that in all three newspapers under investigation ‘the government’ with the highest frequency of occurrence is rarely backgrounded and represented not only generically but also individualised and nominated, that is, personified in the name of the Prime Minister, which helps implicitly to manipulate the readers in the sense of realising the highly active role of the government in particular, and power-holders in general, in this desperate situation due to the financial crisis experienced by the whole nation. As to ‘Turkey’ as the activated social actor in this category is also frequently foregrounded and most often represented generically which serves to identify the referents globally without differentiating individual actors, and hence to legitimise the devastating consequences of the 2001 financial crisis in particular, and the wrong-doings of power holders in general, on the Turkish nation as a whole.

An interesting finding in the present analysis involves the representation of the passivated social actors in the “West”- category in relation to the activated social actors in the “us”- category. It is clearly seen in the cited examples as well that in the cases where the West demoted to the Goal, or patient, or the Instrument role is often treated not as The “victim” but as “beneficiary” that benefited often positively from the action identified by the verb. For example, in (1)... *a clever commander...*, in (4)... *a Savior...*, in (5)... *someone who has worked abroad...*, in (7)... *to Kemal Derviş...*, in (8)... *IMF as a must...* seem to have rewarded rather then victimised even though they are allocated to the Goal/Patient role occupying the indirect or direct object positions in the given sentences.
A closer inspection of these examples, however, displays the different attitudes of the newspapers towards the social actors in the West category the Cumhuriyet and the Akit seeming hold a negative attitude towards the act of assigning Kemal Derviş to minister of state and the stabilisation program formulated by him, whereas the Sabah perceives Kemal Derviş as an ‘opportunity’ for Turkey. These differences in attitude between the three newspapers manifests itself more sharply in the representation of social actors in the West category.

The findings of the semantic role analysis carried as the social actors in the West category indicate that ‘Kemal Derviş’ is represented with the highest frequency of occurrence. As expected, in this representation Kemal Derviş is highly activated functionalised, individualised and nominated in the Agent role, as the following examples illustrate:

(19) **Son patron Derviş** ekonomiye acil önlemler adı altındaaki açıklamalarında

AGENT  LOCATION

daha çok mali piyasalardaki durgunlaşmayı hedef aldı...

circumstance  PATIENT  PROCESS: MATERIAL

(D)aha ilk hamlede **Derviş’in İmefesel Ulusal Programı**

LOCATION  AGENT

hemen herşeyin fiyatını etkileyerek akaryakıt zamını otomatiğe takmış

circumstance  PATIENT  PROCESS: MATERIAL

(The last Boss Kemal Derviş stressed the economic stagnation in the domestic markets in his speeches under the topic of urgent measures for the economy... (E)ven in the first attempt Derviş’s IMF directed National Program affected the price of almost everything and caused automatic increase in petroleum prices)

Cumhuriyet March 16,2001

(20) **IMF** başarısız oldu.

AGENT  PROCESS: MATERIAL  TIME  PATIENT

**Dünya Bankası ve uluslararası sermaye**

AGENT

üstlenecek. Derviş de onların sözcüsü olarak bu sürece

PROCESS: MATERIAL  AGENT  circumstance  PATIENT

yer alacak... Derviş iki taraf arasında arapülçülük

PROCESS: MATERIAL  AGENT  LOCATION  PATIENT

yapacak... Derviş bir ‘key man’ rolü oynayacak.

PROCESS: MATERIAL  AGENT  PATIENT  PROCESS: MATERIAL
(IMF failed. Now, World Bank and the international owners of capital will take over this duty. Derviş will participate in this process as their spokesman. Derviş will act as a go-between on the two sides. Derviş will play the role of a ‘key man’)

Akit March 10, 2001

(21) **Prof. Kemal Derviş**

AGENT          GOAL          PROCESS: MATERIAL
yangını söndürmeye                        geliyor.

(Prof. Kemal Derviş is coming to put off the fire)

Sabah March 1, 2001

(22) **Kemal Derviş**  *Hazine ve Merkez Bankası yetkilileriyle*

AGENT          PATIENT

**görüşerek...**  
(Kemal Derviş)  yeni stand-by düzenlemesi için  
PROCESS: MATERIAL  AGENT  circumstance

**Carlo Cottarelli Başkanlığındaki IMF heyetiyle**  
GOAL  
masaya oturacak.  
PROCESS: MATERIAL

(Derviş),  
AGENT  TIME  
dış kaynak arayışları için tura çıkacak. Evet bugün itibariyle ekonomide  
circumstance  TIME

*yeni bir dönem*  
AGENT  
başlıyor.  
PROCESS: MATERIAL

Yeni kaptan, yeni ekip ve yeni bir programla  
**Türkiye**  
AGENT

önündeki zorlukları  
PATIENT  
aşmaya çalışacak  
PROCESS: MATERIAL

(Kemal Derviş will negotiate with the authorities of Treasury and Central Bank. Then Kemal Derviş will negotiate with the IMF delegation under the Directory of Carlo Cottarelli about the new arrangements in the stand-by agreement. After the new agreement signed by IMF, Derviş will tour round countries for the foreign aid. Yes, starting with today, a new era starts. With a new captain, new team and a new program Turkey will try to overcome the difficulties she is faced with)

Sabah March 3, 2001

(23) **Kurtarıcı Derviş**

AGENT  
ilk mucizesini  
PATIENT

hükümeti kurtararak  
göstermiştir.  
circumstance  PROCESS: MATERIAL

(Kemal Derviş the Savior performed his first miracle by saving the Government)

Sabah March 10, 2001
It is clear in these cited examples that Kemal Derviş, materially or symbolically, acts upon ‘Turkey’ in relation to only one action, the act of ‘healing’. This representation endows Kemal Derviş an active role treating him as a dynamic force in the activity which Turkey is passivated.

Kemal Derviş is also represented in the agentless passive constructions which display a perspective from which the Agent is deleted altogether. The following cited examples illustrate that Agent role is absent from the surface structure of the passive sentences. There is, however, a subsequent promotion of the Patient that performs the function of subject in the sentences:

(24) **Dünya Bankasının 26 başkan yardımcısından biri olan Derviş,***

PATIENT-SUBJECT

ülkesinin yoğun bakımındaki ekonomisini bir an önce oksijen çadırından çıkarması için circumstance

Ankara’ya çağrılmıştı.

LOCATION PROCESS: MATERIAL/PASSIVE

(Derviş who is one of the 26 vice presidents of World Bank was invited to Ankara for the purpose of getting his country’s economy out of the oxygen tent, which is the intensive care unit.)

Cumhuriyet 2 Mart, 2001

(25) **Merkez Bankası için çağrılan Derviş***

PATIENT-SUBJECT

ekonomiden sorumlu bakan yapıldı.

GOAL PROCESS: MATERIAL/PASSIVE

(Derviş who had been invited for the Central Bank was assigned to the Ministry of State responsible for the economy)

Akit March 5, 2001

(26) **Kemal Derviş***

PATIENT-SUBJECT

Amerikalardan SOURCE

buralara çağrıldı.

GOAL PROCESS: MATERIAL/PASSIVE

(Kemal Derviş was invited here from USA)

Akit March 8, 2001

(27) **Derviş***

PATIENT-SUBJECT

Ankara’da LOCATION

bir kurtarıcı, Mehdi gibi karşılandı.
As the cited examples indicate, the passive constructions encountered in the op-ed articles under analysis exhibit primarily one semantic role, e.i... The Patient/Goal that functions syntactically as the subject of the sentence, while the real-life Agents are systematically absent, being ruled out as unnecessary. In the other words, the real agents are removed from the surface structure of the sentences, and hence they are disfunctionalised in terms of the actions expressed by the verbs.

Thus, the deletion of the real-life Agents that are actually refer to the Turkish Government personified in the person of the Prime Minister and promotion of Kemal Derviş to the agent

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position fulfilling the function of the subject implies the dominancy of Kemal Derviş in particular, the ‘West’ in general over The Turkish Government, as far as the given activities are concerned. Symbolically, Turkey as a destitute patient. (e.i, a heavily sick person) is urgently in need of a doctor, i.e. Kemal Derviş/ the ‘West’ to get cured.

Finally, Kemal Derviş is also represented heavily in relational processes which establish a relation between two entities or between an entity and a quality as a manifestation of the activities of mind, making classifications and judgments, as illustrated in the following examples:

(30) [Kemal Derviş] (y)ıllardır Türkiye’de ve dünyada bilgisi ve birikimiyile
IDENTIFIED LOCATION IDENTIFIER
kendisini kantlamış, saygınlık kazanmış bir uzman
IDENTIFIER PROCESS: MATERIAL/PASSIVE
(Kemal Derviş is an expert who proved his accumulation of knowledge in economics and hence gained self-respect both in Turkey and in the world)
Cumhuriyet March 2, 2001

(31) Derviş Dünyanın önde gelen bürokratı
IDENTIFIED IDENTIFIER
Dünya Bankası ile IMF neredeyse kardeş kuruluşlar
IDENTIFIED IDENTIFIER PROCESS: RELATIONAL
(Derviş is a foremost bureaucrat of World Bank. World Bank and IMF are almost the cognate institutions.)

(32) Kemal Derviş Ecevit’in siyasal geleceğinin mihenk taşı
IDENTIFIED IDENTIFIER PROCESS
(Kemal Derviş is the touchstone of Ecevit’s political future.)
Cumhuriyet March 7, 2001

(33) Kemal Derviş de Halide Edip’le aynı kökten geliyor.
IDENTIFIED IDENTIFIER PROCESS
(Kemal Derviş is a person of the same origin with Halide Edip.)

(34) Kemal Derviş Mabed Şövalyeleri ile arası iyi biri olsa gerek.
IDENTIFIED IDENTIFIER PROCESS
(Kemal Derviş must have been a person who is in good terms with Knights Temples.)
Akit March 3, 2001
(35) **İthal kurtarıcı** herhalde Ecevit’ın aklına gelen ilk çare [dir].

(The imported savior is perhaps the remedy that comes first to Ecevit’s mind.)

(36) **Derviş** adeta bir Duyûn-u Umumiye Komiseri, bir kayyum [dur].

(Uluslar arası sermayenin atadığı olarak.

(Derviş is just like a government inspector of general debts, an administrator/trustee assigned by international centres of power, by international owners of capital)

(37) **Derviş** bir sabatay ve mason [dur]

(Derviş is a Sabbatarian and a Freemason.)

Akit March 10, 2001

(38) **Derviş** halka temsil etmiyor.

**Derviş** iktidarı da temsil etmiyor.

**Derviş’in misyonu** kendini gönderenlerin reçetesini iktidarı da kullanarak topluma kabul ettmekle sınırlı [dir].

(Derviş does not represent the [Turkish] people. Derviş does not also represent the Government. Derviş’s mission is restricted to make the public approve the prescription of those who sent him, using the Government as a tool. He represents the wind blowing from the USA.)

Akit March 11, 2001

(39) **İftaiveci** Kemal Derviş [dir].

(The fireman is Kemal Derviş.)

Sabah March 1, 2001
Derviş güvenilir, deneyimli, uzman, siyasi koşullar elverdiği taktirde başarı olan bir isim [dir] process: relational

(Derviş is a name (person) who is trustworthy, experienced, an expert and the one who has the chance of being successful, if the political conditions have been suitable.)

Sabah March 4, 2001

Şimdi ümidimiz Derviş'te [dir].

(Now, Derviş is our hope)

Sabah March 5, 2001

Derviş'e köstek olmak ülkenin bu ekonomik krizden siyasal sistemimiz tamamen berhava olmadan çıkması için önüne duran şansı göz kırmadan yok etmek [dir].

(To impede Derviş means with no hesitation to lose the chance of the country (Turkey) to overcome the present financial crisis without our political system being blown up.)

Sabah March 15, 2001

As the cited examples illustrate, the relational processes apparently manifest biased identifications and descriptions, and hence provide the grounds for ‘bias’ to be located and demonstrated in the discourse (Hodge and Kress, 1993). As mentioned previously, relational processes serve to represent the acts of classification and judgment. This can be interpreted as a typical sign of power ideology which expresses the activities and goals of a social group against others so that it foregrounds the difference or conflict between us and them (Oktar, 2001:326), i.e., between Turkey as a ‘patient’ in the position of the object and doctor the West as a powerful doctor personified in the person of Kemal Derviş in the subject position. In this doing so the newspapers tend to show sharp distinctions in accord with their ideological affiliations.

As the examples presented so far demonstrate the semantic configurations in the representation of social actors both in the ‘Us’ category and the ‘West’ category indicate that three of the newspapers employ almost similar linguistic devices and strategies in the constructing their discourses. In other words, the role allocation process operates similarly in the discourse of the Cumhuriyet, the Akit and The Sabah in the sense that the social actors...
in both categories are endowed with either active or passive roles. Yet, in this process of role allocation all these newspapers rest upon entirely different points or reference seemingly determined by ideologies they are affiliated. With reference to the findings obtained from the analysis of social representations this difference can be explained by the concept of ‘naming processes’ suggested by social representation theory. Then, within the framework of social representation theory, while constructing its discourse against the ‘West, the ‘Akit’ makes historical and cultural references that will trigger the negative social representations of the West in the minds of its readers. For example, in the Akit’s discourse, the West is represented as the ‘other’ through the act of classifying IMF, World Bank and their spokesman Kemal Derviş under the same category. Two types of naming operate in the familiarizations process of Kemal Derviş as a ‘foreigner’ as an ‘unknown’.

Firstly, the description of today’s Turkey as one of the dominant social actors in the ‘Us’ category has connotations of the situation in ‘Anatolia’ in the years of War of Independence/ National Independence, a period in which Turkey historically encounters with the West as the ‘other’ for the first time as in

“Incompetent politicians who think themselves in power brought poverty and exhaustion on Turkey. We turned back to the conditions of the Sevres. National independence, does it remains as a dream only in the songs?”

In this line of reasoning, Western countries and Kemal Derviş who works in collaboration with them are represented with reference to the ‘United West’ in those ‘War’ years and their domestic collaborationists, as in

“Crisis hits everybody. The National Treasury is in a desperate situation. Halide Edip advocated a year ago to hand over these issues to the USA. If Halide Edip had been alive today she would have suggested to hand over the Turkish Central Bank to the American Ministry of Treasury and to replace the American ‘dollar’ with the Turkish Lira. Now then want to assign Kemal Derviş to the directory of Central Bank. Kemal Derviş is from the same origin from Halide Edip.” (Akit March 3, 2001)

It is clear that the identification of Kemal Derviş with Halide Edip who advocated the concept of ‘mandate’ referring to the collaboration with Britain in the declining period of the Ottoman Empire has been used as an important familiarisation tool. This familiarisation tool is at work also in identifying Kemal Derviş to be perceived as a collaborationist, the second type of naming process remarkable as in,
“...different possibilities come to mind... Do the external forces send Kemal Derviş on purpose in order to take the control of economy which they consciously brought to fail completely?” (Akit March 7, 2001)

and also as in,

“Derviş is just like a government inspector of general debts, an administrator/trustee assigned by international centers of power, by international owners of capital.”

The second type of naming process remarkable to the Akit’s discourse is its construction on the basis of the concept of Kemal Derviş’s being ‘foreign’, an ‘outsider’ as in,

“Derviş is a Sabbatarian and a Freemason. Derviş does nor represented the [Turkish] people. Derviş does not also represented the Government. Derviş’s mission is restricted to make the public approve the prescription of those who sent him, using the Government as a tool. He represents the wind blowing from the USA. Kemal Derviş must have been a person who is in good terms with Knights Templars.” Akit March 11, 2001

In the social representation of Kemal Derviş’s ‘foreignness’ or ‘outsiderness’ , The Akit basically rests upon the religious or mythical references as a familiarisation tool in constructing in its discourse. This social representation confirms Yağcıoğlu and Değer’s findings (2001) that by prioritising emotions, or pathos as a mode of proof, the writers of the Akit construct the discursive space of the mythos code as devoid of argumentation (p.850).

As the voice of political Islam the Akit represents the West on the basis of one underlying principle: total rejection of the West and hence Westernisation as expressed in,

“Let’s not humiliate ourselves before anybody for money. If necessary, let’s endure the hardship. Let’s not concede our honor, our self-respect, our personality, our independence. Let’s not enter into their service. Let’s not make them exploit us. Let’s not give them permission to inspect us whenever they want and to give their verdicht as state governs in our country.” Akit March 10, 2001

The Cumhuriyet constructs its discourse of ‘otherness’ in terms of the West in more or less similar to do that of the Akit’s, but with a vitally important difference. The social representations construct by the Cumhuriyet are definitely based upon the theme of ‘Economic Independence’. As in the discourse of the Akit, IMF, World Bank and their spokesman Kemal Derviş as the ‘unknown’ have been familiarised by means of collective symbols referring to the past. But unlike to the Akit the period after the War of Independence in which Westernization
in political and cultural terms articulated by economic independence was appropriated as a state policy underlies the naming process exhibited in the Cumhuriyet’s discourse, as in

“The only distinguished period in our history is the period between 1920 and 1945. During this period in which full independence was the underlying principle, poor Turkey while struggling with the formation of their national economy and industry, she paid all her debts of millions of golden liras, inherited from the Ottomans. Cumhuriyet March 5, 2001

Thus as the voice of Kemalist ideology the Cumhuriyet constructs its discourse of the model of modernisation in which Kemalism as the ideology constituted the Turkish Republic embraces the attempt of creating a modern nation-state, industrialisation and the triangle of modern-secular-national identity, within the framework of intrinsic characteristic of the western modernity. (Kahraman and Keyman 1998 : 67)

Concurrent to this perspective, in the representation of the West personified in the person of Kemal Derviş, the Cumhuriyet approaches the theme of ‘foreignness’ in terms of his scientific knowledge of economics and his ‘expertise’. This also confirms YaşançĞlu and Değer (2001) in the sense that the Cumhuriyet has been the defender of the cultural rationalisation emanating from the permeation of scientific knowledge and its emancipatory effect on traditional habits of thought and social realisation embodied in the eradication of the political authority of the divine will and the establishment of the republican form the government (p. 820-21) Thus, the Cumhuriyet constructs the social representations against Kemal Deviṣ’s foreignness and ‘expertise’ on the idea that there are people of the same quality with Kemal Derviş in Turkey, as in

“In today’s Turkey one can find a great number of experts in the field of economy and finance, who bear the same qualifications.” The Cumhuriyet March 2, 2001

In this line of reasoning, the Akit and the Cumhuriyet rest on entirely different points of reference while constructing their discourse of opposition to the West as social representations. While the theme of different religions and united but different world underlies the Akit’s social representations of the West, the construction of the Cumhuriyet’s social representations is based on the advocacy of economic independence against imperialistic policies represented by the West. It is in this sense that the Cumhuriyet makes references to the past and represents or names IMF and World Bank as organisations which lead to economic and political dependence to the West. The same attitude of the Cumhuriyet manifests itself in the process of naming the social representations of the dictionary meanings of the word Derviş as a ‘beggar’ in the sense
of dependency and indistinctive policies dependent on the West, whereas the Akit emphasises the meaning of Derviş as a member of tariqat referring to the West as a tariqat.

In the Sabah’s discourse, the West or the other is represented as the ‘opponents’ of the West in Turkey. The familiarisation mechanisms employed in the construction of the social representations are most often based on ‘rationalism’ and hence the economic relationships with the West has been defined as ‘rational’ and the opposing wives as ‘irrational’ as in,

“The situation that becomes more difficult, more serious has two characteristics. One is related to a political culture based on rentier, centralism and congregationalism.

...The second characteristic concerns holding a position against the West far from all sorts of ‘rationalism’. This is an understanding of Westernization with the West.

Is it possible to explain... some of opponents groups’ questioning Derviş’s American identity and his being the representative of the American will without referring to this type of authoritarian and schizophrenic mentality... This what they called the Orientalistic model of Westernisation. “ Sabah March 8, 2001

Thus, the Sabah’s discourse is constructed basically on the representation of the West which treats ‘rationality’ as the underlying principle on the impossibility of economic policies fully independent due to the globalism trends in today’s world. Finally, the construction of the social representations concerning Kemal Derviş rests on his ‘self-sacrifice’, a human characteristic of sublimity, as in

“Kemal Derviş left his coveted position in World Bank ... He came here as soon as the need arose. This is a sign of his perfect personality.” The Sabah March 5, 2001

In the light of the discussion so far, it seems plausible to state that the formal structures of ideological language remain identical regardless of the contents in the discourses of the Cumhuriyet, the Akit and the Sabah (Oktar 2001 : 344). That is in three of the discourses the representation of social actors are constructed on the basis of the similar choices of semantic configurations such as activation, passivation, generalisation, nomination, fictionalisation, identification, impersonalisation and so forth. Yet, differences between the discourses of three newspapers occur in the choices of frame of references in constructing the social representations of the relevant actors both in the ‘US’ category and the West category.
Table. 1. The Naming Process in The Cumhuriyet (social representations)

- work for setting the damaging effects (it has connotations of earthquakes)
- clever commander
- IMF-directed policies (it has connotations of dependence)
- failure in the IMF imposition
- confessing their faults
- inviting a Türk working in the USA (while there are a great number of well-trained people in Turkey)
- Kemal Derviş an “expert”
- magical stick
- Cat Balou / musketeer / alcholic / savior
- a drunkard country
- the economy whose brakes are loosened
- begging
- being on the edge of disaster / running in the dark
- Kemal Derviş – a Turkish citizen
- the economy in the intensive care unit
- one of the 26 vice presidents in World Bank
- military service for the second time
- inside of us X outside of us
- Derviş = World Bank = IMF
- In Persian the word “derviş” means begger; one who asks for money in a way which shows little pride or self-respect
- the word “derviş” means a member of ‘tariqat’
- Derviş = a young Turk (Jonturk)
- Marshall Plan
- The dream of the Democratic Party to create “the little America”
- to let ourselves become the America’s tool
- the drum is on our back but the drumstick is in the hands of Derviş
- a song of national programme has been composed
- the boil developed in the economy cracked up on February the twenty first and the pus started leaking.
- IMF’s (IMEFESEL) National Programme
- Turkish politics is like a forest Derviş plunged into it, he will get lost.
- relations with civic organisations (for the solution of crisis) and public support is necessary
Table 2. The naming process in the Akit (social representations)

‘Us’ Category (Turkey / Turkish Government)
- the present situation has connotations of the period before and after ‘the war of independence’
- the return to Sevres (defeat and surrender)
- to be in situation of poverty and Exhaustion (an expression used by Atatürk in his ‘speech’
- a country surrendered unconditionally
- a country which looks like Bangladesh
- a country in such a bad condition that it can get well only by a magic or by a magical stick
- a country in need of 10 cents (an expression uttered by Demirel)
- a country governed by the tribal rules (in sense of Derviş’s being the only authority in financial affairs)
- a country in Neolithic Age
- a sick country in the oxygen tent

The ‘West’ Category (Derviş = World Bank = IMF)
- the imported savior
- a foreigner who doesn’t know Turkey
- an agent of the West
- a bourgeois intellectual from Büyükada
- he is abusing religion (because he makes references to religion in his speeches, which seems improper for a westerner)
- he has relations with the Jewish Lobby
- a Sabbatarian and a Free Mason
- a foreigner dropped down by a parachute jump
- a State Governor
- savior / ‘Mehdi’
- a Knight Templar
- Halide Edip (Adıvar)
- government inspector of general debts
- an administrator / trustee assigned by the international owners of capital
- American Ambassador = Colony Governor
- Colonialist West

Table 3. The naming process in The Sabah (social representations)

‘Us’ Category (Turkey – Turkish government)
- sick man (reference to the declining era of the Ottoman Empire)
- the government that is not trustworthy
- the government that is unsuccessful
- a country whose future will be disaster without the West
- a country sunk to the bottom of the sea
- a country whose political system is about to be blown up (a reference to military forces)
- a defeated government
- Easterner advocates of Westernization (irrational)
- authoritative schizophrenic
- Easterner advocates of Westernization without the West (irrational)

The ‘West’ Category (Derviş)

- Prof. Derviş
- a fireman
- his family participate in the War of Independence
- his father is a wealthy man / a merchant / a banker / an importer
- he studied in London school of Economics / well-educated
- God help the fireman Kemal!
- he is the ‘wanted’ captain
- a new period / new Turkey / new Staff / a movement of Restoration / a new Captain / a new team / a new programme
- abroad (a term used instead of the word ‘the West’)
- the only man
- our hope
- Derviş means a person who endures poverty for the sake of God
- he left his top position for Turkey / he is self-sacrifying and patriotic
- brave
- storm and tornado
- he performed a miracle and save the government (he may perform some other miracles, as well)
- he is the light at the far end of the tunnel
- Derviş is the medicine X Turkey is the sick
- to be the advocate of the West means to be rational, to be modern / contemporary X to object to the West means to be irrational / to be outworn
- opposing the West means to be authoritative and to be schizophrenic

CONCLUSION

The present study shows that ideology is an important determining factor in the organisation of discourse in terms of semantic configurations and social representations of the dominant actors as US versus the West with special reference to Westernization in Turkey as a non-western context.
As far as the newspaper under analysis are concerned, the Cumhuriyet’s discourse is a paradigmatic model of Kemalism that perceives and defines Westernization as the attainment of Universal civilisation with the emphasis on liberation from imperialist oppression and assertion of national identity within the framework of economic growth and industrialisation. In this sense, following the line of Kemalist ideology the Cumhuriyet’s discourse embodies the attempt to defeat Western imperialism by adopting Westernization. The Akit’s discourse, on the other hand, reflects the Islamic view rejects the Western assertion of superiority and asserts the superiority of the spiritual values of Islam over the material wealth of the West.

The Sabah’s discourse is based on a modernist conception of economic liberalism and free market which embraces the trends towards ‘globalisation’ undermining the power of nation-states in the sense that they can no longer independently sustain economic growth, preserve reformist welfare policies, and maintain full employment.

In this vein, these ideology-based differences in the discourses constructed by three newspapers validate the claim of two forms of modernity discourse. The Akit’s discourse takes modernization as a process which performs an instrumental function independently of the original idea of Westernization with the assertion of an essential difference between the West and the East. The Sabah’s discourse perceives and uses modernization as a means of attaining the Western-inspired models of economic growth, e, i political and economic liberalism. The Cumhuriyet’s discourse, on the other hand perceives and uses modernization as a means of attaining the Western knowledge of world as an ideal but with the assertion of growth of economic growth independent of the West.
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