

THE EFFECT OF LEADERSHIP AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE ON GOOD GOVERNANCE: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON TWO TURKISH NEWSPAPERS WITH OPPOSITE IDEOLOGIES

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Özet

Yönetim, iletişim ve etkileşim kavramlarının bir bileşkesi olan yönetim kavramı en genel tanımla, birlikte yönetmek anlamına gelmektedir. İyi yönetim, devlet yönetiminde temsil, katılım ve denetimin bir göstergesi olmanın yanı sıra, etkin bir sivil toplum, hukukun üstünlüğü, açıklık ve hesap verebilirlik sorumluluğu ile ahlak ve kalitenin varlığının da bir göstergesi olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Bu kavram, yönetim gücünün klasik devlet otoritesinin ötesine geçtiğini ve yönetim sürecine kamu yararını gözeterek şekilde 'sivil toplumun' katılımıyla daha geniş çaplı bir demokrasi anlayışının geliştirilmekte olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Diğer bir ifadeyle, yönetim, toplumun devlet tekelini kırarak kendi kendisini yönetmesi ile yeni bir özellik kazanmıştır. Bu noktada, 'politika' ve 'devlet' gibi temel kavramların kuramsal ve ideolojik içeriklerinin deformasyona uğradığını görüyoruz. Bu çalışmanın amacı, iyi yönetimi gerçekleştirilmeye yönelik böyle bir yaklaşımın kamu yönetiminde ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarında uygulanabilirliğini, kültür nosyonu ve liderliğin etkisini ve önemini ortaya koyarak sorgulamaktır. Bu kapsamda, hükümetle TÜSİAD arasında yaşanan siyasal bir gerginlik örnek olarak seçilmiştir. Söz konusu krizle ilgili olarak Türkiye genelinde tirajı en yüksek iki gazetede çıkan haberler Van Dijk'ın içerik çözümlemesi yöntemiyle incelenmiştir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Yönetişim, sivil toplum kuruluşları, içerik çözümlemesi.

Abstract: The Effect of Leadership and Cultural Perspective on Good Governance: A Discourse Analysis on Two Turkish Newspapers with Opposite Ideologies

Governance, which is the amalgamation of management, communication and interaction concepts, simply refers to managing together. Good governance is considered to be the indicator of representation, participation and control in state administration as well as an indicator of effective civil society, rule of law, responsibility of openness and accountability, and the existence of ethics and quality. This concept implies that governing power has exceeded the classic state authority. In the same way, a large-scale sense of democracy has been elaborated with the participation of 'civil society' in the governing process on behalf of the public. In other words, governing has gained a different characteristic as self-government of a society by breaking up the monopoly of the state in this sense. At this point, we observe the deformation of the ideological and theoretical content of the basic concepts, such as 'politics,' and 'state' The purpose of this study is to question the applicability of such an approach in public administration and non-governmental organizations for the purpose of achieving good governance by displaying the importance and effect of leadership and culture notions. Thus, a crisis between the gov-

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ernment and TUSIAD (The Society of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen) has been chosen as an example. The news about the respective crisis has been studied in two Turkish newspapers with the highest circulation rates in Turkey according to Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method.

Keywords: Governance, non-governmental organizations, discourse analysis.

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INTRODUCTION

Governance, which is the amalgamation of management, communication and interaction concepts, simply refers to managing together. Governance necessitates equal level of knowledge and specific determination as well as realization of the responsibilities by all participants. Good governance is considered to be the indicator of representation, participation and control in state administration, as well as an effective civil society, rule of law, responsibility, openness and accountability in accordance with the existence of ethics and quality. This concept implies that governing power has exceeded the classic state authority. Likewise, a large-scale sense of democracy has been elaborated with the participation of 'civil society' in the governing process on behalf of the public. In other words, governing has gained a different characteristic as self-government of a society by breaking up the monopoly of the state in this context. At this point, we observe the deformation of the ideological and theoretical content of the basic ideological concepts, such as 'politics,' and 'state.' The meaning attributed to good governance concept in globalization process is assumed to be misleading. Moreover, it marks the political and economic system, in which rules and restrictions along with service providing methods that are in harmony with rivalry and market economy exist. Therefore, governance expresses the interaction among social actors as well as the interaction between these actors and public administration. The most effective means of such an

administrative approach are the non-governmental organizations.

The two important factors in application of good governance are leadership and culture that reflect the identity of institutions or societies. Culture is the combination of the beliefs, expectations and values that are shared by the employees in an institution or the members of a society. Leaders assume the most important role for the construction, adoption and continuation of the behaviors forming the cultural notion. Today, leadership cannot be considered apart from culture, vision, mission, creativity and participatory management. The concept of culture has a synergic significance in leadership. Culture can be used in association with some concepts, such as ideology, spirit, style, image, identity, climate, vision and mission. Culture is explained with all the methods employed to reach a goal. With its role to set the borders, culture enriches the feeling of identity by accentuating the differences. In the same way, it enables individuals to have stronger ties around common values while determining the rules and limits. Distraction of governance from its real meaning, its failure in employing critical approach in real life as well as its transformation to synergy are the main hypotheses of this study. Thus, the purpose of this study is to question the applicability of such an administration in public administration and non-governmental organizations for the purpose of achieving good governance by displaying the importance and effect of leadership and culture

notions. Hence, a crisis between the government and TUSIAD (The Society of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen) has been chosen as an example. The news about the respective crisis has been studied in two Turkish newspapers, namely *Zaman* and *Posta* with the highest circulation rates in Turkey according to Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method.

Actually, the comments of Mustafa Koc, the Head of Supreme Consultation Board of TUSIAD, about Professor Yucel Askin, the Rector of Van 100. Yil University, who had been detained for 2,5 months because of allegedly rigging a competitive bidding process seems to have triggered the respective crisis. Mr. Koç declared that "It is impossible for us to approve the mistreatment to Professor Askin, which caused him to be hospitalized. Fair hearing process (about his case) has been overshadowed". Replying Mr. Koç, Prime Minister Erdogan stated that "Article 138 of the Constitution of the Turkish Republic declares that nobody can give directions, recommendations and suggestions to the courts and judges. A constitutional crime has been committed, so the due steps must be taken. We are to remind it as the government." As a result of the harsh reaction pertaining to this incident, the public, non-governmental organizations, the government, the opposition parties and the media became flabbergasted and thought that they had already "seen this film before." This thought was reflected with the language of the media as the common decision of everybody, which shows us that nothing has changed in Turkey with respect to good governance and leaders. During Turkey's admission process to the European Union, this incident initially took place as a political tension among the government, non-gov-

ernmental organizations along with the secondary actors and grew to a crisis that changed and the agenda. The tension and argument about this event was eventually ended with dialogue as a result of the efforts of the media and the mediators.

Good Governance and Non-Governmental Organizations

The term of governance "derives from the Greek 'kybean' and 'kybernates,' which mean to 'to steer' and 'pilot or helmsman' respectively...The process of governance is the process whereby an organization or society steers itself, and the dynamics of communication and control are central to that process" (Rosel qtd in Rosenan, 1997: 146).

Good governance is the employment of economic, political and administrative authority in all levels to rule a country. In good governance; justice, tolerance, sharing and confidence formation are very important. Referring to collective management, governance indicates the joint resolution of private and public institutions as well as the individuals in a society. In such an administration, everybody can express his or her opinions freely without any intervention. Governance denotes transparency, clarity, accountability, participation, effectiveness, respect to law and social responsibility. These aspects necessitate that everybody should be aware of their right and responsibilities and also claim them. Thus, a new citizenship consciousness has been developed. This consciousness symbolizes a new individual identity for people who are supposed to demand high standards, play an active role for the establishment and application of these standards as well as produce solutions and form structures (Arguden, 2005: 1).

Governance is...a system of rule that is independent on inter subjective meanings as on formally sanctioned constitution and charters." In other words, "governance is a system of rule that works only if it is accepted by the majority..., whereas governments can function even in the face of widespread opposition to their policies. In this sense, governance is always effective in performing the function necessary to systemic persistence, else it is not conceived to exist (since instead of referring to ineffective governance, one speaks of anarchy or chaos (Rosenau, 2000: 4-5).

In the same way, "adherents of global governance generally acknowledge that the need for governance emerges out of the globalization process" (Mingst, 1999: 94).

According to Aktan (2005), good governance means the representation in state administration, participation and control, an effective civil society, rule of law, centralized management, the responsibility to provide explanation and explicitness along with quality and ethics, rules and limitations, alternative service providing methods that are in accordance with rivalry and market economy and finally a political and economic order where there is a conformity with digital revolution (new developments in fundamental technologies).

In the name of governance model, the state has been degraded as a means, which is stagnant in its own capacity on the international level, but connected to the global market on the international level. Hence, the obligation for a state to get integrated into the global market in the conditions of globalization has been determined by globalization itself. Forming its basis according to the new corporate economy approach, this per-

spective introduces governance as the "state of the states" by emphasizing its characteristic as an actor while presenting the state as a concrete form of social reconciliation and a unique legitimate power settling the disputes with agreement, but not as an agent protecting the dominant classes of the state. Although governance is a rationalizing means transforming the structure of nation-state suitable to globalization, it is introduced as an objective. Therefore, a powerful nation-state will enable the capital to enhance its influence more easily. The organizations defined as non-governmental are almost limited with the organizations of the bourgeoisie and the ideological production centers.

In this power formula, there's no room for the working classes. Being categorized as deprived groups; the proletariat is defined in non-governmental organizations. On the other hand, since the priority of NGOs have been given to the private sector; they are actually attributed an ineffective function. As governance mechanism has developed parallel to the administration techniques and the total quality management, the probability of participation in the model or the resistance possibility of working classes has been limited (Aktan, 2002).

The countries that manage to implement good governance can fulfill their economic and social developments the best way. However, it should also be noted that good governance might lead to the risk of being ruled by the others. Here, the objective is to be beneficial for our citizens with our own production, democracy and legislation through careful assessment of our sources. Thus, the power and function of non-governmental organizations are very important for the realization of these objectives.

Civil society, or democracy, requires a level playing field in the public sphere, meaning that competing interests must have more or less equal access to the marketplace. But media concentration and corporate globalization have tilted the playing field. We know now that mass media, because of economics as well as politics, are no longer likely to provide equal access, if they ever were (Hiebert, 2005: 3).

The only possible solution is governance in terms of developing real communication in public sphere. As the most effective means of transition to democracy, non-governmental organizations enable the individuals to participate in administration. In the same way, non-governmental organizations are the institutions that have the greatest power to affect and direct societies. The administrators in private and public sectors may help cope with the national and international conditions as well as achieve participatory democracy by getting into co-operation with non-governmental organizations. Moreover, exercising good governance and giving importance to quality and experience in selection of the administrators are momentous for these institutions. Similarly, non-governmental organizations play a significant role to influence the decisions of the administration.

Administrations cannot neglect the voting (opinion) factor and the tendency of non-governmental organizations. Effective administrative decisions should include the non-governmental organizations as well. The organizations that are rather influential in leading should be reliable to affect the society.

The domains that are out of the political power of the capital have become the action areas of non-governmental organizations. Functioning as foundations and associations during the Ottoman Period, the non-governmental organizations emerged as community centers, political parties, worker associations, unions, guilds, chambers of commerce, chambers of industry and employer associations during the Turkish Republic Period (Esinoglu, 2005: 1). Before 1980, the non-governmental organizations were democratic mass organizations. Their being defined as non-governmental organizations displays parallelism with the identification of capitalism with democracy. The main reason for the existence of non-governmental organizations in the global system is to inform the individuals, to enable them to express themselves without any interference and also to maintain the formation of the discourses for the best interests of individuals as well as their countries. Thus, the function of non-governmental organizations is to reduce the oppression of the state and to expand the freedoms. An important requisite for exercising social control through discourse is to control the discourse and particularly the production of discourse.

Therefore, the central questions are as follows: in which situations, who can say or write what to whom? Who has access to different types or kinds of discourse as well as the means of discourse production?...in some cultures, including ours, the inferiors are supposed to get silent while the superiors are talking. Most of the inferiors are usually the receivers (Van Dijk, 1994: 275).

Government appears not only in discourse or through discourse, but also as the social power behind discourse. Execution and

protection of social power necessitates an ideological frame. Formed by the basic cognitions of a group along with its members with respect to their interests, such a frame is gained, approved and changed through discourse and communication. Likewise, the counter forms of the power should be analyzed as well, because it would also be the analysis of the historical and social challenges.

Dominant powers or groups usually want their ideologies to be adopted as a general or natural system of values, norms and objectives. In such a case, ideological reproduction assumes a role for the formation of compromise. Consequently, the power emerging from it, takes a hegemonic form. Ideology is a complex cognitive frame controlling the formation, transformation and application of the other social cognitions including the social biases, knowledge, opinions, attitudes and social conceptions. This ideological frame itself is made up of the socially meaningful norms, values, aims and principles that are chosen, combined and applied in order to make the perception, interpretation and action easy. This frame functions for the extensive interests of the groups in social practices. Thus, cohesion between ideology and social attitudes is achieved (Van Dijk, 1994: 279).

As a matter of fact, public opinion limits and directs the actions of individuals. Therefore, "the institutions and technique that affect the public opinion are important...the source of the values that the public opinion is based on is generally customs and traditions. Although public opinion has an influence over law, it usually gets behind the changes in law" (Bottomore, 19770: 261). Similarly, the mainstream media in Turkey has a noticeable dominance. Public broadcasting is

hampered both the constitution and laws for broadcasting. As a result, public broadcasting is gradually losing ground against private broadcasting. In such a situation, it is really difficult for individuals to express themselves. As a consequence of pursuing a magazine-prone policy, the media has given rise to the emergence of the individuals who are unaware of their rights and responsibilities in judicial and political areas. Besides, they are easily controlled by social changes. "The mass media continuously increases the information that individuals have about what is going on in a society. However, it strictly prevents them from transforming this information to action" (Sennet, 1996: 352).

Blumer describes various elementary groupings within which such behaviors occur specifically:

A crowd, a mass, a public...a crowd may become concerted in an effort to achieve certain ends or perhaps simply to enjoy and express themselves collectively. A mass, by contrast, is effectively a collective of individuals who each act as individuals, but under the influence of a commonly shared reference point to which they have simultaneous access. The mass media, which beam the same message into the houses of individuated beings, provoking similar actions from those beings...public is a group who come together, having previously not been in interaction, to discuss an issue of common concern over which they do not agree. It is a sight of rational argumentation referring to a public sphere (Crossley, 2002: 28).

Civil society forms the basic social profile of the public sphere. There are some theories providing different meanings for the civil society concept. As the products of liberal

rightist ideology, pluralist civil society and the civil society based on state control can be mentioned. Participatory civil society theory; on the other hand, has been developed by Neo-Marxist leftist movement.

The common objective of these three theories is to reduce the political and administrative interference of central state authority in social life to minimum. The most important difference among them lies in their starting point. Pluralist civil society approach is the product of the American life. This approach generally considers the state as a neutral condition. Pluralism in political literature has been shaped as the conception of the influence of labor and capital groups over the state while protecting their interests in a social compromise (Atabek & Dagtas, 1998: 41).

Civil society concept in Turkey refers to a pluralist civil society. Till the end of the 1980s, participatory civil democracy was on the rise. In this model, not the separation, but unification of the state and society prevails. What is important here is to change the structure of state-society unification in a democratic way on the basis of such a compromise. Consequently, individuals can directly participate in politics. By means of civil society, individuals can express themselves more easily and also safeguard their rights. Hence, "civil society can be directed by corporate discourses as well as the state sanctions (Keane, 1992: 136).

Today, a transformation from public society to mass society is observed. While the number of those who listen to the ideas and opinions of the others is quite high, the number of those who express their ideas and opinions is rather low. In such a mass society. Similarly, the public which is degraded

to a mass of individuals is both influenced and shaped by the mass media. The organization style of mass communication does not allow individuals to reply promptly. After the formation of public opinion, the actions that the public should take in order to realize itself are controlled by the government (Mills, 1974: 425).

The most important factor indicating whether a society is a public society or a mass society is the way of communication. The media in a public society is responsible for enlarging and enlivening the discussion atmosphere in society by combining the prominent groups with each other. Therefore, a democratic atmosphere in society is created.

To combine equality and liberty successfully in a new vision of democracy, one that recognizes the multiplicity of social relations and their corresponding subject positions, requires that we achieve a task conceived at the beginning of the democratic revolution, one that defines the kind of politics required for the advent of modernity (Mouffe, 2000: 309).

The Effect of Leadership and Cultural Conception on Good Governance

For the realization of governance, individuals should know and understand each other. Governance necessitates the consciousness of society in the minds of individuals. Thus, having knowledge, comprehending the importance of knowledge and participating in decisions with enthusiasm and faith are highly required. However, it should be noted that being conscious of it requires contribution and responsibility culture in a society. Hence, public discourse areas emerge accordingly. For instance, non-gov-

ernmental organizations are such public discourse areas. It is impossible to achieve governance in a society, which is composed of those who do not have any consciousness of society. "Today, public life has turned to a formal compulsion. Most people consider their relations with the state in a submissive and inured manner" (Sennet, 2002: 16). Nowadays, the primary anxiety of each individual is his or her personality. As Sennet pointed out, recognizing ourselves is not simply a means to know about the world any more, but it has already been an aim. As a result of being so introverted, we can neither completely express ourselves nor fully understand the others. We are supposed to discuss the reliability and legality of a political leader with respect to his or her actions, not his or her personality. That public sphere is no more a formal imperative depends on the cultural consciousness in society as well as the leaders in political, economic, social and cultural areas along with their perspectives, actions and guidance about the formation of public sphere. Indeed, leaders act as mirrors of the individuals in a society.

Therefore, reflection of power and values on the mirror is important. A leader is an important power for not only the creation and guidance of the values of a society, but also sharing this vision with other individuals in that society. For the realization of governance, the conception of democracy of a country, the importance given to participation and sharing, the identity structure, values, norms, beliefs and visions of a society are equally important. An administration focused on people comprises a positive support coming from the top, the relations based on confidence, co-operation, well-organized administrative initiative, cultural values along with toleration, respect, open-mindedness and positive stance. In such a leader-

ship, being accepted by the others, self-respect, reasonable tactics, harmony and authority can be observed. Moreover, having power necessitates drawing lessons from past experiences (Sollmann & Heinzle, 1995: 31-33). In a society that has adopted governance, the individuals are expected to have these leadership characteristics.

More powerful groups or individuals in a society conduct the discourse roles, types, objectives and styles. They also control the dialogues with those who depend on them. In addition, they can decide about who the participants or the receivers will be. This situation is one of the important obstacles for governance because in governance, equal distribution of power is aimed. At this point, it would be appropriate to make the public conscious of an effective and collective leadership and contribution culture. Development of collective leadership consciousness in a society, in other words, sharing leadership leads to the reinforcement of shared values and their reflection in actions. Furthermore, it also helps raise consciousness about the roles that individuals take for the fulfillment of governance. Thus, individuals should be their leaders at personal level. Being one's own leader refers to managing himself or herself to act according to the existing standards and objectives. Being one's own leader also emphasizes what and how it should be done.

There are two elements in the dual structure of the state: political society and civil society. "According to Gramsci, civil society comprises all of the sections that we may be called private...Civil society depends on the persuasion mechanism and allurements of minds. As a result of being constructed with the oppression and control mechanisms of the state, political society imposes itself to

the society by employing the sanction mechanisms” (Vergin, 2004: 77). The state administers a society with a concealed policy. This ideology is based upon the values internalized by most of the individuals constituting a society. In addition to the sovereignty that is maintained by means of political power, the state also has an ideological hegemony through cultural power. In order to exist, the state has to continue its cultural-ideological hegemony. Since the state is formed in the leadership of political society, an undeveloped civil society causes the state to be the sole means of domination. Vergin states that in developed societies, it is impossible to seize the political power without taking control of the cultural power.

Ideology, used as a synonym for culture, is related to the formation and defense of values as well as beliefs. The values of a society; on the other hand, are the conspicuous or hidden ideals shared by individuals. Values exhibit the policy of a society. In the same way, as a part of culture, norms determine the important features in a society along with the actions of individuals. Norms, values and symbols help legalize the political power system of a society. Political culture is made up of the acquired pieces of information that individuals have really assumed in a given society. Cultural and political development displays parallelism. “While there are real political cultures that individuals believe and support cordially, there are also political cultures that are developed by imposing the artificially created ideologies” (Marshall, 1999: 664). For the effective fulfillment of governance, a real consciousness of political culture that can satisfactorily meet all the requirements of governance, such as participation, openness, transparency and accountability should be realized.

Initially, the leaders in pivotal positions of a society are supposed to have realized the importance of governance, continue this cultural approach and guide the public accordingly because they assume the most important role to form, sell and maintain the continuity of the actions constituting the cultural conception. Hence, governance is a discourse and consciousness formation. This discourse and consciousness is formed through the political and social culture of a society as well as the power relations that it is involved in, its customs and traditions and the mutual relations with the close vicinity. The variation in existence of individuals in social life is two-dimensional: group and grid.

Group refers to the extent to which an individual is incorporated into bounded units. The greater the incorporation is, the more individual choice is subject to group determination. Grid denotes the degree to which an individual’s life is circumscribed by externally imposed prescriptions. The more binding and extensive the scope of the prescription gets, the less the life becomes open to individual negotiation (Thompson, Ellis & Wildavsky, 2005:150).

Grid- group theory works by taking the two dimensions of group membership (weak or strong) and the aspects of grid (few or many rules) indicate four ways of life or political cultures, namely; hierarchical, fatalist, egalitarian, individualist.

When an individual’s social environment is characterized by strong group boundaries and binding prescriptions, the resulting social relations are hierarchical...Individuals who are bound by neither group incorporation nor prescribed roles inhabit an individualistic

social context. In such an environment all boundaries are provisional and subject to negotiation (Thompson, Ellis & Wildavsky, 2005: 150).

Although the four lifestyles intrinsic to political culture show difference from each other, they also need each other. Fatalists believe that they are the victims of bad luck and they are apolitical too. Individualists; on the other hand, want the authorization of the government to be reduced and they think that its primary responsibility is to protect the private property and allow free competition. As Kagıtcıbası (1999) indicated, Turkish society displays individuality structure based on relations, so group boundaries are rather strong. Besides, hierarchical and fatalist characteristics are observed. There are many limitations and rules. Some other aspects, such as leadership and cultural conception have developed within thought and action areas. Therefore, the concepts of common leadership and contribution responsibility that are necessary for governance should be considered in this sense.

Redundancies of thought and action across domains of experience, accumulated and aggregated over time, are perceived by members and non-members as meaningful cultural patterns. The patterns promote the interests of some social groups over the others. It means that the patterns have profound ideological implications (Lull, 2000: 136).

The public gets organized in non-governmental organizations, societies and parties. In order to carry out the actions necessary for the public practices, free discussions enabling the expression of thoughts and opinions are necessary and important. Everybody in a society should be given the op-

portunity to learn and understand the problems of that society. Likewise, everybody can discuss the problems in a society and they can also participate in the decision-making process about these problems. Nevertheless, today, there seem to be differences even among the elites that take the important decisions in the name of the masses. In other words, even about very important decisions, the public is informed after everything is said and done. According to Habermas, in an atmosphere where politics mediatized, political discussion is formalized. Thus, taking a stand or a counter-stand is determined beforehand for demonstration. As a consequence, political discussion has been degraded to the level of personal clashes taking place in public polemics. Hanners says culture is:

ideas and modes of thought that are made public to the self and others through various forms of externalization, including the mass media. This leads to social distribution of the ways in which the collective cultural inventory of meanings and meaningful external forms are spread over a population and its social relationships (Hannerz qtd. in Lull, 2000:136).

The ways of thinking reach the public as cultural discourses and they affect the people living in an unequal social world as well as their relations.

If we want to apply governance effectively in any fields, first of all, a contribution and responsibility culture comprising all individuals and leaders in a society should be developed. Regarding our topic, all individuals should ask themselves these questions: Do I know about governance? What should I personally do to achieve it? What do I need for that and what is my responsi-

bility here? Responsibility culture developed in private sector, government institutions, non-governmental organizations and individuals could be an effective means pertaining to good governance. Within the context of this culture, everybody can be a good leader through the applicability of governance in society.

Initiated by Bahcesehir University (Istanbul, Turkey), the International Leadership and Public Administration Research Center (ULYAM) aims at providing education for good governance, good administration and particularly solidarity among the underdeveloped countries. Moreover, it focuses on the relationship among the leadership education for good governance, participation in the political process, decentralization of political authority, solidarity with political society, solidarity among various sectors, peace, democracy and improvement (Güven, 2006).

The discourse that forms the society and culture is at the same time determined with society and culture. There is a dialectic relation here. Discourse functions ideologically. In other words, ideologies are the particular ways of forming the society that produces the unequal power, dominance and exploitation of relations. While the ways of participation, management and communication that governance requires shape a society through discourses, the cultural and social structure of that society forms the structure that is necessary for governance. In the production of these discourses, the visual and print media gain importance. As Fuller (1997) indicated, the surest sign of a closed society arises when the state makes a claim of absolute truth. The assertion may be as cynical as tyrant's will. Or it may spring

from profound, genuine and widely shared beliefs, such as in the revealed word of God...the consequence is the same: truth finds its sources of legitimacy outside public debate and can not be altered by it. In a closed society, the purpose of expression is to persuade people about the predetermined truth" (p.71).

Purpose and Method

In this paper, the applicability of governance in public administration and non-governmental organizations for the purpose of achieving good governance by displaying the importance and effect of leadership and culture notion has been studied. Therefore a crisis between the government and TUSIAD (The Society of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen) has been chosen as an example. The news about the respective crisis between December 21-27, 2005 has been analyzed in two newspapers with the highest circulation rates in Turkey, namely *Posta* and *Zaman* according to Van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method. The reason why these two newspapers have been taken as examples in this study is that initially, *Posta* is a mass newspaper, whereas *Zaman* is an opinion newspaper. Being a mass newspaper, *Posta* does not use a sophisticated discourse; in addition, it is popular and the news texts do not include complex linguistic structures. These aspects make its adoption and acceptance by the public even easier. In addition to all, it does have a specific political tendency. On the other hand, as an opinion newspaper, *Zaman* supports the government and has a rightist ideology. Moreover, it has a traditionalist perspective. Overall, the effects of both newspapers on public opinion as well as their ways of news formation display a considerable difference. Therefore, the news discourses of both

newspapers, the symbols they use as well as their ways of presenting and using the news actors influence the perception and decision making process of the public differently.

In order to exist, a newspaper has to affect a particular fraction of a society. To put it another way, it has to share various interests and values with them. According to Van Dijk, the main purpose of discourse analysis is to give a clear and systematic description of the elements of language use that is called discourse. In textual dimension, different aspects of discourse are analyzed. In contextual dimension; however, different aspects of context are related, such as cognitive processes and representations or socio-cultural factors. Second principle of discourse analysis, namely grammar, defines the sentences and the order of sentences in a text.

Rigel states that news actor is an individual, an institution, a country or a place that markets the news topics in order to have them consumed easily. In order to make the news easily perceived and remembered, news actors promote visual aspects. While producing news discourse, news sources or actors contributing to the formation of thematic structure are divided into two groups as 'discourse elites' and 'discourse miserables.' The role of authority in the content of news displays this discrimination. Social control is reproduced through discourse. This control is performed by news sources and actors (Rigel, 2000: 191). Production of discourse according to the contents and structures of news belongs to discourse elites, who are the symbolic elites enabling the creation of thematic structure in discourse production of the media.

The most important aspect of critical discourse analysis is to have a determining

structure between the groups that are in favor of administration and those against it. As a means of power and control in discourse, critical discourse analysis studies several concepts, such as power, dominance, hegemony, ideology etc. in social structures.

As a meta-analysis, discourse analysis aims at re-exposing the interaction of different discourses. What is important here is to discover the elements taking place in discourse construction and the elements constituting the functions of discourse, such as power, sovereignty as well as contradiction. It is also important to determine the tactical, strategic and political formations used in discourse as meta-actions (Sozen, 1999: 134).

The analysis is mainly based on two questions: 1) Does the governance currently applied include the critical approach and are the related parties open to these criticisms? ; Is governance really employing critical approach in daily life as well as transforming synergy? 2) What kind of leadership and cultural notion should be assumed in society to launch good governance?; Can we consider collective and shared leadership as well as contribution and responsibility culture?

In the same way, the analysis has been carried out on the basis of the following categories with regard to Van Dijk's method. In addition, news narration types introduced by Kunelius as well as the news values of Galtung-Ruge have been used in the analysis.

-news types (Kunelius qtd. in Inal, 1996: 108,109)

i.dependent-independent
(with respect to the narrator)

ii.definable-indefinable (with respect to the narrator)

-news value (the level on which the information about the aspects of the situation or event is obtained). "News values reflect economic, social and ideological values in the discourse reproduction of society through the media. We assume that such constraints have a cognitive representation" (Van Dijk, 1988: 120).

- i.negativity
- ii.emotional content
- iii.cooperation X contradiction
- iv.inclusion of the elites
- v.violence

-Presentation of the applicability of the governance principles with respect to individuals and institutions:

- i. problem creation X problem solving
- ii. information transfer X information concealment (transparency)
- iii. over-centralization (control) X spreading power
- iv. participatory X non-participatory (openness)
- v. balance (including contradictory opinions equally > equality)
- vi. active-passive structure of sentences
- vii. characteristics of the actors (feeling confidence or distrust towards the news actors by the readers) [news

values of Galtung-Ruge] (qtd. in Rigel, 2000:208)

- accountability X unaccountability
- straightforwardness X obscurity
- responsibility X irresponsibility

The evaluation in this study is carried out according to the method and criteria for the narration of news and measuring the news values by Van Dijk and Galtung-Ruge.

All the above mentioned criteria have been employed by relating them to the content and meaning of the governance concept. If each of the criterions is considered, the dependence or independence of news with respect to the narrator indicates whether or not the aspects of governance, such as reliability, openness, transparency etc. exist in the context of the news source and the institution where the news is produced. Similarly, with regard to the narrator again, being definable or indefinable displays the openness and reliability of news as well as the way that the news source stands in an event by questioning the existence of governance, because the aim of news is to inform the masses in an independent, open and correct way and also enable the public to think and decide about the events. Nevertheless, being independent, dependent, definable or indefinable helps news direct individuals and therefore, lead to the deletion of openness, transparency and accountability. Consequently, news decides in the name of individuals. Needless to say, it is impossible to talk about governance here. While reflecting the events among individuals and institutions in a society, news inter-

feres in the participation of individuals in events along with their perspectives, perceptions, confidence and decisions with subjective comments and the way of conveying these events according to a particular ideology. From the perspective of governance, here the news may assume a role to prevent the governance among the public, the state and the other institutions of society. According to the narrator's being dependent, independent, definable or indefinable in *Posta* and *Zaman*, the percentages of the news have been calculated. If the news is given by depending on the news source, the narrator is considered to be indefinable and dependent. On the other hand, if the narrator conveys the news with his or her comments and perspective, then the narrator is thought to be definable and independent.

As another criterion, negativity has been determined according to the syntactical and semantic structures in the news about the government and TUSIAD. For instance, the verbs; rejecting, turning down, refusing, obstructing, going back on promises etc., and their ratios have been considered. Governance necessitates empathy between individuals and institutions. In empathy, mutual understanding is significant. In addition, governance rejects aggressiveness, but favors approval. Therefore, the negations in the semantic structures of the discourses of the news actors eliminate the mutual understanding, openness and accountability that are necessitated by governance. The criterion of negativity is used in this sense.

For the criterion of 'emotions,' it should be remembered that feelings and emotions tell us how the world is. The negative emotions in news and respective utterances determine the direction of perceptions and evaluations. The emotions such as, disappointment, suf-

fering, sorrow, fear, anger cause disagreements, create mistrust and prevent transparency. As another criterion, contradiction and violence bring about conflicts by creating discord. Frequent appearance of conflict and violence in news texts is legitimized and normalized in time with regard to the context. Moreover, instead of contribution, responsibility and harmony culture, the habits pertaining to conflicts and violence are produced, which is also against governance. Therefore, the abundance of violence and contradiction in news discourses denote the lack of governance. The percentage of the utterances referring to conflicts and violence in both newspapers has been calculated accordingly.

What is necessary for governance is problem solving. Thus, the existence of problem creation has been questioned in the news about TUSIAD and the government in both newspapers. The discourses, such as having a compromise, proposing a solution, producing a reasonable solution, giving an opportunity have been taken as examples for problem solution. In addition, the percentages of the utterance including creating problems, blaming, rejecting, objecting and avoiding a compromise have been taken as the examples for problem creation.

Information transfer is also a factor necessary for governance. Contrary to concealment, transparency has a vital function in information. In both newspapers within the scope of this study, whether the events have been given clearly or not has been determined in percentages. It should be noted that over-centralization and non-participation are the concepts against governance and they hinder openness. Furthermore, the percentages of some concepts, namely control, prohibition, prevention, pressure, judgment

and making decisions in the name of somebody in news have also been calculated as the criterion of over-control. In the same way, the participation is also evaluated with respect to the relations of TUSIAD and the government with other institutions. In addition, the percentages of active and passive sentence structures have been calculated in order to determine the way the news actors are introduced. Another evaluation referring to accountability and straightforwardness criterion has been held with respect to the existence or non-existence of detailed and informative explanations of both TUSIAD and the government. Moreover, responsibility criterion is employed to determine whether or not the principle for obtaining the correct information without violating individual rights and creating any social trouble, but by providing correct and reliable information to the public to reach a social compromise seems to have been adopted by both TUSIAD and the government. Finally, in the conclusion section, the percentages of the respective criteria have been presented with a table (see Table, p.90).

FINDINGS

Within the frame of critical discourse analysis, two newspapers that do not only belong to different media groups but also have different ideologies have been taken as examples. Thus, the news has been analyzed with respect to the actors of the non-governmental organizations. As for the newspapers in this study; *Posta* generally do not show any extreme political views. *Zaman*; on the other hand, reflects a rightist ideology and thus, seems to be giving support to the government. The ratio of the narrator's being indefinable in the news about the government in *Zaman* is higher than those in *Posta*. There-

fore, it can be inferred that *Zaman* is relatively more impartial than *Posta*.

In 64.2 % of the news about TUSIAD in *Posta*, the discourses are related to the discourse of the source, therefore dependent on the source. In addition, 28.5 % of the news about the government is dependent. In the same way, the news about TUSIAD is more dependent on the source than it is in *Posta*. However, in *Zaman*, again, the ratio of dependency of the news on the source seems to be higher than it is in *Posta*. Independence of discourse from the news source decreases the credibility. It should be noted that it may increase or decrease the influence of the dominant discourse, whereas the dependence of discourse on the news source indicates that there is an objective approach.

While 60 % of the news about TUSIAD in *Posta* has a positive content, 40 % of the news about government has a negative content. These ratios are just the same for *Zaman* as well. Mutual messages of the news actors in the crisis between the government and TUSIAD have emotional content. There are numerous utterances expressing the sorrow, happiness, comfort, disappointment and sufferings of TUSIAD and government authorities. In the same way, mutual accusations, threats, intimidations and castigations are reflected in this emotional content. According to D'Andrade, "feelings and emotions tell us how the world is, in a very way, typically increase the activation of various schemas for action and evaluation, while still permitting delay so that planning, goal sequencing, reappraisal, and other complex procedures can occur" (Levin, 2003: 218).

There seems to be contradiction between the indicated political objectives (contemporary,

secular, democratic, nationalistic, issuing a law, trial and conviction of the rector of Van University etc.) and the discourses along with formal signs. While the ratio of controversy with respect to TUSIAD is 63.6 % in *Posta*, it is 66.6 % in *Zaman*. Again, the most noteworthy point here is that the discourses pertaining to contradiction in *Zaman* refer to the news actors from TUSIAD. It may have resulted from the supportive attitude of the respective newspaper towards the government. Moreover, the ratio of co-operation for the news actors from TUSIAD is 100% in *Posta*. Needless to say, such a high ratio results from the discourses providing support for TUSIAD. Although there is a considerably intense contradiction between the government and TUSIAD, the actors of both sides reject the criticisms and defend their rightfulness by asserting some concepts, such as law, justice, modernity, democracy etc. according to their own interests. Therefore, both parties consider themselves as the defenders of these values, whereas cannot achieve a joint resolution. This case can be taken as a good example for lack of governance.

In addition to all these, in 50 % of the news in both newspapers, violence is mentioned and it is quite striking that violence is directed towards each other, i.e. TUSIAD and the government and also to the rector who caused the crisis. It includes the rector's disuasion from academic life, being accused of embezzlement along with his imprisonment, prevention, and ostracism by the government in addition to the government's threats and deterrence policy. The government harshly criticizes TUSIAD and considers this discourse as impudence and great disrespect, which in turn is the indicator that as a leader, the prime minister does not seem to be frank, co-operative and open to criticism.

In a situation where tolerance and mutual respect do not exist, it is hard to think about governance.

Furthermore, there are alternative discourses both in *Posta* and *Zaman*. Apart from the mutual critical discourses of both sides, there are also the critical and partly conciliatory alternative discourses of the authorities from other government and non-governmental organizations. While 70% of the alternative discourses in *Posta* are about the news actors of TUSIAD, only 30% of them are about the actors of the government. On the other hand, in *Zaman*, the alternative discourses about both sides seem to have been equal. The ratio of the discourses pertaining to problem creation in *Posta* with respect to the news actors of TUSIAD is 48.2%. For the government actors, this ratio is 57.1%. Here, mostly problems are mentioned and both parties blame each other for causing the respective problem. On the other hand, in *Zaman*, problem creation is attributed to the news actors of TUSIAD with the ratio of 66.6%. Similarly, the ratio of problem creation regarding the news actors from the government is 33.3%. At this point, the part that is shown as the source of problem is TUSIAD. While the government is trying to impose sanctions by using its power, the reaction of TUSIAD as a support for the aggrieved part is considered as a problem creation. Nevertheless, all the discourses intended for problem solving in *Posta* are presented within the context of the news actors of TUSIAD. It should be noted that the ratio of the discourses related to problem solving in *Zaman* is 50% for the actors of both sides. In other words, the discourses pertaining to problem solving in *Zaman* are given equally for the news actors of both TUSIAD and the government. The ratio of providing information is quite high in both newspapers with regard to the non-governmental organizations.

However, this ratio is relatively higher (66 %) in *Posta*.

Over-control is a negative indicator in governance. The ratio of the news discourses about over-control is 51.7% in *Posta* with respect to the news actors from the government and 42.8% with regard to the news actors from the non-governmental organizations. The ratio of over-control for the government is respectively higher by means of the discourses including laws, communi- qués, prohibitions and threats. In *Zaman*, over-control is observed equally for both sides. In other words, the discourses about over-control with respect to TUSIAD are as much as those about the government.

Participation for both TUSIAD and the government is given with reference to their relations with other institutions, namely non-governmental organizations as well as private and state organizations. The action is related to either finding a solution or bringing up a problem. In this study, the participation of the news actors from TUSIAD is 100 %, whereas in *Zaman*, the ratio of participation is 66 % for TUSIAD, and 34 % for the government. Furthermore, the discourses pertaining to participation in both newspapers are presented with regard to the news actors from TUSIAD. Considering the news actors from the government; however, there are practically no discourses for the participation of the leaders and the other news actors. While the ratio of the balance between the contradictory ideas is 65 % in *Posta*, it is 50% in favor of the government in *Zaman*.

In addition to all these, the ratio of the active (sentence) structures in *Posta* is 69.2% for the news actors of TUSIAD, and 30.7% for the

news actors of the government. Nevertheless, the respective ratio is 50% for the news actors from both TUSIAD and the government in *Zaman*. This ratio denotes that the respective news actors that are the leaders in TUSIAD and the government are displayed directly and clearly. While passive structures are almost non-existent in *Posta*, they are widely used in *Zaman*. Thus, it would not be wrong to infer that the news actors in *Zaman* are either displayed indirectly or even concealed. It should also be noted that these actors represent power and authority.

A further analysis on the explicitness in news discourse indicates that the ratio of the informative and detailed discourses of TUSIAD is 69.2%. Similarly, the ratio of their discourses pertaining to accountability (their explanations as well as their self-questioning attitude toward the crisis) is 88.8%. On the other hand, with respect to both openness and accountability, this ratio is 50% for both sides in *Zaman*. At this point, it would be quite beneficial to note that

The system of free expression operates on the theory that discussion rather than the explication of the authoritative truth is the best way to guide a society through an uncertain future. The recognition of uncertainty is, in fact, essential to the theory of free expression (...) A new approach to the problem of politics for it forces us to replace the question: who should rule? By the new question: How can we recognize political institutions that bad or incompetent rulers can be prevented from doing so much damage?" (Popper qtd. in Fuller, 1997: 75-76).

Back to our findings, the ratio of the responsibility of the news actors is 89% for TUSIAD and 11% for the government in *Posta*. These

ratios are 60% for TUSIAD and 40% for the government in *Zaman*. In the same way, the discourses including responsibility in *Zaman* are noticeably higher with regard to the news actors from TUSIAD.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Governance basically necessitates interaction and compromise, rather than consent and hegemony among institutions. As for the general discourse in the two newspapers in this study, namely *Posta* and *Zaman*, it has been observed that TUSIAD, the government as well as some other institutions and individuals are structured through the discourses including mutual criticisms, accusations, negations, contradictions, created problems and over-control. All these discourses are against the openness, accountability and transparency principles of administration. Moreover, the discourses of the government including over-control, ambiguity and resistance to participation are considerably higher than those of the news actors from TUSIAD. It can be stated that as a non-governmental organization, TUSIAD and similar institutions have a more positive, tolerant and democratic attitude. Moreover, within the context of the respective crisis which forms the basis of our study, these organizations have achieved to exercise the due guidance and even pressure to save the Rector of Van 100. Yıl University from the unfavorable conditions (including even detention) that he was put into. Furthermore, an analysis on the news content in both newspapers indicates that the news about the government usually comprises the discourses referring to power, control, superiority, manipulation and self-legalization. Discourse in political communication has a significant and a determining position. By appearing in the news continually and thus, having a weighty position in the agenda, the

prime minister has legitimized the ideologies he supports by re-producing them. As a consequence, a mediatized political life may bring about extensive changes in many ways. In other words, the media has somehow pacified the prime minister in the respective incident and assumed an active role as a sole power by influencing the frame, the actors, the agenda and the future of politics.

Creation of power and hegemony, expression of differences strongly, and pragmatic tactics and inequality adopted as an ideology are against the philosophy of governance. Doing demagoguery along with structuring legitimacy by using some terms, such as modernism, civilization, democracy, law, pluralism and public benefit are just pragmatic tactics. According to the discourse analysis practices within the frame of the respective crisis, it would not be wrong to say that the required conditions to be able to achieve discussion and compromise among institutions by means of the principles of governance have not been maintained yet. Considering TUSIAD and the government, to arrive such a conclusion is quite important because being the two prominent institutions from economic and administrative points of view; they have a noticeable direct or indirect influence on the other government and private institutions and especially the public. Besides, the positive or negative attitudes and discourses of these institutions towards each other as well as the public may be models for the actions and discourses of the other institutions. For the realization of governance, particularly the leaders of institutions are supposed to have the due consciousness about governance and become good examples with their practices. In the respective event in this study, the government felt the necessity to step back for not receiving any further reactions from the non-

governmental organizations, the media and the public. It should be remembered that governance necessitates dialogue. Without interfering and confuting each other, without competing with each other and without distorting the meanings with prejudiced comments, the parts should listen to each other.

With respect to the analysis, it has been observed that what the governance has practiced now does not include a critical approach and the parts are not open to criticism. In the same way, governance neither employs critical approach in daily life nor transforms synergy. Common and co-operative leadership as well as the contribution and responsibility notion reflected in political culture should be assumed well in society to launch good governance. At present, it is hard to talk about neither common and co-operative leadership nor contribution and responsibility notion. Administering is a way of communication. Likewise, politics is an action that can be realized with the use of

language. Therefore, the public can be influenced, persuaded, directed and even herded with language. In our study, TUSIAD and government seem to be in a dangerous clique forming process. TUSIAD either criticizes or revolts. The government or the power; on the other hand, makes a criminal complaint. Thus, a harsh discussion including rage and a power struggle arises unavoidably. Both sides tell each other to mind their own businesses. As a concluding remark, it should be mentioned that here, the non-governmental organizations appear as interveners against the power. While reflecting a topic to the public, the media should assume an objective and informative role rather than make it understood the desired way by the public through several persuasion and presentation methods. Therefore, the media should also support the application of governance.

	Newspapers ►	<i>Posta</i>		<i>Zaman</i>		
	Concerned parties ►	TÜSIAD	Government	TÜSIAD	Government	
News narration types (Kunelus)	dependent (with respect to the narrator-source)	64.2 %	28.5 %	32 %	69 %	
	independent (with respect to the narrator-source)					
	definable (with respect to the narrator-source)					
	indefinable (with respect to the narrator-source)	+	+	+	+	
News values (Galtung-Ruge)	negativity (negative content)	60 %	40 %	60 %	40 %	
	emotional content	+	+	+	+	
	contradiction	63.6 %		66.6 %		
	cooperation	100 %			87 %	
	inclusion of the elites	+	+	+	+	
	violence	50 %	50 %	50 %	50 %	
Presentation of the applicability of the governance principles with respect to individuals and institutions	problem creation	48.2 %	57.1 %	66.6 %	33.3 %	
	problem solving	66 %	33.2 %	50 %	50 %	
	information transfer	66 %	34 %	63 %	37 %	
	information concealment					
	over-centralization (control)	42.8 %	51.7 %	50 %	50 %	
	spreading power					
	participatory (with respect to news actors)	100 %	-	66 %	34 %	
	non-participatory (with respect to news actors)					
	balance (between contradictory ideas)	34.7 %	65 %	50 %	50 %	
	active sentence structures	69.2 %	30.7 %	50 %	50 %	
	passive sentence structures					
	characteristics of the news actors (feeling confidence of distrust towards them)	accountability	88.8 %	11 %	50 %	50 %
		unaccountability				
straightforwardness						
obscurity						
responsibility		89 %	11 %	60 %	40 %	
irresponsibility						
Alternative discourses		70 %	30 %	50 %	50 %	

Table : General Evaluation of the Depiction of Government and TUSIAD in *Posta* and *Zaman* with respect to Narration, News Values and Governance

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