

**MESSAGE FRAMING IN CONTEXT:
POLITICAL DEBATES OF 2010 CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS**

by
EZGİ ŞEREF

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**MESSAGE FRAMING IN CONTEXT:
POLITICAL DEBATES OF 2010 CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS**

APPROVED BY:

Assoc. Dr. Nimet Beriker
(Dissertation Supervisor)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Betül Çelik

Asst. Prof. Dr. Emre Hatipoğlu

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Ezgi ŞEREF

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Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nimet BERIKER

Key Words: Forward- looking, backward-looking, power, affiliation, trust, mistrust, polarized political environment, simultaneous and sequential issue consideration

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the substantive and relational dimensions of the rhetoric used during the 2010 constitutional debates process and analyzed the impacts of political environment and simultaneous and sequential issue consideration as two different contexts on the constitution amendment making process.

This thesis predicts that presence of a polarized political environment leads the speakers to use a competitive and distributive rhetoric during 2010 constitutional debates and that the speakers use more cooperative and integrative rhetoric in the sessions in which the issues are considered simultaneously than in the sessions in which the issues are considered sequentially. It is found that the presence of a polarized political environment results in more a backward-looking, power and mistrust oriented rhetoric, which is associated with competitive and distributive bargaining. It is also found that the messages in the sessions in which the issues are considered simultaneously, are framed in more forward-looking, affiliation and trust oriented way, which is associated with a cooperative and integrative bargaining approach, than in the sessions in which the issues are considered sequentially.

Based on an analytical case-study, this study has the main objective of analyzing both substantive and relational dimensions of the rhetorical messages in 2010 constitutional debates, through using content analysis method.

**BAĞLAM İÇİNDE MESAJ ÇERÇEVELEMESİ:
2010 ANAYASAL DEĞİŞİKLİKLER HAKKINDAKİ SİYASAL TARTIŞMALARI**

Ezgi ŞEREF

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Anahtar Kelimeler: İleriye dönük, geriye dönük, güç, yakınlık, güven, güvensizlik,
kutuplaşmış siyasi ortam, konuların beraber ve sıralı olarak ele alınması

ÖZET

Bu tez 2010 anayasa tartışmaları süresince kullanılan retorikğin içerik veya ilişkisel boyutlarını incelemekte ve siyasi ortam ve konuların eş zamanlı veya sıralı incelenmesi olmak üzere iki farklı bağlamın anaysa değişikliği yapım sürecine etkilerini analiz etmektedir.

Bu tez, kutuplaşmış bir siyasi ortamın varlığının, 2010 anayasa tartışmaları boyunca, konuşmacıların daha paylaşımcı ve yarışmacı bir retorik kullanmasına yol açtığını ve konuşmacıların konuların eş zamanlı ele alındığı oturumlarda, konuların sıralı olarak ele alındığı oturumlara oranla daha bütünleyici ve işbirlikçi bir retorik kullandığını öngörmektedir. Kutuplaşmış siyasi ortamın varlığını yarışmacı ve paylaşımcı pazarlıkla ilişkilendirilen geriye dönük, güç ve güvensizliğe yönelik bir retorikğin oluşması sonucunu doğurduğu görülmüştür. Ayrıca, konuların eş zamanlı ele alındığı oturumlardaki mesajların konuların sıralı ele alındığı oturumlara oranla, işbirlikçi ve bütünleyici pazarlıkla ilişkilendirilen, ileriye dönük, yakınlık ve güvene yönelik olarak çerçevelenmesine yol açtığı gözlenmiştir.

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, analitik örnek-olay incelemesi dayalı olarak, içerik analizi methodu aracılığı ile 2010 anayasa tartışmalarında yer alan mesajların esasa yönelik ve ilişkisel yönlerini analiz etmektedir.

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To my beloved family

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1 INTRODUCTION

Constitution making has been one of the top issues of Turkish politics for more than a decade. 2010 constitutional amendments included the most recent and one of the most extensive changes in the history of Turkish constitution making. This process has been fulfilled in a deeply polarized political environment, which has emerged with a substantial change in Turkish domestic party politics. Additionally, this process has been perfected under the detailed procedures in which articles of the amendment pack have been discussed several times during different sessions. The conditions under which 2010 constitutional amendment pack has been passed are contextual factors, which impacted the process of 2010 constitution making. In terms of evaluating the relationship between context and political interactions, the case of 2010 constitutional debates gives us an opportunity to assess the impact of both the political atmosphere and the procedural context on the interactions between the members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA). The significance of this process is the focus of this thesis. In other words; this thesis explores the impact of context on negotiation behavior in political interactions in the case of the 2010 Turkish constitutional debates. I analyze how the polarized political environment and the simultaneous and sequential issues consideration have influenced the constitution making process by examining messages made by the members of the TGNA.

In this analysis, I use the concepts of forward and backward-looking negotiation styles and the relational aspect of interactions. I analyze the 2010 constitutional debates case through these concepts in terms of both the broader context of polarized political environment, and the procedural context of consideration of issues, which addresses whether the issues are handled sequentially or simultaneously. Through this assessment, I offer two propositions that reflect the relationship between these concepts and contexts. I first argue that in the existence of a polarized political environment, the speakers use more backward-looking, power and mistrust oriented rhetoric. I subsequently argue that the speakers use more forward-looking, affiliation and trust oriented messages in the constitution making process stages in which the issues are considered simultaneously than in the stages in which the issues are considered sequentially.

I examine these arguments on the statements of the speeches given by the members of the TGNA during the 2010 constitution making process by the method of content analysis. This

analysis is advantageous in terms of providing a grasp of negotiation styles, the relational aspects of political interactions and empirical evidence for the nexus between interaction process and context. It is also beneficial as it assesses the newly emerged concepts such as forward and backward-looking negotiation styles in the conflict resolution and political negotiation literature. Moreover, this approach contributes to the domestic politics literature as it provides an insight to political interactions and politics of constitution making processes in Turkey.

1.1 Focus of the Thesis

The need for a new constitution received more attention in the agenda of Turkish politics after two significant constitutional crises took place in Turkey since 2007. As attempts have been made to make constitutional amendments on the fundamental issues related to essential principles of the Turkish constitution, such as secularism or republican regime, the debates regarding conflicts between the political parties escalated. Yet, all the drafts offered until 2010 constitutional amendment pack were unsuccessful,¹ due to the conflicts regarding the procedures in which the constitutional amendment is made or the content of the amendments. These conflicts have also continued to appear and are reflected in the speeches of the TGNA representatives during the rounds of the 2010 constitution making process.

Alongside the border context of the polarized political environment, the way in which the issues are considered varies based on whether they are discussed simultaneously or sequentially, thus providing two different procedural contexts. These contexts are discussed in various studies (e.g., Balakrish, Patton & Lewis, 1993; Thompson, Mannix & Bazermann, 1988; Weingart, Bennett & Brett, 1993) as a part of the analysis on group negotiation process. As a multi-issue and multi-party task, constitution making process sets a stage for analyzing process of the political interactions on these procedural contexts, as well.

In understanding how the conflict between the political parties is reflected on the constitution making process and how the procedural simultaneous and sequential issue

¹Milliyet.Siyaset.(2010, April 06). Anayasa paketi geri çekildi. Retrieved August 17, 2011: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/anayasa-paketi-yenisi-icin-geri-cekildi/siyaset/haberdetay/06.04.2010/1221188/default.htm>

Hürriyet.Gündem. (2008, June, 05). Türban iptal. Retrieved August 17, 2011: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/9108857.asp>

consideration affect this process, the political rhetoric used by the members of the TGNA provides a purposive tool by projecting how parties frame the issues in 2010 constitutional debates. In order to shed light on the impact of these two contexts on the constitution making process, this thesis focuses on the political rhetoric used in 2010 constitutional debates.

1.2 Aim of the Thesis

Utilizing this analysis, this thesis first aims to reveal the impact of context, which includes the political environment and the procedural settings, on the constitution making process by describing negotiation styles of the members of the Turkish Parliament and relational aspects of their messages. Currently most of the literature on Turkish politics focus on describing characteristics and positions of the political parties in the political spectrum (e.g., Ahmedov, 2008; Çarkoğu, 2002, 2007; Kalaycıoğlu, 2007, 2010; Öniş, 2009; Özbudun, 2006), and describing certain cases in which political parties present their positions in their interactions (e.g., Cizre, 2008; Jenkins, 2007). In addition, the literature on Turkish constitution making mainly tackle with this process in a legal context (e.g., Gönenç, 2004; Gözler, 2001, Özbudun 2007) rather than taking constitution making as a political process, which is rarely done (e.g., Özbudun & Geçkaya, 2010). Considering the constitution making in Turkish politics and the escalating debates on this process with the intensifying polarization, this study also aims at providing both an insight to constitution making as a political process and the relationship between the social context and interactions between the political actors.

In this analysis, I use the concepts of forward and backward-looking negotiation styles and the relational dimension of rhetorical messages from a study on message framing. By replicating Donohue and Druckman's (2009) case study, this thesis ultimately aims to contribute to the growing literature on forward and backward negotiation styles and the existing literature on the relational dimensions of interactions, such as power and affiliation, and trust and mistrust. 2010 constitutional debate case provides empirical evidence as a case study for the assessment of the forward and backward-looking negotiation styles, power, affiliation, trust and mistrusts in a domestic political case.

1.3 Methodology

The analysis of the 2010 constitutional debates case has been examined by content analysis method. This thesis employs the coding scheme in Donohue and Druckman's (2009) study as part of the coding process. The statements made by the members of the TGNA during the 2010 constitution making process, which included 14 meetings in April, 19 - May 6, 2010, comprise the data collected from the website of the TGNA². The data and the coding procedures are presented in detail in Chapter 4.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter one presents the focus, the aim and importance of the study, including a brief summary of the method used in this study.

Chapter two presents the political environment in which the 2010 constitutional debates took place, the procedures for constitution making process, and the facts that led to 2010 constitutional amendments.

Chapter three consists of the literature review which is composed of two main sections. First section includes the research on the message framing concepts, which centers upon the negotiation style and relational dimensions of interactions. The second section includes the literature on the impact of context on interaction process.

Chapter four is the methodology section, which presents the method of this research explaining the features of the data, research procedures including sampling and coding proceedings in this study.

Chapter five includes both the results and findings from the analysis of general data and the comparative results and findings from the analysis of the simultaneous and sequential sessions. All results are presented in tables and in figures.

²Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi. (2010, April 19). Genel Kurul Tutanağı 23. Dönem 4. Yasama Yılı 88. Birleşim. Retrieved August 17, 2011, from http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak_sd.sorgu_yonlendirme?Donemkod=23&Yasama_yili=4&Baslangic_Tarihi=&Bitis_Tarihi=&sorgu_kelime=

Chapter six is the analysis section, in which the findings are interpreted focusing on how the relationship between the context and the interaction process reflected on the constitutional debates, addressing the relevant literature. This section also includes a presentation of overall summary and suggestions for future research.

2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This part presents an introductory summary of the events that led to the 2010 constitutional amendment making process and the Turkish constitution making procedures.

2.1 Constitutional Amendment Making in Polarized Political Environment

The foundations of the 1982 Constitution of Turkey were laid after the military coup in 1980. Although it was approved by a questionable referendum, it received criticism and opposition on a public scale (Özbudun & Gençkaya, 2010). Thus, it was made under the supervision of the military by excluding political parties and non-governmental institutions. The first attempt to amend this constitution intended to lift the political ban that prohibited the party leaders from doing politics. This attempt was approved by a slight majority in 1987 (Özbudun & Gençkaya, 2010).

Through the end of the Cold war era, Turkish politics has been pushed toward political instability and democracy and has gone through major changes due to the emergence of a “New World Order.” (Kalaycıoğlu, 2007) However, 1990s brought about many political crises. During this period, five different coalition governments came into power; yet none of them were able to stay in power more than two years. Nevertheless, another attempt regarding amending the constitution has been made in 1993 in order to extend the freedom of expression, in this political environment. This amendment was followed by the amendment in 1995, which lifted the ban on political activities of the unions, voluntary organizations, charitable foundations and public institutions. The 1995 amendment also removed the provision, which justified the legitimacy and necessity of the 1980 coup, from the Turkish Constitution. Upon increasing pressure from the internal and political actors, another amendment was made in order to civilianize the State Security Courts in 1999 (Özbudun & Gençkaya, 2010).

Turkey experienced a major financial crisis in February 2001. The coalition government could not cope with the economical and political consequences of this crisis. Therefore, the Turkish Grand National Assembly decided to hold an early election on November 3, 2002. Justice and Development Party (AKP), which was established merely 14 months prior to the 2002 elections, won the majority of the votes. AKP’s achievement was the harbinger of the increasing support, which became more salient in the elections of 2004, 2007 and 2009. The shift

from more established political parties towards this new political party who portrayed themselves as “democratic conservatives” (Kalaycıoğlu, 2007), opened up a new area in Turkish politics.

The conservative root of AKP goes back to the political Islamist National Outlook Movement (MG), which was mainly represented by Islamist Virtue Party (FP). However, the Constitutional Court of Turkey (AM) banned FP from politics for its activities against secularism and the Republic in 2001. This was a breaking point, which led the leader and the front bench of AKP to steer away from the MG and establish AKP while the old guard of the FP established another of the MG parties, the Felicity Party (SP) (Kalaycıoğlu, 2010).

Considering AKP’s Islamist references, it looked less like an ideological split from MG, but more of a slight change in style rather than substance (Kalaycıoğlu, 2010). Yet, the recent studies introduced that the success AKP earned by increasing its vote from 34.4 % in 2002 elections to 46.5 % in 2007 elections, was depended on the success of the economy rather than cultural, primordial and ideological factors (Kalaycıoğlu, 2010; Çarkoğlu, 2007). Furthermore, an analysis regarding AKP’s party program exposes the diverging characteristics in supporting free market economy, secularism and putting emphasis on the relationships with the European Union (EU), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Central Asian Turkic Republics of AKP (Özbudun, 2006).

AKP’s distinctive feature from the INO movement became more salient in supporting the full membership to the EU. Thus, after it was established, AKP declared support for the most extensive constitutional amendment pack in the Turkish history that aimed at amending the Turkish constitution in accordance with the decision of the European Court of Human Rights and was generated by the Interparty Harmonization Committee that was consisted of two members from each political party with the TGNA in 2001 (Gönenç, 2004; Özbudun, 2007).

Another breakthrough was the constitutional amendment pack of 2003, which included a major constitutional amendment designed to curb powers of the National Security Council (MGK), which used to have unlimited access to any civilian government as well as the authority to monitor the implementation of its recommendations to governments (Jenkins, 2007), and convert it into an advisory body (Cizre, 2008). This amendment pack received great support from the main opposition party, CHP, as well (Özbudun, 2010). This pack included amendments regarding abolishing death penalty in the State Security courts as well as promoting gender equality and allowing the Court of Accounts to audit the military expenditures (Özbudun, 2010).

In addition, harmonization laws, which intended to amend the essential Turkish Codes in line with the constitutional amendments between 2002 and 2004, passed under the rule of AKP (Özbudun, 2007). These laws improve the freedom of speech, association, assembly, religion, and there are anticipated revisions for prevention of torture, protection of the minority rights and the international human rights, reforms in terms of civilian and military relationships (Özbudun, 2010).

According to the 2004 report of the EU, “the European Commission noted that Turkey has sufficiently fulfilled Copenhagen political criteria, and it was recommended that the European Council start accession negotiations. In October 2005, the Council decided to open accession negotiations, in the meeting that was held in Brussels.” (Ahmedov, 2008) The negotiations came to a dead end when Turkey failed to satisfy the obligation of “opening its ports vessels and airplanes from the Republic of Cyprus, which had become a member in May 2004,” imposed by the EU (Öniş, 2009). Thus, the anti EU sentiment revived after the constitutional stalemate in the EU and the citizens of Northern Cyprus were disappointed due to the fact that the EU failed to keep its promises in return for their positive attitude towards the peaceful resolution of the Cyprus conflict (Öniş, 2009). After AKP’s victory in the 2007 general elections, it was expected that AKP would embark on a new wave of reforms that would rally Turkey’s efforts for the EU. However, second AKP government’s performance fell short of this expectation, after a few months in office (Öniş, 2009). Furthermore, “the government seems to have moved towards a new convergence with the popular conservative-nationalist sentiment and the military’s policy priorities on key issues” by returning to a hard-line approach towards Kurdish Question, Northern Iraq and the EU (Cizre, 2008).

The AKP government brought about a new phase of interaction between secularism and Islam, state, society. AKP’s political background has raised doubts in the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK), which regards itself as “the guarantor of domestic stability and territorial integrity, the guardian of Atatürk’s ideological and the mystical embodiment of the Turkish nation since 1930s” (Jenkins, 2007) and “guards by entrenching itself in politics” (Cizre, 2008). By the power granted by the 1982 Constitution, the MGK, which “comprising leading members of the civilian government and the high command of the TSK, to serve as an advisory body to the Council of Ministers,” was able to monitor the civilian authorities through participation in a number of other government bodies, such as holding seats on the boards of the Higher Education Council (HEC)

– which oversees tertiary education, and the Radio and Television Supreme Council (TRT) – which oversees broadcasting. The military also supplied one of the three judges on the panels responsible for hearing cases at the National Security Courts. The chief of staff was able to communicate the military’s concerns at his weekly meetings with the Prime Minister and the President (Jenkins, 2007).

The overwhelming public support in 2002 opinion polls and the EU’s insistence on civil control of the military, any overt to influence the political process through assertive public statements have changed the TSK’s assertive attitude. The TSK refrained from risking delaying Turkey’s receiving a date from Brussels and damaging the TSK’s public prestige (Jenkins, 2007). Through the second half of 2004, both sides remained cautious and careful not to jeopardize Turkey’s chances of receiving a date for the opening of the accession negotiations at the EU summit in Brussels on December 16-17, 2004. Although Turkey officially opened accession negotiations with the EU in Oct 2005, wide spread suspicion in Turkey that the EU would never accept the country as a full member caused the AKP government to lose direction and to become unable to introduce the reforms demanded by its conservative supporters.

The political and constitutional crisis regarding presidential elections in 2007 brought the need of fundamental amendments in the Turkish Constitution into question. In the consequence of the deadlock that the presidential election crisis in 2007 brought, Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) decided that early general elections would be called in July 2007. AKP, which received 46% of the votes in the elections of 2007, proposed to amend the constitution by a referendum in order to overcome the crisis and simultaneously asked a group of scholars to draft a new constitution in accordance with AKP’s election manifests (Özbudun, 2010).

AKP’s endeavors on the new constitution received both great attention and severe criticism from many political entities, including political parties, civil societal organizations and judiciary institutions, since it did not include any other party in the process of constitution making. The debate on the new draft constitution was interrupted by another political and constitutional crisis, which broke out after the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declared that the headscarf ban in higher education had to be terminated through a constitutional amendment.

Receiving support from the leader of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), Devlet Bahçeli, AKP and MHP proposed a constitutional amendment that would allow university students to wear headscarfs in university campuses. After TGNA approved this amendment, the

Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Democratic Society Party (DSP) filed a petition to the Constitutional Court of Turkey (AM) claiming that "these amendments violate the immutable principle of secularism and are; therefore, legally null and void." The AM accepted the claims and repealed the amendments (Köker, 2010).

Through the end of 2008, AKP decided to withhold the draft constitution and proposed a new constitutional amendment pack. The President of TGNA, Köksal Toptan, took initiative to establish a committee, which would include two representatives from the four parties who have a parliamentary group in the TGNA, and sent letters to the leaders of these parties. This attempt failed since CHP did not reply to this request. However, the domestic and international institutions have been emphasizing the need to generate conciliation among the political parties. The European Parliament has even imposed an obligation to AKP that it has to conciliate all segments in the society in its report on Turkey.

Another attempt at arriving at a conciliation among the political parties came from President Abdullah Gül almost a year after the first attempt. However, considering the hardships of conciliating the other parties, AKP had already headed towards holding a referendum and had prepared an amendment that aimed at reducing the period of proposing to hold a referendum for constitutional changes from 120 to 60 days. On one hand, AKP was preparing for a possible referendum through this amendment, which was enacted by the TGNA. On the other hand, the AKP delegation visited the main opposition parties to seek support for the constitutional amendment pack. One reason for AKP to seek conciliation was to overcome the constitutional regulation of Article 175, which required a mandatory referendum after the President's approval. In this sense, AKP's delegation visit was indispensable.

In the wake of the visit of the AKP delegation, CHP iterated once more that it would not support the amendment pack, while the NMP reemphasized that a conciliation committee should engender the constitutional amendment pack. Despite the objections and criticism from the opposition parties, AKP brought the draft constitutional amendment pack to the Constitutional Commission of the TGNA (Commission). CHP was swift to raise an objection by submitting a proposal in which it was requested that AKP's proposal should be rejected because the amendment pack was against the Constitution of Turkey. However, the Commission rejected CHP's proposal immediately. Just before the Commission declared its approval of the amendment pack, the chairpersons of CHP and AKP convened for the last time to negotiate;

however, the parties did not reach any resolution. Following the Commission's approval, CHP delivered a dissenting opinion on the Commission's report. Subsequently, the amendment pack was submitted to the TGNA.

In the first round of the ballot regarding the amendment pack, TGNA approved the request on putting the amendment pack to vote. In the second round voting, TGNA approved all provisions of the amendment pack except for Article 8. As a part of the law making process, the amendment pack was submitted to President Abdullah Gül for his decision on approval or veto. Gül approved the amendment pack; however, he had to hold a referendum for it according to the constitutional provision Article 175.³

The only opportunity CHP had was applying to the CCT for the repeal of the amendment. CHP filed a petition for Articles 8, 14, 16, 19, 22 and 26 to be repealed, claiming that these provisions were the indispensable provisions, whose amendments could not be proposed according to the Article 4 of the CT. The CCT accepted CHP's petition and examined the amendment pack. In conclusion, it was decided that Articles 16 and 22 of the amendment pack had to be repealed and there were no other legal discrepancies in the rest of the amendment pack, so it could be put to referendum. In the referendum, which was held on September 12, 2010, the participation rate was 77% and the constitution amendment pack was approved by the affirmative votes of 58% of the voters. However, the fact that 42% of the voters did not vote at all posed an important question⁴ for the deep divergence regarding the 2010 constitutional amendment process among the two groups in the Turkish society, who have been deeply polarized since 1995. Additionally, this victory was considered to be AKP's vote of confidence before the 2011 elections making AKP more powerful⁵. Right after the referendum, President Gül and Prime Minister Erdoğan declared that they would seek for reconciliation on the upcoming

³See section 2.2 for procedures on constitution making

⁴Time World, Turgut P. (2010, September 13). Turkey: A Referendum for Democracy or a Strongman?. Retrived August 24, 2011 from <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2018862,00.html>

⁵Hürriyet, Planet (2010, September 13). Dünyanın gözü kulağı Türkiye'de. Retrived August 24, 2011 from <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=15766827>

constitution making process.⁶ Thus, after the general elections⁷ in which AKP received 49.95% of the votes, a new constitution making process became a main topic in the general agenda.⁸ The main opposition parties from the 2011 elections, CHP and MHP, adopted a reconciliatory attitude in their declaration on a new constitution making process. MHP agreed to participate in this process either with or without participation of other opposition parties;⁹ while CHP emphasized the condition that the new constitution draft should be prepared by a conciliation committee which includes equal number of representatives from all political parties in the TGNA.¹⁰ Recently, the current President of the TGNA will meet with 24 constitutional law professors to discuss drafting a new constitution.

The ongoing debates on whether to come to terms on the articles of the 2010 constitutional amendment pack lead the political environment to become polarized. On one hand, the political actors seem that they are eager to change the current Turkish Constitution. On the other hand, they have deep divergences in terms of some of the articles of the 2010 constitutional amendment pack. These conflicting attitudes pave the way for a polarized political environment, which has a significant impact on the constitution making process and out-comes. This thesis will examine how this impact is reflected on the rhetoric used by the members of the TGNA.

⁶Hürriyet, Konuralp O. (2010, September 17). Gül ve Erdoğan yeni anayasa için uzlaşma arayacak. Retrived August 24, 2011 from <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=15801763>.

⁷Hürriyet, Genel Seçim. (2011, June 12) Genel Seçim. Retrived August 24, 2011 from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/secim2011/default.html> for the results of the general elections.

⁸Hürriyet, Gündem. (2011, June 13). Anayasa için meclise. Retrieved August 24, 2011 from <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=18026242>.

⁹Hürriyet, Küçükşahin Ş. (2011, June 14). Kapımız açık. Retrieved August 24, 2011 from <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=18026244>.

¹⁰ Hürriyet, Gündem. (2011, July 07). Anayasa için varız. Retrieved August 24, 2011 from <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/ShowNew.aspx?id=18191677>.

2.2 Constitutional Amendment Making Procedures

The framework of the procedures for constitutional amendment making is based on Article 175 of the Turkish constitution,¹¹ and the discussions in the meetings are conducted in accordance with Articles Article 73 to Article 91 of the internal regulations of the TGNA.¹² Constitutional amendments are offered by a written proposal which is signed by one third of the number of the representatives in the TGNA and discussed under the name of “the law concerning the making of the constitutional amendments”. This offer is discussed in the TGNA meetings in two rounds. In the first round, the articles of this law are discussed first simultaneously. Then, these articles are discussed sequentially and put to vote. In the second, the articles for which the representatives enter a motion may be discussed sequentially and put to vote once more.

The law regarding constitutional amendments is affirmed by the secret votes of three fifths of the number of the representatives in the TGNA. As in the provisions regarding law making process, this law is required to be approved by the President. In case the President does not approve the constitutional amendments, he is required to send them back to the TGNA to be reviewed. However, if this law is approved without any change by the votes of two thirds of the number of the representatives in the TGNA, then the President has the option to hold a referendum on these amendments. In case this law is approved by the votes more than the three fifths or less than two thirds of the number of the representatives of the TGNA, the President is required to hold a referendum on this law, if he does not send it back to the TGNA. The law regarding the constitutional amendments is required to be approved by one more than the half of the affirmative votes casted in the referendum. The law concerning constitutional amendments, which is approved in accordance with these regulations, is published in the Turkish Official Gazette.

¹¹Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi. (1982, October 7). Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası. Retrieved August 24, 2011 from http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa_2011.pdf.

¹²Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi. (1973, March 5). Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Tüzüğü. Retrieved August 24, 2011 from <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/ictuzuk/ictuzuk.htm>.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section presents relevant literature on message framing as a tool in revealing the different dimensions of the communication process and context as an influencing factor on negotiation behavior from the fields of psychology, conflict resolution, political science and communication. This thesis first introduces the literature on message framing, which serves in analyzing a highly communicative process such as constitution making. Within the review of the literature on message framing, the focus is on i) forward and backward-looking negotiation styles, which are related to the issues and content of the communications, and then on the relational dimensions of the communications which are characterized by the concepts of ii) power and affiliation and iii) trust and mistrust. This thesis also presents a review of the literature on the impact of context on negotiation behavior, focusing on polarized political environment and simultaneous and sequential issue consideration.

3.1 Literature on Message Framing

Framing is a central concept in the studies concerning political communication (e.g., Besly & McComas, 2005; Scheufele, 2000; 2007). Constitution making process, which is mainly characterized by the speeches given by the members of the parliament, includes intense political communication. Therefore, an effective way to analyze this process is to examine the statements of the speakers by analyzing how they frame their messages and form their rhetoric in their speeches. In this sense, this thesis presents the literature on framing in general and focus on the key concepts concerning substantive and relational aspects¹³ of rhetorical messages.

Framing refers to “the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue.” (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 104). Framing may be in thought as well as communication (see Kinder & Sanders 1996; Scheufele 1999; Druckman 2001c; Brewer 2003). Framing in thought refers to “an individual’s cognitive understanding of a given situation”; while, a frame in communication refers to “words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that a speaker, such as a politician, uses when relaying

¹³Watzlawick, P., Beavin, J. H., & Jackson, D. D. (1967). *Pragmatics of human communication: A study of interactional patterns, pathologies, and paradoxes*. New York: Norton.

information concerning an issue or event to an audience.” (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 100). In other words, the former is related to the impressions of an individual, while the latter includes visual or verbal presentations of a speaker’s expressions. In this sense, this process is tied to information processing, messages patterns, linguistic cues, and socially constructed meanings, and it has great importance in the negotiation process (Putnam & Holmer, 1992).

The research concerning framing in negotiation literature is clustered under three main approaches: cognitive heuristics (Neale & Bazerman, 1985), frame categories (Lewicki, Saunders & Minton, 1997) and issue development (Putnam & Holmer, 1992). An important example of the first approach is Neale and Bazerman(1985) study on cognitive biases caused by framing heuristics. Neale and Bazerman (1992) argue that the way in which information is framed to the negotiator can have significant impact on his preference for risk, particularly when uncertainty about future events or outcome is involved. In this respect, they claim that evaluating an alternative from a particular referent point influences the attitudes toward risk through the positive or negative frames associated with the problem. Recent examples of this line of research concerning framing include social motives (De Dreu & McCusker, 1997; Poppe & Valkenberg, 2003) and negotiator effect (Carnevale, 2008).

The second main approach is aimed at merging cognitive views of framing with linguistic analysis. Gray and Donnelly (1989) offered six framing categories: 1) substantive frames, which defines the issue in conflict; 2) loss-gain frames, which provide interpretations associated with the risk or benefits of various outcomes, 3) characterization frames, which are expectations an evaluations of the other disputant’s behaviors and attitudes, 4) process frames, which are expectations about how the negotiation will or should proceed, 5) aspiration frames, which express underlying interests and needs, 6) outcome frames, which are the disputant’s proffered positions and solutions. Although this approach makes an effort to integrate frames with social interaction, it has been criticized for conflating mutual understanding with agreement, being not clear in methodology, and yielding the same results with the other approaches (Putnam & Holmer, 1992).

The third approach of issue development, whose theoretical roots reside in dispute resolution, argumentation and policy deliberations, focuses on the task or agenda through

examining the way issues change during the negotiation process. The main characteristics of this approach are comprised of bargaining context (e.g., Derber, Chalmers, Stagner & Edelman, 1961; Mather & Yngvesson, 1980; Putnam, 1985), issue shaping process (e.g., Putnam & Geist, 1985) and reframing solutions to issues (e.g., Putnam & Wilson, 1989).

An alternative attempt to conceptualize frame is made by Bateson (1972). He defined frame as classes or sets of messages. These messages perform meta-communication, which is related to the way that language provides cues for interpreting both the content and the substance of talk as well as the relationship between communicators (Putnam & Holmer, 1992). Building up on this framework, Drake and Donohue (1996) considered framing as communicative process and evaluate the utility of this concept for communication research in conflict resolution. They claimed that communicators make language choices that emphasize certain aspects of or attitudes toward an issue while de-emphasizing others. These choices, or frames, provide hints to the other party regarding the communicator's substantive, strategic, and/or relational dispositions of the communicator (Donohue & Hoobler, 2002).

A recent study by Donohue and Druckman (2009) analyze a sample of public speeches and interviews conducted during the period before the signing of the Oslo I Accords. They examine both the substantive or content and relational dimensions of the communications. In their study, framing was defined based on whether it is forward or backward-looking from a substantive perspective in which they ask about the way the speaker frames the issues or content. They also include a relational perspective in which they ask about the way the speakers use language to communicate trust, affiliation, and power. Replicating the use of these substantive and relational perspectives, this thesis focuses on these two dimensions. The following section will explain the substantive aspect of message.

3.1.1 Forward and Backward-Looking Negotiation Styles

The literature burgeoning on forward and backward looking negotiation styles is found in various studies in international relations literature varying from historical case studies (e.g., Meerts, 2005; Dupond & Lasrochas, 2005) to bilateral or unilateral cases (e.g., Richarte, 2005; Llyod, 2005) analyzing mostly negotiation processes and outcomes. Zartman (2005) discusses the main dilemma that brings about these concepts on whether the parties would search for

outcomes based on their positions by pursuing the conflict politically, or they could try establish new relationships for the future by assigning the responsibilities and consequences of the conflict, offering the choices between a backward-looking and a forward-looking strategy. He defines backward-looking and forward-looking negotiation styles as follows:

Backward-looking negotiations are those that seek to end the previous violence, that try to resolve a confrontation of rights and status, and that seek accountability for past actions in the conflict. Forward-looking negotiations look for mechanisms to prevent future violence, seek outcomes that reach beyond the conflict to the opportunities for cooperation and problem solving, and try to prevent the resurgence of the old conflict in a new, later form by resolving the underlying causes. (p.3)

He also points out the possible situations in which these styles may interact by either reinforcing or conflicting with each other. Therefore he claims that each process should be considered with its own needs and that the success of one these two directions may explain the failure of the other. Thus, he correlates these negotiation styles with the contrasting approaches in the negotiation literature such as zero-sum and positive-sum, distributive and integrative, concession/convergence and formula/detail negotiations. He explains the first term in each pair as an indicator of the parties' focus on their gains in the expense of the other's losses and a move towards an agreement by mitigating each other's positions; while he presents the latter approach as an indicator of common solution and an attempt to construct an outcome whereby each party gains.

In addition to the negotiation literature, the newly emerging literature on the backward and forward-looking negotiation also compares these concepts to the main dichotomy of realist tradition and liberal paradigm of international relations. Hopmann (1996) defines realist tradition as the former method, as a "state-to-state diplomacy in which individual and autonomous states seek to advance their own interest, often at the expense of other states" and argues that negotiation should be considered as a means to resolve conflicts in a way that would produce mutual benefits rather than exclusive benefits for one at the expense of the others. Parallel to Hopmann's statements, Zartman (2005) argues that in realist approach, parties are concerned with their gains whose value is determined in relation to the position of their rivals; while in liberal approach, parties are concerned with their gains that have value relative to their needs and their prime value is welfare. Based on this argument, he draws a relationship correspondence

between the realist approach and backward-looking negotiations and between idealist approach and forward-looking negotiations.

In addition to these theoretical discussions on the backward and forward-looking negotiations, Druckman and Lyons's (2005) comparative case study on Nagorno-Karabakh and Mozambique compares the objectives of backward and forward-looking negotiation style with the ones in Iklé's (1964) framework on normalization¹⁴ and innovation¹⁵ providing empirical evidence for positioning of the backward and forward-looking negotiation styles among the existing literature on negotiation. This study also examines the negotiation process through a seven step scale, ranging from the most distributive or competitive to the most integrative or cooperative including a neutral category, which is neither cooperative nor competitive, addressing the following contrasting approaches in describing negotiation process: i) relative power or absolute gains (Hopmann, 1995); ii) distributive or integrative bargaining problem (Walton & McKersie, 1965); iii) emphasis on positions or interests/values (Fisher & Ury, 1981); iv) hard and soft bargaining (Walcott & Hopman, 1975). In this comparative study, Druckman and Lyons (2005) draw a profile of normalization negotiation toward a backward-looking outcome, including a competitive and rivalry process in the Karabakh case and a profile of innovative negotiation toward a forward-looking outcome, including a relatively cooperative process.

Another contribution to the growing literature on forward-looking backward-looking negotiation styles was made by Donohue and Druckman's (2009) study, in which they look at how parties use two different venues of public speeches and private meetings to accomplish their political goals. They extend the scope of both forward-looking and backward-looking negotiation

¹⁴ Normalization consists of a focus on: termination (by a cease-fire, truce, or resumption of diplomatic relations) of the abnormal; the strong influence of the situation at the time of negotiations; the potential for the stronger party to win by force instead of negotiation if the talks are prolonged; and continuation of fighting or subsiding of fighting by tacit truce if no agreement occurs (as cited in Druckman, 2005, p. 285).

¹⁵ Innovation consists of a focus on: new institutions or other arrangement of mutual interest; the inducement of mutual benefits; the possibility of interest in innovation shifting from one side to the other when negotiations are prolonged; and the status quo continuing if no agreement occurs (as cited in Druckman, 2005, p. 285)

styles in their study. They incorporate the following elements into the backward-looking negotiation definition: i) aiming for compromise outcomes that do not address the underlying sources of the conflict; ii) emphasizing the symptoms of the conflict, and iii) implying that the other party is responsible for the problem, resolution depends largely on their concessions, reinforcing competitive or distributive bargaining process. They also extend the definition of forward-looking style by including the following items: i) focusing on similarities; ii) acknowledging mutual responsibility, and iii) emphasizing a future in which peaceful relationships are sustained (Donohue & Druckman, 2009).

Besides these substantive aspects of forward and backward-looking negotiation styles, this thesis also examines the relational dimensions of message framing which includes power, affiliation, trust and mistrust. The next sections will first explain the concepts of power and affiliation and subsequently discuss the concepts of trust and mistrust.

3.1.2 Power and Affiliation

Framing literature discusses that power and affiliation are important aspects of relational messages. Before the general and nuanced dimensions of relational communication is identified (Bochner, 1984; Burgoon & Hale, 1984; Kemper, 1973), the assumption that the relationships are created, revealed and modified by interpersonal interactions (Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson, 1967) has guided the communication studies for a long time. An important theoretical framework is the relational framing theory, which specifies dominance-submission and affiliation-disaffiliation as the primary dimensions underlying all relational judgments (Solomon, Dillard & Anderson, 2002). According to this theory, the definition of dominance-submission is “the degree to which one actor attempts to control the behavior of another, either directly or by establishing status over the other” (Solomon, Dillard & Anderson, 2002, p. 137). This definition is in line with the relation power definition by Deutsch (1973) according to which one party is usually more able to influence the other favorably or to overcome other’s resistance in line with the dominance-submission concept. Affiliation-disaffiliation is described as “the appreciation or esteem one person has for another” (Solomon, Dillard & Anderson, 2002, p. 137).

A more detailed conceptualization of power and affiliation is presented in Winter’s (1993) study in which he tested the model that is developed by McClelland (1975). The model

specifies power and affiliation as psychological causes of war. Winter (1993) examines comparative content analysis of historical materials from over 300 years of British history, British-German communications at World War I and United States-Soviet communications during the Cuban Missile Crisis. He conceptualizes power and affiliation and scores the data sets in accordance with these definitions. Table 3.1 shows the definitions of power and affiliation for each score section.

Table 3.1
Winter’s brief outline of motive imagery scoring in verbal material

Imagery Type	Definition
Achievement	<p>Someone is concerned about a standard of excellence</p> <p>Directly, by words indicating the quality of performance, or indirectly, by actions clearly suggesting a concern for excellence, or by success in competition.</p> <p>By negative emotions or counter-striving in response to failure.</p> <p>By carrying out some unique, unprecedented accomplishment.</p>
Affiliation	<p>Someone is concerned about establishing, maintaining or restoring friendship or friendly relations among persons, groups, etc.</p> <p>By expression of positive, friendly, or intimate feelings toward other characters, nations, etc.</p> <p>By expression of sadness or other negative feeling about separation or disruption of a friendly relationship, or wanting to restore it.</p> <p>By affiliative, companionate activities.</p> <p>By friendly, nurturant acts.</p>
Power	<p>Someone is concerned about having impact, control, or influence on another person, group, or the world at large</p> <p>By taking strong, forceful actions that inherently have impact on other people or the world at large.</p> <p>By controlling or regulating others.</p> <p>By attempting to influence, persuade, convince, make or prove a point, argue.</p> <p>By giving unsolicited help or advice.</p> <p>By impressing others or the world at large; prestige or reputation.</p> <p>By eliciting a strong emotional reaction in someone else.</p>

Building on McClelland's (1975) and Winter's (1993) studies, Donohue and his colleagues (2002; 2009) introduce the importance of the relational features of communication in distinguishing between the messages that emphasize power and those that promote affiliation between the conflicting parties. In their latest study, Donohue and Druckman (2009) use the motive imaginary scoring frame for power and affiliation to capture the communication between Israeli and Palestinian leaders in the period leading up to the Oslo I talks. This thesis will use the definitions provided by Donohue and Druckman's study: Power includes (i) strong, forceful acts; (ii) control, which consists of attempts to regulate or manage the other; (iii) attempts made to influence the other with direct or implied threats; (iv) efforts to impress the other with reputational tactics; (v) a strong positive or negative emotional reaction; and (vi) giving unsolicited advice or help. Affiliation consists of (i) expressions of positive, friendly, or intimate feelings; (ii) expressions of sadness or regret for lost opportunities to restore relations; (iii) statements of companionship or camaraderie; and (iv) nurturing statements or acts.

3.1.3 Trust and Mistrust

Another concept that is central to any relationship is trust, which can be applicable to one's individual relationships as well as his/her social environment (Deutsch, 1958). Thus, it has been a central concept for many studies that focus on interaction between individuals. A common definition of trust in management literature is "an individual's belief in and willingness to act on the basis of the words, actions, and decisions of another" (McAllister 1995, p.25; Lewicki, McAllister & Bies, 1998, p. 440.,as cited in Lewicki & Wiethoff, 2000). A latter attempt by Hoffman (2002) conceptualizes trust in international relations literature. According to his definition, trust is "an attitude involving a willingness to place the fate of one's interests under the control of others." (Hoffman, 2002, p. 376) Trust has also been one of the important themes in the negotiation literature. Pruitt and Carnevale (1993) define trust as the expectation that the other party will cooperate.

A central issue regarding trust in the negotiation literature is the role of trust in predicting about negotiation processes and outcomes. Thus, Kimmel's study (1980) found that people are more prone to communicate their needs, positions, and the facts of the situation if they trust. If they do not trust, they are more likely to use threats and become more committed to their

positions. Likewise, Lewicki and Bunker (1995) found that a negotiator must signal to the other that each would choose to act in a cooperative manner and believe that they would be mutually committed to a joint solution, and that lack of trust precludes information exchange in a problem solving discussion. These two studies demonstrate that exchanging information is an important factor in developing trust. In addition, Lewicki, Saunders and Minton (1997) argued that holding a positive attitude, perceived similarities, cooperative behavior and making concessions are key factors to develop trust.

These different factors, which play a role in establishing trust, also serve in differentiating types of trust. They offer a new model for dimensions of trust in which they describe four prototypical relationship conditions: i) low trust/low distrust, ii) high trust/low distrust, iii) low trust/high distrust, and iv) high trust/high distrust. In high trust/low distrust condition, which can be referred as trusting, “the trusting party is likely to identify with the trusted one's values, feel strong positive affect toward the trusted, and express these feelings through various verbalizations of appreciation, support, and encouragement” (Lewicki, McAllister & Bies, 1998, p.446). In low trust/high distrust condition, which can be referred as distrusting, parties may devote significant resources to monitoring the other's behavior, preparing for the other's distrusting actions, and attending to potential vulnerabilities that might be exploited (Lewicki, McAllister & Bies, 1998, p. 446). Four conditions are parallel to four different types of trust ranging from low levels of trust to high levels of trust: mistrust, calculus-based trust, identity based-trust, knowledge based-trust (Lewicki & Stevenson, 1997; Irmer & Druckman, 2009)

In their study, Donohue and Druckman (2009) also used the concepts of knowledge-based trust, identity based trust, and mistrust as the other relational aspects of the communications between Israeli and Palestinian leaders. They conceptualized knowledge-based trust as “a willingness to share information that assists parties in predicting other’s behavior”; while the identity-based trust focuses on “the identification of common interests and values and the acknowledgement of a shared identity” (Donohue & Druckman, 2009, p. 126). In addition, they included a mistrust parameter to identify the situations in which the parties are “unwilling to seem vulnerable and concede their dependence on the other party” (Donohue & Druckman, 2009, p. 126). This thesis will use these definitions to analyze the rhetoric used by the speakers

in the course of 2010 constitutional debates. However, since the difference between knowledge and identity based trust is not as important for this case the definitions will be brought under trust.

3.2 The Impact of Context on Interaction Process

In order to provide a theoretical background for the main objectives of this thesis, this section will firstly address the literature, which examines the relationship between context and process; subsequently present the studies that examined the several context variables which, impact interaction processes; and finally discuss the context variables chosen for this study.

In explaining the relationship between context and process, an important framework offered by Sawyer and Guetzkow (1965) identifies the key factors that influence the negotiation processes and outcomes. As it can be seen in Figure 3.1, they introduce the phenomenon of negotiation, relationship among the parts, dynamics and the flow from antecedent to concomitant to consequent factors (as cited and presented in Druckman, 2005).

A Framework of Influences and Processes of Negotiation

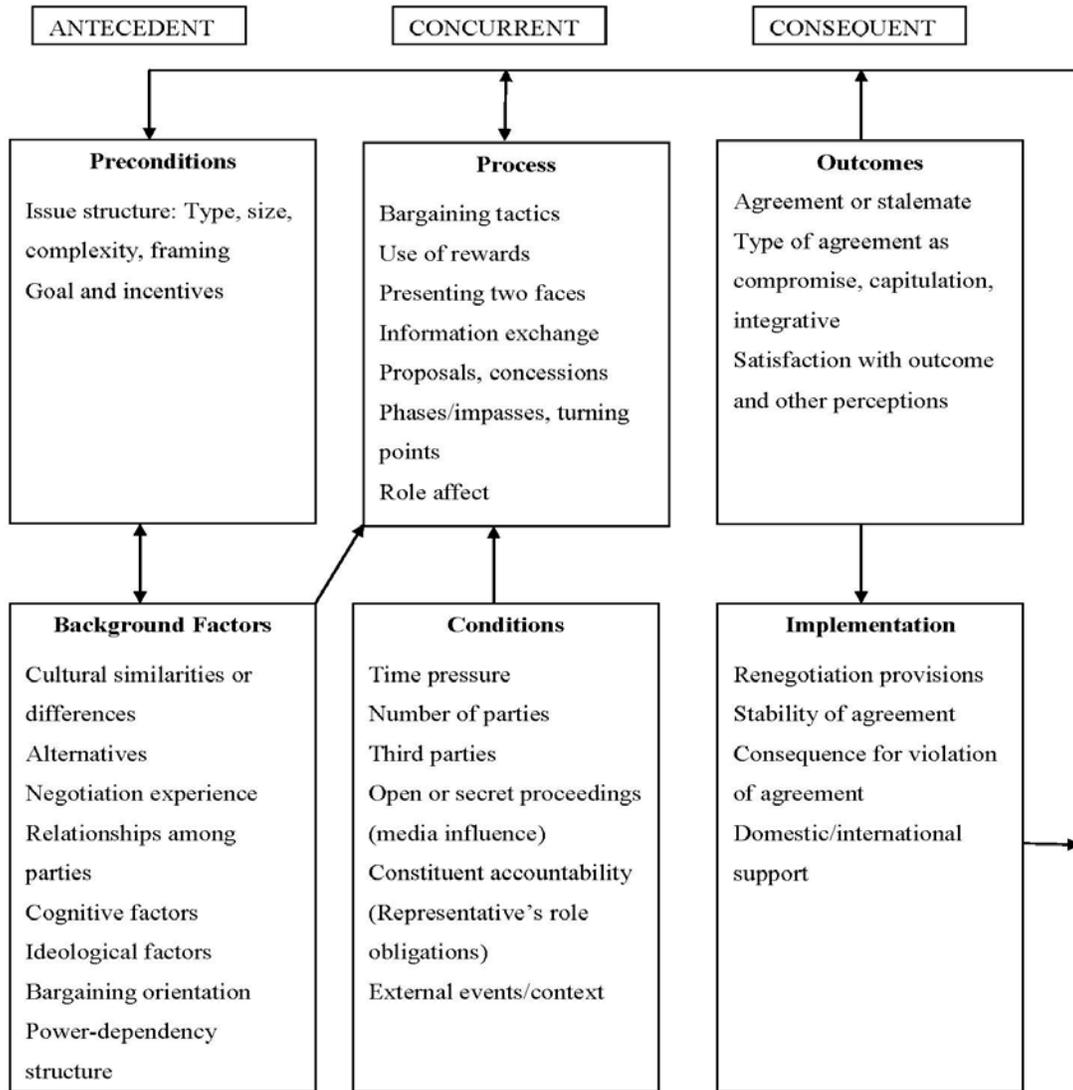


Figure 3.1: A framework of influences and processes of negotiation

Building on this framework, Druckman (2003) conducts a meta-analysis on the studies that examine influence of context on interaction process and outcomes and the other way around. He argues that external events, structural factors, culture and country context as context variables impact on interaction process and outcomes in a negotiation process. They also impact small group process in terms of political change and international relations. He compares the conceptualization of these contexts in several studies to make a general framework. For external events, he determines several dimensions and gives examples from the literature. These dimensions are proximal, which refers to being close to the process, and distal, which refers to far from the process, domestic or international (e.g., Hopmann & King, 1976; Hopmann & Smith, 1978; Druckman & Slater, 1979), and specific events such as an attack versus changes in the international or larger domestic atmosphere (e.g., Hopmann & Walcott, 1977; Druckman, 1986). For structural factors he addresses the studies that focus on i) balance of factions within each country (Jonsson, 1979); ii) institutional context (Druckman, 2001); iii) effects of power asymmetries (Beriker & Druckman, 1996); and iv) regime type, geographical proximity, and v) alliances among parties regional stability (Irmer, 2003; Irmer & Druckman, 2009). For culture and country contexts, he discusses that national diplomacy styles (e.g., Druckman, 1996), negotiator's subculture (e.g., Druckman & Hopmann, 1989), the differences between national and professional culture (Sjostedt, 2003), and the differences between practices, logics and values in negotiations (e.g., Hariss, 1999) play a role in defining culture as a context variable impacts negotiation process and outcomes.

For 2010 constitutional debates case, the larger domestic atmosphere, which is listed as one of the context variables in Druckman's (2003) analysis, is an important context that impacts the 2010 constitutional amendment making process. As explained in second chapter, the political parties has been having deep conflicts in terms of 2010 constitutional amendment making process and this polarized political environment has been reflected on their statements. Thus, a recent study by Çarkoğlu and Toprak (2007), which examines the relationship between religion, society, and politics, also draws attention to polarization between "Islamists" and "Secularists", which also refers to the polarized political environment in Turkey. Although, Çarkoğlu and Toprak's (2007) findings about the issues such as attitudes toward religious people, democratic mode of government, Islamic terrorism do not necessarily point to a salient polarization at the societal level, they find that there is a remarkable tension around the issue of secularism and a

significant divergence between Islamist and Secularist, which poses a question about polarization. Hence, the tension regarding the 2010 constitutional amendments between the ruling party AKP with Islamist references and the opposition parties, especially the main opposition party CHP with secularist identity has been reflected to the media several times. It is likely that this tension also reflected on the 2010 constitution making process.

Another influential factor is the negotiator's social environment. Thus, this larger social context includes the number of parties in negotiations (Lewicki, Saunders & Minton, 1997) and the presence of constituencies, third parties and audience, who may or may not be directly affected by the negotiations themselves, and who may or may not be able to observe and participate in the process (Lewicki, Saunders & Minton, 1999). Lewicki, Saunders and Minton (1999) offered a typology of different types of audience and discussed its effects. According to this typology, one form of audience is "additional team members, who are present with the negotiator at the deliberations" (p. 155). A second type of audience is a constituency, whose "interests, demands, or priorities are being represented by the negotiator" (p. 155). The third type is "bystanders and observers whose interest is not directly represented at the negotiation table, but who are affected by the outcome" (p. 156).

Several studies examine the situation in which a negotiator is under the surveillance of another negotiator and finds that the negotiators who believed that they were under surveillance were significantly more likely to act in a distributive bargaining manner and to use treats (Benton & Druckman, 1974; Carnevale, Pruitt & Britton, 1979). In addition to surveillance by an audience, Brown's study (1968) on the power of feedback from a salient audience suggests that the opinions and supportive comments of a salient audience affect the negotiator's behavior more dramatically. In his study, high school students received feedback from a group of observers, consisting of their peers, after a bargaining situation. The subjects who were given derogatory feedback were far more likely to retaliate than the subjects who received favorable feedback.

Another influence on the negotiator's behavior in a social setting is his accountability to the audience, which occurs when the bargainer's performance is visible to the audience and when the audience is dependent on the bargainer (Lewicki, Saunders & Minton, 1997). Tetlock (1985) argues that constituents presumably approve though negotiation styles and that being

accountable to them prompts concern for appearing tough and refuse making concessions. In the interpersonal level decision making process, Kramer et al. (1990) discusses that the identity of the audience matters in understanding the effects of accountability. Thus, they found that as the interpersonal accountability increases in decision maker's sense, it serves in constraining self-interested behavior. These studies provided evidence for the use of contingency theory and social identity theory in analyzing the effects of accountability, which vary across different social contexts and task settings.

In addition to the context variables explained above, the effects of simultaneous and sequential issue consideration have been examined in various studies in the negotiation literature (e.g., Henderson et. al., 2006; Weingart et. al., 1993; Yukl et. al. 1976). Lewicki et al. (1997) argues that assembling issues and identifying them are a major step in pre-negotiation phase and that the issues are required to include in a larger bargaining mix rather than in a list and to be discussed together as an issue group for more successful negotiation outcomes (Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993). Several other lines of research have presented similar findings that in terms of making offers, simultaneous issue consideration interferes with integrative agreements rather than sequential (piecemeal) issue consideration (Henderson et.al., 2006). In addition, several studies examined the interplay between issue consideration and other variables such as aspiration level (Mannix et. al., 1989), motivation level (Weingart et. al., 1993), or temporal distance (Henderson et. al., 2006) in negotiation process.

One of the first studies that attempts to test the suggestion that inducing both parties with all issues simultaneously render possible to facilitate the settlements faster and to produce more integrative outcomes (Yukl et. al. 1976). This experimental study presents that sequential procedure did not allowed any integrative bargaining process to occur and subjects were compelled to involve in distributive bargaining; whereas integrative bargaining process was able to occur under the simultaneous settlement conditions (Yukl et. al. 1976). However, a later study by Winham and Bovis (1978) challenges Yukl's study (1976) by arguing that "multiplicity of interests makes the situation too complex to resolve in a single stroke". Nevertheless, Mannix et. al. (1989) provides a supporting evidence by introducing that "integrative agreements are created by the simultaneous discussion of issues across all group members" in their study. In addition,

Weingarth et. al. (1993) finds that when the groups consider issues simultaneously, they are able to avoid impasse and to reach high-quality decisions.

More recent studies extend these studies by examining the different conditions in which the sequential vs. simultaneous issue consideration is made. Balakrishnan et. al. (1993) examines the impact of power, issue importance and time constraints on the preference for issue consideration. They find that in an asymmetric relationship the party with greater powers could prefer a sequential agenda in order to dominate all sessions of negotiations and the weaker party could choose a simultaneous consideration of issues since they are seeking to make the most advantageous trade-offs possible and achieve greater integrative outcomes. They find that in structuring a multistage process of sequential agenda setting, the preference for simultaneous vs. sequential agenda negotiations are required to be considered on the ground of a review of the strategic agenda consideration.

The agenda consideration in 2010 constitutional debates case includes both simultaneous and sequential issue consideration. The procedural context of the constitution making process already determines that the process includes sessions in which the issues are considered both simultaneous and sequential. Therefore, this process allows comparing the effects of these two different issue consideration styles, which provides an evidence for observing these effects.

All context variables that are presented in this section propound that context as a variable may take different forms within an interaction process and that it may also have various effects on both interaction processes and outcomes. Among all different context variables presented in this section, 2010 constitutional debates case provides a unique opportunity to examine the effects of the larger context of polarized political environment and the procedural context of simultaneous and sequential issue consideration. Therefore, this thesis focuses on the larger context of polarized political environment and the procedural context of issue consideration as two context variables of this research. The other context variables explained in this section such as structural factors, culture, country context, and social context are not included in the scope of this research and may be subject of future research.

4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology used in this thesis. It will first introduce the research question and the methodology. It will subsequently give information about the data, which includes data collection, content of the data, and unit of analysis and also explain the coding procedures, which include the sampling and the coding proceedings. Finally, it will offer some propositions regarding the effects of the polarized political environment and simultaneous and sequential issue consideration on the 2010 constitutional amendment making process.

4.1 Research Question and Research Methodology

This thesis will address the following research questions: How does political environment impact the interaction process as a social context? How does procedural context of issue consideration impact the interaction process? Considering that each research question is focused on “how”, rather than why or what, this thesis will undertake a descriptive research “in which the primary purpose is to paint a picture using words and numbers and to present a profile, a classification of types, or an outline of steps to answer questions such as who, when, where and how” (Neuman, 2006, p.34).

This research can also be identified as a case study, which is “an in-depth examination of an extensive amount of information about very few units or cases for one period or across multiple periods of time” (Neuman, 2006, p.40), since it will deal with a single case, which includes a process in one period of time. More specifically, this thesis will conduct analytical case study, since it analyzes one case, focusing on process in detail and emphasizing the role of context. Druckman (2005) introduces an analytical (enhanced) case study in which “the researcher provides a border understanding of what happened, by viewing the case through the lens of an interpretive framework” (p.167). Thus, this definition overlaps with the aim of this research.

In achieving this goal, this thesis considers the fact that it is almost indispensable for social scientists who try to make sense of political speeches to use content analysis method, which classifies textual material, reducing it into more manageable bits of data (Weber, 1990). Considering that the object of this thesis comprises large amount of text, this thesis will use content analysis, which “entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images and symbolic

matter, not necessary from an author's perspective" (Krippendorff, 2004, p.18). It is a research technique in which the researcher makes replicable and valid inferences from text to the contexts of their use. Among the various approaches to content analysis, this thesis uses the qualitative approach, since it includes rhetorical analysis, which focuses on how messages are delivered and with what effects (Krippendorff, 2004). Thus, interpreting the rhetorical messages is an important task in fulfilling the objectives of this research.

In addition to the qualitative approach, this thesis also uses a procedure that is used in quantitative approaches in which each unit within the text is converted into numbers through coding and calculating the frequencies of the codes. The details regarding this process will be explained in following sections. However, this procedure does not affect the qualitative nature of the analysis, since the content analysis involves reading and interpreting a text. Nevertheless, content analysis aims at making replicable and valid inferences from texts and involves procedures which are learned from the researcher's personal authority (Krippendorff, 2004). The concern for reliability and validity will be examined the sections in which the coding procedures are explained.

4.2 Data Collection

The source used in this research is comprised of the data, which include the transcripts of 14 TGNA meetings during which the constitutional amendments has been discussed. These meetings starts on 19th of April 2010 and has lasted until 6th of May 2010. The data are collected for the transcripts of each meeting from TGNA's website¹⁶. These transcripts include all speeches and conversations between the members of TGNA, including non-verbal statements such as hitting desks to protest a certain speaker or a parliamentary procedure. After the data are retrieved from the TGNA's website, it is transferred into softcopy files.

The data are examined both as a whole and according to the issue consideration type. In order to identify the sessions in which the issues are considered simultaneously or sequentially, the data are examined according to this distinction. In conclusion of this examination, it is found that the meetings are held in two rounds. In the first round meetings, the articles of the

¹⁶See <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanak/donem23/tutanak5.htm>

constitutional amendment pack are first discussed simultaneously. In 2010 constitutional debates case, the only meeting in which the issues are considered simultaneously is the first meeting, which was held on April 19, 2010. Subsequently, each article of the constitutional amendment pack is considered sequentially, which is followed by voting of each article. In the second round meetings the articles, which are offered to be changed by a group of representatives, are discussed sequentially and subsequently and put to the vote. Considering that although there are two different issue consideration types, there is also a procedural difference between the sequential discussions held in the first and the second round. In this sense, the second round meetings are also considered as a separate group in which the articles of the amendment pack is considered sequentially. In conclusion, the data are divided into three groups of A, B and C.

The data group A includes 57 pages out of total 2053 pages. This group includes the simultaneous discussions about the whole constitution amendment pack. The data group B includes 1352 pages which comprises the sequential discussions on and voting of each article. The data group C comprises 643 pages which includes the sequential discussion on and voting of the articles on which the representatives submitted a motion in which they offer for amending this article.

4.3 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this research is the statements of the members of the TGNA. A statement is a sentence in the transcripts of the TGNA meeting minutes. These transcripts includes the speeches on the constitutional amendment pack in general and oneach article of this pack, the dialogs between representatives, the non-verbal statements, and the announcements made by the TGNA president. The speeches include the statements in which the articles of the amendment pack both simultaneously and sequentially are discussed. The dialogs between members include the statements made by the members of the TGNA in response to the speaker, the president or another representative during the meetings. The non-verbal statements include the actions of the representatives, which are described such as clapping, hitting desks, loud voices, ect. in the transcripts. Finally, the announcements of the president include reading of the articles and motions submitted for offering a change in a specific article, explanation of the

content of the parliamentary proceedings and statements regarding parliamentary proceedings that is required to be followed in accordance with the internal regulations of TGNA.

4.4 Sampling Proceedings

The sheer volume of the data requires forming a sample of the data. Considering the interactive nature of the meetings, it is important to keep the original form of the data when choosing a sample. Although traditional sampling theory suggests that “the sample drawn from the population has the same distributional properties as the population”, content analysis is required to take at least two populations into account: the population of answers to a research question and the population of texts that contains or leads to the answer of that question (Krippendorff, 2004). The monolith nature of data and the fact that it is not possible to count the number of sentences within the whole data present two challenges. First, the unit of analysis and sampling unit should be different from each other which may result that the sampling unit may not be equally informative. Second, the research question requires the data to be examined as a whole and by each data group as explained above.

In order to overcome the first challenge, the sampling unit is determined as a page and the sampling method is determined as cluster sampling, which allows examining the unit of analysis within the randomly, systematically or stratificationally selected clusters. In overcoming the second challenge, the whole data is stratified in accordance with the data groups A, B and C. The sampling units are randomly selected for each of these three strata.

In the random selection process, considering the sheer volume of the data, the sample size percentage is determined as small as possible. In this sense, the lowest accuracy level is chosen as 50% and 49% and the confidence interval is chosen as 6.5¹⁷. The sample size is determined as 10% of the total number of pages in each group. The sample size for each group is as follows: 6 pages for the data group A, 132 pages for the data group B, and 64 pages for the data group C. These sample pages are selected by random selection method¹⁸ in accordance with their page number.

¹⁷See <http://www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm>

¹⁸See <http://www.randomizer.org/form.htm>

4.5 Coding Proceedings

In the coding process, each unit of analysis is coded in accordance with the coding scheme shown in the Table 2. Therefore, the sentences in each sample page is coded three times for three main coding categories of forward- and backward looking, power and affiliation, and trust and mistrust.

Table 4.1

Outline of the coding scheme for substantive and relational messages

Coding Category	Subcategories	Description	Codes
Forward and Backward- Looking Orientations	Forward-looking (Cause)	Acknowledge responsibility	F1
		Recognize role in conflict	
		Awareness of reasons or sources of conflict	
	Forward-looking (Process)	Express affiliation	F2
		Focus on commonalities	
		Visions of the future discussed	
	Forward-looking (Outcome)	Joint gains/mutual cooperation	F3
		Proposed outcomes	
		Proposals about forming a new relationship	
	Backward-looking (Cause)	Focus on ending the conflict	B1
		Blaming other side	
		Past injustices	
Recognizing impasse			
Backward-looking (Process)	Accountability/promise of justice	B2	
	Evade the presence of underlying issues		
Backward-looking (Outcome)	Ceasefire proposals	B3	
	Relative gains-claiming		
Power & Affiliation	Force	Strong, forceful acts	P1
	Control	Control, which consists of attempts to regulate or manage the other	P2
	Threat	Attempts made to influence the other with direct or implied threats	P3
	Accusation	Efforts to impress the other with reputational tactics	P4

	Emotional Reaction	A strong positive and negative emotional reaction	P5
	Advice	Giving unsolicited advice or help	P6
	Positive Expression of Feelings	Positive expression of friendly or intimate feelings	A1
	Expression of Sadness	Expressions of sadness or regret for lost opportunities to restore relations	A2
	Companionship	Statements of companionship or camaraderie	A3
	Nurturing Statements	Nurturing statements or acts	A4
Trust	Knowledge-based Trust	A willingness to share information that helps both parties to predict the other's behavior with some accuracy	T1
	Identity-based Trust	Recognition of similar interests and values and the acknowledgement of a shared identity.	T2
Mistrust	An unwillingness to risk vulnerability or to acknowledge their dependence on the other party		T3

Each sentence is counted as one unit and coded accordingly; however, in order to avoid the factual information to manipulate results, some exceptions are made. The offers, which are made in the motions and the articles of the constitutional amendment pack, give only factual information and usually include a long text, which may cover a whole page. The sentences within the motions and the articles are counted as one unit. Yet, motions also include the statements, which are called the merits of the motion and in which the reasons for the offer are explained. These statements comprise sentences, which include both substantive and relational rhetorical messages. In order not to lose data, each sentence within the merits of a motion is counted as one unit. In addition, considering that a sentence might include multiple statements, another coding rule determined as follows: If a sentence contained more than one of the coding categories, only the first one is counted in each coding session. Table 3 presents sample sentences coded for each category.

Table 4.2
Sample sentences coded for each category

Coding Category	Sample Sentences	Codes
Forward and Backward-	Dolayısıyla daha önce arkadaşlarımızın da anlattığı şekliyle, pek çok uluslararası kuruluşun da bu konuda daha önceden yapılmış olan düzenlemelerine paralel bir düzenleme yapma ihtiyacı Anayasa'mıza zaten gerekmede.	F1

Looking Orientations	Değerli milletvekilleri, hedefimiz, cumhuriyetin 100'üncü yılı hedefimiz de, dünyanın onuncu ülkesine giren, ekonomik kalkınmasını sağlamış, Avrupa Birliği standartlarını yakalamış, tam demokratik, tam laik, sosyal bir hukuk devletini yakalamaktır ve zaman, hangi ırktan, hangi cinsten, hangi inanç grubundan olursa olsun herkesin birinci sınıf vatandaş olduğu bir Türkiye'yi yakalamaktır.	F2
	Millî iradenin üstünlüğünü, üstünlüğü üzerine başka herhangi bir iradeyi herhangi bir grup ve klik anlayışının esiri etmeden millî iradenin üstünlüğü için de elimizden gelen her türlü çalışmayı yaparız.	F3
	Çarpık Siyasi Partiler Yasası'nın bir sonucu olarak Mecliste aldığı oydan çok üstünde milletvekili çıkaran AKP bu gücünü koruyabilmek için devletin temel taşlarını yerinden oynatmaktadır.	B1
	Bir siyasi parti, kritik yargı kararlarının uygulanmasını kanunsuz emir yoluyla engelliyorsa, Anayasa'nın 137'nci maddesini ihlal etmek pahasına, mesela Deniz Feneri soruşturmasını engelliyorsa, Cargill mevzuatını defalarca ihlal ediyorsa; Yasin El Kadı olayında, Telekom sürecinde adli emanet paralarının yasa dışı bir şekilde hazine geliri olmadan işletilmesinin yolunu açıyorsa, bu şekilde idari işlem ve eylemler tesis ediyorsa, bu suç değil midir değerli milletvekilleri?	B2
	Siyasi iktidar, kişisel ve siyasi kaygıları sebebiyle, Yüce Divan oluşumunu kontrol altına almak istiyor, kapatma kararlarını fiilen engellemek istiyor ve bu sürecin devamında da yapacağı yasal düzenlemelerle anayasal denetimi ortadan kaldırmak istiyor	B3
Power & Affiliation	CHP sıralarından gürültüler	P1
	Söz hakkımı vermek zorundasın.	P2
	Millet kapattı mı bodruma atar, kimse çıkaramaz bir daha!Kömürlüğe indirir, kimse bir daha çıkaramaz onu!	P3
	Halka gidilmesinden korktuğunu yüce milletimiz ve biz görüyoruz, ama halka gidilmesinden korkulurken bu Anayasa teklifi bir şeyi daha ortaya koydu ki, halkın seçtiği milletvekillerinin oy kullanmasından da korkuluyor.	P4
	Böyle bir şey olabilir mi?	P5
	Dolayısıyla tavsiyemiz, bu teklifi geri çekmenizdir.	P6
	Yarınki 90'ıncı yıl anısına, lütfen aramızdaki bu gerginlikleri bir tarafa atalım, yarın bayramı hep birlikte, kardeşçe duygularla kutlayalım diye temenni ediyorum.	A1
	Biliyorsunuz, 2007 seçimi öncesinde AK PARTİ'nin seçim beyannamesinde bir paragraf buna ayrıldı ve seçimden sonra da yeni bir Anayasa'yı akademik bir heyete hazırlattı ama maalesef, bilindiği gibi, daha anayasa doğmadan boğuldu, değişik eleştirilere maruz kaldı.	A2
	Hepinizi saygıyla selamlıyorum.	A3
	Konuşmama başlamadan önce, bugün Kayseri'de fiziki saldırıya uğramış olan Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanımıza geçmiş olsun diyor ve saldırıyı kınadığımızı belirtiyorum.	A4
Trust	İnşallah daha sonra da, bu düzenlemeden sonra da şu anda hâlâ taslak konumunda olan ve üzerinde daha çok konuşacağımız, tartışacağımız, komisyonda bekleyen kanun üzerinde de daha detaylı, daha esaslı bir çalışma yapma imkânımız ortaya çıkacak.	T1
	Burada, değerli arkadaşlar, önemli şeyler yapıyoruz Türkiye Büyük Millet	T2

	Meclisi olarak tıpkı bundan önce, bizlerden önce bu Parlamentosunda görev almış olan milletvekilleri gibi.	
Mistrust	Değerli arkadaşlar, 57 bin kişinin bireysel hak ve özgürlüğünü elinden alan bir bakana ben nasıl güveneceğim?	T3

In the coding process, each coding category is represented by a color. Color as an identifier, defining the perimeters of the thought units, lent itself to this task for the following reason. Since the speeches are debates and are thus constructed to an audience and an opponent, the interactive nature of this process does not allow using software to code the data. Therefore, each statement is marked by the assigned color to make the coding process easier. The marked statements are manually labeled by the coding units of the coding scheme. Frequencies of these units are calculated and written in Excel tables. The total for each coding unit is summed and divided by the number of statements in the data.

The nature of this study, working with conversations and debates, poses certain constraints. One of which is that implications, rhetorical phrases and allusions are inherent in such interactions and thus are challenging for the audience to follow since these obscure phrases address certain events that happened between parties. In addition, the concepts are new and thus need to be delineated carefully. What constitutes forward looking or backward looking needs precise analysis so that the findings can be meaningful. Especially, an overlap exists among the message framing variables of forward and backward looking codes. To go forward in a negotiation process, parties often go backwards in order to analyze their relationship while simultaneously going forward in acknowledging responsibility in their part in the conflict.

For these reasons, inter-coder reliability would be an asset in validating my findings. In order to ensure reliability, another coder, who is a graduate student in conflict resolution field and trained for this coding process, codes a sample of the data sample of 10 pages. These sample pages are determined again by random sampling method. Independent coding of each sample page followed an evaluation of reliability. The inter-coder reliability is 0.78 for forward and backward-looking, 0.83 for power and affiliation, and 0.91 for trust and mistrust.

4.6 Propositions

In examining the effects of polarized political environment and simultaneous and sequential issue consideration, this thesis make some predictions about the results concerning both the general data and the data groups. For examining the effect of polarized political

environment on the general data, this thesis offers that the speakers would adopt a competitive attitude and a distributive negotiation attitude due to the presence of a polarized political environment in which the parties have opposing positions and conflicting goals, and makes the following predictions:

Proposition Ia The speakers will use high percentage of backward-looking oriented rhetoric and low percentage of forward-looking rhetoric.

Proposition Ib The speakers will use high percentage of power oriented rhetoric and low percentage of affiliation oriented rhetoric.

Proposition Ic The speakers will use high percentage of mistrust oriented rhetoric and low percentage of trust oriented rhetoric.

For examining the effects of simultaneous and sequential issue consideration, this thesis will examine the rhetoric used by the speakers in each procedural context and compare simultaneous issue consideration results with sequential issue consideration results. In line with the evidence, most of the literature presented, this thesis argues that the speakers will use a more cooperative rhetoric in the meetings in which the issue are simultaneously considered and a more competitive rhetoric in the meetings in which the issues are sequentially considered. Therefore, this thesis makes the following predictions:

Proposition IIa The speakers will use more forward-looking and less backward-looking rhetoric in the sessions in which the issues are considered simultaneously compared to the sessions in which the issues are considered sequentially.

Proposition IIb The speakers will use more affiliation oriented and less power oriented rhetoric in the sessions in which the issues are considered simultaneously compared to the sessions in which the issues are considered sequentially.

Proposition IIc The speaker will use more trust oriented and less mistrust oriented messages in the sessions in which the issues are considered simultaneously compared to the sessions in which the issues are considered sequentially.

5 RESULTS&FINDINGS

This chapter includes four parts. First part will present the results obtained from the whole data and discuss the findings for each coding category referring to Propositions Ia, Ib, and Ic. Second part will present the results for each data group and discuss these findings for each coding category referring to Propositions IIa, IIb, and IIc. The results will be shown in tables and in figures, which would display both the nominal results and the percentage of the each coding category.

5.1 General Results and Findings

This part will present the general results and findings in three sections. First section will present the general results and findings of forward and backward-looking categories. Second section will present the general results and findings of power and affiliation categories. Final section will present general results and findings for trust and mistrust categories.

5.1.1 Forward and Backward-looking Negotiation Styles

Table 5.1 illustrates the overall results in forward and backward-looking oriented rhetoric for all groups. Total number of statements coded is 4085. The most statements are coded for the neutral category with 3263 statements. The second most coded category is backward-looking in which 1118 statements were coded. Finally, forward-looking category is the least coded category in which 424 statements are coded.

One reason for the result that neutral statements are the most coded is that the data includes all motions given by the representatives, including its justifications and information on the representatives, who entered it, since these motions were read during the meetings and were also coded as data in order to preserve the nature of the data. Another reason is that the speakers first give information on the facts on legal aspects of the issue to support their arguments and statements, which does not comply with the descriptions given in the coding scheme for forward and backward-looking negotiation styles, and keep the rhetorical messages at the very end, in order to make a more effective impression.

Table 5.1

Nominal results for forward and backward-looking rhetoric in general

Neutral	3263
Forward-looking	424
Backward-looking	1118

In order to better reflect the relationship between forward and backward-looking oriented statements, the neutral statements are discarded and the results are recalculated. As Figure 5.1 introduces, in overall picture, the speakers predominantly used more backward-looking oriented messages with a ratio of 73% than forward-looking rhetoric with a ratio of 27%.

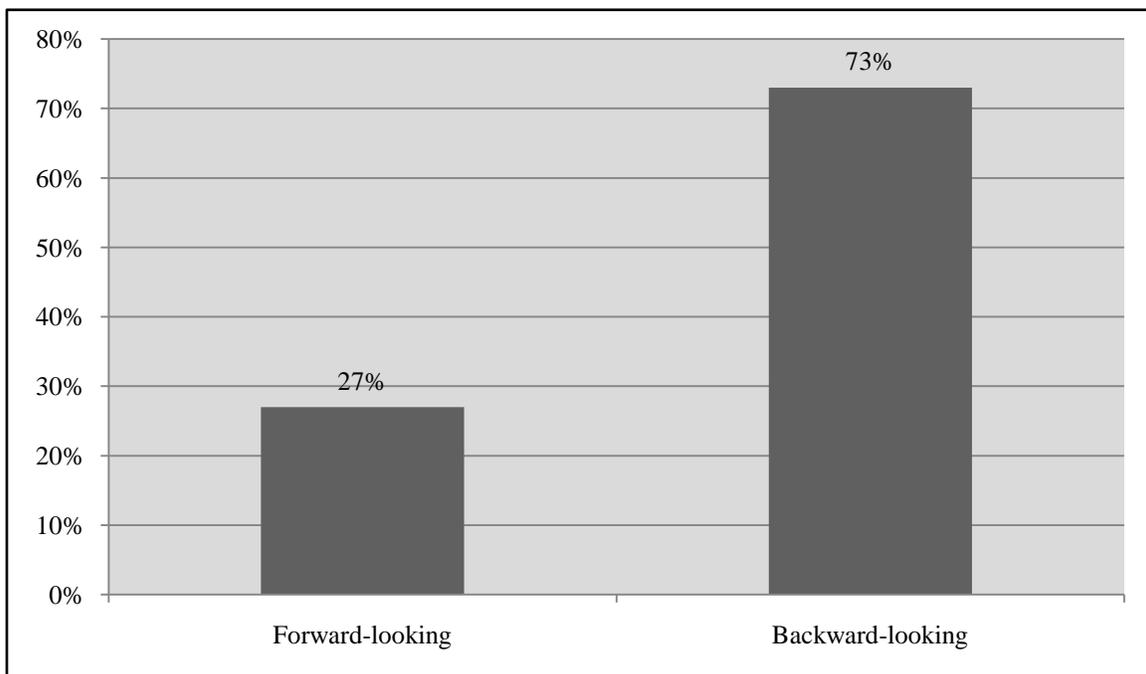


Figure 5.1: The ratios of forward and backward-looking statements, excluding the neutral statements

A more detailed distribution of the forward and backward-looking categories is introduced in Figure 5.2, which shows that backward-looking (causes) sub-category has the highest rate (51%) among other categories. It is followed by both backward and forward-looking

(process) sub-categories (14% and 13%). Forward-looking (outcomes) sub-category is the fourth with a ratio of 11% and forward-looking (causes) sub-category is the fifth with the ratio of 7%. Finally, backward-looking (outcomes) has the lowest rate.

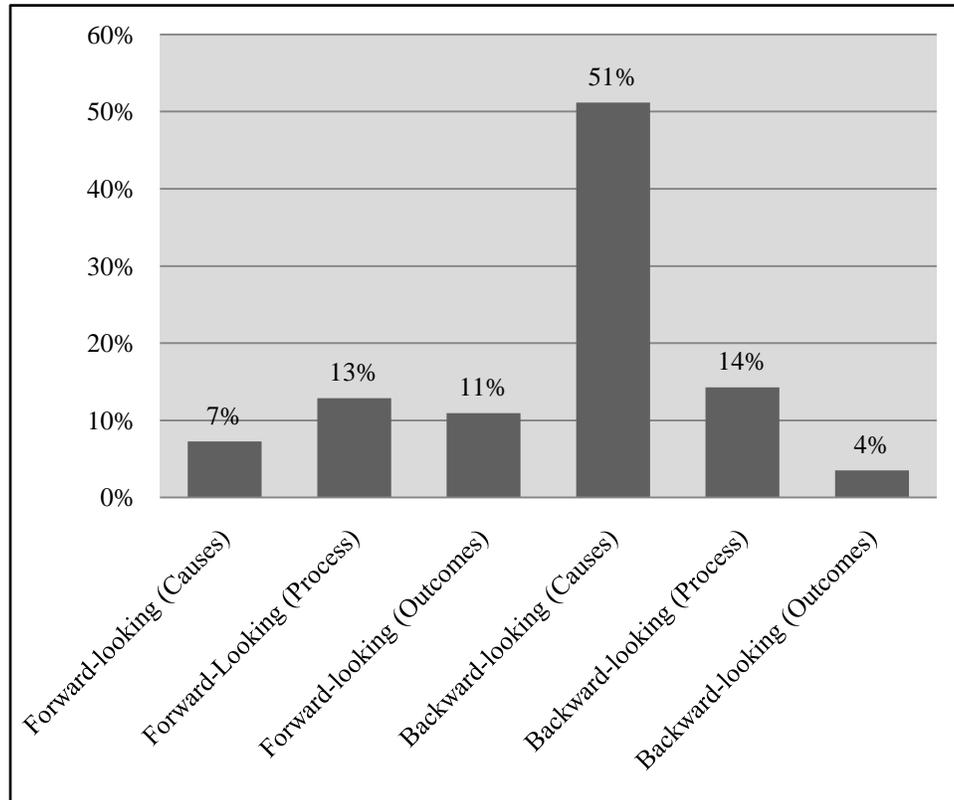


Figure 5.2: Ratios of sub-categories of forward and backward-looking rhetoric

The results shown in Table 5.1, Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2 presents that the speeches given in the 2010 constitutional debate case is mostly characterized by backward-looking negotiation style rather than forward-looking. These results are in line with Proposition Ia in which it is expected that the speakers will use more backward-looking rhetoric than forward-looking rhetoric as a result of the polarized social environment.

5.1.2 Power and Affiliation Oriented Rhetoric

Table 5.2 presents the general results in power and affiliation oriented statements. The highest number of statements is coded for with 3366 statements. The second most coded category is power with 1299. Finally, affiliation is the least category with 140 statements.

Table 5.2

Nominal results for power and affiliation oriented rhetoric in general

Neutral	3366
Power	1299
Affiliation	140

In order to better reflect the relationship between power and affiliation oriented messages, the neutral statements are discarded and the results are recalculated. According to the Figure 5.3, the speakers predominantly used more power oriented rhetoric with a ratio of 90% than affiliation oriented rhetoric with a ratio of 10%.

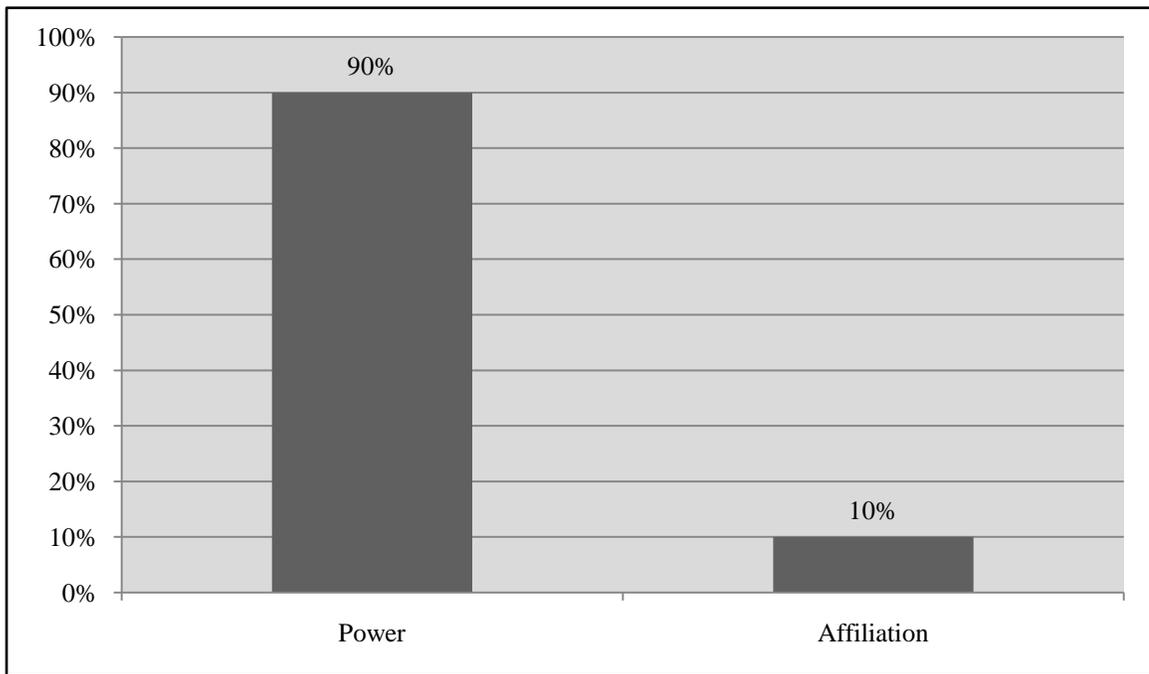


Figure 5.3: The ratios of power and affiliation oriented messages in general

A more detailed distribution of the power and affiliation categories is introduced in Figure 5.4, which shows that one of the power sub-categories, accusation, has the highest rate (53%) among other categories. It is followed by two other power sub-categories of emotional reaction (17%) and advice (13%). The only salient affiliation sub-category, positive expression

of feelings is the fourth with a ratio of 7%. Control is the final category with a salient rate of 5%. The other power sub-categories such as force and threat and affiliation sub-categories such as expression of sadness, companionship, and nurturing statements are not significant enough in terms of ratio to be considered.

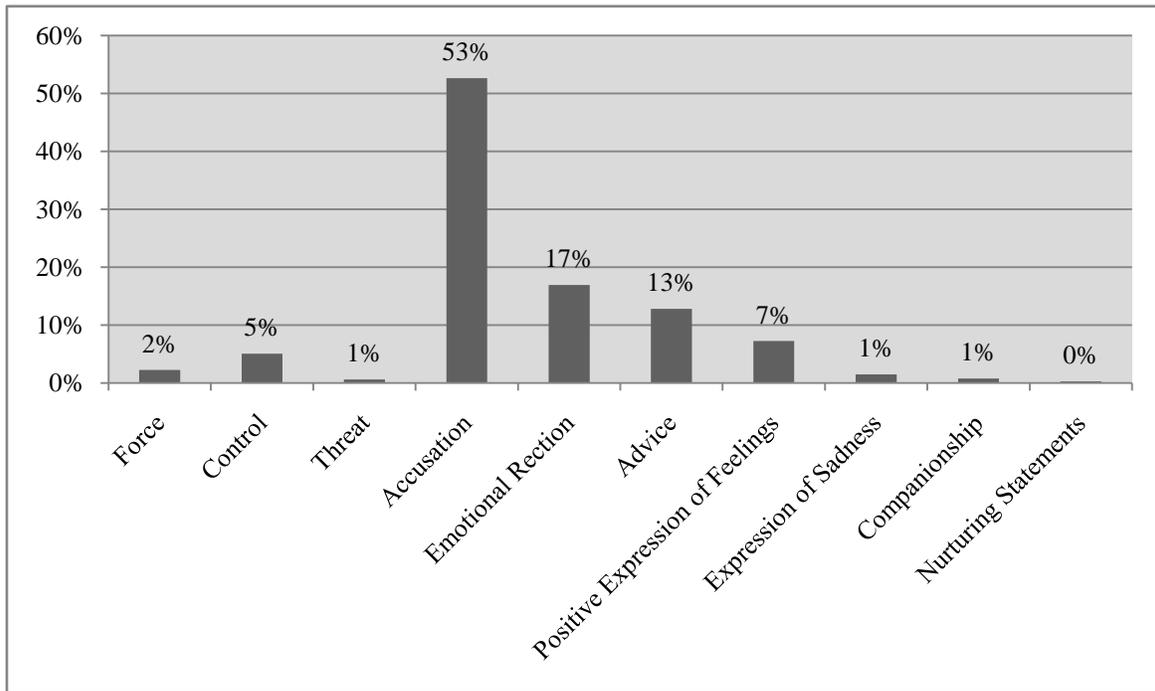


Figure 5.4: Ratios of sub-categories of power and affiliation rhetoric

Table 5.2, Figure 5.3, and Figure 5.4 present the speakers' rhetoric is characterized by power oriented messages than affiliation oriented messages. This finding is consistent with the prediction in Proposition 1b. The speakers used an accusing approach and tried to establish control over the opponent through imperative sentences. The speakers engaged in power rhetoric than affiliation rhetoric since they aimed at avoiding making concession and attempted to make the other party to make concessions as a result of their competitive win-lose bargaining approach. Affiliation messages, which included integrative bargaining strategies, are generally used as a result of the parliamentary protocols. A few of them actually included positive and friendly approaches.

5.1.3 Trust and Mistrust Oriented Rhetoric

Table 5.3 introduces the general results in trust and mistrust oriented rhetoric. Neutral category has the highest number of statements. This result is followed by mistrust category with 1170 statements. Finally, the trust category has the least coded statements.

Table 5.3

Nominal results for trust and mistrust oriented rhetoric in general

Neutral	3597
Trust	37
Mistrust	1170

In order to better reflect the relationship between trust and mistrust, the neutral statements are discarded and the results are recalculated. As Figure 5.5 presents that the speakers predominantly used more mistrust oriented rhetoric with a ratio of 97%, than trust oriented rhetoric with a ratio of 3%.

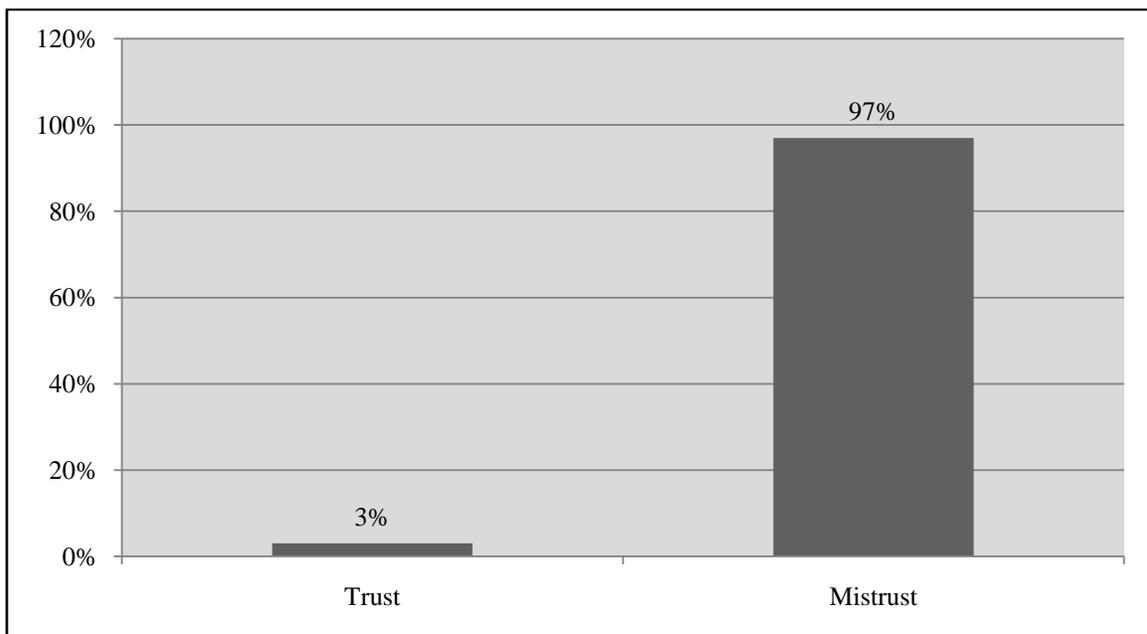


Figure 5.5: Ratios of trust and mistrust oriented statements, excluding the neutral statements

As Table 5.3 and Figure 5.5 presents the rhetoric used by the speakers is characterized mostly with mistrust oriented messages than trust oriented messages. These results again parallel to the prediction in the Proposition Ic.

5.2 Comparative Results and Findings for All Data Groups

This section will present the comparative results and findings for all data groups including A, B and C. First, the results will be introduced in tables and figures and the findings will be discussed with the predictions made in Propositions IIa, IIb, and IIc. Then, the findings will be evaluated in the light of the relevant literature.

5.2.1 Forward and Backward-looking Negotiation Styles

Table 5.4 presents the comparative results of forward and backward-looking oriented statements for all data groups. The neutral category has the highest number of statements in each of data group. For group A, out of total 290 statements, 205 statements are coded for neutral category, 39 statements were coded for forward-looking category, and 47 statements were coded for backward-looking category. For group B, out of 3565 statements, 2363 statements are coded for neutral category, 324 statements coded for forward-looking category and 879 statements are coded for backward-looking category. For Group C, out of 949 statements, 696 statements are coded for neutral category, 61 statements are coded for forward-looking category and 192 statements were coded for backward-looking category.

Table 5.4

Nominal result for forward and backward-looking orientated statements for each data group

Categories	Group A	Group B	Group C
Neutral	204	2362	696
Forward-looking	39	324	61
Backward-looking	47	879	192

In order to better reflect the relationship between forward and backward-looking oriented statements in all data groups, the neutral statements are discarded and the results are recalculated. Figure 5.6 presents that in group A, 45% of the statements are coded for forward-looking and 55% of the statements are backward-looking category. These results indicate a slight difference between forward and backward-looking orientations. However, in group B, 27% of the statements are coded from forward-looking and 73% of the statements are coded for backward-looking. The difference between two categories is exceedingly different from each other. Likewise, in group C, forward-looking orientation is 24% and backward-looking orientation is 26%.

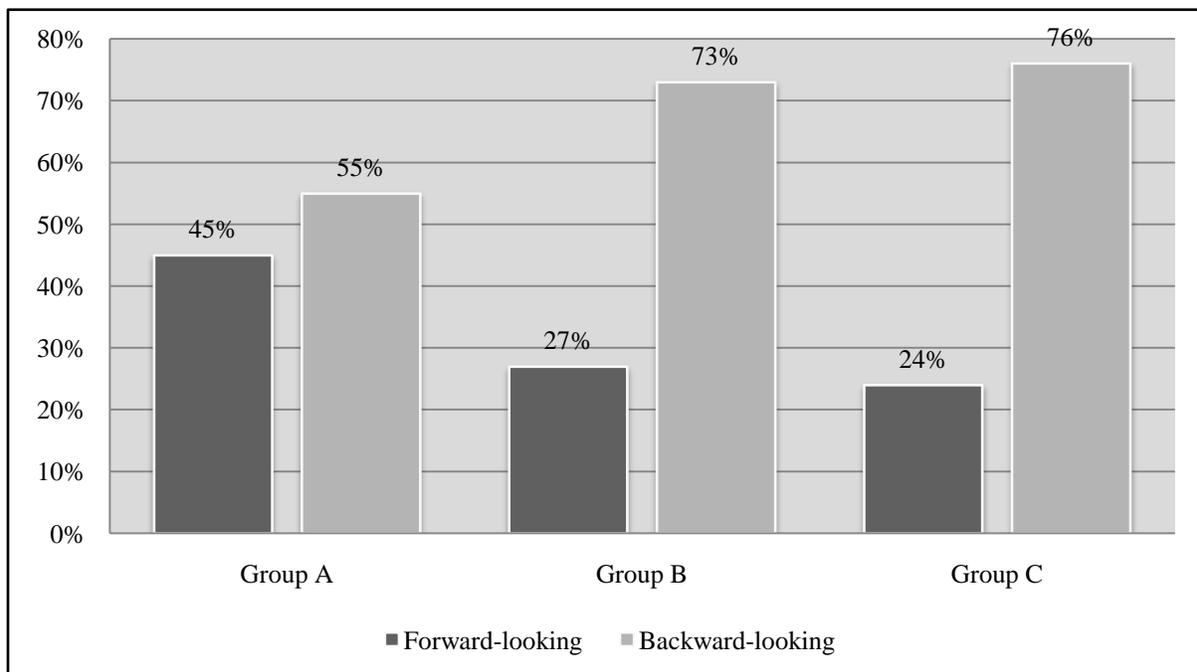


Figure 5.6: The ratios of forward and backward-looking orientations in all data groups, excluding the neutral statements

A more detailed distribution of the forward and backward-looking sub-categories is introduced in Figure 5.7. The most coded sub-category in all groups is backward (causes) with the ratios of 40% for A, 51% for B and 55% for C. The other results vary for each group. Group A includes 19% forward-looking outcomes, 14% forward-looking process, 13% forward-looking causes; while backward-looking subcategories includes 7% backward-looking process and 8% outcomes. Group B includes 10% forward-looking outcomes, 13% forward-looking process, 8%

forward-looking causes; while backward-looking subcategories includes 17% backward-looking process and 1% outcomes. Group C includes 11% forward-looking outcomes, 11% forward-looking process, 2% forward-looking causes; while backward-looking subcategories includes 8% backward-looking process and 13% outcomes.

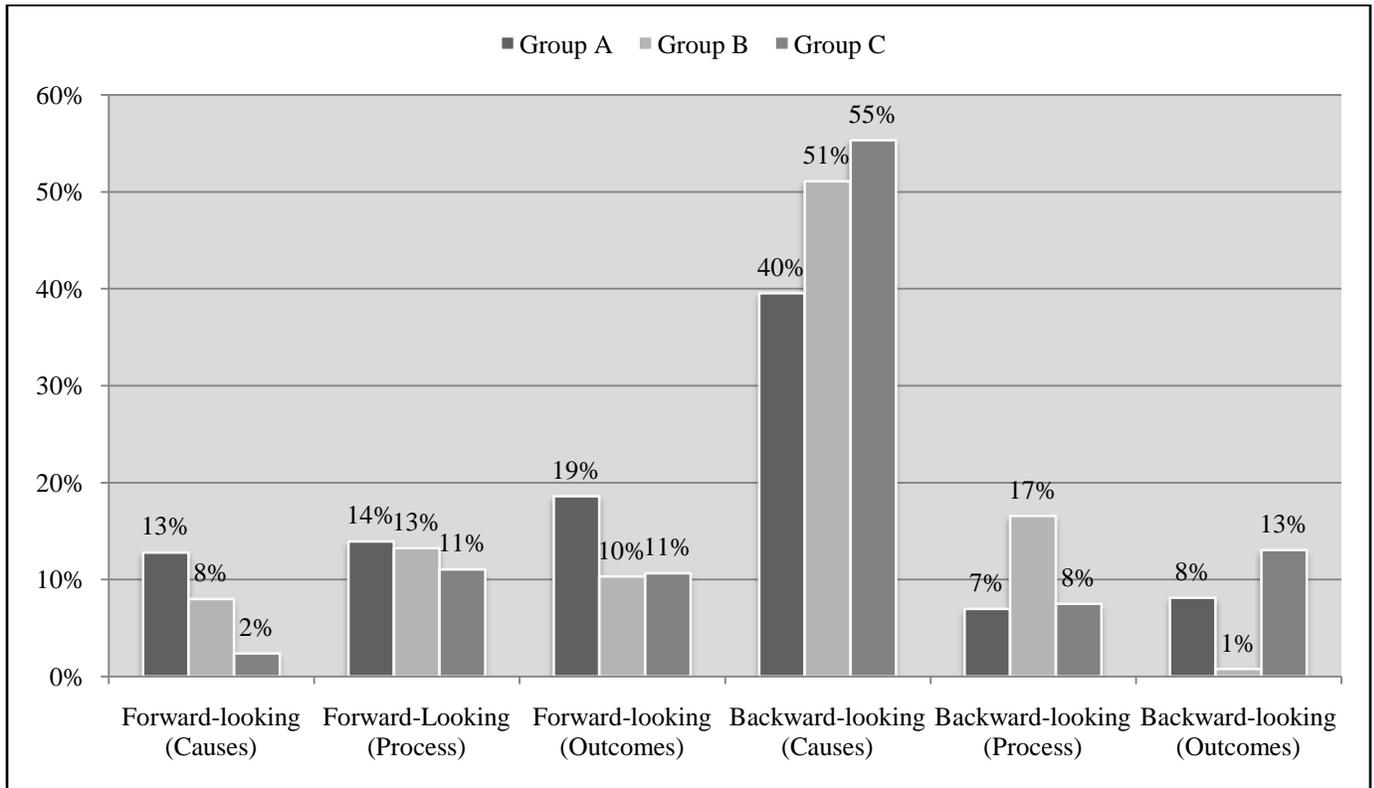


Figure 5.7: Ratios of sub-categories of forward and backward-looking rhetoric in all data groups

The results in Table 5.4 and Figures 5.6 and 5.7 show that the speakers used more backward-looking statements than forward-looking rhetoric in all data groups. Considering the findings on the general characteristic of the speaker's rhetoric are backward-looking, it is not unlikely that it must have been reflected on each data group as well. Moreover, the comparative results in Figure 5.6 and 5.7 presents that the speakers used significantly more forward-looking rhetoric in the data group A, which includes statements that are made during the meetings in which the issues are considered simultaneously than in the data group B and C in which the issues are sequentially discussed. These findings are in line with the predictions made in Proposition IIa.

5.2.2 Power and Affiliation Oriented Rhetoric

Table 5.5 illustrates the comparative results of power and affiliation oriented rhetoric for all data groups. As in the general results, neutral category has the highest number of statements in each of data group, due to the reasons explained above. In group A, out of total 290 statements, 194 statements are coded for neutral category, 77 statements were coded for power category and 19 statements were coded for affiliation category. In group B, out of 3565 statements, 2495 statements are coded for neutral category, 973 statements coded for power category and 97 statements are coded for affiliation category. In group C, out of 949 statements, 677 statements are coded for neutral category, 248 statements are coded for power category and 24 statements were coded for affiliation category.

Table 5.5
Nominal results of power and affiliation oriented rhetoric in all data groups

Categories	Group A	Group B	Group C
Neutral	194	2495	677
Power	77	973	248
Affiliation	19	97	24

In order to better reflect the relationship between forward and backward-looking oriented messages in all data groups, the neutral statements are discarded and the results are recalculated. Figure 5.8 presents that the speakers used predominantly more power oriented statements than affiliation oriented statements in all data groups. Yet, parallel to the results in forward and backward-looking negotiation styles for all groups, group A includes more affiliation statements than group B and C, which have almost same ratios of power and affiliation statements. However, there are differences in terms of the ratios of forward and backward-looking results in comparison of each group. In group A, 80% of the statements are coded for power and 20% of the statements are coded for affiliation. The difference between these two categories is excessively high. In group B, statements becoming even more power oriented with a ratio of 91% and less affiliation oriented with a ratio of 9%. The result for group C is almost the same

with group B. Power oriented statements constitute 90% of the statements; while the ratio of affiliation oriented statements are 10%.

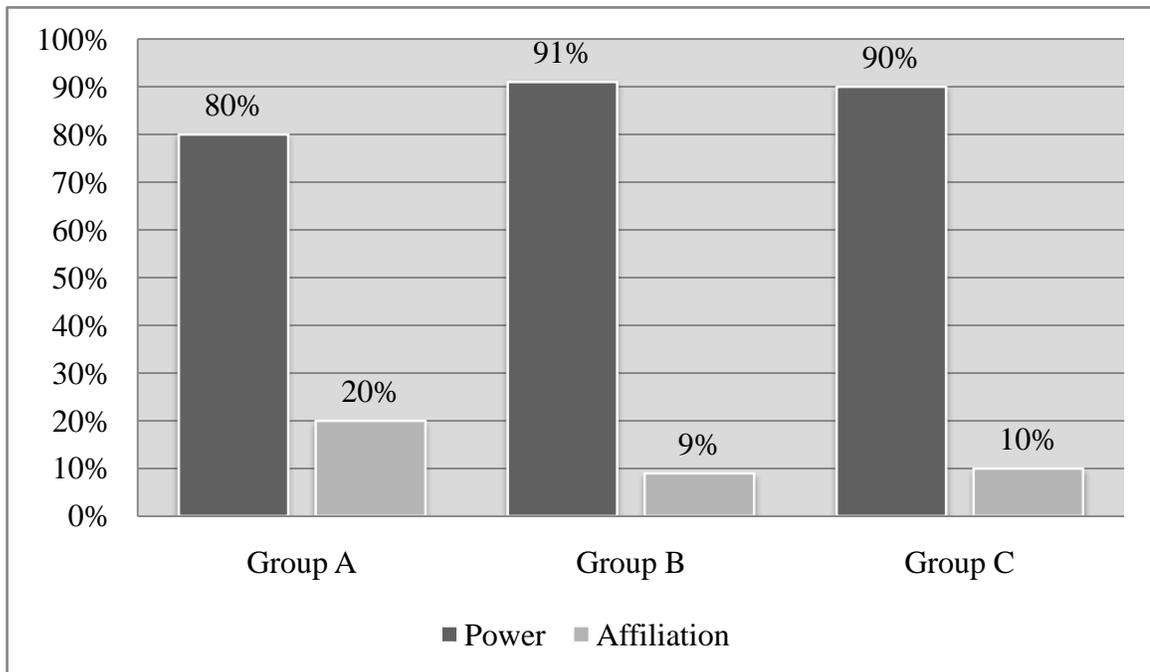


Figure 5.8: The ratios of power and affiliation oriented messages in all data groups, excluding the neutral statements

A more detailed distribution of the power and affiliation sub-categories is introduced in Figure 5.9. The most coded sub-category in all groups is accusation with the ratios of 51% for A, 55% for B and 44% for C. The other results vary for each group. Group A includes 18% emotional reaction, 10% advices in the power category while 8% companionship, 5% expression of sadness, 4% positive expression of feelings and 2% nurturing statements in affiliation category. In this group, force, control and threat subcategories of power do not almost exist. Group B includes 13% emotional reaction and advice, 6% control and 3% force in power category; whereas 7% positive expression feelings in the affiliation category. The sub-categories of expression of sadness, companionship and threat are almost non-existent in this group. Finally, Group C includes 31% emotional reaction, 13% advice and 4% control in power category. The sub-categories of force and threat from power categories and all the affiliation categories except expression of sadness whose ratio is 8% has no significant existence.

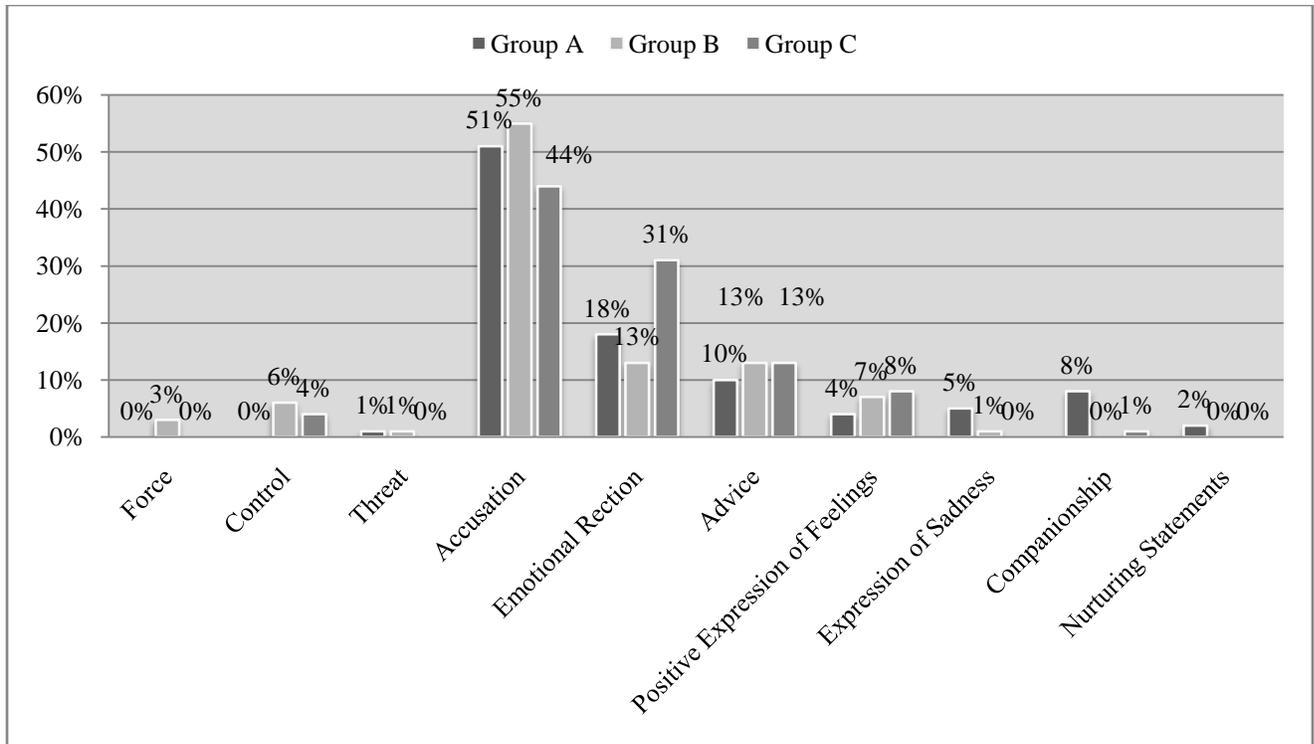


Figure 5.9: Ratios of sub-categories of power and affiliation rhetoric

The results shown in Table 5.5 and Figures 5.8 and 5.9 comply with Proposition IIb. Although the ratio of power messages are predominantly high for all the data groups, the data group A has explicitly more affiliation messages and less power rhetoric compared to the results of the data groups B and C.

5.3.3 Trust and Mistrust Oriented Rhetoric in All Groups

Table 5.6 introduces the comparative results of trust and mistrust oriented rhetoric for all data groups. For group A, out of total 281 statements, 211 statements are coded for neutral category, 10 statements were coded for trust category and 69 statements were coded for mistrust category. For group B, out of 3565 statements, 2678 statements are coded for neutral category, 27 statements coded for trust category and 860 statements are coded for mistrust category. For Group C, out of 949 statements, 708 statements are coded for neutral category and 241 statements were only coded for trust category.

Table 5.6**Nominal results for trust and mistrust oriented rhetoric in all groups**

Categories	Group A	Group B	Group C
Neutral	211	2678	708
Trust	10	27	0
Mistrust	69	860	241

In order to better reflect the relationship between forward and backward-looking oriented messages in all data groups, the neutral statements are discarded and the results are recalculated. Figure 5.10 presents the ratios of power and affiliation oriented statements for each group. In group A, 13% of the statements are coded for trust and 87% of the statements are coded for mistrust. In group B, 3% of the statements are coded trust and 93% of the statements are coded for mistrust. In group C, the results are closely similar to Group B. no statement coded for trust and all the statements are coded for mistrust. In overall results for each group, trust oriented statement rates are very low; accordingly, power oriented statement rates are extremely high. However, in comparison of the trust ratios between all groups, it is observed that the trust rate in group A is explicitly higher than group B and C whose results are closely similar to each other.

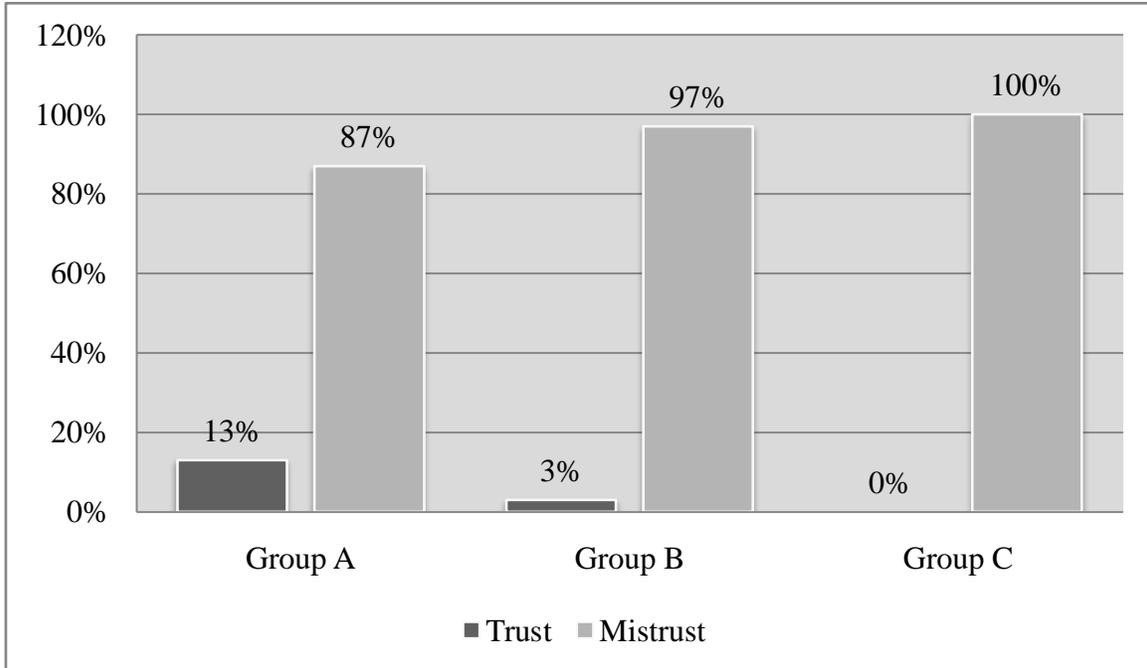


Figure 5.10: The ratios of trust and mistrust orientated statements in all data groups, excluding the neutral statements

The results shown in Table 5.6 and Figure 5.10 are in line with the predictions made in Proposition IIc. These results are similar to the results of power and affiliation categories with minor differences. As expected, the data group A, which has a simultaneous issue consideration agenda, has more trust and less mistrust statements than the data groups B and C, which have sequential issue consideration agendas.

6 CONCLUSION

This section presents the analysis on the findings from the general data and the data groups. It will first discuss the possible reasons for and the explanations on these findings by addressing the relevant literature and subsequently discuss implications for future research opportunities.

6.1 Analysis on the Findings

This section will discuss the connection between the propositions offered at the end of the methodology section and the findings referring to the literature. It will first discuss the propositions related to impact of the polarized political environment in 2010 constitutional debates case. Subsequently, it will analyze the comparative results of the simultaneous and sequential issue consideration sessions. Finally, based on the findings and the analysis from this research, it will discuss future research opportunities.

6.1.1 Analysis of the Overall Findings

The results obtained from the overall data verify the first argument on forward and backward-looking negotiation styles that the speakers would use high percentages of backward-looking and low percentages of forward-looking oriented rhetoric. In general, the speakers mostly acted in a backward-looking negotiation style, which is more likely to distributive bargaining style, than in a forward-looking style, which is closer to integrative bargaining style. One explanation for the predominant backward-looking rhetoric is that the speakers gave their speeches in distributive bargaining manner, since they were surrounded with the audience to whom they are accountable, their constituencies and the members of the opponent party or parties with whom they have deep disagreements about the constitutional amendment pack in a high tension polarized political environment. They were both looking for a favorable evaluation from their audience and constituencies and to look strong in front of their opponents. This finding is consistent with the findings from several studies in negotiation literature (Benton & Druckman, 1974; Carnevale, Pruitt & Britton, 1979).

Another explanation may be that the polarized political environment may lead the speakers to use such rhetoric as a tactic in order to convince their opponents of the seriousness of

their positions and to make them agree or change their positions. Thus, Lewicki et. al. (1997) and Craver (1999) suggests using anger as one of the competitive hardball tactics, which are designed to pressure the opponent to do things they would not otherwise do. The over emphasis on backward-looking causes, which includes blaming, past injustices and impasses, would place the other party to defense. Guilt can be used as a form of intimidation, which is one of the hardball tactics offered by Lewicki et. al. (1999). This tactic may be evident in the speakers' speeches that emphasize the issues which they frame as past injustices and for which blamed their opponents. Thus, the existing tension between the ruling party, AKP and the two main opposition parties, CHP and MHP, which are at the two edges of the polarization, set the stage for many intense discussions between the members of these parties. The effect of this tension is reflected on the speeches of members of the Turkish parliament in the form of blaming each other, uttering injustices and recognizing impasses.

An additional finding suggests that the speaker's backward-looking rhetoric is mostly focused on backward-looking (causes) rather than backward-looking (process) and (outcome). Thus, this finding is in line with the findings from Donohue and Druckman's (2009) study. However, the findings on forward-looking are evenly distributed and does not pose a significant emphasis on any of the forward-looking subcategories. In addition, lack of emphasis on backward-looking outcomes shows no interest in relative gains and proposing temporary solutions.

The findings regarding power and affiliation also support the proposition that the speakers use high percentages of power oriented rhetoric and low percentages of affiliation. The speakers mostly use accusation, emotions and unsolicited advices in their speeches in establishing control over the resources, which provides power either to reward or to punish (Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993). Lewicki et. al. (1997) presents the strategies of influence, one of which is pressuring the other party through administering punishment in a manner that will drive the other party to comply. Accusation provides the speakers the ground to be able to punish the opponent part, hence allowing gaining more power over the other. Thus, in line with the previous findings, the speakers continue to use an accusing rhetoric in order to impress the opposing party through reputational tactics, emotionally react against the reciprocating assertions, and make suggestions to the opposing party on how they should act on these conflicting issues. Thus, the

speakers preserve their positions during their speeches as they give feedback to and receive feedback from their audiences, who also give speeches in the 2010 constitutional debate case. As a consequence of the polarized political environment, the exchange of these feedbacks lead to high percentage of power oriented rhetoric.

The high levels of power also points to how the parties perceive their power compared to the others. As Hornstein (1965) presented in his study, when there is a mild power difference, the parties with opposing goals get in to a power struggle. Giving their speeches as members of different parties, the speakers may think that they are more powerful than the members, who are the other at edge of the polarization. However having the same status of being a parliamentary member would provide an equal ground for positions in terms of power; therefore they would continue the power struggle through using the same tactic.

An interesting findings is that the ratio of threat based rhetoric is significantly low, which is one of the contending tactics used in distributive bargaining (Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993). One explanation for this finding may be that the parties are reluctant to engage in extreme power rhetoric, which would damage their relationship with the opposing party. Thus, preserving the relationship is one of the priorities in negotiations(Pruitt & Carnevale, 1993). Considering that the parties engage in many negotiations in future, they would act attentively in order to not break their relationship with the other party.

The findings from the general data also verify the proposition that the general rhetoric will include high percentages of mistrust. The statements made during these debates comprise an unwillingness to risk vulnerability and acknowledge dependence on the other party. Thus, the lack of trust is reflected in their statements, in which they do not exchange information on what they plan to do; they rather focus on differences; ignore commonalities, blame each other; and give advice on how the other party should act. In addition, they do not to want to seem vulnerable and dependent on the other party, since they have reciprocally criticized the opponent speakers and been criticized by them. The mistrust rhetoric becomes a dominant characteristic in these debates as a consequence of backward-looking and power oriented messages, which the speakers exchange as part of the polarized social environment. Thus, in low trust/high distrust condition, which can be referred as distrusting, parties may devote significant resources to

monitoring the other's behavior, preparing for the other's distrusting actions, and attending to potential vulnerabilities that might be exploited (Lewicki et. al. 1998). Moreover, lack of trust leads parties to use more threats and become more committed to their positions (Kimmel, 1980). Even though, the speakers did not use threats in their speeches, the predominant backward-looking rhetoric indicates their commitment to their positions rather than moving from their positions to obtain joint benefits. In addition, the former findings on high power rhetoric and low affiliation shows that the speakers do not hold a positive attitude which is one of the key factors in developing trust(Lewicki et. al., 1997).

In order to validate these findings further, this analysis should also be run in anon-polarized political environment; yet, the data does not allow us to conduct such an analysis, since it only comprises the parliamentary meetings. This type of data may be derived from the closed meetings between the opposing parties; however, it is very hard to obtain. Therefore, this analysis is confined to the description of the rhetoric used in the 2010 constitutional debate case.

6.1.2 Analysis of the Data Group Findings

The results of each data group validate the proposition that simultaneous issue consideration sessions, which are associated with integrative bargaining, include more forward-looking and less backward-looking statements, than sequential issue consideration sessions, which are associated with distributive bargaining. These findings also support the evidence from the studies, which suggest that simultaneous issue consideration interferes with integrative agreements rather than sequential (piecemeal) issue consideration and that sequential procedure do not allowed any integrative bargaining process to occur and subjects were compelled to involve in distributive bargaining; whereas integrative bargaining process was able to occur under the simultaneous settlement conditions (Henderson et.al., 2006; Yukl et. al. 1976; Mannix et. al., 1989; Weingarth et. al., 1993). Thus, in the 2010 constitutional debate sessions in which the issues are considered simultaneously, the backward and forward-looking results are very close to each other; while the difference between the backward and forward-looking results in the sessions, in which the issues are considered sequentially, is significantly high.

During the sessions, in which the issues are considered simultaneously, although the speakers mostly use a backward-oriented rhetoric, they also use high levels of forward-looking

statements. The forward-looking results in these sessions are far more than the forward-looking results in the sequential issue consideration sessions. The speakers tend to discuss future scenarios and outcomes more than seek for justice or focus on relative gains in the simultaneous issue consideration group in comparison to the two other data groups with sequential issue consideration. They tend to use statements, which include general comments on the need for a new constitution after reaching a consensus. In this session, the speaker's rhetoric introduces a more integrative bargaining attitude compared to the other sessions.

The comparison of the distribution of statements in proportion to the sub-categories of forward and backward-looking categories introduces that besides the general focus on backward (causes), the speakers gradually abandon the forward-looking (causes) rhetoric in the session in which the issues are considered sequentially; use almost the same ratio of forward-looking (process), which is considerably salient; and pay significantly more attention to forward-looking (outcomes) in the sessions in which the issues are considered simultaneously than in the sessions in which the issues are considered sequentially. Accordingly, the secondary focus has moved from forward-looking (outcomes) in session in which the issues are considered simultaneously to backward-looking (process) and to backward-looking (outcomes) in sessions in which the issues are considered sequentially.

In interpreting the results excluding the most coded subcategory of backward-looking causes, one explanation may be that in simultaneous issue consideration sessions focus was on joint benefits, which is key element in integrative negotiations (Lewicki et. al., 1997). However, in the sessions in which the issues are considered sequentially, the blaming and accusing rhetoric continued and the speakers opted for a justice seeking approach; sought for accountability; and moved off from understanding underlying causes and turned towards relative gains.

The comparative findings regarding power and affiliation from simultaneous and sequential issue consideration sessions also support the proposition that simultaneous issue consideration sessions would include less power messages and more affiliation messages compared to sequential issue consideration sessions. Thus, the speakers use less power messages and more affiliation messages in the simultaneous issue consideration sessions than the sequential issue consideration sessions. In addition, another finding that supports this argument is

that the both sequential issue consideration sessions produce almost the same results. However, the percentage of power messages is significantly high in all sessions. Differing from the forward and backward-looking results, affiliation messages are considerably low in simultaneous issue consideration sessions, in which it is expected that the speakers would adopt a cooperative and integrative bargaining attitude. Although, these results do not introduce a clear picture as the findings on forward and backward-looking negotiation styles present, the ratio of increase in the power messages for both simultaneous and sequential issue consideration sessions are very close to each other. Therefore, the difference between the findings regarding forward and backward-looking negotiation styles and the findings regarding power and affiliation points to a considerable increase in use of power in rhetoric, but does not necessarily affect the results that the speakers used less power rhetoric and more affiliation rhetoric in simultaneous issue consideration sessions than in sequential issue consideration sessions.

In comparison of the results of sub-categories for power and affiliation, it can be clearly seen that most of the rhetoric has been accumulated around the middle in the range of power and affiliation categories. Nevertheless, there are few statements of companionship and nurturing, which include most affiliation oriented messages in simultaneous issue consideration sessions and a few statements of force and control, which include the most power oriented categories, in the sequential issue consideration session.

A similar situation occurs for trust and mistrust findings. Although the findings show that the simultaneous issue consideration yields significantly high percentages of mistrust and considerably low percentages for trust, the sessions in which the issues are considered simultaneously, included more trust and less mistrust rhetoric than the session in which the issues are considered sequentially, confirming the proposition that the speakers will use more trust and less mistrust oriented rhetoric in simultaneous issue consideration sessions than in sequential issue consideration sessions. As in the category of power and affiliation, trust and mistrust levels are also very similar in sequential issue consideration.

This situation brings forward the question on whether the larger context of polarized political environment impacts the process more than the procedural context of issue consideration does. In this sense, 2010 constitutional debates case provides a ground for the

findings of the laboratory studies (e.g., Weingart et. al., 1993; Yukl et. al. 1976) on whether simultaneous and sequential issue consideration can be evaluated in a real life setting. Thus, the difference between the findings for each issue consideration type and the findings for the impact of polarized political environment introduces that even though a correlation between certain categories such as forward-looking, affiliation and trusts is observed, the intensity of substantive and relational messages may vary from one context to another. Thus, for 2010 constitutional debate case, it can be argued that the full impact of simultaneous issue consideration, which results in more cooperative and integrative solutions, is precluded by the influence of the polarized political environmental context, in terms of the relational aspect of message framing.

Another concern may be whether the sessions in which simultaneous or sequential issue setting take place would yield the same results, in case their order is changed. Since the issue consideration order is determined by the parliamentary procedures, the data does not allow doing such an analysis. Thus, the issues are first considered simultaneously and subsequently discussed sequentially. Nevertheless, the results would yield more fruitful discussions, in case the sequential issue consideration sessions are followed by simultaneous issue consideration sessions.

6.2 Implications for Future Research

This thesis seeks to answer the following questions: How does the polarized political environment impact the constitution making process? How does the procedural context of issue consideration impact the constitution making process? In answering these questions, this thesis first examines the substantive and relational statements of the speakers, who are members of the TGNA, in the course of 2010 constitutional debates. Through conducting content analysis on the rhetorical messages given by the speakers, this thesis concludes that 2010 constitution amendment making process is mostly characterized by backward-looking, power and mistrust oriented rhetoric. This thesis presents that the main factor for this conclusion is the influence of polarized political environment.

This thesis also examines the impact of both simultaneous and sequential issue consideration, through conducting content analysis on the substantive and relational messages. In conclusion of this analysis, this thesis introduces that the simultaneous issue consideration

produces more forward-looking, affiliation and trust oriented rhetoric than the sequential issue consideration yields. In conclusion, it is revealed that the impacts of these two contexts are overlapping in terms of the relational dimension of the interactions.

Future research may examine the relationship between different contexts in an interaction process. It may also use the tools from this study to examine previous and upcoming constitution making processes, and other policy and law making processes. Moreover, future research may also focus on the actors and content of the issues of 2010 constitutional debates case as different parameters in analyzing the constitution making process.

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APPENDIX I

Chart of the Chronological Events re 2010 Constitutional Amendments*	
06.08.2007	The prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan asked a group of professors to establish a commission that would take part in the preparation of a new constitution.
08.29.2007	The commission delivered the constitution draft to AKP presidency
09.14.2007	AKP held an unofficial meeting regarding the draft constitution and the amendments to this draft.
09.15.2007	The Democratic Society Party's (DSP) declared that Kurds would not support the draft constitution unless it guaranteed cultural identities.
09.19.2007	CHP established a commission which intended to work on the constitution draft
09.20.2007	The European Union President declared that AKP's willingness on working with the constitutional institutions, democratic groups and parties should be appreciated.
09.24.2007	The Grand Unity Party's declaration that AKP should include representatives from all segments of the society
09.28.2007	The Presidents Commission of the Supreme Court of Appeals met to discuss the new constitution draft and declared their objections to it.
11.19.2007	AKP's second unofficial meeting regarding the draft constitution.
12.05.2007	The representatives from a wide segment of the civil societal organizations ranging from labor organizations to NGOs met to discuss the new constitution.

12.22.2007	The counselor Bülent Arınç of AKP has made the final amendments on the draft constitution.
01.30.2008	AKP and the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) has offered a constitutional amendment that the university students would be allowed to wear veils within the university campus.
02.06.2008	The Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) has accepted the amendment, which AKP and NMP have offered.
02.26.2008	DSP and CHP filed a petition to the Constitutional Court claiming that the amendment offered by AKP and MHP should be repealed.
06.05.2008	The Constitutional Court has cancelled the constitutional amendment, which concerns university students be allowed to wear veil within university campus.
08.10.2008	AKP withhold the new draft constitution and offered amendments on the current constitution, which included 40 articles.
09.06.2008	The president of the Grand National Assembly Koksal Toptan called for establishing a conciliation committee for preparation of the amendment pack by sending letters to the political party leaders.
10.09.2008	The request on establishing a conciliation committee has not been replied by CHP; therefore, the committee has not been established.
03.13.2009	The European Parliament has accepted the report on Turkey, which includes a clause imposing an obligation that AKP has to achieve to conciliate all segments of the society.
03.05.2010	The President Abdullah Gül met with the leaders of the opposition parties in order to discuss how to generate conciliation on the constitutional amendments.
03.07.2010	The law on reducing the period of offering to hold a referendum for constitutional changes to 60 days has been enacted by the Grand National

	Assembly.
03.17.2010	AKP finished the constitutional amendment pack, which is prepared by its legal consultants.
03.18.2010	The clause, which allows the TGNA to choose a member of the High Committee of Judges and Prosecutors, was removed from the constitutional amendment pack.
03.22.2010	AKP delegation visited CHP and MHP in order to seek support for the constitutional amendment pack. CHP retold that they would not support the constitutional amendment pack. MHP reemphasized that a conciliation committee was required to be established and that this committee should form the constitutional amendment pack.
03.25.2010	The Vice President Cemil Çiçek has declared that if the constitutional amendment pack could not receive more than 367 votes then AKP will put it to the referendum.
03.30.2010	The constitutional amendment pack has been submitted to the TGNA.
03.31.2010	The constitutional amendment pack has been sent to the Constitution Commission of the TGNA.
03.31.2010	The European Union Commission has indicated that they were pleased with the constitutional amendment process and emphasized that this process should progress by conciliation.
04.07.2010	CHP has submitted a proposal, which concerns that the request on the constitutional amendment pack should be rejected, to the Constitution Commission of the Grand National Assembly, claiming that this request is against the Constitution.

04.07.2010	The Constitution Commission of the TGNA rejected CHP's proposal.
04.12.2010	The deputy chairpersons of CHP met with the deputy chairpersons of AKP to discuss the constitutional amendment pack.
04.12.2010	The Constitution Commission of the Turkish Grand National Assembly approved the constitutional amendments pack.
04.13.2010	CHP has delivered a dissenting opinion on the Constitution Commission's report.
04.13.2010	The constitutional amendment pack was submitted to the General Assembly of the TGNA.
04.19-29.2010	The request on constitutional amendment pack was put to vote and has been approved by the TGNA.
05.02-06.2010	The constitutional amendment pack was put to vote for the second time and all amendments were approved except Article 8.
05.06.2010	The approved constitutional amendments were sent to the President Abdullah Gül for review.
05.11.2010	The President Abdullah Gül has approved the amendments.
05.13.2010	CHP has filed a petition to the Turkish Constitutional Court, requesting that the constitutional amendment pack be repealed and the referendum process be suspended.
05.13.2010	The High Election Committee of Turkey has determined that the referendum date be on 12 th of September 2010.

08. 06.2010	The Constitutional Court accepted CHP's appeal and decided on examining the way the constitutional amendment pack has been formed.
08. 07.2010	The Constitutional Court repealed some articles of the constitutional amendment pack and decided that the rest of the amendments would be put on the referendum.
09. 12.2010	In consequence of the referendum in which the participation rate was 77%, the constitution amendment pack has been approved by 58% of the voters.

*Derived from <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/arsiv/>