

**KARADENİZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY \* INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE**

**MASTER'S PROGRAM IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

**LANGUAGE ACTIONS AS POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ACTIONS: A  
POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS  
ABOUT TURKEY IN WESTERN PRESS**

**YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ**

**Sümeyye BOZKURT**

**MAYIS-2019**

**TRABZON**

**KARADENİZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY \* INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**DEPARTMENT OF WESTERN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE**

**MASTER'S PROGRAM IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

**LANGUAGE ACTIONS AS POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ACTIONS: A  
POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE  
NEWS ABOUT TURKEY IN WESTERN PRESS**

**MASTER'S THESIS**

**Sümeyye BOZKURT**

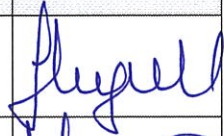
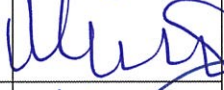

**Thesis Advisor: Asst. Prof. Fehmi TURGUT**

**MAY-2019**

**TRABZON**

## APPROVAL

Upon the submission of the dissertation, **Sümeyye BOZKURT** has defended the study **“Language Actions As Political and Ideological Actions: A Political, Ideological and Critical Discourse Analysis of the News About Turkey in Western Press”** in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in English Language and Literature at Karadeniz Technical University, and the study has been found fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis by **unanimous / ~~majority~~** vote on **21.06.2019**.

Committee Member		Decision		Signature
Title - Name and SURNAME	Mission	Accept	Refuse	
Asst. Prof. Dr. Fehmi TURGUT	Supervisor	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Prof. Dr. Mehmet TAKKAÇ	Member	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Asst. Prof. Dr. Ali Şükrü ÖZBAY	Member	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences.

Prof. Dr. Yusuf SÜRMEŒ  
Director

## **DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY**

I, **Sümeyye BOZKURT**, hereby confirm and certify that;

- I am the sole author of this work and I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution,
- this work contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other university or institution,
- all data and findings in the work have not been falsified or embellished,
- this is a true copy of the work approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Karadeniz Technical University, including final revisions required by them.
- I understand that my work may be electronically checked for plagiarism by the use of plagiarism detection software and stored on a third party's server for eventual future comparison,
- I take full responsibility in case of non-compliance with the above statements in respect of this work.

21.05.2019

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Asst. Prof. Dr. Fehmi TURGUT for his support, wisdom and expert guidance. I am also thankful to him for providing immediate feedback for my research.

I would like to thank the distinguished members of committee, Prof. Dr. Mehmet TAKKAÇ and Asst. Prof. Dr. Ali Şükrü ÖZBAY.

I owe my deep sense of appreciation to my fiancé Ahmet KIRTIL for his continuous encouragement under all circumstances.

*This thesis is dedicated to my precious friends Hamide ARICI, Ece KARAGÖZ and Tuba BOSTAN, from whose time I stole the most.*

Lastly, I would like to thank all who believed in me...

May, 2019

Sümeyye BOZKURT

## CONTENTS

<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	IV
<b>CONTENTS</b> .....	V
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	VII
<b>ÖZET</b> .....	VIII

<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1-2
---------------------------	-----

### CHAPTER ONE

<b>1. FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY</b> .....	3-4
1.1. Background to the Study .....	3
1.2. Purpose and Significance of the Study.....	3
1.3. Research Questions .....	3
1.4. Chapter Breakdown .....	4

### CHAPTER TWO

<b>2. MEDIA LANGUAGE</b> .....	5-14
2.1. Why Media Language?.....	5
2.1.1. Power and Language.....	7
2.2. Language of Persuasion .....	10
2.3. Post Truth and the Language of Post-Truth .....	11
2.4. Perception Management.....	13

### CHAPTER THREE

<b>3. THEORY AND METHOD</b> .....	15-25
3.1. Discourse and Discourse Analysis .....	15
3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis.....	17
3.2.1. How to Gather Linguistic Data in CDA.....	19
3.3. Political and Ideological Discourse Analysis.....	20
3.4. Content Analysis .....	24
3.5. Findings and Analysis .....	25

## CHAPTER FOUR

<b>4. TURKEY IN WESTERN MEDIA.....</b>	<b>26-65</b>
4.1. Actor description (Meaning) .....	26
4.2. Authority (Argumentation) .....	28
4.3. Burden (Topos) .....	30
4.4. Categorization (Meaning) .....	32
4.5. Comparison (Meaning, Argumentation) .....	34
4.6. Counterfactuals (Meaning, Argumentation) .....	38
4.7. Disclaimers (Meaning).....	40
4.8. Euphemism (Rhetoric; Meaning).....	41
4.9. Evidentiality (Meaning, Argumentation) .....	42
4.10. Example/ Illustration (Argumentation) .....	44
4.11. Hyperbole (Rhetoric) .....	48
4.12. Implication (Meaning) .....	48
4.13. Irony (Rhetoric).....	52
4.14. Lexicalization (Style) .....	54
4.15. Metaphor (Meaning, Rhetoric).....	59
4.16. Negative Other-Presentation (Semantic Macro-Strategy).....	60
4.17. Norm Expression.....	62
4.18. Polarization, Us-Them Categorization (Meaning) .....	65
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>66</b>
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>CURRICULUM VITAE .....</b>	<b>80</b>

## **ABSTRACT**

With the widespread use of media means, the concepts of disinformation and misinformation have become of great interest in the studies of media language. Such studies deal with circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief. In this new post-truth era, the status of truth then becomes relative, as the truth has been taken over by subjective comments, information and feelings that would inevitably lead to the invention of new truths. This dissertation, with reference to the concept of 'post truth', dwells on how language actions turn out to be political and ideological actions in media texts. The study analyses the language through which Western media means perform perception operations against Turkey. How post truth language is used to persuade people by fake news, information pollution and lies will be the main focal point of this study. The study uses political, ideological and critical discourse analyses as its theory and method. Dealing with how certain kind of media texts have come into existence, informing the reader about the characteristics of the language used in these texts, how they should be read, and uncovering the relations between language and politics, this dissertation has the nature of both a linguistic study and political one.

**Keywords:** Turkey, Language, Discourse Analysis, Media, Politics, Ideology



## ÖZET

Medya araçlarının yaygın kullanımı ile dezenformasyon ve yanlış bilgilendirme kavramlarına medya dili çalışmalarında büyük bir ilgi olmuştur. Bu çalışmalar kamu fikrini şekillendirmede duygulara ve kişisel inançlara göre tarafsız gerçeklerin daha az etkili olduğu durumlarla ilgilenir. Bu yeni gerçek sonrası dönemde gerçeğin durumu göreceli hale gelir. Gerçeğin yerini öznel yorumlar, bilgiler ve duygular alır, bu da kaçınılmaz olarak yeni gerçeklerin icadına neden olur. Bu tez çalışması, ‘gerçek ötesi’ kavramına olan referansı ile birlikte, batılı medya organlarının Türkiye’ye karşı gerçekleştirdiği algı operasyonları yoluyla oluşturduğu dil üzerinde durmaktadır. Gerçek ötesi dille, Türkiye’ye karşı sahte haberlerle, bilgi kirliliğiyle ve yalanlarla insanların nasıl ikna edildiği bu çalışmanın odak noktası olacaktır. Bu çalışma teori ve metod olarak politik, ideolojik ve eleştirel söylem analizi kullanmaktadır. Çalışma batılı medya organlarındaki dilbilimsel eylemlerin, politik eylemler ve dilbilimsel olarak politik eylemlerin, analizini yaparak uluslararası politikada perdeler ardında neler olduğuna ışık tutmayı amaçlar. Bu bakış açısıyla, çalışma dilbilimsel ve politik bir çalışmadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Türkiye, Dil, Söylem Analizi, Medya, Politika, İdeoloji

## INTRODUCTION

Lately mass media and its language use with the basis on emotions, subjective comments and negative representation of others have become eye-catching. Because it has started to dominate the lives of the people because media is a place where you can get every information in every way possible without even trying because whether you want it or not every time you switch on your TV or computer you are exposed to its output. Media can reach millions of people with its biased, distorted way of representing others, especially in the news. For example: Turkey is represented as a place where you can't express yourself freely without the danger of being arrested or jailed. It is shown as a country full of authoritarian, undemocratic and autocratic rulings and deeds with its leader who is represented as an oppressive threat to democracy and to the world. Western media represents and treats Turkey as 'the other' so the news about Turkey and the way they are presented are studied in this thesis because it has come out that Turkey is treated like 'the outgroup' who is presented negatively without considering its good deeds.

Hereupon, this study focuses on the linguistic side of representation of the news about Turkey because in the war of words, linguistic choices are the weapons to degrade countries, people or events. Sometimes specific word choices which is used over and over again show the prejudice of the writer. People who are exposed to outputs of media in every possible way can not stay neutral because the words are weapons in the hands of power holders who try to manage information to make a perception operation against countries or their leaders via using news as a path to affect the minds, behaviours and actions of the people.

This study also focuses on the political and ideological side of representation of Turkey in the news of Western media because every lexico-grammatical choice of the author in their news reports and articles reflect an idea serving political and ideological aims and gains. Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse Analysis and Ideological Discourse Analysis as a theory and method are utilized to track the characteristics, topics and word choices having been chosen to present Turkey in the Western media and especially in their newspapers. These make this thesis a political and a linguistic study. Because in the world where words are weapons, it is obvious that the topic and word choices of the authors have hidden meanings waiting to be unearthed by the ones who is seeking the truth whose importance is diminishing day by day in the era called as post truth era which witness the overthrow of the truth. In the post truth era, lies, fake news, alternative truths, truthish statements have taken over the traditional truth.

Thus, this study attaches importance to how news reports and articles about Turkey in Western media can create an image for Turkey in the minds of the readers through a variety of linguistic elements whose purpose is to degrade Turkey. Every written and spoken text has an ideological and political connotation serving for the aims of the ones who hold the power. If we dig deep enough we can find their traces. When it comes to Turkey, findings would be serving for the ones who are belittling Turkey in every way possible. Language actions operate as political and ideological actions in western media and these show what is going on behind the curtains when Turkey is presented.



## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1. FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY**

#### **1.1. Background to the Study**

Mass media and its language use have always been a focal point for linguists. Mass media reaches millions of people and affects the minds and attitudes of people around the world with its reflection of topics, events and especially news. News about Turkey and the way news are presented is under scrutiny in this thesis because it is seen that Turkey is treated like ‘the other’ and ‘the outgroup’ in the news of Western media. Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse Analysis and Ideological Discourse Analysis are used to define the traces and the characteristics of being an outgroup with the choice of words and topics related to Turkey. In the post truth era, truth is not the traditional truth anymore. It has been taken over by truthish statements, alternative facts, negative representation and even fake news. Emotions, fears or subjective comments have become more important to shape the minds of people rather than reasoning. With perception operations people and their opinions are shaped and reshaped throughout the use of managed information.

#### **1.2. Purpose and Significance of the Study**

The aim of the study is to shed light on the news about Turkey in Western media because of their topic and word choices that show Turkey as undemocratic, unjust, authoritarian and problematic country. The purpose is to show that there is an application of perception operation against Turkey. This study concentrates on how post truth, media and the use of language are utilized to operate perception management against Turkey through convincing people by using fake news, information pollution, negative representation and truthish statements. Investigating the purpose, function and the literary means of these attempts is the core of this study through conducting Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse Analysis and Ideological Discourse Analysis as the research method. So this thesis has the nature of both a linguistic study and political one.

#### **1.3. Research Questions**

In the present study, the aim is to give answer to the following main research questions:

1. How is Turkey represented in the news of Western press?

2. How do language actions operate as political and ideological actions in western media texts?

The answer to the questions will be given with the help of Ideological Discourse Analysis and its eighteen subtitles formed by Van Dijk (2005). Various newspaper articles and reports from various newspapers published online in the USA and Europe have been selected to show their distorted and biased way of representing Turkey.

#### **1.4. Chapter Breakdown**

The study is composed of five chapters: framework of the study, introduction, theory and method, Turkey in Western media and conclusion.

The first chapter traces the background, purpose and significance of the study and it has two crucial research questions. With the introductory information, the focus and the significance of the study with the methodology employed for the research are explained and the research questions are stated. The aspects that make this thesis important and its significance are underlined.

The second chapter covers theory and method conducted in this study. Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse Analysis and Ideological Discourse Analysis are explained in a detailed way to serve the purpose of the study that is the representation of Turkey in the Western press.

In the third chapter, Turkey in Western media is investigated through the light shed under topics of Ideological Discourse Analysis. Newspaper articles and reports from various online newspapers are used to back up the stance in this thesis.

In the last chapter, the conclusions are presented with a brief summary of the study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. MEDIA LANGUAGE

This chapter of the study demonstrates the purpose of the study about choosing media language and the significance of it. Furthermore, power and language with their undeniable link are followed by language of persuasion that is a crucial topic about affecting people, their decisions and ideas. Post truth and the language of post-truth will be handled and finally perception management is going to be under scrutiny.

#### 2.1. Why Media Language?

Media language has always been a center of attention for linguists, especially for applied linguists. The reasons for this attention are varied. One is that media means, within the context of this study, provide us with a very rich source of language used for research or teaching purposes. Media provide language data in very easily accessible ways, which makes them linguistic institutions, for people hear, read, have an access and even are exposed to media outputs everyday. Media reflect, shape and reshape the use of language and attitudes of people by providing raw linguistic material for readers and viewers to know about the social, political and ideological world around them. Schmitz calls this strong relationship between media and language as ‘media linguistics’. Media linguistics examines the functioning of language in media texts and its means as illustrated by Schmitz as follows: “Media linguistics studies how language is used in the media” (Schmitz, 2015: 7). The uses and the structures of language possess a particular form in a way that it makes it possible to highlight the characteristic usage of language in media. The use of language in media, as examined in this study, is very crucial because the media language affects behaviours and ideas of masses in a society via the path it follows while reflecting and presenting people, events, conditions, ideas and ideologies.

Media can also be seen as a social institution as a presenter and representer of culture, life and politics by shaping and reshaping them. Media reveal and contribute to the make up and characteristics of societies through the way it formulates a certain mode or use of language. To do this, it needs a discourse. The media discourse refers to the spoken or written interactions through a broadcasting platform where the discourse is oriented to readers, listeners or viewers who are non-present. Media discourse is a kind of interaction that is public and manufactured. It is not spontaneous or off the record. It has an aim to shape and reshape the minds and attitudes of the

recipients through the way the language, grammar and linguistic features are used, which is what this study mainly focuses on. For example: Grammatical structures may express an underlying ideological stance, such as using passive voice and erasing agents taking part in positions as subjects to diminish or destroy the negative effects of groups who hold power. Lexical choice is another significant aspect where veiled opinions or ideologies may surface such as using 'terrorist' instead of 'guerilla', leading to lexical deceptions in favor of the elite or power-holders. Using such linguistic features, media texts, as all other genres and fields do, create their own discourse. The intention of news discourse is to induce audiences that they report the truth. So persuasion is a crucial aim and function to achieve this. To be successful on this, substantiating the assertions with statements from representatives of well-established institutions as reliable sources are used. As a result, often in news discourses, promoting the dominant opinions and ideas of power groups in society are fruitful approaches for the benefit of power holders. Therefore, it would be acceptable to investigate, describe and understand the media discourse, especially news discourse, and the power it holds. Very often, this power is exercised through the language.

Transmission, production and reinforcement of power are made possible through the utilization of discourse (Foucault, 1998: 100). Power becomes evident in every sphere and "it comes from everywhere" says Foucault claiming that its position as an agency or its being a structure is inexistent (Foucault, 1998: 63). In today's media saturated world, naturally enough, media means consider themselves as the mere institutions which are responsible for depicting what is countable as truth and their pervasive effect on their audience by seeking the effect of power through language is a massive one, which makes language a mediator between the power and media discourse.

Since the way media use language attempts to position the reader in a certain stance, media texts tend not to be objective or neutral in the way they report the events (Borschel, 2012). At this point, this situation creates some questions such as: how language is being used, by whom, and for what purposes, how it represents or misrepresents people and issues. The relationship between media and language is a circular one: texts are linguistically constructed, interpreted and communicated. Likewise, the media has an influence over language and its use. How media discourse is created, (re)produced via language, how some of the linguistic features of various types of spoken and written media texts convey the meaning that influences the audience in a very powerful way are the main parts in this study. Media discourse, especially news discourse, hides political and ideological bases in itself. So it can be said that language can be utilized ideologically with a purpose of controlling and (re)shaping today's realities. Practices held by members of groups, especially the social ones, and their discourses are controlled by the effects of ideologies together with the various social representations (Van Dijk, 2002: 17). For ideologies are the belief systems that social group members share and politics as activities people who are in politics engaged themselves in (Van Dijk, 2002). Relation of media discourse to political and ideological

discourse can be seen as inevitable because people are exposed to their process and output through media organs and in every report, article and debate an ideological and political stance is lurking to be pinpointed. So it is crucial to read between the lines in media texts, in our case it is the news reports and articles.

Words are the carriers of some particular and specific meanings that could perform some political roles and representations in enforcing power. Ideologies are passed and serviced by the utilization of language in media discourse. Language as a very powerful device can be an instrument deployed to shape and reshape the realities, beliefs and worldviews of people in line with ideologies, which makes language a political and ideological tool. Aristotle referred to this many many years ago by writing about humans' being animals, political animals which evolves naturally, for speech is given to them to express their ideas on various issues (Miller, 2017: 1). As political animals, for people, especially for the political actors, controlling language means controlling the minds, thoughts and attitudes of people. To achieve this, "(...) politicians make use of discursive strategies" (Wodak, 2009: 578). The choice of a political actor reflects some political distinctions in an implicit or explicit way. Lexical items, accents, naming would be some of these choices. Presenting oneself in a positive way while portraying the political others negatively lies in using language persuasively. Ideology has a systematic and purposeful aim of exercising control over mentality, how humans consider, judge and see things. Ideology is defined as ideas that are not correct and whose only service is to contribute the legitimization of the political power for the dominant ones (Eagleton, 1991: 1-30). In our case, the media and its means are the ruling group with their publications by using distortive and deceptive techniques. Relationship between ideology and language is also inevitable. Actors who hold power in their hands can utilize language for the exertion of their influence by controlling the use of language. It is also argued by some that articulation, maintenance and subversion of power relations that is existent in societies on national, international and institutional spheres in line with communicative actions among people, language has a great role. (Talbot et al., 2003: 1-2). On the other hand, power is an important device in the hands of the holders of it. Politics, ideology and power are interrelated. Power is defined as competence to affect the attitudes of people to reach the goals one intends to get (Nye, 2004: 2). Language used in media paves the way for exerting power on the minds of the people about what to think and how to think. Therefore, the relationship between language and power becomes self-evident, which leads to the widespread use of the terms 'the power of language' and 'the language of power'.

### **2.1.1. Power and Language**

Power and language have an undeniable and inseparable relationship that possess various dimensions. As Foucault illustrates, reality and truth are produced by power (Foucault, 1977: 194). Thus, discourse is created by it. Power, discourse and truth are related terms. Rituals of truth



sometimes are to be comprehended as confinements for “what is considered as true or false” in societies (Mayr, 2008: 15). Power is acknowledged as more dispersed and diffused. Power is explicitly has links with knowledge. Power is dispersed all over the society at all ranges, just like simple knowledge brought by everyday life. Foucault explains these links as the implication of knowledge and power is direct in complementing and creating each other (Foucault, 1977: 27). Therefore, power becomes a process related closely to knowledge that is a practical one via the usual attitude of utilizing human bodies for the purposes of society (Olig, 1996). Nietzsche (1982) sees languages as sets of metaphors that let us make the world around us reasonable while leading to a comprehension: when people tell something about the world that surrounds them, they also inevitably say something about how they comprehend the world. While having communication and making sense of the world, humans carry values, perceptions and preferences. To remain neutral and objective is almost impossible. “Wherever I found the living,” Nietzsche writes, “there I also heard the speech of obedience. Whatever lives, obeys” (Nietzsche, 1982: 226). Language is significant to understand the nature and function of politics too. Politics is framed by language. The form of writing and speaking is as essential as its content. Language and power has an inevitable linkage. Power in media is reflected through language. It is essential to comprehend the importance of power and its being everywhere. Foucault (1979: 92) states that power is evident in every domain of life by embracing everything and its ability to be evident through coming from everywhere. This understanding highlights the elusive quality of power.

According to Van Dijk, the control of knowledge through using the power of the language both forms individuals’ interpretations of the world and shapes the discourse types and actions that people participate in (Van Dijk, 1993: 258). Althusser (1971) acknowledges power as a phenomenon that is a discursive one and highlights the crucial ideological stances deployed to reproduce or change relations of politics through state apparatuses serving ideologies, such as religious foundations, education and the media. Like Althusser, Gramsci (1971) also thinks that it is with the help of the cultural shapings of people who are actually individuals by the institutional purposes of society such as family, religious establishments, the system of education, laws and media. These lead us to think that people are controlled and shaped. Groups who have dominance in societies can find more subtle stances through the powers of the state that are mostly repressive. This process makes ‘consent’ is an important factor. Groups who have no dominant features are to obey the social order that exists with the help of the stronger groups or establishments such as the state and its institutions. They are very effective because they are demonstrated as having universal beneficial sides and as more logical.

Power mostly uses language to operate: power is revealed and reflected by language and language creates influence. The language-power relationships are interrelated, they both influence each other. Because of this interrelatedness, individuals as audiences may give their consents to certain power structures because groups who have dominant qualities forms and shapes discourses

and reflect them as natural outcomes. This makes language a domain in which creating and performing power is possible. There is power behind the language that stands for the power-holders who have a right to say what is true. There is power of language with the linguistic, lexical and syntactic choices to make a discourse even powerful to divide or unite masses. To exercise and enact power, it should take place in and via the utilization of language and ultimately via the utilization of discourse. Mass media has facilities created by power to disperse news, events and issues in a very quick and favourable ways. Its discourse is a site where implicit inducements of power are possible. Fairclough (1989) finds the discourse of mass media as an interesting one. The reason for this lies in his depicting the nature of power relations. They are mostly engaged in media so unclear that they could be accepted as veiled relations of power. Another reason is invisibility and unclarity of the nature of the power relations (Fairclough, 1989). It differs from face to face communication involving discourse in which media discourse has a characteristic that is one sided. It is like a belonging created by the ones who produce and consume it. Fairclough also illustrates that media is formed for audiences, actually for mass audiences, and there is no mutual negotiation between speech producers. This means that media has a design appealing to an ideal audience such as a listener or a reader who are obliged to conduct negotiation with the ideal audience (Fairclough, 1989).

In media means who is actually exercising power, who is represented or not, which subjects are mentioned, which information or events are excluded, what kind of language means are used, in which way the product shapes and positions the audience are significant questions. They are to be answered in any study aiming to uncover the relationship between power of any kind and language. They shed light on the analysis of a media product in which a relation of power and the use of language go hand in hand. To examine this feature of language could be a great help with the analysis of lexis, grammar, phonology, graphology and conversational features. Of these, lexis is crucial because semantic fields can influence the audience at a great level. The word frequency, the repetitive use of some certain words with other words in collocation, the desired and expected effects of these words, naming, titles, explicit or implicit insults, jargon, the use of English as Standard English or not are the ways to distinguish between what is said and what is meant or implied. Naming as formal or informal is a way of underestimating or having a high opinion of somebody or something. In the news title and the first sentence of the article below, underestimation or degrading of a country's lead man is obviously has a negative connotation. Because countries are represented through their leaders and if the leader is not given his title but just a name in the article it is as if no respect is shown to the country not only the president. "Is Turkey Still A Democracy? Erdogan Assumes Sweeping New Powers After Election Win" is the title of the news article written by David Brennan (2018) on Newsweek. The title starts with a rhetorical question to catch attention, goes on with an informal way of addressing a president and utilizes a word, a strong choice of word, and has a negative connotation about having new powers. Instead of '*sweeping*', verbs such as '*have*', '*get*', '*possess*' etc. could be used.

Grammar is also significant because different contexts can make the utilization of grammar standard or not while making it stronger and convincing. Sentence construction is crucial too. Short sentences sometimes can be more powerful than the long ones. Imperatives and directives are significant. ‘Shut up!’ and ‘Would you be quiet, please?’ are so different that their effect is not the same.

## **2.2. Language of Persuasion**

To grab attention, make people believe or do something is the aim of most media organs by establishing trust, motivate and stimulate their audience to act, react, vote, support a policy etc. Convincing people in believing or behaving according to a certain way, agree with them and their point of views, sharing values, accepting or rejecting a specific way of thinking is possible throughout the use of persuasive language. Definitions of persuasion give clues about the power of the use of persuasive language. Cattani (2008: 122) states that “persuasion refers to actions, concerns manipulation, makes use of pathos, uses any means available to make the other act and is mainly centered on the speaker and his/her ability to change people’s opinions and behavior; it is a process”. In this process, linguistic devices are used very aptly and strategically (Saftoiu et al., 2015). Appealing emotions, fears, pride in the country, needs to fit in, being accepted, valued as an individual, gaining credibility are some ways to conduct persuasive language. To conduct these, language of persuasion utilizes appeals such as strong sentiments like fears and other emotions to affect beliefs and behaviors in the news media. To be knowledgeable and make the argument seem more credible and logical, utilization of evidence such as scientific information, hyperbole, facts and incidents serve as fruitful devices to make the language persuasive. Rejection and attacks on the beliefs of opponents and having a positive self-presentation can urge people to believe in given information by reflecting views and beliefs of the opponents as harmful, unnecessary and careless. Language is a device used for expressing the self. Establishing and maintaining a certain relationship with others, and as means to make others believe in some political and ideological values, and to persuade them to do or to believe in something, the language of persuasion has become a topic of interest media and linguistic research. To accomplish desired outcome it is significant to be aware of the qualities of persuasive language. Appealing audience’s emotions, fears and desires is one of the qualities of persuasive language that is used mostly by political actors and authors. It is useful to steer the audience into a favourable thinking and action. Another working persuasive technique is evidence because it is very convincing as it makes the audience accept a politician or an author as well-informed and their speech or writing as commonsensical, trustworthy or credible. Attacking on opposing views, or the dissidents can also persuade people by presenting beliefs and ideas of the opposers as dangerous, deceitful or stupid. Inclusive and exclusive language are also another quality of persuasive language so that initiating inclusive language such as ‘we’, ‘our’, ‘us’ induce people by involving the reader with a creation and formation of togetherness. Using exclusive language such as ‘them’ can alienate others by

excluding them. Generalisation as another quality also works to make inappropriate statements about all the group by considering few members belong to the group. If people believe the generalization isn't inappropriate then the persuasion process becomes successful. The use of hyperbole as another quality signifies some parts by using exaggerations. It can be useful while mocking the ideas of dissidents or appealing to fears. Metaphor and simile which are the parts of figurative language can be utilized to appeal emotions and make the writer look sophisticated. As another quality of persuasive language, rhetorical questions stands for the questions where an answer is futile and unnecessary. They are only used for effect. It is an implication whose answer is so clear that anyone who disagrees is a fool. The connotation is the last quality to be mentioned which stands for the emotional meaning related to the lexicon. Convincing writers or orators mostly prefer to select their lexicon with a great care so that the connotation fulfills their goals. Using words such as 'massacre' and 'genocide' can reflect two different views based on the same event.

### **2.3. Post Truth and the Language of Post-Truth**

Post truth is actually an old term but this term has become publicly known upon being chosen by the Oxford Dictionary as the word of the year in 2016. For well over two decades ago, this new term was used by Steve Tesich, a novelist and a scriptwriter, to depict the transformation of the truth in democratic societies. In his 1992 essay "A Government of Lies" (1992) in *The Nation*, Steve Tesich refers to the suppression of the truth and the choices made by people resulted in living in some post truth world at the expense of democracy. His new term has been in the public eye noticeably ever since Oxford Dictionary has picked it as the word of the year after its usage peaked with two important events in world politics like Brexit, a referendum in Britain for leaving EU and American presidential elections with the candidacy of Donald Trump. The meaning of the word according to Oxford Dictionary is as follows: "Relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief" (Definition of post-truth in English (t.y.), <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/post-truth>). The status of truth then becomes relative as the truth has been taken over by subjective comments, information and feelings that would inevitably lead to the invention of truths. These all pave the way for the downfall of the truth and the rise of lies, truthish statements and fake news.

Media, with its written and visual means, stands as a powerful device of persuasion. Intersection of post truth and news media are worth to investigate in a world where traditional media outlets are condemned, scientific truths are questioned and proofs are underestimated. To enlighten the public mind as in traditional way of saying the truth and to react against lies have lost its importance. Rejection of the truth, ignoring it or creating an information pollution become a profitable business for politics because being disloyal to truth makes lies a multipurpose weapon which enables to shape, control and direct the minds and actions of the people. Creating different

standards about honesty, calling the truth by using other names, setting alternative arguments against truth cause insecurity towards the truth, which has been conceptualized as alternative truth/fact. White House press secretary Sean Spicer has talked about the crowd at inauguration ceremony of the president Donald Trump as Mr Trump having the “largest crowd in Inauguration history”. Trump’s senior adviser Kellyanne Conway (2017) insisted and defended Spicer by saying that he has given alternative facts not falsehoods as depicted in the news article titled as “Donald Trump's presidential counsellor Kellyanne Conway says Sean Spicer gave ‘alternative facts’ at first press briefing” which is written by Rachael Revesz (2017) on Independent. Although this allegation could be disproven easily by just checking the photographs taken that day, they lie boldly and call it as an alternative fact and got away with it. Attempts such as these can be explored in the way western media represent Turkey in their visual and written works as it is the focal point of this thesis.

This dissertation also refers to how post truth, media and the use of language are employed to operate perception management against Turkey through persuading people by using fake news, information pollution and lies. To investigate the purpose, function and the literary means of these means of operation, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) and Ideological Discourse Analysis (IDA) are employed while analyzing the written works of the western media. In media, everything is written and shown for a reason and people are widely exposed to post truth in news or in social media. Thus, it is crucial to explore its traces in media because it affects the thoughts and decisions of people against an idea, a country or an event.

Something is either true or not. It is as simple as it is. Or it was. In the post trust world, it is not that clear. Post truth blurs the line between the truth and lie with the help of euphemisms on calling the truth by other names or softening the lies so that it might look like truth-ish. “To the politicians, most of their falsehoods are mere petty fibbery, lies of exuberance so insignificant that they hardly even qualify as lies. ‘Rhetorical excesses and leaps of faith,’ Al Gore called them” (Keyes, 2004: 94). In his book *The Post-Truth Era: Dishonesty and Deception in Contemporary Life* Ralph Keyes (2004) indicates that we are surrounded by lies even in our daily simple lives; majority of people have the habit of lying, gives the results of the researches about lying and its place in several cultures, the motives of people and the subjects being lied about. We all lie even if it is big or small. Why we lie? His book could help us to understand the post truth need of lies via considering the roots and the nature of lying. However, he also indicates that the reaction against lies have changed and liars aren’t criticized harshly as it was in the past. From brief history of lying, why lie, politics and media to deception and dishonesty his book would be a guideline to understand lying, the use of it with concrete examples and the post truth which is a growing industry of organized misinformation.

Politics and intended misinformation process are boldly illustrated in many research studies. These two have become so interwoven, coordinated and organized to deflect the truth in American

political landscape in recent decades. Rabin-Havt (2016) claims that political lies aim to manipulate and distort the policy making process. The power of lies and deliberate manipulations of truth can be understood through the exploitation of them or blocking them to shape the politics and policymaking process. Lies are being told and those who lie could get away with it so easily in this post truth political landscape. Post truth can exist in the realms of perception management via the pervasive power of media. The mass media are kinds of social institutions; including, excluding, uniting and dividing people are among their powers. Familiarizing people with a system of common beliefs and expectations are the ways of the mass media (Berkowitz, 1997: 397). In historical and contemporary terms, the mass media is acknowledged as one of the major actors working for the formation of social reality (Burr, 2006). In media most of the information is managed and managed information paves its way through the perception management. Information management is a crucial point of the methods that are followed by contemporary political and financial mechanisms of power to carry out or boost their cohesion, produce and reproduce their power structures (Tumber, 1993).

#### **2.4. Perception Management**

This study also aims to analyze the linguistic feature in the selected texts used for perception operations. Information management as a significant realm of disloyalty to the truth is considered as a part of perception management (PM). Perception management includes specific interests and attempts to affect the public opinion and the influence tactics that are adopted to rationale media. This is a way of disseminating the pre-managed information and constructing reality. A significant part of information is crucially misinformation, due to different interests such as political and financial that its presentation has been created and formed (Webster, 2006: 162). A person makes an observation about a situation or a behavior then makes an interpretation and a judgement which leads to the formation of an attitude so the processed observation influences his behavior. This process isn't just based on the sensations, it is also a cognitive process. What we see, how we interpret, believe and react form perceptions. Stupak indicates that there are sensory experiences such as taste, smell, see and touch etc. and cognitive perceptions which are insights coming from the past experiences and ideas (Stupak, 2000: 253). It is worth to remember that the forms of actions are affected and driven by feelings more than logic (Saydam, 2005: 89). About perception management, Andrew Garfield (2002: 31) indicates that the point is to divert the ideas of people into favorable ones according to our own interests. That is, the focal point is the effect of the message rather than the message itself or the means it is produced. It is beyond the words. It is a combination of words and actions with an intention to change the ideas and forms in the minds of the audience. To do these, perception management came into being. It aims to affect sentimentality more than reasoning with the selected information. PM as information warfare doesn't cost as the military operations and it is as effective as them. At some point it may even be more effective because media reaches out millions of people in the whole world and influence their decision

making process with a low cost. The information flow in the mass media may not always be true but it is also a part of PM too, as in the Iraq war broken out in 2003 when the US spreads the news that there are mass destruction weapons exist in Iraq. Deceiving masses is the part of the game in the national and international area. Deception is a significant term belong to the information warfare, and as a mechanism of biological survival, it is created with the purpose of gaining a positive aspect in a game of survival (Kopp and Mills, 2002).

To influence the audience, PM originators should know the culture, history and the people to make their perceptions managed. PM in one country may not be effective in another country because various cultures are affected by PM in different ways. Originating PM consists campaigns of deception both systematic and organised while targeting the population entails some strategies and principles. When the population is considered as victims who are the objects exposed to an organised and systematic deception campaign which is held by the dominant institutions or establishments, then some of the characteristics become visible (Kopp, 2005). Preparation is the first characteristic. A well defined goal is a first significant step leading to reinforcement of ideological and political position which media propagates. Credibility is the second necessary attribute. To portray countries' capability and will in a deception campaign it should be consistent internally and stem from contradictions while presenting ideas and facts. Multichannel support is the third one in which various deceptive arguments and fabricated facts should be supported in multiple ways to lead and maintain the campaign and defeat the target population. The fourth one is centralised control, a must for deception campaign to centralize the control via establishing entities and groups. Security is the fifth attribute where deceptive messages are so dominant that only a small part of a leader group in PM knows the real truth behind the campaign based on deceptive messages. Flexibility as the sixth attribute is about adapting and evolving around changing situations over time is typical in PM. Coordination is the seventh attribute which necessitates distribution of deceptive messages in a consistent and synchronised way. Concealment as the eighth attribute stands for the necessary information which would destroy the campaign of deception is veiled or dismantled. Untruthful statements as the ninth attribute is fabrication of untruthful statements that aims to reflect the mimicry of the truth. These are used to introduce and reinforce misperceptions and changings in the decision making process of the individuals and masses as PM has power as an informational element.

Perception as a sensitive and cognitive process assists us to comprehend and perceive the world around us with the help of sensory experiences and insights from past experiences and ideas. Perceptions could be managed and changed via outer interventions. At this point perception management steps in and transforms existing perceptions into favourable ones. As a part of informational warfare it is as influential and efficient as military operations, even better at reaching more people in the world. Utilized information in PM is not always correct, it entails spreading deceitful news and informations to manage and change the perceptions.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3. THEORY AND METHOD

#### 3.1. Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Discourse utilized by many disciplines has a broad meaning and understanding. There are abundant ways to define discourse. It can refer not only to text and but also spoken language. Text is not the whole part of discourse it is a social interactive process (Fairclough, 1989: 24). If the general usage considered any form of “language in use” could be pointed out or accepted as language being present naturally (Brown and Yule, 1983). There is no clear cut definition of discourse which surpasses all and making them invalid. Stubbs states that it is something beyond the texts and clauses (Stubbs, 1983: 1), which leads to the way to analyze the structure of the text and pragmatics. Emile Benveniste relates discourse to the domain of communication and writes about discourse that it is not only an undefined creation of limitless variety, but it is the human speech in action, the domain of language as a system of signs an instrument of communication (Benveniste, 1971).

Discourse gives us a hint about the way people behave, the life, class, culture, occupation and ideas that they are a part of. By analyzing the discourse, it is possible to make inferences about people, their class, education, race and ethnicity. We read between lines from the talk and text people use; where they belong and stand in life, what they believe and hold on to, which gender, job or ethnicity/race they belong to, which ideologies or political intentions they cling to or what is the rationale and mental motivation behind their actions. Discourse gives us a chance to illustrate, analyze and interpret the ideas, thoughts, images and attitudes in written or oral forms by extracting meaning from them. It could uncover the mental outlook of people and the system that governs their lives or make them blindfolded against the truth and content with what is shown or said to them. Because discourse has a profound effect over people by shaping the way they interpret the world around them. In this sense, the use of language, its meaning, its form and the actions it triggers pave the way for us to make assumptions through discourse that is crucial to apprehend human experience. Discourse approached as a symbolic behavior has meaningfulness. Discourse is accepted as language-in-action so language and action should be considered both to investigate discourse (Hanks, 1996). Discourse is something which is social, cultural or historical. Social, political and cultural aspects of life are affected and shaped by it. From the definition it is assumed that all comments and explanations written or oral possess a meaning, which resonates in real



world. With discourse, we create the world in which we lead our daily lives. There is a regulation in utterances, which makes it possible to talk about discourses such as gender and femininity. As depicted, nature of discourse is rule-governed. Rules shape our thoughts so that their reflection could be clear if we have a look at the choices we made, creation and appreciation of artworks or the social constitutions we live in and so on. According to Van Dijk it is not only a meaning, structure or a cognitive process but also an interplay between complex nature and hierarchical mechanism of social interaction and possess a function in society, culture and context. Action and interaction constitute discourse by making it a social phenomenon. Van Dijk (1997) introduces discourse in four subtitles as action, context, power and ideology. Discourse is depicted as a practical, social and cultural phenomenon and that language users employ discourse to complete social acts and to engage themselves in interaction socially in conversations and in other forms belonged to discourse. Van Dijk emphasizes that this is not a situation which turns down the structure. Order and organization are also given importance in social interaction besides actions conducted mutually. Participants interpret, constitute and consider context as relevant to their purpose or these things are done for them like discourse. To comprehend discourse and its function, the inclusion of power is necessary for Van Dijk. He states that mostly power is mental not coercive in societies. Physical force is not important to control people, it is via the mentality people with their intentions and aims are controlled (Van Dijk, 1997: 16-17). So there is a relationship between the discourse and power. Besides, controlling it ideologically also has effects on discourse as action. Ideologies affect discourse and social practices generally so control and power over discourse are in the sphere of ideologies (Van Dijk, 1997: 6-35).

Discourse through text and oral form has significant social interactional, ideological, cultural and political functions. Truth is generated by discourse if certain discourses are used in certain contexts. Because they possess the strength for persuading audience to acknowledge those comments as true. Discourse has a power to affect the mindset of the people on what is the truth without giving any related correctness of it. Not only the world in which we lead our lives but also the knowledge and 'truth' are constituted by discourse. Existence of knowledge independently of language is not possible because structures, rules, associations are interwoven in language to organize knowledge so it is not just a communication via language (Foucault, 1980). Truth stands for something worldly and not as something positive instead of being ideal abstract notion in mind or essential to the expression for Foucault (1981). Truth is produced by society with an effort to acknowledge or exclude the truth. Then creating a dominant discourse while subsidizing others is an issue to consider by decoding the process of truth in the making. A situation, an institution and a social structure in which a discursive event occurs: discourse is shaped by them and shapes them (Fairclough, 1992). Thus, social reality is produced and reproduced through language with the representation and contribution of the language itself.

Power has indispensable and undeniable effects in discourses and the creation of truths. Power and discourse are mutually significant for giving social, political, cultural powers to individuals such as doctor over patient, teacher over student or politician over citizens. Forms of behaviours including restricting ones are produced via social relations. It has a subjective form as well as repressive. Certain types of discourses in certain contexts and locations enable some individuals or institutions 'speak the truth' or make it possible for them to be believed while sharing opinions on specific subjects. In the case of this study, this would be the media and its utilizing news to manage perception operation via creation of truths, misinformation and negative representation.

### **3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) functions through techniques of textual analysis and opinions. It is interdisciplinary. It investigates how texts present social identities and social relationships across a variety of texts, which are spoken and written such as political speeches, newspaper articles and commentaries. According to Van Dijk (1993a: 131) CDA is: "( ) a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotic or discourse analysis". CDA is used "to analyze texts to explore what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interactions or communicative events play a role in production or reproduction of unequal power relations" (Van Dijk, 1993b: 250).

Expression of ideological and political powers through language lies in the analysis of discourse since language is accepted as means of practice, which is a social one according to CDA approach. Power relations has a discursive nature and transmission and practice of power are enabled through discourse. So exercise and negotiation of power relations in discourse can be studied (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 272). Interests and concerns of CDA lies in the way linguistic side of cultural and social structures and processes are held more than the language use itself and words on a paper. Questioning how and why some words, grammatical choices or text structures are preferred to be written, spoken or used as a reference are the points to be focused by CDA to create more transparency and visibility over hidden ambitions because discourse is utilized as an instrument of power. Therefore, CDA is defined as it is both a method and theory and it is useful to analyze the language use of people and institutions (Richardson, 2007: 1).

Critical discourse focuses on "relations between discourse, power, dominance and social inequality" (Van Dijk, 1993a: 249). Central point of CDA is power and mostly production and reproduction of it institutionally. To Wodak and Meyer (2009: 10) the purpose is to analyze implicit or explicit way of reflecting "dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language". This approach evaluates the intersection of language, discourse, structure of society and speech which are the bases on which its critique dwells on. Uncovering/unveiling the ways of

discourse forms intermingled in social structure as reflections of power relations are the cores of this approach. For Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 258) exercising of power relations and negotiations of it in discourse forms and shapes their basic focus. Fairclough (1992) creates three dimensions to apprehend and analyze discourse. The first one is about the linguistic organization and features in discourse such as choices of words, patterns in lexicon (e.g. similies, metaphors), cohesion (e.g. conjunctions, substitutions, collocations) and the text structure, which should be analyzed systematically. For example via choices of passive or active verb forms and nominalizations obscuring or exposing the agent of the action in political process is especially considerable in news reporting. Producing, circulating, distributing and consuming discourse within societies are domains which discursive practice deals. Linguistic objects such as types of texts or specific texts are circulated largely in these processes. If discourse seen as a discursive practice, it leads to the speech acts, coherence and intertextuality in which a wider context of a text (historically and socially) is taken into consideration after the lexicon, syntax, cohesion and structure of the text are analyzed. Fairclough (1992: 117) differs manifest intertextuality from constitutive intertextuality by stating that while the first one utilizes real content of one text in another, the latter uses structures found in the existing texts. The last dimension of discourse as social practice is interested in how discourse functions and affects ideological and hegemonic processes. With this third dimension, Fairclough's approach is constructed towards social change. Discursive change taken into consideration through the eyes of intertextuality serves as a witness to see hegemonic changes and its processes. Changings, creations, recreations, representations of discourse reflect the orders of discourse, renewals of it, control, normativity and standing against the power and power holders. Fairclough (1989: 26) adds threefold framework to the three dimensions mentioned above. For Fairclough CDA should advance from “description, interpretation to explanation”. The description stage in CDA involving text analysis stands for the textual linguistic features. Second framework interests in the relationship between texts and interactions. Texts are acknowledged as having two roles as a product and a resource. It is a product of the process of production and in the interpretation process it is seen as a resource. Ideological framings and reproduction of social ideologies through the processes of interpretations in everyday interacted lives of the people are shown in this stage according to him. In the third stage, the relations between interaction and social context are analyzed by giving the importance on social effects in production and interpretation processes. Resorting to social theory is inevitable to uncover the hidden ways of ideologies and to see the bigger picture by releasement from seeing instances only from individual communication grounds to derive meanings. His discourse model finds itself in the theory of ideological process in society as hegemonic processes and changes constitutes the grounds in which discourse is formed, shaped and reshaped. He believes that ideologies and language have linkage and depicts that exercising power in societies, in modern ones, is via ideology in line with language that offers ideological workings (Fairclough, 2013: 2).

The language of media discourse that is under scrutiny in this thesis is comprised of explicit or mostly implicit meanings working for negative other representation. Fairclough finds mass-media discourse interesting and he explains this by depicting that relations of power is not so clear so he sees it as “hidden relations of power” (Fairclough, 2013: 41). Positioning the audience in certain stances is the core aim of the media power. It is powerful through the language it utilizes and through its quality to reach masses in short time with an aim to persuade them into its own favourable thinking.

Ideology, language and power are linked inevitably. Language may be shaped and framed according to the relations of power with an ideological intention. To realize, resist and change, people need to develop a consciousness, a critical one, and stance against domination and its reflections, rather than just experiencing them.

### **3.2.1. How to Gather Linguistic Data in CDA**

In written and spoken texts, linguistic mechanisms are the means to express a world-view or ideological perspective. Linguistic indicators are influential factors aiding a researcher while conducting a research. Lexical and grammatical choices are some of them such as words that are ideological, classifications of people and social actors, formality level, use of metaphor and nominalization, active voice or passive voice, modality, use of pronouns, use of negation etc. Lexical choices may indicate an aspect, an approach by analyzing the words chosen to describe a situation, a person, a thought etc. such as racist and sexist, which uncovers the ideology behind the words. References, general naming of the social actors, classifications of people are all un-earthed by the choice of words. Level of formality, titles, terms of address, metaphors are all indicators of an ideology, a thought hidden between the lines. Grammatical choices are the other means of uncovering the meaning behind what is said. Processes’ and participants’ types, nominalization usage, preference of passive or active structure, the selection of mood, the use of modals: obligations, possibilities, abilities and the use of pronouns are all grammatical indicators to mine the text or talk to make the hidden meanings visible.

Methodology utilized for discovering how the lexico-grammar choice of texts stands for a particular interpretive framework. The first one is the basic clause divisions in which the text is broken into clauses, then division of sentences into units follows and after that embedded clauses are identified. The second one is process types, which can be divided into two sections as grammatical analysis and interpretation. Interpretations made by the researcher can be regarded as the most subjective part of the methodology. Specific questions lead us to the aspects of grammatical analysis. The third one is the patterns in participant roles, which has also two sections. It is the question about the existence of the important patterns. For example, the participants are human or not, concrete or abstract etc. Then interpretation follows the process again. Van Dijk

states that natural discourse is not complete and resembles it to an iceberg to underline that we only see what is shown to us although the crucial meaning lies under what is visible. Not to content with the small picture people should unearth the information given to them by digging deep enough to see what is hiding (Van Dijk, 2010: 5).

So not only the given structures hiding a meaning are important but also the knowledge missing in the text or talk is important and could be the sign of who is holding power against whom. There is no one concrete method for CDA to make a research, it is all based on the aim of the research.

### **3.3. Political and Ideological Discourse Analysis**

Power and politics are intermingled for decision-making, controlling resources, masses, behaviours, thoughts and values, which gives everything we do with language a political characteristics. George Orwell is one of those who recognized this feature as follows “All issues are political issues” (Orwell, 1946: 154). There is an undeniable relationship between the language and politics because politicians and other political actors reflect their ideasthroughout the use of language to persuade, legislate, vote, demonstrate etc. There is a valuable possession of humankind: that is its political nature. Man has a political nature and speech has a power through its purpose. Definitions of politics may give clues about the significance and effectiveness of it. Wodak links politics with “shaping, thinking and doing” (Wodak 2009b: 29). Fairclough defines politics as decision making leading to action for the good of common benefits of the society and sees it as an answer to all disagreements to be solved for the common good (Fairclough, 2012: 22-34). Politics is a decision making process which can lead to an action. It stands for collective decisions serving the public good as a response to disagreements and conflicts. Politics is also a power struggle that has two sides comprised of people who are seeking or resisting power according to Paul Chilton. He also sees it as cooperation for the practices to make a society better (Chilton, 2004: 3). Power is also about struggle and it may bring corruption as well while getting and maintaining it. George Orwell thinks that most of the politicians are corrupt and didn’t like the language politicians use and describes his thoughts as in the following: “Political language has to consist largely of euphemism, question begging and sheer cloudy vagueness (...) make lies truthful and murder respectable and to give an appearance of solidity to pure mind” (Orwell, 1946: 157).

Power, power abuse or domination are produced and reproduced politically through the language use so Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is especially interested in them because inequality borns out of their wombs. Fairclough and Van Dijk state that “critical-political discourse analysis copes with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that results from domination and its counter arguments” (Fairclough, 1995; Van Dijk, 1993b, cited

in Van Dijk, 1997: 1). The definition and how to study political discourse critically is a crucial matter and of course how to define politics and political actors. Struggle for power resides in politics because politics through speeches and texts aims to put ideas based on politics, economy and society into practice. Politicians in their political speeches reflect their policies and ideologies explicitly or inexplicitly after a preparation accompanied and influenced by language. Political actors are not only deputies in the congresses, politicians in the senates. With the expansion of media, more people are exposed to political addresses and by voting in elections, referendums involved in political action. Actively or inactively more and more people are involved in political discourses.

Most studies are based on politicians' texts and speeches and institutional establishments such as presidents, deputies, political parties and members of parliaments at local, national and international fields. People elect or appoint politicians and they become central actors in the politics. However, domain of politics is not just comprised of professional politicians. All the people from dissidents to supporters and demonstrators somehow involve in political discourse actively or inactively. This bears the question: Is everything politicians and people in political process do and say political discourse? It is only when people act as political actors in political activities and practices such as legislations, voting, governing, demonstrating etc. Van Dijk characterizes political discourse (PD) through the attachment of political actors such as individuals who are voters, citizens, politicians and political establishments engaged in processes that has political nature and political events so context is essential to the understanding of PD because apart from political contexts, the discourse utilized by politicians or any other actors in politics is not accepted as political (Van Dijk, 1997). The texts and speeches in these activities have political nature. Certain contexts aid us to decide whether it has a political frame or not such as time, place, events etc. Except from political contexts, the discourses belong to the political actors like citizens and politicians is not political. The purpose and the design of the speech or text to persuade audience, achieve something according to a policy are just some of the determiners that make a speech or text political. Politics is embedded in political discourse and expectations are verbalized by Van Dijk as follows "given the nature of political polarization in the political process, we may further expect the typical positive evaluation of "Us" and "Our" actions in positive terms and evaluation of "Them" and "Their" actions in negative terms (Van Dijk, 1997: 28). To Van Dijk, highlighted information as a part of the writing or a speech and how meanings are allotted in their discourse are crucial. Details whose significance is debatable may have extra importance by placing them in significant schematic categories, and on the contrary, to cover crucial information, they may be downgraded by placing it in less significant categories. Secondly, every discourse based on political genre may demonstrate its own structure, for example parliamentary debates, speeches of politicians, programs of the parties, or statements in demonstrations. The strategies and structures of argumentation are significant in political text with their explicit and implicit ways. Argumentation through persuasion could be seen as the hallmark of democracy. Considering the

local level, the prediction is that political contexts are reflected by meanings. Van Dijk creates “Us-Them” contrast in his work. All the good acts and doings are linked to ingroup favouritism and all the bad deeds are reflected as they belong to the outgroup. The inclinations of politicians whose intentions are to link every good deed to themselves and their own groups by hiding the bad ones not to harm their good impression while attributing bad qualities and deeds to others by putting the emphasis on mitigation and degradation of their impression (Van Dijk, 1997: 32). This creates ingroup and outgroup whose destinies are determined by the choice of representations in the hands of the ones who has the power. Van Dijk says that “bad habits, properties, products or actions will usually tend to be described by euphemisms, for example bombs of in group are called ‘Peacemaker’ and killings of civilians of the Others as collateral damage” (Van Dijk, 1997: 33). This again creates the distinctions between “Us” and “Them”. These all serve for implementing the favourable thinking and behaving in the minds and actions of the audience for the benefit of power holders. PDA is acknowledged as political discourse from a critical point of view by putting the great emphasis on the reproduction of political power via political discourse.

The study of politics, ideology, and discourse are interrelated subjects. Practices of politics are highly discursive and based on ideologies; reproduction of political ideologies are fulfilled through discourse. At this point, it is significant to depict that ideology has a negative connotation in daily lives and the minds of people. Terry Eagleton is against it and states that ideology is “the study or knowledge of ideas” (Eagleton, 2013: 1). It is actually a description of major specific beliefs of people. Van Dijk says that ideology is “the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group” in his work (Van Dijk, 2006: 729). These social groups don’t have to be dominant groups. This explanation covers all classes, social groups, hierarchical castes that represent beliefs and interests. According to John Schwarzmantel, ideology is seeking and offering answers to make a desirable kind of society (Schwarzmantel, 2008: 26). Ideology is not actually a ‘dirty world’ Beyond social functions, ideology as a huge social common ground for politics has also politic functions that generate political ideologies. Practices, processes, discourses, parties of politics, political groups, politicians are the parts of the political ideologies.

Politics as a field is defined by Van Dijk by presenting the qualities it has. It has systems like socialism and democracy having macro and micro actions such as governments and demonstrations (Van Dijk, 2005: 732). As a social field, politics is ideological because it has power struggles, various groups which are different, biased, full of opponents with specific ideas and interests. Politics is within the ideological field with its practices and of course with its discourses. Discourse aids political ideologies to be visible in their explanations apart from its practices. Acquirements, explanations, expressions, demonstrations, propogandas of ideologies are made apparent through the use of discourse in the field of politics. Teun A. Van Dijk says:

The relations between discourse and political ideologies are usually studied in terms of the structures of political discourse, such as the use of biased lexical items, syntactic structures such as actives and passives, pronouns such as us and them, metaphors or topoi, arguments, implications, and many other properties of discourse (Van Dijk, 2005: 732).

Visibility of political ideologies through discourse is possible via language and its deliberate usage as in the tips above. He also places the importance on the political context to make inferences from the discourse. In what political situation the speech is given, who is talking about what and in which place are significant questions because the context is a mental model shapes the discourse and apprehension of a political situation. So political discourse comprises political contexts too. What people say uncovers a lot about the ideological diversity they have and that is as important as how they express it. Contents of discourse are affected by mental models. For example; if the group is inclined to racism, biased mental model would dominate their mental process and even their practices.

According to Van Dijk, there are strategies named as ideological squares which underline emphasizing ingroups' good things and outgroups' bad things while de-emphasizing ingroups' bad things and outgroups' good things" (Van Dijk, 2005: 734). This creates and feeds the 'us' and 'them' difference with applying bad deeds to a certain group or an idea by illustrating them as 'the other' and applying good deeds to favorable 'us' category. To change the immigration policies, murder, unemployment crimes are associated with Latino, black or muslim groups in the "Us". For example: it is seen in travel ban that rejects "Us" visa applications of certain muslim countries. Many citizens of these countries are denied entrance to the US because of the so-called problems in these countries. There are thousands of countries full of problems and terrorism but they are the ones who are banned. Emphasizing their bad things ended up with their rejection. When it comes to Turkey, degrading approaches, underestimating and deemphasizing their good things lead the way in the news articles as in the following.

In the news article on BBC, the author Mark Mardell (2016) ignores all the things Turkey did for refugees and decides to use a quote from a refugee which certainly reflects the trivialize their good things and emphasize our good things. Refugees are given money, shelter, free access to hospitals in this country and yet the good deeds of this country are not mentioned enough in the article. The refugee's quote includes a comparison between Turkey and Europe; a Europe that doesn't want so many refugees, leaves them under poor conditions in shelters, fails to find thousands of missing refugee children in Europe. Turkey is reflected as a place where the immigrants are exposed to high prices with no opportunity for Syrian kids to go to school but they have an option to stay and get education in shelters backed by governments and NGOs. The refugee says:



Prices of goods are high here in Turkey. The rent for this small, shattered house is \$300 (£210) a month. Our children can't go to school here - education isn't available for us. Europe is better because the Europeans are caring and kind-hearted. Europe respects human beings and cares about human rights.

Europeans are mentioned by using all the adjectives that have good connotations but Turkey is not. Even the title of the article “Refugee crisis ‘impossible to handle’ in Turkey” gives the reader the clue that Turkey is unsuccessful and impotent to run the issue although Turkey has accepted more refugees and spent money more than any other country in the world.

Ideological square is used to hide the truth or uncover the wanted, useful part of the truth that serves the interests. At this point, content analysis could be utilized for studying written documents and speeches. Examining patterns in communicative actions in a systematic way, seeking the traces of power and language could be made possible by the content analysis.

### **3.4. Content Analysis**

Content of a written or oral text is significant because it reveals the specified characteristics of a text. Describing qualities in communicative content, binding the known characteristics of sources and messages they produce, analyzing techniques of persuasion, style, describing patterns of communication can be unearthed by the analysis of the content of a text. Content of a text is an indicator of the messages hidden within the given information in a text through disguise of certain linguistic and discursive techniques. Content analysis (CA) in its early uses is employed to study the nature and the effectiveness of propaganda. Later it is deployed for the studies of news media, communication and education. By these it is inferred that CA is not only connected to the media and its mass communication. It has diverse implications such as sound materials, any kind of written work; books, magazines, newspapers and pictorial works; movies, videos, paintings etc.

CA as a research tool employed to determine the existence of certain words or concepts within texts. Quantifying and analyzing the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts are followed by making inferences about the messages within the texts. The writer, the audience, culture and time are the parts of these processes. Krippendorff defines content analysis as “making specific inferences from text to other states or properties of its source” (Krippendorff, 1969: 103). The questions ‘who speaks about what, who is the audience, why, how and with what effect’ are the question types it deals with. These are utilized to analyze the persuasion techniques and style, which are the focus of this study. The three main points in CA are as follows: giving us a hint through the things about the originator and its cultural characteristics, analysing messages with a focal point with its comparison, relative effectiveness from a source of various situations at different times (Krippendorff, 2004). CA may also infer about the effects of the message on the target audience. Analysis of the length of the sentences, the nouns and their

classes could be accepted as attempts to identify the source of the messages. The content of the messages is significant through the use of words and symbols, the space given to a topic, bias and their presence and types, frequency of the items in a message.

Sampling in CA is related to words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, chapters, sections, authors, social context relevant to the works. These are the occurrence of CA in written communication which could be inevitable to analyze at any time. The significance of CA lies in its sensitive involvement to context and symbolic forms in communication.

### **3.5. Findings and Analysis**

The standpoint of the speaker inevitably characterizes every discourse. Discourse also paves the way for construction of reality as every discourse has its own way of depiction of reality. Furthermore, the media isn't neutral or rational mediator of happenings and events. Its function is the reproduction of ideologies formulated before. Our analysis of the western media aimed at comprehending the place of Turkey in the minds and in the news of Western people, proposes a critical explanation of the issue by analyzing the news.

The goal of this research is to analyze the features of Turkey-related news stories and coverages, with a focus on the issues and themes that are handled in the stories to highlight the type of discourse and imagery on Turkey. The news represent the predisposition for or against a particular point of view, and takes many shapes and forms. The study scrutinises the impactful, effective, sustained, and systemic uses of these shapes and forms which typically stem from political and ideological operations against Turkey.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. TURKEY IN WESTERN MEDIA

Most of the time, western media go anti-Turkey, hear what they want to hear and choose to reflect the events in distorted, biased and mishandled ways. Some Categories of Ideological Discourse Analysis are significant to acknowledge the depths of meaning and language use hidden in the texts (Van Dijk, 2005: 735-739).

#### 4.1 Actor description (Meaning)

Description of actors reflects ideologies. Inclinations are towards the positive representations of the ingroup that stands for US and negative representation of the outgroup who are THEM. Diminishing the negative aspects and descriptions of ingroup and attributing negative characteristics to other groups are considered as another inclination (Van Dijk, 2005: 735).

Turkey and USA are partners and allies through years although there are many ups and downs in history. But the incident happened in Turkey has altered many things between these two countries. The article is written by Matthew Robinson (2018) on Express in which a twitter message of President Trump used as follows:

Turkey has taken advantage of the United States for many years. They are now holding our wonderful Christian pastor, who I must now ask to represent our country as a great patriot hostage. We will pay nothing of the release of an innocent man, but we are cutting back on Turkey! (Robinson, 2018).

He added that Turkey has “not proven to be a good friend” and mentioned about Mr Brunson as a “very innocent man” (Robinson, 2018). This implies that Turkey is a country where innocent men are imprisoned. Turkey is implicitly depicted as a parasite or a self seeker to suck the blood of USA as it is reflected by Trump. However, there is no clear explanation or proof of how Turkey could be taking advantage of US for many years. This is not clear but the tone is like scolding. The pastor is innocent, wonderful and a great patriot but Turkey is just a cruel oppressor which takes this innocent man as a hostage. A modern democratic country with free courts based on law arrests a man believed to be involved in a coup attempt. The pastor waits for the trial as it should be but the country is blamed to take hostage. Turkey is seen like a child to be scolded and as an enemy to be punished.

“The Sick Man of Europe Returns” is the title of the article written by Joschka Fischer (2018) on Project Syndicate, who was a German Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor. Actor description of Turkey is the sick man of Europe in this title. Even in the beginning, the readers are conditioned to think badly about Turkey who can not follow the steps leading to the Western thought and living and who can not keep up with the progress that European Union expects from Turkey. It was a sick man before and now it is a sick man again. So it is a kind of trouble that Europe has to put up with throughout the time because it has borders with this country and destabilized Turkey is not useful for the wellness of Europe.

In the news report on RT in 2016 the hatred of Greek deputy towards the Turks is reflected. There were many disputes between the two nations in the past and there are many other conflicts and disagreements today. But this kind of behaviour serves to trigger animosity between nations. A Greek MEP called Eleftherios Synadinos who was insulting Turks was excommunicated from the European Parliament for saying “(...) the Turks are dirty and barbaric. Turks are like wild dogs when they play, but when they have to fight against their enemies, they run away” (Synadinos, 2016). He triggers and feeds the prejudice and hatred towards Turks by saying it and making an actor description which even leads to a generalization about how they behave and giving bad ascriptions to them.

Another example comes from Greece again as Greek archbishop talks negatively about Turks. The barbarian Turk image sticks on Turks. A man who has a certain power in the church affects people and their minds by ascribing a nation with an adjective like this. It is belittling and prejudiced. Christodoulos who is an Archbishop in Greece is against the Turks’ being a part of European Union and do not hesitate to reflect his hatred towards Turks. Richard Galpin writes:

Archbishop Christodoulos, has provoked a diplomatic storm with neighbouring Turkey by describing Turks as barbarians who should not be allowed to join the EU. Referring to the Turks, he said barbarians could not come into what he called the family of Christians. "We cannot live together," he said (Galpin, 2003).

Christodoulos sees European Union as family of Christians and Turks have no place in it.

In another article, actor description is visible through the title of the article written by Simon Tisdall (2018) on the Guardian. The president of the country is represented as a person who habitually tends to intimidate the ones around him. He is not just a threat for his own country but also to the whole world as in the following:

The prospect of a triumphantly re-elected Recep Tayyip Erdoğan armed with sweeping new presidential powers is deeply alarming to many Turks, but it is also a scary prospect for the international community. (...) Erdoğan has turned from neighbourhood bully-boy into

geostrategic threat. Under his choleric, resentful tutelage, Turkey has ceased to be a reliable friend of Europe and the US. If he gets his way in Sunday's polls, Erdoğan, a dictator in all but name, is likely to foment further instability in Syria and throughout the Middle East region (Tisdall, 2018).

The author sees and reflects the president as a geostrategic threat promoted from being a bully-boy. He introduces him as a dictator who will cause instability in the world.

In these news articles above, Turkey is seen like friend who betrayed, a sick man of Europe which is a negative term rooted back in Ottoman history and barbaric, dirty and a wild dog. All these word choices stand for the actor description of Turkey in a negative way. Then the actor description of Erdoğan becomes a bully-boy, a geostrategic threat and a dictator as given above.

#### **4.2. Authority (Argumentation)**

Supporting a case in an argument sometimes necessitates support from the authorities via mentioning the speeches, reports, graphics, media, court rules, authority figures or organizations that are significant or international. Different ideologies show themselves through citations made by the people who possess different ideologies (Van Dijk, 2005: 735).

In a part of a news article in Reuters, Ece Toksabay and Mehmet Emin Caliskan (2018) use the statements of an organisation about the inadequacy of Turkish aid in Afrin for reaching out more civilians as follows: "The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) called for greater access to the civilian population of Afrin. It said the Turkish Red Crescent aid group lacked credibility among Syrian Kurds after Turkey's military operation" (Toksabay and Caliskan, 2018). An international organisation's name is utilized to back up their opinions. To ensure credibility, this category of IDA is applied a lot. In this case, it is stated explicitly that Turkey is not helping enough to the people in Afrin where it isn't trusted by the residents of the community.

In his article, Eric Zuesse (2015) says that Turkey has Sunni Islamicization and it is a threat to the Shiite-led Islamic nations such as Syria and Iranon Strategic-Culture. He claims that Turkey wants to drag NATO into war with Russia by bombing its airplane. As an authority figure, the author uses the words of Christina Lin as in the following:

Christina Lin, a long-time Western scholarly observer of Turkey's strategic moves, is becoming alarmed that the increasingly overtly Islamic NATO member Turkey is trying to drag NATO towards a war against Russia on behalf of Turkey and other Sunni Islamic powers, especially Saudi Arabia and Qatar. She is disturbed that together, the three Sunni Islamic nations of Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar, are trying to bring down the non-religious Shiite leader of Syria, Bashar al- Assad, for reasons that actually have nothing to do with NATO's official purposes (Zuesse, 2015).

To blame Turkey as a country who is seeking a World War III with a Sunni inclination towards Shiite countries, the author applies the sayings of an authority figure to make his writing more credible as presented above.

The article written by Erin Cunningham and Zakaria Zakaria (2018) on the Washington Post mentions about Syrians in Turkey. They have settled down in a good way or not, they have a life here and do not want to go back to an unstabilized country. They give examples from their lives in Turkey including discrimination, hardships and struggles. Despite of everything, they never want to return their ruined country. The author uses the information given by an organization to prove that they are contributing the life here in this country as follows:

That community has invested heavily in Turkey's economy, -creating at least 8,000 businesses and 100,000 jobs, Turkey's -INGEV Foundation said (...) Many Syrians have obtained Turkish degrees and many younger Syrians now know no other country. Nearly 500,000 Syrian children are enrolled in Turkey's public school system, according to the U.N. Children's Fund, and an additional 230,000 study at accredited "temporary education centers" (Zakaria, 2018).

To enhance credibility and plausibility as in the example above, an organization's statements are used.

In the article written by Rick Gladstone (2018) on The New York Times he mentions about a group which is the Committee to Protect Journalists. He uses their numbers and statements to deliver his own message. Turkey is among the countries where journalists are imprisoned and sentenced as depicted in the following: "For the third year in a row, Turkey, China and Egypt were responsible for more than half of those jailed, the group found" (Gladstone, 2018). The author mentions about the criticism of the group towards Erdogan because of his treatment of journalists and continues as in the following: "Although Mr. Erdogan has been among the fiercest critics of Saudi Arabia over Mr. Khashoggi's killing, the group said "his government continued to jail more journalists than any other on the planet" — at least 68". All are facing anti-state charges" (Gladstone, 2018). To back up his and the group's stance, the author uses the statements of the group as given above.

In the article written by David Gauthier-Villars (2018) on The Wall Street Journal the author states his opinions as follows: "As crackdown whittles away media not beholden to President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, survivors are strapped for cash, facing prison" (Gauthier-Villars, 2018). This is the situation in Turkey: if you are a dissident, you will be facing prison, loss of money or your job. Many reporters, journalists and media outlets are forced to quit or close their institutions so that the only voice that could be heard would be Erdoğan's and his followers'. The pressure is not just over the press. The military, the judiciary and universities share their parts in this atmosphere of fear and repression. These situations are depicted as in the following:

Authorities have closed dozens of media outlets on accusations that they supported coup plotters or Kurdish separatists. Almost all remaining national newspapers and television channels have been acquired by industrial tycoons loyal to Mr. Erdogan, and support government policies. The post-coup crackdown has also targeted elements of the military, the judiciary and universities (Gauthier-Villars, 2018).

To back up his stance and to present the ongoing pressure, the author utilizes the statements of an authority figure from United Nations as follows:

(...), “through successive states of emergency, the space for dissent in Turkey has shrunk considerably,” Zeid Ra’ad Al Hussein, the United Nations human-rights chief, said. “It is difficult to imagine how credible elections can be held in an environment where dissenting views and challenges to the ruling party are penalized so severely” (Gauthier-Villars, 2018).

People are penalized, fined or imprisoned for expressing their thoughts in this country and media is mostly controlled by the ruling party in Turkey where plausible elections is almost impossible.

### **4.3. Burden (Topos)**

Many arguments seen as standard are the basis structures of counter-argumentation and they represent assertions which are acknowledged as “self-evident and sufficient reasons to accept the conclusion” (Van Dijk, 2005: 735).

In the article written on VOA news, Dorian Jones (2018) gives wide coverage to Turkey and reflects it as a country full of economic problems with its fallen economy, weak lira, debts and the need of money borrowed from overseas and only West can rescue it from this deepening situation. Then Russia-Turkey relationship is mentioned as in the following by using a quote from Aydin Selcen, former Turkish diplomat, who served in Washington and Middle East:

I don't think Moscow wants Turkey closer than this," Selcen said. "It's enough for them to play their game to keep NATO weak, to keep Turkey with one foot in the West and one foot in the East because it's not in President Putin's interest to have Turkey dependent like Belarus. Let's remember the Russian economy is smaller than California. Russia can't carry Turkey's burden. It can't even carry Syria (Jones, 2018).

Turkey’s situation and its economy are seen as a burden for Russia in this article. Russia has his own load so can not guarantee to lift Turkey.

An important part of anti-immigration discourse is that they are ‘burden’ for many reasons in many occasions. On Time, Arne Delfs and Ilya Arkhipov (2018) write about immigrant crisis and quotes Putin’s words as follows: “There are 3 million refugees in Turkey. This is potentially a huge burden on Europe, so it is better to do everything possible so that they can return home” (Delfs and Arkhipov, 2018). It is good for immigrants to return their homelands but the immigration is not

their fault. They have to leave their countries because of the countries who started and let the war go on and who sees them as burdens. This is a hypocritical approach to the immigrant problems. Three million refugees are in Turkey and it is a burden for Europe, for a Europe who is doing everything to keep them out, putting all the hard work on Turkey's shoulders. But Turkey is not the one saying that it is a burden but the president of a country who is not a home for Syrians talk on behalf of Turkey and sees them as burdens for Europe. Hope and future seeking people, immigrants and asylum seekers are seen as burdens as in this example.

An author and a diplomatic correspondent Jonathan Marcus (2018) refers to the problems created by Turkey from its buying S-400 from Russia, its membership of NATO to lira crisis in his article on BBC. We, as a reader, can see it coming from the title of the article that creates an expectation for a country that causes problems for the West. The reader can infer and presuppose what is coming from the moment he reads the title which is "A Turkish headache for the West" (Marcus, 2018). Turkey is considered as some kind of illness that affects the wellness of Europe.

Considering security issues, Turkey is between Europe and the war in Syria. It may easily put Turkey a dangerous situation, 'the centre of the conflict', as written in the article on The Week in 2016. From security, culture, economy, adherence to EU laws, the article starts these subtopics with the successful developments of Turkey but in every section a 'however' follows the writings and takes place more than the good parts. The sense of Turkey's not belonging to EU and its inadequacy fulfill the minds of a reader and create a feeling that Turkey is some kind of a burden for EU if it is accepted as a member. For security, many leaders believe that Turkey is not a part of Europe culturally and find the differences as too much to handle as follows: "Leaders in a number of strong EU countries, including Germany, are cautious about allowing Turkey into the group, arguing that the cultural, political and geographic differences may be too vast, reports the Wall Street Journal". According to some of the European leaders, Turkey is not ready to join EU because its economy is not stable but fragile and not rich enough as follows: "Others point to the recent economic crisis in Greece and warn that Turkey is not yet rich enough to join, saying that taxpayers in wealthier countries would be forced to subsidise it". Adherence to EU laws topic again starts with the praise of the accomplishments made by Turkey to apply EU laws. But Turkey's reconsidering death penalty, free press and other human rights issues distress Europe as follows:

There are also growing concerns about Erdogan's widespread crackdown on media freedom and other human rights. The breakdown of a fragile ceasefire between the state and the Kurdistan Workers' Party led to some of the worst violence since the 1990s. Turkey's territorial claim to northern Cyprus is another ongoing bone of contention for Europe, as is its refusal to recognise the Armenian genocide of 1915 (Turkey and the European Union: The pros and cons of membership (2016), <https://www.theweek.co.uk/24083/turkey-and-the-eu-the-pros-and-cons-of-membership>).



Considering Turkey's struggle with terrorism as violence and seeing Turkey's rightful claim on Cyprus and its refusing genocide claims as problematic reflect the stance of Europe against Turkey. The author also uses quotations from other newspapers that demonstrate Turkey as a country full of maltreatments against minorities. This quote below serves to put the blame on Turkey by manipulating the situation in Turkey and claims that Turkey is leading a war with an ethnic minority as follows: "[Turkey] is waging war on an ethnic minority," writes Paul Mason (2016) in *The Guardian*". Other quotation is about the misdemeanours of Turkey which also reflect the problematic side of Turkey as in the following; "Its riot police just stormed the offices of a major newspaper, its secret service faces allegations of arming IS, its military shot down a Russian bomber" (Mason, 2016).

#### **4.4. Categorization (Meaning)**

Categorizing is an inclination that most people have. Categorization sometimes has distortive effects on our perceptions in a way that we intend to have exaggerations about the differences between people from different social groups. We are inclined to perceive members of groups such as outgroups as more similar to each other than they really are. These create a notion such as 'they're all the same' (Van Dijk, 2005: 735).

In the article below, Turkey is castigated throughout the written text by the author, Joseph Dana (2013). The article in *Aljezeera America* gives a clue about the accusation and categorization of Turkey as a banana republic. The whole article is about explaining how Turkey would become a banana republic. Here are some supportive excerpts:

When it comes to political conspiracy theories, Turkey might be a regional trailblazer. Since the formation of the modern republic in the 1920s, Turkish politics has been typified by competing conspiracy theories ranging from the mundane to the absurd (Dana, 2013).

Turkey is categorized as a trailblazer keen on conspiracy theories who makes up stories to cover its deficiencies and putting the blame on foreign powers when it comes to the events effecting the country very badly. The author not only blames Turkey for being a trailblazer about conspiracy theories for now but claims that Turkey was always like that even from the beginnings of the republic. Turkey is a free republic, a secular country governed through democratic rules but the author likens it to a monarchy by reflecting Erdoğan as an undisputed king of Turkish politics as follows:

The corruption probe has led to the resignation of three top ministers, the reshuffling of the prime minister's Justice and Development Party and an unprecedented challenge to Erdogan's reign as the undisputed king of Turkish politics (Dana, 2013).

The author concludes his article by depicting that Turkey will have a new sultan of a banana republic. That is so degrading and full of false inferences and predictions for a country governed with democracy. Finally, Turkey is categorized as a banana republic as the title indicates as follows: “If he is able to neutralize the Gulen movement, survive the corruption probe and win elections in 2014, Turkey will have a new sultan. He will not be a sultan of an empire, however, but a banana republic” (Dana, 2013).

Elif Shafak (2018), a novelist, in her article penned in London on Politicostates: “In such a fluid, unsteady country, it is difficult, if not impossible, to predict the next month, let alone the future” (Shafak, 2018). From the beginning, the reader feels the instability of this country where nothing is for certain. Throughout the article she complains about her country’s and its people’s being forgetful and nonprotective about their history and heritage as in the following: “To have a rich history does not mean to have a strong memory. In truth, Turkey is a nation of collective amnesia. In lands that are profoundly complicated, forgetting is easier than remembering. But can a nation that systematically refuses to come to grips with its own past ever grow up?” (Shafak, 2018). Turkey seems like a child who will never be a grown up unless it comes to terms with its past. The country doesn’t look like a country with many years of experience coming from its ancestors. And the author blames the whole nation to have amnesia who has no reaction towards the past, present or the future. Instead of righting the wrongs, the nation buries its head under the sand and continues like the problems or events do not exist. Turkey is categorized as a forgetful and later as an undemocratic country as follows: “My motherland, my beautiful but bruised motherland, is not a democracy” (Shafak, 2018). The country is beautiful but problematic as it is understood from the word choice such as ‘bruised’. Sometimes implicitly or explicitly she reflects her country as undemocratic as in this sentence. But she indicates that there are some who can not put up with this situation and every part of the society are affected badly by this ongoing system and misconducts. This serves to create a chaotic order in the country for the minds of the readers. They may feel that the people are restless and tired of their country as follows: “There are many people in Turkey who are fed up with the status quo, and there will be even more so by 2025. There are many who have been mistreated, hurt, ostracized, stigmatized. The feeling of injustice and hurt pervades every segment of the society” (Shafak, 2018). Then she asks a rhetorical question as follows:

Will we, as a nation, be able to overcome this depressing and arbitrary autocracy that makes everyone deeply unhappy and insecure, including its own supporters and cronies? That is the thing about authoritarianism. The more power they get, the more they need, and downward the entire system spirals (Shafak, 2018).

Now the country is too problematic, making its own citizens unhappy and insecure, run by authoritarian rule which leaves no room for freedom in the eyes of the reader. She strongly and repeatedly emphasizes that there is no democracy in her motherland and finishes her article with a wish as in the following: “All I know is that as I write this piece I am longing for democracy to

arrive to my motherland” (Shafak, 2018). To sum up, throughout the article Turkey is categorized as a country which is unjust, undemocratic, hurt, bruised, autocratic and authoritarian.

In the article penned by Editorial Board (2018) of the Washington Post, Turkey is categorized as a totalitarian prison where freedom of thought and speech is nearly impossible which could get you end up in jail. The country has revolving into a process from democracy to the dictatorship as follows:

In Turkey under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the tweet has been turned into a crime, and a troubled democracy is being turned into a dictatorship. Gradually but inexorably, a nation that once aspired to be an exemplar of enlightened moderation is being transformed by Mr. Erdogan into a dreary totalitarian prison (Washington Post, 2018).

“Erdogan’s Turkey has become a dictatorship” is the title of the article written by Hannah LucindaSmith (2018) on The Sunday Times. Now Turkey is categorized as a dictatorship, an authoritarian country not as a democracy. The author uses the statements of Abdullatif Sener who is one of the founders of the AK Party (AKP) in the late 1990s as in the following:

(...) the president’s win in last year’s constitutional referendum had set the country on a path towards authoritarianism by allowing him to switch from a parliamentary system to an executive presidency, potentially putting him in power until 2029 (Smith, 2018).

Also she adds his comments as follows: “It is no longer a democratic regime,” Mr Sener said. “It is evolving towards a regime similar to others in the Middle East. Turkey does not deserve this. It must be corrected” (Smith, 2018). Turkey is a country needs to be saved from the hands of its oppressor in the eyes of the writer.

#### **4.5. Comparison (Meaning, Argumentation)**

Comparisons illustrate a typical talk of ingroups and outgroups especially in the matters related to minorities and refugees. Discourse negative comparison is occurred while talking about outgroups but a positive comparison is seen while mentioning about ingroups (Van Dijk, 2005: 735).

(...) His administration quickly proves itself remarkably corrupt; but he subverts the legal system and is able not only to suppress investigations into his corruption — his supporters denounce it all as a “witch hunt” — but also to consolidate his rule and undermine institutions (the “deep state”) that might have limited his power. Am I talking about Donald Trump? I could be. But the figure I actually have in mind is Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the president of Turkey, whose success in getting away with obvious corruption by politicizing law offers a disturbing preview of how Trump may become the authoritarian ruler he clearly wants to be. Not surprisingly, Trump, who basically seems to like dictators in general, has expressed admiration for Erdogan and his regime (Krugman, 2018).

This is the opening two paragraphs of Paul Krugman (2018), an Opinion Columnist on the New York Times. In the article, the comparison is made between Trump and Erdoğan. The first paragraph begins anonymously, the reader is confronting with an anonymous leader who takes the lead after a contentious election, whose administration is corrupt, legal system is subverted to suppress the wrongdoings, institutions are undermined. The reader gains negative thoughts and approaches towards a leader and a country at the beginning of the article. Then the comparison made and the truth comes out. The leader who is mentioned is Recep Tayyip Erdoğan with his comparison with Trump who is another authoritarian leader who likes dictators according to the author.

In the title of the news article written by Sarantis Michalopoulos (2018) on Euractiv, Turkey is represented as a country who takes innocent people as prisoners. In the other parts of the article there is a comparison between Turkey and Greece. EU wants Turkey to release two Greek soldiers who are in prison in Turkey. In the news article it is written as follows: “Erdoğan criticised the EU for putting pressure on Ankara about the two Greek soldiers” and said, “You did nothing about those terrorists [8 Turkish soldiers] and you didn’t say anything about them to Mr Tsipras” (Michalopoulos, 2018). When it comes to Turkey it is expected to follow the European rules but as in Greece case they don’t mention the eight Turkish soldiers who are believed to be involved in a coup in Turkey. Then there is a comparison in the news article as follows:

The office of Greek leader Alexis Tsipras issued a fierce statement in response, saying that Greece has a prime minister who respects and acknowledges the procedures of Greek justice, not a sultan who would be able to issue promises on court decisions (Michalopoulos, 2018).

Greece has a president who has respect for the law and the decision of Greek courts but Turkey has a sultan who intervenes the decisions of the courts. A reader could sense and think that Turkey is not a free country who can’t follow the steps of European countries but Greece is.

The title of the article written by Steven A. Cook (2016) on Politico, “Why Turkey Is Salivating for President Trump”, can’t be considered as innocent because of his choice of the verb “salivate”. Its implication evokes some kind of a problematic choice because it may make the reader think of a dog or a person who is mad or has rabies. This word choice is degrading for Turkey and it makes the reader feel the underestimation even in the beginning of the article. The writer continues with a statement which comprises a comparison between Trump and the leaders in Turkey as follows: “The president-elect has a lot in common with Turkey’s leaders — starting with disdain for the establishment” (Cook, 2016). The author leans on similarities between the two administrations in these countries with a scornful attitude. He puts emphasis on the attitude of both presidents for the press by mentioning about their animosity towards them. They both see themselves as the representatives and saviors of common people in the hands of the elite groups and try to bend the rules of the establishment as in the following: “Trump and Erdogan share

strongman tendencies like hostility toward the press and a belief in themselves as saviors to their respective nations (...) the two leaders share an anti-establishment message” (Cook, 2016). The advocates of the both presidents are reflected as people who have low degrees in education which hides an implication such as their inability to make the right decisions and may be directed by their feelings spurred by these presidents’ implicit or explicit promises. The both group has disdain for the elite and feeling of being smothered by the elite groups. The author explains these as in the following:

Like Erdogan’s supporters, the predominantly middle-class and rural voters without college degrees who delivered the White House to Trump are deeply suspicious of the elites. When Erdogan’s Justice and Development Party, also known as AKP, first came to power in 2002, it represented voters from the Anatolian heartland, Kurds and pious Turks, many of whom had felt shunned and repressed by the Istanbul and Ankara elite (Cook, 2016).

The comparison destroys the respect for the people and the leaders of Turkey by making it seem like an imitation of American voters and their president via reflecting their bad sides. The president of Turkey is represented like a strongman who hates and tries to suppress the press and who uses the fear of common man over elites. The people are represented as undereducated and incapable of making the right choice and blinded by their leaders who have anti establishment attitudes.

Comparisons could be made to underestimate and degrade countries, leaders or their conducts. The name of the country Turkey has also another meaning which is an animal and this situation is utilized to make jokes, insult or belittle the country. Steven A. Cook (2017) begins his article on Politico by giving information about the precautions should be taken while cooking turkey for Thanksgiving. It is a news article and at the beginning, the author gives advices its readers to be careful when frying turkey safely. This attitude explains why the author chose the title “Why Turkey feels burned by Trump”. Even though turkey is written capitalized to refer Turkey, it is actually meant that it is a turkey burned by Trump without taken right precautions. But first the author mentions about how Turkish officials fry the minds of the country’s people and does it most of the time through the article as follows:

What can be said about the bird called turkey is also true of the country with the same name. Through a toxic brew of conspiracy mongering, thuggery and rage — at Kurds, the European Union, the United States and others — Turkish political leaders have seemingly fried the brains of pro-government journalists, editors, academics, diplomats and average Turks, and crippled their capacity to reason. Since the failed coup d’etat attempt in Turkey last year, many of these people, whether out of true belief or in the service of self-preservation, have ceaselessly repeated the conspiracies propagated by the Turkish government, sowing an atmosphere of fear and paranoia in Turkey. At the center of this is President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who—unlike Uncle Earl on the back porch hoping to avoid cataclysmic poultry ignition — seems to benefit from a country on the verge of explosion (Cook, 2017).

Readers see a conspiracy loving Turkey who feeds its citizens with fear and paranoia from the bottom to the top and a country generating, propagating and exploiting conspiracy theories. And then there is the president who is represented as an opportunist that is taking advantage of the country which is destabilizing. At one point, the author writes “Evidence and reason do not matter in Erdogan’s addled Turkey” (Cook, 2017). This may seem as a short sentence but it is loaded. First of all, it is not Turkey, it is Erdoğan’s Turkey. Turkey is reflected not as a free country but as somebody’s country. It may also infer that the country is ruled by a dictatorial kind of a president. Secondly, the choice of the adjective to define Turkey is too degrading. Because it means rotten and decayed. As a reader, with a comparison made to set up a relation between the country Turkey and the animal turkey, we can sense that this country is not governed properly. The author makes a connection between Turkey and turkey again as follows: “Like Owen Wilson’s character in the animated film *Free Birds*, who obliges viewers to see Thanksgiving from the perspective of the poor turkey, Turkey the country has legitimate grievances against Washington”(Cook, 2017). Cook mentions about the wrongdoings of US to Turkey from destabilizing wars in Iraq and Syria which causes security problems and influx of immigrants. The author writes:

The U.S. will continue to arm the YPG, Gulen will remain in the United States until a court determines there is evidence for extradition, and the Zarrab case will not go away. In all these instances, one could say that Trump burned Turkey. Yet the legitimacy of these complaints is diminished when the Turkish government seems to believe there is a Gulenist under every couch in Washington. After all, with few exceptions—mostly those in Ankara’s pay—people in Washington who deal with Turkey regard it as a country whose elites have basically gone mad (Cook, 2017).

The writer justifies Turkey’s resentments but doesn’t fail to vilify Turkey by representing it as a paranoid searching for Gulenist under every couch in Washington and as a mentally unstable country.

In the article titled on Politico in 2018, Turkey and northern Cyprus with their people are compared. Freedom of speech is more likely for the people in northern Cyprus according to the author Zia Weise (2018). Turkey is depicted as a place where many journalists are imprisoned. But step by step journalists in northern Cyprus are going to feel the insecurity while doing their jobs as depicted in the following:

Turkish Cypriots can express themselves more freely than citizens in Turkey, where more than a hundred journalists are behind bars. But in northern Cyprus, too, journalists are increasingly facing intimidation. “The pressure that my colleagues have been experiencing in Turkey, this is not the case in northern Cyprus — yet,” said Aygin. “Most of what we see right now is more self-censorship, and [Turkish] officials warning journalists about what they are writing” (Weise, 2018).

Another important comparison is made between the operation in Syria and Turkey’s 1974 invasion of Cyprus. The invasion is a strong choice of word because Turkey had to interfere in Cyprus

because Turkish people were killed and massacred there. But the author keeps this information to himself and moves and concentrates on the reaction against the newspaper. The statements are as in the following: “One case in particular has sent shockwaves through northern Nicosia. In January, Erdoğan called on his supporters to “give the necessary response” after the Turkish Cypriot newspaper *Afrika* criticized Ankara’s military operation in Syria, comparing it to Turkey’s 1974 invasion of Cyprus” (Weise, 2018). The two incidents are totally different but Turkey is represented as a hostile and an aggressive country. Turkey has to make an operation to protect its borders in Syria and had to protect its citizens in Cyprus but the two events are correlated and Turkey is reflected as a problematic country.

#### **4.6. Counterfactuals (Meaning, Argumentation)**

‘What would happen, if ’, stands for the typical expression of a counterfactual, that is asking for empathy. Argumentation is for convincing the audience about the acceptability of a stance (Van Dijk, 2005: 735). For Toulmin (2003), argumentation is a kind of a speaker’s attempt to justify a statement. The example below is about Turkey and its buying missile defences from Russia. It continues with the possibilities if it happens as follows: “If Turkey were to buy Russian missile defenses, Russia would get a window into NATO’s first line of defense” (Lockie, 2018). The attempt of Turkey to defend its borders is seen like an unjust effort. Turkey is being considered to be punished for buying Russian missiles by the congress and will face a ban in the future in the article whose title is “Turkey's president threatened a major blow to the US — but Trump looks to have called his bluff”. The author, Alex Lockie (2018), sees Turkey as a child to be scolded in his article on *Businessinsider*.

The news article is written by Jim Edwards (2018) on *Businessinsider*. A subtitle is used as “What if Turkey collapses?” that reflects the move of asking for empathy. The author continuously to explain and express the “What if” sentence which is a typical expression of a counterfactual. The author answers the question as in the following:

Turkey's currency is in free fall. Inflation is at 15% and climbing. The Turkish economy could enter a recession. The US has imposed economic sanctions on the country because President Recep Tayyip Erdogan refuses to hand over an American preacher who has been jailed there. Lots of things are going wrong in Turkey, all at once (Edwards, 2018).

The article mentions the importance of Turkey by being a bridge between the democratic, peaceful West and the war-ridden dictatorships of the East. It doesn’t refer to Turkey's economic place and importance but military and strategic ones. The author fears about the worst-case scenario as follows: “The worst-case scenario for the West? Potential "new friends" include Iran, Syria, and Russia — Turkey's neighbors, who also suffer from US sanctions” (Edwards, 2018). Turkey should

be next to Europe because Europe needs its being a buffer state which protects it from the horrors of the east.

Michael Lynch (2018) chooses this title for his article on the Forbes as: “If Turkey Catches Pneumonia, Will The Oil Market Catch A Cold?” and continues as in the following: “Contagion isn’t just for people. Financial markets are being roiled by the collapse of the Turkish lira, as President Erdogan does his impression of King Canute, trying to hold back a tide of bearish sentiment” (Lynch 2018). But as the author depicts Lira loses its power towards the dollar. When it comes to the oil he expresses his concern as follows:

Given that Turkey uses only 1 million barrels of oil per day, an economic collapse in that country would not seem important to global petroleum markets and prices. The biggest question, then, is whether there will be contagion that has a greater effect than just the direct impact of lower Turkish oil demand (Lynch 2018).

The author foresees the impact of the lowering value of Lira and concerns about the future of the oil demand from Turkey whether it is going to be lowered or not because of the effects of economic hardships in the country.

“If Turkey implodes, here’s who else gets hurt” is the title of the news article written by Silvia Amaro (2018) on CNBC which includes the impact of economic turmoil in Turkey on Europe, other countries and banking. She uses subtitles such as European banks, Japan, US, Lira and Bond markets to express which institutions are going to get hurt by the economic plunge in Turkey. The author depicts that Turkey owes great amount of money to the banks in Europe, Japan and US and these would be effected by the lira crisis.

In the article written by Liz Cookman (2017), the author compares Trump and Erdoğan and shares their similarities on The Guardian. She continues as “From attitudes towards women to the media, they’re worryingly similar: Turkey’s spiral into authoritarianism is a warning about what could happen if Trump has his way” (Cookman, 2017). If Trump keeps on acting like Erdoğan what could happen is the question that occupies the mind of the author. She gives information about Turkey’s situation in a detailed way to make the reader comprehend the future of America under Trump’s administration as follows:

Many Turks have been watching the first shocking days of the Trump administration unfold with one thing in mind – “welcome to our world!” Conspiracy. The blaming of outside forces (foreigners) for homeland problems. Attacks on the media. Religion used as a tool to divide with a liberal sprinkling of the word “terrorist”. Turkey has walked this path before (Cookman, 2017).

Trump and Erdogan are seen as alike. It is stated that Turkey has already done many wrong things as given above. By observing the things going on in Turkey, the author descends into fear: fear for



the future of America because she sees Turkey as a trailer and asks what could happen if the world doesn't stand up to Trump. Because Erdoğan is the exemplar of what could go wrong in America as in the following:

It would be wise to consider Turkey's spiral into authoritarianism as a warning for what could happen if the world doesn't stand up to Trump. The things you're scared of the US president doing, Erdoğan has likely already implemented. These are egomaniacs more interested in their own power than the genuine furthering of their country (Cookman, 2017).

These two are actually dangerous for democracy and human rights when the examples given by the author are investigated. The things Turkey has done to silence the critics may be a lead for the Trump and his administration to force a crackdown on dissidents. The author mentions about the misconducts in Turkey while silencing them from rape to torture as in the following:

Turkey now silences dissent by arresting opponents and has been accused of using torture and violence, including rape. Widespread purges have seen thousands dismissed from their jobs due to loosely evidenced accusations of supporting the group the government holds responsible for last year's failed coup attempt. They have been left without employment or financial support – suicides have followed. Turkey's newest accolade is that it's the world's largest imprisoner of journalists (...) Pure Erdoğan territory – denouncing opposition by associating it with terror while glorifying the strong leader. Turkey is the home of "alternative facts" (Cookman, 2017).

Turkey is a country ruled by a strongman sliding into authoritarianism who crashes the dissidents by accusing for terrorist connections, firing or jailing. Turkey is the home of "alternative facts" is a strong word choice which stands for the truth which is a missing thing for a long time in this country. The ones who has the power and authority will bend it as long as they want to in a land of lost opportunities for the opposers.

#### **4.7. Disclaimers (Meaning)**

Disclamers have many types but one of the most noticable one is explained below. Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation have their basis in ideology. Disclaimers put the emphasis on 'Our' characteristics which are positive, but then put the importance especially on 'Their' negative characteristics (Van Dijk, 2005: 736).

A report is published on International Crisis Group in 2018. Turkey is appreciated because of its support for millions of refugees from Syria but then it is mentioned that there happens hostile actions and aspects towards them as a result of this influx of refugees that they are not welcome anymore in Turkey.

Turkey has demonstrated remarkable resilience in absorbing more than 3.4 million Syrians over the past six years. But host community hostility toward these newcomers is rising. Incidents of intercommunal violence increased threefold in the second half of 2017 compared to the same

period in 2016. (Turkey's Syrian Refugees: Defusing Metropolitan Tensions. (2018), <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey/248-turkeys-syrian-refugees-defusing-metropolitan-tensions>)

A news report on a Greek newspaper called Ekathimerini is published in 2018. Admiral Evangelos Apostolakis depicts the positive sides of Greece and its doings as a peaceful country described as playing a positive role as follows: "Greece works as a bridge and plays a positive role. The Greece-Israel-Egypt axis offsets the pressure exerted by Turkey" (Armed Forces Chief: If Turks land on an islet 'we will flatten it' (2018), <http://www.ekathimerini.com/235861/article/ekathimerini/news/armed-forces-chief-if-turks-land-on-an-islet-we-will-flatten-it>). Turkey is reflected as a country which disturbs, domineers and leads an aggressive policy towards these countries. So the admiral threatens Turkey as follows: "If they land on an islet, we will flatten it. And this is a red line that is adopted by the government as well,". This is the sentence of an admiral who describes his country as peaceful. This is a contradictory statement if the first quote is taken into consideration.

In the article written by Doug Bardow (2018) on The National Interest, the author supports the idea that US officials see and depict Turkey as an ally and friend while Erdoğan shows an aggressive approach towards the US. The US is represented as a country which is friendly and supportive to Turkey although its misdoings such as threats and provoking anti-American sentiments towards them as follows:

Washington officials routinely call Turkey a vital ally, yet Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his government have threatened U.S. forces cooperating with Kurdish militias in northern Syria. After American military spokesmen warned that U.S. troops would defend themselves, Erdoğan promised the famed "Ottoman slap." (Bardow, 2018).

Turkey is represented as an aggressive country whose attitudes would result in Americans defending themselves against its unjust attacks.

#### **4.8. Euphemism (Rhetoric; Meaning)**

Euphemism, "a semantic move of mitigation", plays its part very well in discourses and as a positive self-presentation strategy, negative impressions are avoided and, negative aspects and thoughts are often mitigated (Van Dijk, 2005: 736). This is valid for the negative acts of ingroup. In an article on Strategic Culture in 2015 titled as "Turkey Tries to Lure NATO Into War Against Russia" by Eric Zuesse (2015), they use 'neutralize' as a verb rather than 'overthrow'. This is an example for euphemism. Also the title itself stands for an example of euphemism by using 'lure' instead of 'drag' or any other verb that has a negative meaning or connotation. "Turkey basically wants to drag NATO into this situation because the actual goal of Turkey is to

neutralize [euphemism for overthrowing the non-sectarian Shiite ruler of Syria, Bashar Al] Assad” (Zuesse, 2015).

#### **4.9. Evidentiality (Meaning, Argumentation)**

In an argument, claims or ideas are more eye catching when orators or writers show some evidence or proof for their stances. This may be presented by making references to AUTHORITY figures or institutions (Van Dijk, 2005: 736). How or where got the information may cause our stance look more plausible or reliable as in the following example

On the issue about Turkey and its being friends with Russia and Iran, Businessinsider has backed up its stance with a claim that Turkey has been longing for making friends with them long before it is having problems with USA. The sentences said by Jonathan Eyal, the Royal United Services Institute’s international director are as in the following;

Turkey has long been looking for other friends and allies, and that's part of the problem. “Turkey has no intention of respecting the American sanctions on Iran,”. (...) It has also said it respects none of the American priorities in Syria. It has offered to buy Russian missiles and other equipment (Lockie, 2018).

This is applying for an authority figure for the claims and ideas which would seem more reliable.

In the article written by Raziye Akkoc (2016) on Telegraph, she implies that Turkey is no longer a democratic country as it seems like a dictatorship that it has once despised. Turkey is represented as a country where the innocent people are taken in, where press is undermined, where human rights and democracy are underestimated. To back up her stance she uses an authority figure who is Fadi Hakura, Chatham House associate fellow in her article as follows:

“President Erdogan’s ideological and uncompromising stance on foreign policy has placed Turkey at the centre of the sectarian and ethnic chasms that are tearing the region apart.” (...) “He jettisoned Turkey’s traditional balanced and flexible foreign policy in favour of a much more ideological stance, picking sides in a very, very complex conflict. (...) Turkey is moving towards a more restrictive environment in terms of press freedom, human rights and democracy,” the associate fellow said as he claimed that Turkey has never enjoyed a truly democratic system of governance (Akkoc, 2016).

To make her stance more plausible and credible she applies evidentiality by utilizing sentences of an authority figure and demonstrate Turkey as a problematic, undemocratic and uncompromising country.

Sarah Wheaton (2017) on Politico explains that Turkey is deprived of certain features when it comes to a fair election according to the author. Administrative resources are claimed to be

inappropriately used to support Erdoğan's position and balanced information is missing for voters to make informed choices according to the writer. She writes as follows:

Both the campaign period and actual vote Sunday failed in numerous ways to live up to international standards for democratic practices, according to a preliminary report from the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (Wheaton, 2017).

She applies an authority such as an institution to make her sentences more reliable. Also she uses an authority figure to defend her stance as follows: "We found that it fell short of full adherence to international standards, said Tana de Zulueta, head of the OSCE's referendum observation mission" (Wheaton, 2017). Turkey is trying to apply a democratic rule as an election which gives people right to vote freely but reflected as an unjust country which has messed up the whole situation and this serves as an event to boost an authoritarian figure to be the head of the country.

According to the editorial board (2016) of The Washington Post, freedom of press is not evident in this country. Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan is plunging ever deeper into the destruction of what remains of a free press. His behavior resembles that of a despot rather than a leader of a NATO democracy (The Washington Post, 2016). Undemocratic rulings are happening in the country where media is silenced and the country is dragging itself into dark days. The Board explains the unjust rulings in Turkey to intimidate and repress the critics as follows by using the statements of a prominent journalist Asli Aydintasbas in the end:

Mr. Erdogan moved against two prominent editors, Can Dunder and Erdem Gul, from the newspaper Cumhuriyet, accusing them of treason for publishing information about weapons transfers by the Turkish secret service to fighters in Syria. The charges were trumped up to intimidate and harass all independent journalists in Turkey. It is only the latest of his repressive moves: Journalists critical of the government have been forced out of their jobs; social media have been blocked; academics have been targeted for speaking out against Turkey's military campaign against Kurdish separatists; and Mr. Erdogan is seeking to rewrite the constitution to expand the president's powers. Asli Aydintasbas, a prominent journalist, told the New York Times, "Turkey is galloping towards an authoritarian regime full speed ahead (The Washington Post, 2016).

You can be blamed, charged and sentenced in Turkey by being considered as a part of a terrorist organization or you can lose your job if you are a dissident. The president is seeking ways to expand his powers which will turn Turkey into an authoritarian regime as it is depicted above.

#### 4.10. Example/ Illustration (Argumentation)

Giving concrete examples is considered as a strong move for an argumentation. These can be a vignette or a short story which would make a general point more credible and powerful. Stories arouse more interest than arguments presented in abstract ways. They are also more emotional so that audience may not resist its persuasion. Of course, everyone has his own stand and own stories to tell (Van Dijk, 2005: 737).

In the article below, Syrian refugee crisis was held and their struggle to get in Turkey by paying smugglers is illustrated. There are given numbers and official information but they are not as striking as the story of the man who couldn't escape from his wartorn country. The ordeals and traumas he has been through are much more vivid in the minds of the readers in the article written by Zia Weise (2010) on Politico.

"The Turkish army don't allow anyone to get in and it is very dangerous for anyone who tries by smuggling" said (...) Mohamad Shaban. His family tried unsuccessfully to cross the border to Turkey this summer but didn't have enough money for the smugglers and so were forced to return to Aleppo, where they now live under siege and heavy bombardment from the regime of Bashar al-Assad and its Russian allies. "When we were at the border," he said, the Turkish guards "fired into the air just so the people who try to cross feel afraid (Weise, 2010).

This story is much livelier in the minds of the audience rather than the explanations of officials or numbers. The sadness of his story attracts the reader not just by his misfortune but also the cruel approach of Turkish border officials.

In the news article written by Dion Nissenbaum (2017) on The Wall Street Journal, Foreign correspondent Dion Nissenbaum describes being jailed at a detention center for days, with no contact with his wife or colleagues, in which the hardships the journalist endured under custody. To the journalist, his case seems as a reaction to his tweet in which two Turkish soldiers were burned to death by Isis and the journalist is accused of spreading the story to promote Islamic State's twisted agenda. The author uses his story to forge his sentences by making it more emotional and effective by using his own words:

"You are under investigation", a polite young officer told me (through a translator he'd called on his cellphone) as my wife and 7-month-old daughter looked on. "You are going to be deported, so pack a bag. We don't know how long this is going to take"(Nissenbaum, 2017).

We have a knowledge about the event's happening under the presense of his wife and child which triggers emotions. It is implied that even under these circumstances, he was lucky because many journalists face harsher conditions as follows:

Once I was in police custody, I expected to be hustled off to the airport and escorted onto the first flight to the U.S. Instead, I was driven to a small detention center 60 miles outside of Istanbul. I experienced a small dose of what scores of Turkish journalists face behind bars, where they endure much harsher conditions and far greater risks (Nissenbaum, 2017).

By this news story, Turkey is represented as a restrictive country which has no place for free press or freedom of speech and as a place where you can go out from your house and never come back again.

Conor Finnegan (2018) on ABC news uses the story of Pastor Brunson who was detained in Turkey because of Turkish government's accusation that he is a spy and has links to terrorism. He uses his story to make his story more effective, sentimental and plausible. By his own words Brunson states his situation in Turkey as: "At this point I'm one of the most hated men in Turkey, probably," Brunson told ABC News Chief Anchor George Stephanopoulos on "Good Morning America" Tuesday" (Finnegan, 2018). The author adds information about Brunson as in the following: "Brunson, 50, was a Christian evangelist in Turkey for more than 20 years before he was arrested in October 2016 and accused by the Turkish government of espionage and ties to terrorist groups. He, his lawyers and the U.S. deny those charges" (Finnegan, 2018). Then he uses Brunson's story by using his own statements: "Our purpose in going to Turkey was to tell people about Jesus Christ. We did that very openly, and we were never involved in anything political, Brunson told Stephanopoulos. He said he and his wife were shocked by their initial arrest, which happened on their oldest son's birthday" (Finnegan, 2018).

From the beginning in the article written by Max Zirngast (2019), it is evident that it is going to be a personal experience and a life story that will render the article more emotional. The author is a jailed dissident who writes this article in a Turkish prison whose two months spent in there without any charges. He makes allegations about the system of fear in Turkey over dissidents where you can face prison just to make your voice unheard as in his case. He explains this as follows: "But this is Recep Tayyip Erdogan's Turkey, and the heavy hand of the state comes down hard on dissident journalists, activists and scholars. In a nation where even media outlets are targets" (Zirngast, 2019). If you are a dissident journalist, scholar or an activist, the state will be watching you and waiting for pulling you down by any pretexts. Media is under pressure in this country where the number of jailed journalists is the highest in the world. Zirngast's fault is to write about, and organize against the country's mounting authoritarianism in his own words. He adds:

Erdogan is any kind of believer in press freedom or human rights — an image he's tried to cultivate in the wake of Saudi Arabia's killing of journalist Jamal Khashoggi in Istanbul. My arrest was a perverse confirmation of the authoritarianism I've spent the past several years chronicling and opposing (Zirngast, 2019).

The leader of Turkey is a hypocrite because he takes the lead in sentencing opposers but tries to look like a true believer in the freedom of press and human rights in Khashoggi case which is a killing of a dissident journalist in İstanbul. But it is all a pretense. He continues as: “As for me, when anti-terrorism police officers rang my doorbell that morning in September, they seemed to be in the process of trying to silence the entire democratic opposition in Ankara” (Zirngast, 2019). He states that the ones who are standing up for Kurdish rights have been faced with particularly severe repression, journalists have been stucked in the web of anti-terrorism pretexts. He adds that anybody the government doesn't like can be put in to jail by being blamed as a Gulenist (and/or a supporter of terrorism). This is the atmosphere in Turkey which will bring animosity against the regime in the following years. As he mentions about the conditions of his cell, as a reader, we feel pity and anger because the conditions are not good and maybe that is the intention of the state where dissidents are not welcomed. He describes the conditions as in the following: “The cell I am in now is quite dirty. The plaster on the wall is crumbling, and the iron is rusted. The water from the tap is putrid. The heat isn't working, and officials make it exceedingly difficult to receive visitors” (Zirngast, 2019). He also describe himself as follows and finishes his article.

During interrogations, the police set about trying to “figure out” who I am — to peel away the affected layers and find some evil, hidden core. But there is nothing to figure out. I am a socialist and a writer. I have raised my voice for a democratic republic and supported democratic struggles. I stand by everything I have done (Zirngast, 2019).

Being a socialist, writer, dissident and a follower of democracy is enough to get you blamed for anything in Turkey. The reader feels the situation of the author through his story which is emotionally more powerful than any other statistic or figures.

Kathleen Kern (2018) chooses the title for her article on Independent as: “Kurdish villagers are dying at the hands of a war the world has ignored for too long.” It gives curiosity to the reader. Which war? Why is the ignoration? She continues as: “Because we didn't pay attention to the thousands of Kurdish villages Turkey destroyed in the 1990s, the Turkish state still believes it can act largely without scrutiny” (Kern, 2018). There is the answer. Turkey is treating Kurds badly and gets away with it without any investigation. The author tells the reader the story of two people; Himdat and Dunya. Their only fault is to be a Kurd in a region where Turkey intimidates them. She states the story of Himdat as follows: “the Turkish military bombed the car of 20-year-old Himdat Osman Darwish as he was driving to work. Other civilians were on the road as well – not PKK guerilla fighters (...)” (Kern, 2018). ‘Guerilla fighter’ is a strong choise of word which reflects the stance of the author towards the Kurd case. Some of them are fighting against an oppressive government for their freedom rightfully. But Himdat was just an innocent young man and killed because of the politics Turkey run against the Kurds. The author utilizes the emotional reactions of the family and friends of Himdat to make the article more sentimental as follows:

(...) her strength (Himdat's mother) gave out and she vented her grief in wordless anguish while older women tended to her. Himdat's father, who had accompanied us to the cemetery, crouched away from the group in his green workman's overalls, his back hunched in solitary mourning, wiping his eyes. Two Kurdish members of our team prayed through their tears (Kern, 2018).

As a reader we feel close to the pain and mourning of this family. Knowing his story makes us believe the rightfull cause of how they feel.

Another story is more horrific and unjust. Because a young girl was killed by a mortar from Turkey. If she was just a statistic we wouldn't feel how we feel now. Knowing her story makes the reader more agitated. The author writes her story as follows:

She (Dunya's mother) said that Dunya at first didn't want to go collect the seeds, and her father said she could stay home. That she changed her mind, because all her friends were going. That her mother had brought her an extra bottle of water and told her to drink, because the day was hot, but she said she was fine. That her daughter's body had floated into the air in an explosion of dust when the mortar hit her. That her son had placed his sister's body – its arm, shoulder and leg ripped away – on his mother's chest so she could hold her. That after the Turkish soldiers collected the mortar fragments, they ordered the family to say that a landmine had killed her (Kern, 2018).

Stories are more powerful when we compare them to numbers, figures and statistics as in this case. There is a young women whose body is fragmented and her story is told in a detailed way by the author which disgusts the reader and feel some kind of hatred towards the mind who did it. You can't do it by just showing the numbers and statistics because storytelling offers much more emotion then them.

Eugene Chudnovsky (2018) on Washington Examiner uses a story which reveals itself from the beginning. The fault of a scientist is providing material support to the terrorist organization of Fethullah Gullen. The author tells his story as follows:

In summer 2016, the family went to Turkey to visit relatives in Antakya. As they were leaving the relative's house to catch a flight to the U.S., the police arrived and took Serkan away. He was placed in an Iskenderun prison, denied visits by family, attorneys, and U.S. consular officers. Charges against him included his teenage studies at the Test Preparation Center and Fatih University in Istanbul (now closed by Erdogan) allegedly affiliated with Gullen, as well as having an account at the Aysa bank (also closed) popular with Gullen supporters. The serial number of a dollar bill found in the house at the time of Golge's arrest was presented to the judge as Golge's secret number in the Gullen organization. A few court hearings that stretched for one year recycled the initial charges. Besides membership in Gullen's "terrorist" organization, Golge was accused of working for the CIA (Chudnovsky, 2018).

A scientist who is an American citizen is detained because of some allegations which is nonsensical according to the author. He is out of reach from his family and US officers which is another unjust thing about his arrest. The author states that "Although Gullen's role in the attempted coup was never proved, the witch hunt that followed has put thousands of his real and



alleged supporters in prison” (Chudnovsky, 2018). One of the victims of the witch hunt is Serkan Gölge according to the author.

#### **4.11. Hyperbole (Rhetoric)**

To enhance meaning hyperboles are utilized as semantic rhetorical devices. With the beginning of his article, the author Patrick Kingsley (2016) on The Guardian makes a reader think that Turkey is the last country to go for an immigrant who is trying to find a shelter. He depicts his thoughts as follows: “Turkey is no 'safe haven' for refugees – it shoots them at the border. Shootings by border guards, illegal deportations and desperate conditions are all the result of the EU forcing Turkey to take so many fleeing Syrians” (Kingsley, 2016). However, Turkey is the only country that accepted millions of refugees from wartorn Syria more than any other country in the world. He mentions about this briefly and focuses on the shooting and deportations through the article as follows: “The shooting of Syrians on the border is not a new phenomenon. Refugees and rights groups have reported shootings of migrants on the Turkish-Syrian border since at least 2013. These abuses are well-documented, and the reports widely circulated” (Kingsley, 2016). Where are the well documented abuses? Why not using them too in the article now that they are so well documented and circulated. He is abusing the few shootings and reflect this situation as the general policy and approach of Turkey towards refugees. He ends his article as in the following: “With little access to employment, the threat of deportation to Syria looming large and shootings on the border, we should be under no illusions that the deportees are being sent to safety”(Kingsley, 2016). The ending is no different from the beginning of the article. Reader is sure that seeking shelter from Turkey is a big mistake and ruins the life of an immigrant.

#### **4.12. Implication (Meaning)**

While keeping ‘pragmatic’ reasons in mind, speakers or writers do not express everything they know or believe. Most part of discourses are not explicit so readers or audiences may infer from the knowledge given by the writer or the speaker (Van Dijk, 2005: 737).

Simon Tisdall (2018) doesn’t say anything bad will happen to those who are inquisitive as in Russia or Turkey. However, he finishes his sentence in a way that we infer anything could happen to those who do some digging in his article on The Guardian.

Regimes like that in Russia, where inquisitive journalists die suddenly, or in Turkey, where they are jailed in large numbers, look at Trump’s reckless shenanigans and see a green light for repression. His unpresidential message to independent voices everywhere: “Shut it or else” (Tisdall, 2018).

Konstandaras (2018) in his article on Ekathimerini mentions about the misdemeanours of Turkey by blaming it as a country which behaves waywardly, as follows;

The international community has been at a loss as to how to respond to Turkey's predilection for taking hostage the citizens of other countries (including the United States, Germany and Greece), its ever more aggressive behavior toward neighbors and other countries, its violations of human rights and subversion of the rule of law at home (Konstandaras, 2018).

Turkey is represented as a country which takes the innocent people from other countries as hostages although they were taken under custody with the charges of aiding and abetting terrorists or espionage. Turkey is blamed to be an aggressive country but the author doesn't mention about the violation of Turkish borders. Turkey is shown as a country which doesn't have a respect for human rights and as a country which bends the rules according to its favors. Then the author uses a threatening language and continues as follows;

Then it is perhaps time for the international community to accept that when carrots do not work all that remains is the stick. If the EU and the US begin to put pressure on Turkey – either through stricter visa procedures or through sanctions – then Turkish citizens might see more clearly where their government's favored tactics of extortion and unilateral demands are leading (Konstandaras, 2018).

What the author implies with the carrot is that it represents the goodwill and the patience of the EU towards Turkey. But it is futile. Now it is time to show the stick, he says, which stands for the threats that Turkey deserve. And the implication is coming for Turkish citizens as implementation of these threats would be bad for them and it is all because of their government's actions and the bad days are waiting for them.

“Erdogan fights a losing battle with Trump” is the title of the article written by Ishaan Tharoor (2018) on The Washington Post which implies that Turkey has a problem with the US and is doomed to lose it. The author continues by depicting that Lira is losing its value over the US dollar and adds: “But Erdogan, as he so often does, placed the blame on a foreign scapegoat: the United States” (Tharoor, 2018). The US is seen as an unguilty scapegoat while Turkey is the one to be blamed by his own mistakes and wrongdoings such as the capturing of the US pastor who is seen as a political hostage.

The article written by Zia Weise (2017) on Politico stands for the loss of the country from the beginning of the article such as losing a dream of a modern and open country. He explains this in the following of the title as “Repression in the wake of the failed coup has led to the loss of the country's academics and educators” (Weise, 2017). This situation evokes an intellectual chaos for the country in the minds of the readers. This may mean the loss of freedom of thought and speech because of suspending and firing academicians of the country. The author depicted this as follows: “(...), thousands of Turkish scholars were fired or suspended in a similar manner, victims of the

government's sweeping purge following last summer's failed coup. More than a dozen universities were simply shut down by decree" (Weise, 2017). In an atmosphere like this most of the academicians flee the country where they are repressed and find an intellectual sanctuary abroad. The implication is the absence of independent academic atmosphere in the country which is caused by the suspensions, prosecutions and mistreatment of the intellectual minds in the country. It is depicted in the article as: "The increasingly repressive atmosphere has spurred hundreds to leave the country, turning to Western countries, particularly in Europe, to escape prosecution and a steady erosion of academic independence" (Weise, 2017). The article also has an implication which is about the country's being drifted by the tide of this situation that may lead to a more autocratic system. It is indicated as in the following: "Those who are part of the brain drain not only lament the loss of their home; they are also plagued by the fear that the exodus of academics and intellectuals will accelerate Turkey's descent into autocracy" (Weise, 2017). The author uses the statement of an expatriate to back up his stance as follows: "What's being constructed is a single-minded society — an authoritarian society," said a sociologist who lives in Europe now. "No critical mindset is possible. No independent thinking" (Weise, 2017). So from the beginning of the article the reader senses the implications coming forward which is Turkey's becoming an autocratic, authoritarian and undemocratic country where there is no room for free thinking and speech.

Frida Ghitis (2018) on Politico states vast amount of implications towards Turkey and Erdoğan. There is a word 'murder' which indicates a loss of life in the hands of horrible actors but also 'hope' which is felt by Turkey to benefit from this terrible incident. It is implied that this country is utilitarian because of seeking gain from this tragedy. The author adds another sentence to the title: "President Erdoğan sees geopolitical opportunity amid tragedy. Will his cynical gambit work?" (Ghitis, 2018). Ghitis insinuates that the leader is an opportunity seeker willing to do whatever it takes to benefit from the death of an innocent man. She continues as follows:

Given that President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has secured the loyalty of the security services (by firing or imprisoning anyone suspected of disloyalty) and of the media (by shutting down independent outlets and imprisoning critical journalists), it seems likely that he is personally overseeing Turkey's response to Khashoggi's murder (Ghitis, 2018).

This means that there is no free thinking and speech for dissidents in this country. You will be either imprisoned or fired if you try to criticize. So a country full of bad deeds against its journalist is trying to find justice for a murdered dissident journalist. This is an implication of hypocrisy in the eyes and minds of the reader. The author sums up this as in the following:

By championing justice for Khashoggi, Erdoğan can burnish his tarnished image. The man who crushed all dissent at home can claim to fight for the rule of law; a country that leads the world in jailing journalists appearing to spearhead the quest for justice in the killing of a journalist (Ghitis, 2018).

Ghitis implies that Erdoğan is a cruel and merciless ruler who is going to take advantage of the event by stalemating Saudis to recover the image of his country's misconducts over journalists and by gaining economic and political profit. She states that as follows:

Erdoğan, a clever, ruthless operator, is not about to let it slip through his fingers. With his security services in possession of evidence that appears to link Saudi Arabia's de facto ruler to the crime, Erdoğan is perfectly placed to extract concessions from the Saudis (Ghitis, 2018).

To sum up, in this article Turkey with its president is implied as an insidious country which could even take advantage of the death of an innocent man for political and economic gains.

In the article written by Michael Rubin (2018) on The Washington Post, the author criticizes the misbehaviours conducted by Erdoğan and implies the precautions needs to be taken to hinder his expansion of power over critics such as journalists, editors and reporters. But before that he explains how Erdoğan turned Turkey into an Islamist country by pressuring the people from other beliefs and muslims who condemn his views as in the following lines: "He has placed Turkey firmly in the Islamic bloc and increasingly prefers Russia over NATO. He fans the flames of religious incitement not only against Jews and Christians, but also against Muslims who reject his more conservative views" (Rubin, 2018). He doesn't hesitate to crush other voices from all corners. So something should be done according to the author. It is a call for intervention to this madness going on in Turkey. He implies a proposition such as the 2012 Magnitsky Act to impose sanction on Erdogan because of his violations of human rights as follows:

It is time for the United States and its allies to show Erdogan that his crackdown, at home and abroad, comes at a cost. The West can start by using some of the same mechanisms it has applied to bad behavior from Russia — in particular, the 2012 Magnitsky Act, which imposed sanctions on individuals who could be shown to have committed serious violations of human rights (Rubin, 2018).

Freedom of speech and press is devastated in Turkey because of Erdoğan's views. He silenced the voices of opposers so that his own voice could be heard all the time. The author depicts this as follows: "Eviscerating free speech and press freedom have been central to Erdogan's strategy. If the opposition has no platform, then Erdogan need not win arguments — he can simply impose them and eschew accountability for his policies" (Rubin, 2018). Reaching the information apart from the data given by the authorities is hard and something must be done to reverse this situation according to the author as follows: "The press crackdown, however, has left many Turks blind to their leadership's behavior (...) It's time to stand up for Turkey's independent journalists, an endangered species, before they truly become extinct" (Rubin, 2018). Turkey is shown as a place where the basic rights such as freedom of speech and press is hurt and crippled. The implication is that somebody or some countries need to do something against it.

#### 4.13. Irony (Rhetoric)

Accusations may be more influential when they are not pointed directly but in forms of irony which would be lighter (Van Dijk, 2005: 737). Irony is the expression of meaning by utilizing language that normally signifies the opposite, especially for humorous or emphatic effect.

“Erdogan Hasn’t Killed Turkey’s Democracy Yet” is the title of the article in NY Times The Editorial Board (2018). The title harbours irony when it is compared to the content of the article. From the title reader is given hope that there is still hope for Turkey to be a democracy! But throughout the article the content is full of implications and direct sayings depicting that Turkey is no longer a democracy because of the president and his conducts. Some of examples given in the article are as in the following lines:

The new mandate is likely to make Mr. Erdogan an even more difficult NATO ally ( ) Rescuing Turkish democracy from Mr. Erdogan’s determined efforts to corrupt the system ( ) there could be many years ahead to deal with the problems of one-man rule (The New York Times, 2018).

The new mandate after the elections, Erdoğan’s efforts to corrupt system, one man rule are all there to demonstrate the demolition of democracy in Turkey although the title isn’t directly point these and use a lighter form of irony.

Krishnadev Calamur (2018) states that “President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has strangled the free press, but his country has emerged as the source of grisly information about Jamal Khashoggi’s disappearance” (Calamur, 2018). Turkey is blamed for arresting journalists and silencing the free press but his attitudes about Jamal Khashoggi case he acts differently and this appears as an irony for the author. Then author expresses his opinions about it as follows: “details about the missing journalist have come from Turkey, which under President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has crushed dissent and dismantled the free press, jailing no fewer than 27 journalists, a number matched only by Egypt” (Calamur, 2018). Turkey is compared with an underdeveloped country such as Egypt when it comes to jailing journalist but the author doesn’t give any information about the crimes of these journalists. He keeps this information to himself. Turkey behaves badly to the journalists, silence, arrest and jail them. But it tries to explore the depts of Jamal Khashoggi’s death and support free press for him which stands for an irony for the author.

According to Anchal Vohra (2018), democracy is a dispensable thing for the leader of Turkey although it is the system that has made him the top of the country. According to Anchal Vohra, Erdoğan empowered himself with great powers and a strenght to crash everybody who are on his way through an excuse which is the coup attempt that brings him the chance to declare state of emergency to conduct his desires. It is visible through her statements as follows:

The coup attempt provided the Turkish leader with an excuse to purge anyone undesirable through powers enabled by a state of emergency. (...), the government has arrested some 50,000 people and dismissed 110,000 others from government jobs. More than 2,700 of them are judges and prosecutors (Vohra, 2018).

It is mentioned that many people lost their jobs or their freedom because of Erdoğan's choices via the state of emergency. The author defines it as a naked power grab by him because he bypass parliamentary approval and judiciary oversight. The loss of jobs and freedom are not enough for the democratically chosen leader and media has become his other target. The author states this as follows:

Media creates the mandate, so gagging or controlling it has been the President's special focus. He has done it by creating a new media elite and arresting or co-opting the others. Since the alleged failed coup, 156 media outlets have been closed and at least 177 journalists imprisoned. (...) Of those, 176 were arrested on suspicion of terrorism (Vohra, 2018).

Media is a huge institution to control and shape the minds of the people. By grabbing that power and creating a new media elite that would serve according to his purpose Erdoğan becomes the strongman. Media, press and journalists are repressed by arrestments, closure and imprisonment in a country where the people chose their leader via democracy. It is where the irony lurks.

In the article written by Eli Lake (2018), on Bloomberg, the author finds Turkey's reaction to Khashoggi case ironic. Because Turkey is itself a country who defies the rules when it comes to free press but it is time to use this situation to polish its image according to the author. He states the words of former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu and mocks Turkish officials as follows: "Now prominent Turkish leaders are sounding like spokesmen for Human Rights Watch. The fate of Khashoggi is a test for the whole world with respect to freedom of expression" former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu tweeted" (Lake, 2018). While sounding like spokesmen for Human Rights Watch, they are jailing journalists in their country. The country is itself a danger for freedom of speech but acts like it doesn't. The author continues as follows:

In one sense Davutoglu is right. If the charges are correct, then the U.S. must punish the Saudis in order to deter other allies from such brazen criminality. The problem is that the Turkish government is a great danger to the freedom of expression Davutoglu claims to respect (Lake, 2018).

What Turkey does is ironic and hypocritical as the author infers. While defending the rights of free speech, they are acting against it when it comes to practice it.

The Editorial Board (2018) of The Washington Post scrutinises the Turkish elections and odd things about it which can be seen as ironic. Elections are democratical processes which give people the freedom of choice but Turkey is choosing the person who ruins democracy with his actions and decisions by giving him extreme powers as in the following:

The Irony in the just-completed Turkish elections is that an amazing 87 percent of eligible voters turned out, a remarkable exercise of the ballot box, but the result is likely to set back democracy. President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's victory means a five-year term in an executive presidency of expanded powers. How he will use those powers has been amply telegraphed by his actions in recent years, especially after the failed coup attempt of 2016, when he imprisoned or silenced his critics and attempted to neuter civil society. The strongman just got a new lease on a bigger place (The Washington Post, 2018).

Democratically elected person is using his power to silence and imprison the dissidents who acts, writes or thinks against his will and with the elections giving him more power, 'the strong man' has just got bigger space to exert his power. Elections should be free and fair due to the nature of democracy but Erdoğan blocks the chances and opportunities of other candidates by silencing them on media according to the author as follows:

The latest Turkish campaign was neither free nor fair. Mr. Erdogan dominated television, both state and private. (...) Mr. Erdogan put the news media into friendly hands and jailed his critics before the votes were counted, a strategy of today's autocrats to suborn electoral politics (The Washington Post, 2018).

Erdogan is seen as an autocrat who ruins the process of the elections. The board makes a prediction about Turkey's future based on these democratically undemocratic actions as follows:

(...) Turkey's democracy could be a memory buried in the distant past. The United States must hold firm with Mr. Erdogan against such coercive tactics. Turkey's strategic importance is undeniable, but that can't justify turning a blind eye to the direction it is taking (The Washington Post, 2018).

Democracy would be totally missing in the future of Turkey where the president uses his strength to silence others. Then it is implied that USA shouldn't fall for Turkey's being strategically significant and ignore the undemocratic actions going on in the country. The USA is seen like a parent who should scold its child to be well behaved. This could be seen as belittling on part of Turkey.

#### **4.14. Lexicalization (Style)**

Expressing, underlying concepts and beliefs in specific lexical items becomes a necessity for political debates. Different words are used to express similar meanings. The role, position, aims, perspective of the speaker are the points which could be effective when it comes to the function of context features (Van Dijk, 2005: 737).

"U.S. May Punish Turkey For 'Cooperating' With Russia, State Department Official Says" is the title of the article belongs to by Jason Lemon (2018) on Newsweek. 'Punish' is a very strong choice of word. You punish wrongdoers, naughty children and people with faults. Is Turkey a child to be punished or a wrongdoer? It only wants to protect the country from the missiles coming from

the war torn Syria. It wants to buy the S-400 system from Russia because other countries do not sell the protection system to Turkey which is a NATO ally. Given no opportunities to purchase a system, Turkey has no other option but to create his own. But this is a jeopardy between US and Turkey and needs to be punished in the eyes of the US officials like a little child.

The article written by Zia Weise (2017) on Politico reflects the unsuccessful attempts towards Turkish economy, drooping lira and Erdoğan's ignorance towards his advisers as follows: "many economists fear the president listens to no opinion but his own, noting that decision-making in all policy areas has become increasingly centralised around Erdoğan" (Weise, 2017). So, to depict this situation the unilateral approaches of Erdoğan, he creates the word "Erdoğanomics".

Another article describes the situation in Sur, a town in Diyarbakır, where the Turkish forces clean the terrorists in the area. But the author Rod Nordland (2016) on New York Times doesn't see the situation as this but see it as an assault to an ethnic minority and reflect the devastation in the city as Aleppo-like city which is a city in war torn Syria. The most striking choice of word is "guerillas". The author sees the members of an international terrorist group as guerillas which is a strong choice of words because this means he disregards Turkey's effort to wipe out the terrorism in the country. He doesn't see them as terrorists who kill innocent citizens. The author also reflects Diyarbakır as a city that belongs to Kurdish nation as follows:

Sur was one of the most pro-P.K.K. neighborhoods of the heavily pro-P.K.K. city of Diyarbakır, the biggest Kurdish city in the world and the unofficial capital of Turkey's eastern Kurdish regions. Kurds make up an estimated sixth of Turkey's population, and most of them either openly support the outlawed P.K.K., or vote for the legal party, the Kurdish Peoples' Democratic Party, or H.D.P., which shares much of the guerrillas' political platform (Nordland, 2016).

Diyarbakır is seen as a capital of Kurdish regions and H.D.P. as a political party version of guerillas.

Another news article is from Kosovo which is written by Maxim Edwards and Michael Colborne (2019) on The Guardian. Turkey has many investments in the Balkans and of course in Kosovo but the only construction noticeable by The Guardian is a mosque which is a gift from Turkey. Throughout the news report it is debated that Turkey has so much power and saying in the selections of the mosque designs and insists on constructing a mosque which would be the copy of Selimiye in Edirne. Why not building a modern one? Why constructing a replica which would evoke the memories of Ottoman style? These are the questions dealt by the reporter that cast doubts on the intention of the reporter. What this article seems to do is reflecting the disturbance of Turkey's attention over Kosovo. Turkey's concerns for Kosovo is demonstrated as "neo-Ottomanism" as follows:



(...) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, put it in a 2013 visit to the country: “Turkey is Kosovo, and Kosovo is Turkey.” (...) Those words resonate in a Turkey whose assertive foreign policy has been characterised as “neo-Ottomanism”. Kosovo plays no small role in Turkey’s imperial history: the Battle of Kosovo in 1389 saw the defeat of the medieval Kingdom of Serbia and the beginning of the Ottoman conquest of south-eastern Europe. The empire went on to rule Kosovo for nearly 500 years, bringing with it Islam and many other cultural influences (Edwards& Colborne, 2019).

These are reflected as some kind of unsettling issue as Turkey is shown as a country who is noseey and bossy over the choises of Kosovo.

“How Turkey and Saudi Arabia became frenemies – and why the Khashoggi case could change that” is the title of the article penned by Nader Habibi (2018) on The Conversation. Disappearance of Khashoggi, a journalist and a dissident, unearthed the detoriating relationships according to the author. He makes a lexical choise by using the word ‘frenemies’ and then he explains the situation. He orders the sequence of the relations between Saudi Arabia and Turkey with the information about their ties. Turkey’s secular ruling elite was eager to possess strategic and economic ties with the West than to the Arab World and have good relationship with the Israel from the start which are total disappointments for Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries. In the ‘60s and ‘70s two countries set up good ties and strong relations which triggers trade relations as well. “The ups and downs in Saudi-Turkish relations are partly seen as a result of Turkey’s political instability, including several military coups in the ‘80s and ‘90s” (Habibi, 2018). Then, with the AKP on power, the ties get better but starts detoriating after Turkey’s support over the Arab spring uprisings. The author writes about the latest problem between Turkey and Saudi Arabia, Khashoggi case, as follows: “Western media have mostly portrayed Turkey’s handling of the latest incident involving Khashoggi’s disappearance as an indication of deteriorating Saudi-Turkey relations” (Habibi, 2018). But, according to the writer, Turkey is trying to have some balance over the situation because the country itself is struggling with heavy economic problems and debts. He shares his opinions as in the following:

Erdogan’s initial hesitation in pointing the finger – leaving it to “anonymous “officials” – and his call for a joint investigation gave Saudi leadership time to come up with a response strategy, which appears to be blaming “rogue killers.” In this he seems to share President Donald Trump’s interest in giving Saudi Arabia a face-saving way out of the crisis (Habibi, 2018).

The author summarizes the relationships between the two countries and their good and bad ties. By doing these he implicitly explains why he has choosen the word “frenemies” to reflect the relations of these two countries.

Zia Weise (2016) states his opinions as follows: “A nearly century-old reverence for the father of modern Turkey is being replaced by a doctrine shaped by and centered on its president”

(Weise, 2016). The author correlates both names but actually they are not the same and author knows it and wants reader to understand it as well by using a quotation including Erdoğanism.

This narrative also serves as the backbone to a dramatic shift in Ankara, helping replace Turkey's century-old official ideology — Kemalism, named after Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the modern republic — with an ideology shaped by and centered on Erdoğan (...) “Kemalism was a guideline for the whole nation, as it was put. That era has, by and large, ended. People still give lip service to Atatürk. But the hegemony of Kemalism has ended,” said Turkish author and columnist Mustafa Akyol. “It's being replaced by Erdoğanism (Weise, 2016).

Although the pictures of Atatürk and Erdoğan go hand in hand in the rallies of Erdoğan they are not the same for the author. Kemalism is just overthrown by Erdoğanism in which the leader shapes and regulates the system as his own favor. He distorts the truths and problems in the country such as economic ones. Lira is losing its value, payments of the debts are coming due, interest rates are getting higher but all he can blame is the foreign forces. The author uses the word ‘shadowy powers’ which is a kind of a reflection of insanity. It is like the president has cut the ties with reality as in the following:

“Someone”, he declared, “is trying to force this country to its knees by economic sabotage.” “With the president's words, the economic troubles became entangled in the narrative the government had pushed since this summer's coup attempt — that shadowy powers were conspiring to bring Turkey down (Weise, 2016).

Erdoğanism is the lexical choice of the author to define the situation in the country which insinuates the unilateral choices of the president over the country instead of Kemalism.

Zia Weise writes about economic problems Turkey has to endure in his article and connects the economy with the success and control of Erdoğan over country and its people. If he fails on this, he and his power will be vulnerable. So the author depicts this by using a metaphor whose roots belong to mythology. Achilles' mother puts him in the water by holding his feet to make him immortal but the parts she holds don't touch the water so it becomes his most vulnerable part of his body where he could be killed. So Weise states that economy is the most important thing which serves Erdoğan to have power over the nation. But it is also his most vulnerable point as follows:

(...) the floundering economy threatens Erdoğan's success and possibly hold on power. “Erdoğan's popularity rests on several pillars — his ideology and Islam, but also because he raised the life standards of the ordinary Turk,” Akyol said. His Achilles heel is the economy (Weise, 2016).

So a problem or weakness can result in failure for the politics of Erdoğan.

“Turkey ‘world’s biggest prison’ for journalists” is the title of the report written by Esther King (2016) on Politico which is a lexical choice who resembles Turkey as a prison for journalists which means that there is no freedom for press in this country. The author’s another strong choice of words is ‘witch-hunt’ which stands for the irrational arrests of the journalists. The writer uses the statements of the group Reporters Without Borders to back up his stance as follows:

(...) an all-out witch-hunt has jailed dozens of journalists and has turned Turkey into the world’s biggest prison for the media profession,” RSF secretary general Christophe Deloire said in a statement (...) The number of media professionals in jail or held hostage by non-state groups in the country has more than quadrupled to 100 in the wake of the coup attempt, RSF said, with reporters charged with terrorism and insulting Turkey’s President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (King, 2016).

Turkey is seen and represented as a country where journalists can be imprisoned if they are dissidents on the slightest pretences such as being a terrorist or a slanderer towards the president.

‘Pious generation’ is the lexical choice of the author Zia Weise (2018) on Politico to define the followers of Erdoğan in Turkey. The author utters that Turkish Cypriots are different and don’t want to be like Erdoğan’s ‘pious generation’. Islamist and authoritarian side of Erdoğan are not welcomed in Northern Cyprus. Weise depicts this as follows:

Many Turkish Cypriots are increasingly concerned about what Ankara’s tightening grip — coupled with Erdoğan’s authoritarian and Islamist bent — might mean for their future, fearing that rising religious conservatism could become an obstacle to reconciling with Greek Cypriots to the south (Weise, 2018).

The reader might feel that Turkey wants to ensnare Turkish Cypriots by pressuring them into being more religious by building mosques, opening Islamist vocational schools and excluded Darwin’s evolution theory in school books as stated in the article.

Asli Aydintasbas (2018) on The Washington Post describes the political, social and economical atmosphere in Turkey and criticizes the situation harshly by making an analogy between ‘Turkey’ and ‘the Orwellian world’ as follows:

In the Orwellian world that is being created in place of a Turkish democracy, televisions are awash with dramas about the grandeur of the Ottoman Empire, the media parrot the government, and religious schools are replacing secular ones to answer Erdoğan’s desire for a “pious generation.” Our economy is sinking because no one wants to invest in a country that sneers at rule of law — but also because President Erdoğan, who famously described himself as an “enemy of interest rates,” doesn’t understand how the market works. As our currency plunges in value, Erdoğan blames our economic problems on his political enemies (Aydintasbas, 2018).

The situation in the country is represented as chaotic. Economy is going down, secular education is in danger, television series are polishing the past, media shares only one voice which belongs to the

authority, production of conspiracy theories is common and the one to be blamed is the political enemies. This is the situation in Turkey according to the author and she has so much to say about these as follows:

The absurdity of life in Turkey today may be a natural outcome of the authoritarian drift at the top. No one can tell the boss the truth, and so everyone must pretend his desires are reality. Eventually, this collective delusion creates a level of daily insanity that feels unbearable. In many ways, a civil society leader like Osman describing the arrival of spring in the jailhouse courtyard is experiencing a saner, though harsher, truth than those of us outside. On release, he will move from the prison to the asylum. I will rejoice in his freedom but regret that he will now know what a madhouse Turkey has become (Aydintasbas, 2018).

Turkey is a madhouse, an asylum where the life is absurd and run by collective delusion with a level of daily insanity. The author makes harsh and strong choice of words while describing her own country.

#### **4.15. Metaphor (Meaning, Rhetoric)**

Metaphors are one of the few semantic-rhetorical figures which is very persuasive in many debates. To make abstract, complex, unfamiliar, new or emotional meanings more familiar and more concrete metaphors are applied (Van Dijk, 2005: 738).

In his article on The Verge news, the author Benjamin P. Osterlund (2018) gives a place to Wikipedia ban in Turkey. It explains the situation as in the following; “Authorities said the ban was instituted when Wikipedia declined to take down content alleging that Turkey had provided support for terrorist groups”. The author decides to use a quotation from the founder of the digital rights group who uses a metaphor to depict that Turkey has done wrong and only hurts itself by using the metaphor ‘shoot oneself in the foot’ as follows; “Alp Toker, founder of the digital rights group Turkey Blocks argues that the Turkish government is shooting itself in the foot by continuing to restrict access to Wikipedia” (Osterlund, 2018).

Matthew Karnitschning (2017) in his article titled “Angela Merkel’s Turkish roulette” on Politico mentions about the Turkey’s arresting Germans and continues by writing; “After years of enduring insults, provocations and outright hostility from Turkey’s Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Angela Merkel is fighting back” (Karnitschning, 2017). The real version of this metaphor is Russian Roulette which is a game of chance in which players put their gun to their own head that has a bullet in it. So Germany is playing a very dangerous game by putting up with Turkey’s dubious arrestings of Germans. Karnitschning continues with a question as follows; “Erdoğan arrests German tourists?” (Karnitschning, 2017). This is an exaggeration and has an aim to scare the readers as if you were a tourist in Turkey you could end up in jail just because you are a German. Another metaphor used by Karnitschning is Achilles’ heel. Its meaning is “a small problem or

weakness in a person or system that can result in failure” according to Cambridge dictionary (Achilles heel (t.y.), <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/s%C3%B6z%C3%BCk/ingilizce/achilles-heel>). This metaphor is utilized as some kind of a threat for Turkey because it represents the weakness of Turkey which is its economy as follows: “Both the travel advisory and the investment warning issued by the German foreign ministry on Thursday are aimed squarely at Turkey’s Achilles’ heel — its economy” (Karnitschnig, 2017).

#### **4.16. Negative Other-Presentation (Semantic Macro-Strategy):**

People are categorized as ingroups and outgroups and this situation is not ideologically free zone because they represent the stances of the ones who apply norms and values (Van Dijk, 2005: 738).

The title of the article written by Emily Tamkin (2017) on Foreign Policy “Turkey Is Open for Business, Says Turkey After Flawed Referendum” is a title which aims to reflect negative presentation of the other. Because a referendum is a device to have people’s decisions over a subject matter in democratic countries. This title condemns and slanders Turkey by making a false judgement without any base or evidence that the referendum is flawed as in the following: “Less than a week after Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan won sweeping new powers for the next twelve years in a referendum widely denounced as unfree and unfair” (Tamkin, 2017). The author did not explain why it is unfree or unfair, give any concrete evidences or say how it is wrong. She just slanders and makes the other look negative in the eyes of the reader.

“Turkey’s Losing Economic War”, “Ankara blames Washington for its financial troubles, but it is fighting the wrong enemy” (Yackley, 2018) is a strong title on Foreign Policy, one that is depicting the destiny of Turkey’s economic struggles as the lost one. Throughout the article economic hardships of Turkey and looking for the enemy at the wrong place is mentioned. The things that Turkey does to fix its economy is not futile but not so well mentioned in the article. The author only sees it as a lost war.

Zia Weise (2018) uses the sentence “The police in my home country tortured me ( ) the Greek police brought my children breakfast” in his article (Weise, 2018). The title prepares the reader for what is coming next: a negative representation. Even in the first place by reading the title, a reader could sense that something is bad about Turkey because in that country people are treated badly but in Greece they are treated very well. This idea is supported by the statements of the people fled from Turkey where they were mistreated and tortured. “It really was a shock,” said Tuba, sipping coffee in her new home in Thessaloniki. “In Turkey, the police labelled me a terrorist. Here, they welcomed us. It caused a revolution in my mind” (Weise, 2018). Mehmet, a Gülenist engineer is also mentions about his misfortunes from being sprayed by fire hose to being

beaten by batons while he was under arrest. “Like Tuba Güven, he was struck by the Greek officers’ kindness”. “Until May 9th, the police in my home country tortured me,” he said. “On May 10th, the Greek police brought my children breakfast” (Weise, 2018). Ali, an academic, says: “At school, we were taught the Greeks are enemies of Turkey. But no one can say that to me now” (Weise, 2018). The stories of these three people shows the cruelty of Turkey. Even the historically evil country Greece is doing better in humanitarian crisis. But Turkey is the other here because it is an evil country who tortures his own people so it has a bad representation in the minds of the author and the readers.

Amberin Zaman’s article (2018) on The Washington Post is about the elections in Turkey and the current situation in Turkey which will serve the negative representation of Turkey as follows:

(...) voters in Turkey will face a stark choice between two paths. One, embodied by President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, entails a further descent into authoritarianism and a deepening of ethnic and sectarian divides. The other, represented by the opposition, offers the potential for national reconciliation, a return to parliamentary democracy and an easing of tensions with the West. The stakes have never been higher (Zaman, 2018).

Two candidates are compared and the one who governs the country is represented as a kind of oppressor who seeks power by creating an authoritarian rule and dividing the citizens in ethnic and sectarian ways. The other is a promise for a return to parliamentary democracy whose existence is over in today’s Turkey. The author depicts the elections as follows:

(...) presidential and parliamentary elections will take place simultaneously — overshadowed by the state of emergency that was imposed after the failed July 2016 military coup. (...), Erdogan’s government has used emergency law to purge and imprison tens of thousands of the president’s critics (Zaman, 2018).

The elections are under question because it is overshadowed by the state of emergency. Today’s Turkey is governed by the Erdogan’s government and they are using the state of emergency to silence the critics. So Turkey is not a democratic place to live, to criticize and to write for dissidents. The author finishes the article by stating the solution as follows: “Only a change in leadership can put Turkey back on the path to democracy— which will necessarily involve a genuine search for a just and lasting peace with the Kurds” (Zaman, 2018). Turkey can become a democracy again only if the leader changes and the country seeks for just ways to deal with the Kurdish problem in the country.

The article penned by the Editorial Board (2018) on The Washington Post is about how Turkey has changed from a free country into a repressed one and the current situation in Turkey whose representation is inevitably negative according to the authors. Turkey is represented as a place where justice is missing as follows:

In Turkey, under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the tweet has been turned into a crime, and a troubled democracy is being turned into a dictatorship. Gradually but inexorably, a nation that once aspired to be an exemplar of enlightened moderation is being transformed by Mr. Erdogan into a dreary totalitarian prison. In the latest setback, last week, 23 journalists were sentenced to prison for between two and seven years on patently ridiculous charges that they were members of a terrorist organization and had tweeted about it. Two others were convicted on lesser charges of supporting a terrorist organization (The Washington Post, 2018).

Today's Turkey is a dictatorship and a dreary totalitarian prison where one can be arrested and charged because of nonsensical pretexts. The numbers are high and there are many people in prisons and many others who lost their jobs as follows:

Mr. Erdogan, the target of a failed coup attempt in July 2016, has embarked on a campaign of repression against perceived enemies in the press, government, academia and law enforcement, among other pillars of Turkish society. More than 60,000 people have been arrested and 150,000 forced from their jobs (The Washington Post, 2018).

If you are a critic, your being seen as an enemy is likely because the mindset of the country's leaders and institutions are against criticism. They have many precautions against it such as the ones presented by the editorial board:

Turkey once had a robust, independent press, but Mr. Erdogan has waged a multifront campaign: closing media outlets, forcing others into new ownership, and using friendly judges and prosecutors. In the latest cases, some reporters and editors were convicted for what they said on Twitter (The Washington Post, 2018).

Freedom of speech is hurt and wounded in this country as given above. This is not a free country any more according to the article. Turkey is the 'other' which should be reacted against by other countries as in the following closing sentences of the article: "Mr. Erdogan's dictatorship must be called out for what it is. Even if he covers his ears, the United States and other nations must protest, and loudly" (The Washington Post, 2018). The US and other countries are being called for intervention because of this unjust dictatorship by The Washington Post.

#### **4.17. Norm Expression**

All discourses have strongly normative nature, and explicit norm-statements about what 'we' should or should not do are in their domains. "Turkey and the United States Should Work Together to Avert Disaster in Idlib" is the title of the article written by Ilan Goldenberg (2018) on Foreign Policy which is about the Assad's initiation of getting Idlib back and its humanitarian consequences. Although Turkey and the USA have disagreements on many things from the S-400 to pastor crisis on this matter they should work together to eliminate the hardships of Syrians.

The statements in Regular Progress Reports: Turkey 2018, which is prepared by the European Commission is striking because Turkey is criticized and condemned about many things from

LGBT rights to press freedom. The state of emergency and the attempts conducted based on it is seen as repression and an obstacle before the freedom of speech. European Commission sees as its right to condemn, criticize and give advice to Turkey as in the following:

The broad scale and collective nature, and the disproportionality of measures taken since the attempted coup under the state of emergency, such as widespread dismissals, arrests, and detentions, continue to raise serious concerns. Turkey should lift the state of emergency without delay”(EU Commission Report, 2018, 3).

Basic human rights are not fulfilled when it comes to the marginalised groups in Turkey. They face violence, discrimination and hate so Turkey should do more to protect them as follows:

The rights of the most vulnerable groups and of persons belonging to minorities should be sufficiently protected. Gender-based violence, discrimination, hate speech against minorities, hate crime and violations of human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex persons are still a matter of serious concern (EU Commission Report, 2018, 6).

Freedom of speech and expression is significant and a democratic right so these rights should be given to the people without delay or any question. Also, MPs can speak freely outside the Parliament as follows: “Freedom of expression of MPs is an essential part of democracy and should also be protected when they speak outside Parliament” (2018, 14). European Commission’s report on Turkey is full of criticism and advice as if Turkey is deeply troubled adult to be guided in every occasion. It is like their domain to say what to do or not to do.

“It’s Time to Kick Erdogan’s Turkey Out of NATO” is the title of the article penned by Stanley Weiss (2016) on Huffpost. The title itself is like an indecent and imperious order. Turkey, as a so called wrongdoer, is castigated throughout the article and NATO should do something about this problematic country as in the following:

NATO shouldn’t come to Turkey’s defense - instead, it should begin proceedings immediately to determine if the lengthy and growing list of Turkish transgressions against the West, including its support for Islamic terrorists, have merit. And if they do - and they most certainly do - the Alliance’s supreme decision-making body, the North Atlantic Council, should formally oust Turkey from NATO for good before its belligerence and continual aggression drags the international community into World War III (Weiss, 2016).

Turkey is blamed for being too troubled for the council and should be deterred from doing wrong things before it is too late so it should be discarded from the council for the sake of the world peace.

In another article written by Eli Lake (2018) on Bloomberg, Turkey is seen as the real crisis for the world. NATO summit is a chance to show the world that it is a right thing to show no mercy to Turkey so that it could understand that its actions such as becoming too close with Russia causes



troubles and this should come to an end. So Turkey must feel the pressure and pain for it as follows:

(...) this week's NATO summit would be an opportunity for the U.S. president to cajole European allies into presenting a unified opposition to Erdogan's conduct. There is no mechanism for kicking a member out of the alliance, but Turkey should at least begin to feel some pain and pressure for its drift toward Russia (Lake, 2018).

"Turkey should look to its own brutal treatment of journalists" is the title of the article written by Kenan Malik (2018) on The Guardian which scrutinizes Turkey's treatment of journalists which is unfair and unjust. It is against freedom of expression and press freedom because people are waiting in prison for too long before their trials without even being blamed for a crime as in the case of Osman Kavala as in the following:

Osman Kavala, a Turkish public intellectual, was arrested by the Turkish authorities. He has now spent a year behind bars and has still to be charged with an offence (...) As Kavala begins his second year imprisoned without charge, we need to shine a light not just on Saudi brutality, but on that of Turkey too (Malik, 2018).

Turkey is condemning Saudis for killing a dissident journalist but it put intellectuals behind bars without any charges against them. So, the light should be shined on Turkey's treatment of journalists and intellectuals, too.

An article written by Lucy Pasha-Robinson (2017) on Independent gives a considerable place to the statements of Germany's Chancellor, Angela Merkel on Turkey's membership of European Union. What Turkey should or shouldn't do is like in the hands of Merkel as follows: "Germany's Chancellor, Angela Merkel, has said Turkey should categorically not become a member of the European Union in comments that are expected to further inflame tensions between the Nato allies" (Pasha-Robinson, 2017). Turkey and Germany are on separate ways because of the arrests of German citizens in Turkey. According to Merkel, Germany should react against these unjust detentions as follows: "Her comments are likely to worsen already strained ties between the countries after Ms Merkel said Berlin should react decisively to Turkey's detention of two more German citizens on political charges" (Pasha-Robinson, 2017).

Another article condemning Turkey for moves such as mentioning about Netherland as "Nazi remnants and fascists" after a 'Yes' campaign rally was cancelled in Rotterdam. "An abolition of democracy Turkey should NOT be allowed to join EU, blasts Europe expert" is the title of the article written by Jon Rogers and Monika Pallenberg (2017) on Express. Turkey is seen as a kind of a bully who should be restrained as in the following: "Turkey has crossed the line in what is acceptable behaviour and should not be allowed to join the European Union (EU), an expert on

European relations has stated” (Rogers and Pallenberg, 2017). Turkey is seen as a troubled country which doesn’t belong to the union so it should be expelled from the negotiation process.

#### **4.18. Polarization, Us-Them Categorization (Meaning)**

Polarization is about dividing people categorically as ingroup ‘Us’ and outgroup ‘Them’ (Van Dijk, 2005: 738).

Sarah Margon’s article (2017) on The USA Today it is stated that “Donald Trump should not fall for Tayyip Erdogan; Our foreign policy must be one of conscience”. In the beginning the reader senses the division between Us and Them. The USA is the ingroup and Turkey is the outgroup where unlawful decisions are made and applied with a president full of sweeping powers who has silenced dissidents as in the following:

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan declared a state of emergency, giving him broad and sweeping powers to bypass parliament and ignore the Constitutional Court (...) In the name of snuffing out the coup plotters, Erdogan’s government has shuttered news outlets, jailed journalists and opposition party members, and purged thousands upon thousands of government employees. The actions intensified a crackdown on free speech and expression that had been underway for quite some time (Margon, 2017).

But in the USA there won’t be such actions and these actions and the ones who are exercising them can’t be close to the governors in countries like Turkey. They are different, they are and must be exercising their powers by considering conscience. “Congress does exercise vital checks and balances on U.S. presidential power, and its members are likely to puncture the notion that America will offer only uncritical support for Erdogan’s tactics” (Margon, 2017). “Donald Trump too cuddly with dictators like Tayyip Erdogan - USA Today” is the Google search result of the article. Turkey and the USA both are democracies but Turkey is governed by a dictator while the other is not.

## CONCLUSION

Turkey is a country which receives the attention of western newspapers with the events, circumstances and happenings in the country. The present study investigates how Turkey is represented in the news of western media outlets. News from various newspapers are chosen to study their approaches towards the representation of Turkey. The aim of the study is to reflect western thought about Turkey in the news they create via CDA, PDA and IDA as language actions in the post truth political era.

With a focus on the term 'post truth' in which truth is called by other names such as alternative truth, soft truth, truthish etc., the news and the language use in American and European media are investigated throughout the light shed by Critical, Political and Ideological Discourse Analysis because much of the news are being utilized to operate perception management against Turkey which includes fake news, information pollution and lies. There post-truth comes in. Post-truth in journalistic dimension stands for articles whose assemblage is comprised of facts, information, rumors, statements, officials' ideas and predictions. Thus, post-truth creates various types and grades of truth. In post-truth political era truth doesn't have a primary importance. Sentimentality, not reality matters in this kind of surroundings. Affecting public opinion for the benefit of the power holder, some certain discursive actions are utilized. Ideas over reality gains importance, feelings over rational thinking are signified, truthish statements or lies and sometimes news which are actually fake are highly circulated instead of searching for the truth, rumors instead of information that is not double checked are believed to be true in the world of journalism. In recent years, misinformation becomes a huge part of information, because of many different kinds of interests such as financial and political ones that have shaped and constitute realities. This is an implication of the intent leading to deception. Information becomes a tool to (re)orientate and to construct power and reality. These attempts serve to shape, control, shape and reshape the minds of newspaper readers in the western world which demonstrates itself with the choices of titles, use of lexicon and contents against Turkey.

Using CDA to decode the meaning beyond the words erected within the relationships of the discursive actions and the people through the news, providing insight as to how news are created and developed to impress the opinions and behaviours of the audience are the starting points of this study. The impetus for the analysis within this thesis stems from the ways newsmakers choose to express themselves and utilize language in certain ways as a tool to construct a world with a chosen linguistic purposes. The things they do to promote and legitimize the goals of the ones

who has the power to facilitate the discourse created within the textual or spoken side of the news forces a researcher to gain deeper understanding of the mechanics they use while doing so. For this thesis, many news articles have been selected from American and European newspapers and broadcasters to answer the question how news are utilized to manipulate language through various ideological and political concerns to set an agenda and manage perception. News have been analyzed to show how the certain selective approaches to words and events can be deployed in accordance with post truth and the linguistic choices and to codify the meanings within discourse. Because underneath the surface structure of language use, the purposes of creating and developing political and ideological presuppositions lie. To identify salient features of a text by decoding the politics and ideologies carried out within the lexico-grammatical choices is a discourse where CDA is employed. Construction of certain ideological positions within text or talk in which unequal relations of power resides is revealed through CDA and its exploration of the language use. For CDA, language doesn't have neutrality. Ideological stance of a speaker or a writer towards a topic or an event reveals itself when it is encoded via CDA because the choice of words over another in a discourse hides an ideological position. Through CDA analysis, opinions may be structured as to how discursive actions contribute the (re)production of ideology in society to get dominant approaches and social power (Van Dijk, 1993b: 254). Exercizing and enacting power relations become possible with discourse.

Examining why a political actor or writer chooses some particular linguistic items over others in their discourse can be significant to unearth the speaker's or writer's ideology. Language can be an instrument to exercise power or control over people, via a process named as "language manipulation" (Rudyk, 2007). In our case, it is media means through language which blurs and shapes the minds and thoughts of the people about Turkey and its representation. Language in media is under the control of the ones who are power holders and politically dominant media institutions so that they decide what to publish and how to utilize what kind of language items. Language has a connection with ideology in a way that it provides lexicon while carrying ideological stances in discourse on the whole. It has a role in creating power and it turns out to be a place where the power can be applied. So discourse analysis is a crucial device to discover how production and reproduction of ideologies find their ways within the discourse.

Politicians are willing to gain power struggles to fulfil their intentions and to reach their targets in the decision-making process. For Van Dijk, there is a relation between political ideologies and political discourses so that political discourses are not just the product of political ideologies, but they are also crucial for the (re)creation of the ideologies (Van Dijk, 2005). Political discourse is an instrumental device in the hands of power holders to construct certain beliefs for their audience, gain support, make people believe in their political views, win and secure power, shape the general ideology of the society, and to convey and spread the dominant ideology. Eighteen discursive devices with their discourse analysis domain are utilized in this thesis with an

aim to prove that Turkey is the other in the discourses of the news articles. Studying political and ideological discourse through the light shed by CDA gives us a chance to discover how politicians and power holders can falsify or distort reality for their ideological purposes.

This research reflects one truth without dispute; Turkey is 'the other' which belongs to the outgroup represented negatively. Turkey is barbaric, wild dog, unfaithfull ally, a sick man, an aggressive country run by a bully boy who turns out to be a geostrategical threat, a dictator. It is shown as a country where freedom doesn't exist. Without considering the aiding and abetting terrorism part, Turkey is branded as a jail for free minds. It is represented as a country where you can be arrested, jailed, confined or fired if you follow the road leading to freedom of speech. It is a burden for Europe and the US with its breaking up with European ideals and unilateral actions such as its purchase of S-400 defence system from Russia. Whatever Turkey does has a bad connotation for foreign media. Democracy is dying in Turkey where plausible elections are imposible. Turkey is crashing the rights of the minorities, its cristians, refugees etc. Journalism is in danger because you can be labelled as a terrorist or Gülenist if you are an opposer. All the evidences, authority figures, institutions given above reflects Turkey as the other because they only see the negative side and exaggerate it to make it seem an agresive, undemocratic and authoritarian country. They create their own reality to influence the readers and incite them against Turkey. Power relations is on the side with the one who hold the power which is media and its means. To fight it is almost impossible for Turkey because it doesn't have a say to prove itself in the same war of information in which it doesn't have a strong media institutions or have a right to prove its innocence in that newspapers which discredit it. The point is to dominate news via using articles which doesn't have fact-checking system. Actually nobody cares about the fact-checks, lies or half truths. Just write the headline and the article against a country and publish and deliver it widely to many people as soon and fast as possible. Then lean back and let the perception management begin. In this case Turkey is the scape goat of the foreign media. No matter what it does, it doesn't have a good side. It is 'the other' and must stay so. To reach this outcome, various newspaper articles and reports are analyzed according to the principles of CDA, PDA and IDA through the light ignited by the post truth. Power is in the hands of strong media corporations and you can not escape from the fact that you don't belong to ingroup as in the case of Turkey.

## REFERENCES

- Akkoc, Raziye (2016), "Where did it all go wrong for Turkey?", <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/turkey/12195534/EU-Turkey-deal-Recep-Tayyip-Erdogan-Where-did-it-all-go-wrong-for-Turkey.html> (03.01.2019).
- Althusser, Louis (1971), **Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays**, New Left Books, London.
- Amaro, Silvia (2018), "If Turkey implodes, here's who else gets hurt", <https://www.cnn.com/2018/08/10/if-turkey-implodes-heres-who-else-gets-hurt.html> (17.10.2018).
- Aydintasbas, Asli (2018), "Turkey is succumbing to collective insanity", [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/04/23/turkey-is-succumbing-to-collective-insanity/?utm\\_term=.e595a96b128c](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/04/23/turkey-is-succumbing-to-collective-insanity/?utm_term=.e595a96b128c) (13.02.2019).
- Bandow, Doug (2018), "Stop Pretending America and Turkey Are Allies", <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/stop-pretending-america-turkey-are-allies-24764> (29.12. 2018).
- Benveniste, Emile (1971), **Problems in General Linguistics**, University of Miami Press, Florida.
- Berkowitz, Dan (1997), **Social Meaning of News**, Sage, London.
- Billig, Michael (1987), **Arguing and Thinking: A Rhetorical Approach to Social Psychology**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Boden, Deirdre and Zimmerman, Don H. (Eds.) (1991), **Talk and social structure: Studies in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis**, Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Brown, Gillian and Yule, George (1983), **Discourse Analysis**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Borschel, Audrey (2012), **Sleuthing The Truth In The Media**, IBJ Book Pub, Indianapolis, IN.
- Brennan, David (2018), "Is Turkey Still A Democracy? Erdogan Assumes Sweeping New Powers After Election Win", <https://www.newsweek.com/turkey-still-democracy-erdogan-assumes-sweeping-new-powers-election-win-993218> (26.03.2017).
- Burr, Vivien (2006), **An Introduction to Social Constructionism**, Routledge, London.
- Calamur, Krishnadev (2018), "The Irony of Turkey's Crusade for a Missing Journalist, <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/10/turkey-saudi-jamal-khashoggi/573052/>" (12.11.2018).

- Chudnovsky, Eugene (2018), “The heartbreaking story of Turkey sentencing an American NASA scientist to 7.5 years in prison, <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/the-heartbreaking-story-of-turkey-sentencing-an-american-nasa-scientist-to-75-years-in-prison>” (03.01.2019).
- Cattani, Adelino (2008), “Logical and Rhetorical Rules of Debate”, Edda Weigand (Ed), **Dialogue and Rhetoric 2**, in (119- 132), John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Chilton, Paul (2004), **Analysing Political Discourse Theory and Practice**, Routledge, London.
- Cook, Steven A. (2016), “Why Turkey is salivating for president Trump”, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2016/11/why-turkey-is-salivating-for-president-trump-214481> (10.11.2018).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2017), “Why Turkey feels burned by Trump”, <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/11/23/how-trump-burned-turkey-215859> (10.11.2018).
- Cookman, Liz (2018), “If you want to see America’s future, look at Turkey”, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/30/brexit-britain-trump-erdogan-turkey> (21.10.2018).
- Cunningham, Erin and Zakaria, Zakaria (2018), “Turkey, once a haven for Syrian refugees, grows weary of their presence”, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/turkey-to-syrian-refugees-you-dont-have-to-go-home-but-dont-stay-here/2018/04/04/d1b17d8c-222a-11e8-946c-9420060cb7bd\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.624be50869ea](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/turkey-to-syrian-refugees-you-dont-have-to-go-home-but-dont-stay-here/2018/04/04/d1b17d8c-222a-11e8-946c-9420060cb7bd_story.html?utm_term=.624be50869ea) (03.11.2019).
- Dana, Joseph (2013), “The underpinnings of a banana republic for Turkey?”, <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/12/27/theunderpinningsofabanarepublicforturkey.html> (23.11.2018).
- Delfs, Arne and Arkhipov, Ilya (2018), “Putin Warns Merkel That Europe Can't Afford a New Syria Refugee Crisis”, <http://time.com/5371103/putin-merkel-europe-refugee-crisis/>, (21.11.2018)
- Eagleton, Terry (1991), **Ideology: An introduction**, Verso, New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2013), **Ideology**, Routhledge, Florida.
- Edwards, Jim (2018), “The reason Turkey's economic collapse is so scary is that Iran, Russia, and Syria are waiting in the wings”, <https://www.businessinsider.com/what-if-turkey-collapses-from-lira-crisis-iran-russia-syria-are-waiting-2018-8> (17.10.2018).
- Edwards, Maxim and Colborne (2019), Michael, “Turkey's gift of a mosque sparks fears of ‘neo-Ottomanism’ in Kosovo”, <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/jan/02/turkey-is-kosovo-controversy-over-balkan-states-new-central-mosque> (17.01.2019).

- Eleftheriou, Loulla-Mae (2016), "Why isn't the killing of 1.5 million Armenians officially called a 'genocide'?", <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/why-isnt-the-killing-of-15-million-armenians-officially-called-a-genocide-a6999861.html> (10.10.2018).
- Fairclough, Norman (2013), **Language and Power**, 2th Ed., Routledge, London.
- Fairclough, Norman and Fairclough, Isabela (2012), **Political Discourse Analysis: A Method for Advanced Students**, Routledge, London.
- Fairclough, Norman (1989), **Language and Power**, Longman, London.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1992), **Discourse and Social Change**, Polity Press, Cambridge, England.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1995), **Critical Discourse Analysis: Papers in the Critical Study of Language**, Longman, London.
- Finnegan, Conor (2018), "Pastor Andrew Brunson says he's probably 'one of the most hated men in Turkey' where he was detained", <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/pastor-andrew-brunson-hated-men-turkey-imprisoned/story?id=58514564> (16.11.2018).
- Fischer, Joschka (2018), "The Sick Man of Europe Returns", <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/turkey-sick-man-of-europe-by-joschka-fischer-2018-08> (25.09.2018).
- Foucault, Michel (1977), **Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison**, Allen Lane, London.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1979), **The history of Sexuality Volume 1: An introduction**, Allen Lane, London.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1980), "Truth and power: an interview with Alessandro Fontano and Pasquale Pasquino", Colin Gordon (Ed), **Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977**, in (109-134), Pantheon Books, New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1981), "The order of discourse", Young, Robert (Ed), **Untying the Text: A Poststructuralist Reader**, in (48- 79), RKP, London.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1998), **The History of Sexuality: The Will to Knowledge**, Penguin, London.
- Galpin, Richard (2003), "Greek archbishop brands Turks 'barbarians'", <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3292835.stm> (26.09.2018).
- Garfield, Andrew (2002), "The Offence of Strategic Influence: Making the Case for Perception Management Operations", **Journal of Information Warfare**, 1(3), 31.
- Gauthier-Villars, David (2018), "Turkish Press Pay a Price for Independence", <https://www.wsj.com/articles/turkish-press-pay-a-price-for-independence-1527336000> (26.12.2018).



- Ghitis, Frida (2018), “What Turkey hopes to gain from Khashoggi’s murder”, <https://www.politico.eu/article/jamal-khashoggi-murder-saudi-arabia-journalist-istanbul-what-turkey-hopes-to-gain/> (11.10.2018).
- Gladstone, Rick (2018), “Jailing Hundreds of Journalists Worldwide Is the ‘New Normal’, Group Finds”, [https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/13/world/journalists-jail.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FTurkey&action=click&contentCollection=world&region=stream&module=stream\\_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=35&pgtype=collection](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/13/world/journalists-jail.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FTurkey&action=click&contentCollection=world&region=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=35&pgtype=collection) (26.12.2018).
- Goldenberg, Ilan and Heras, A. Nicholas (2018), “Turkey and the United States Should Work Together to Avert Disaster in Idlib”, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/09/14/high-stakes-in-idlib-for-us-turkey/> (03.10.2018).
- Gramsci, Antonio (1971), **Selections from the Prison Notebooks**, Lawrence and Wishart, London.
- Habibi, Nader (2018), “How Turkey and Saudi Arabia became frenemies – and why the Khashoggi case could change that”, <http://theconversation.com/how-turkey-and-saudi-arabia-became-frenemies-and-why-the-khashoggi-case-could-change-that-105021> (10.01.2019).
- Hanks, William (1996), **Language and Communicative Practice**, Boulder, Westview.
- John, C. Olig (1996), **Power, Ideology, and Control**, Plenum Press, New York, London.
- Jones, Dorian (2018), “Could Turkey Turn to Russia in Response to US Threats?”, <https://www.voanews.com/a/could-turkey-turn-russia-response-usthreats/4505966.html> (21.11.2018).
- Karnitschning, Matthew (2017), “Angela Merkel’s Turkish roulette”, <https://www.politico.eu/article/angela-merkels-turkish-roulette/> (10.11.2018).
- Kern, Kathleen (2018), “Kurdish villagers are dying at the hands of a war the world has ignored for too long”, <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/kurdish-villagers-turkey-conflict-pkk-arms-weapons-military-war-a8686061.html> (03.01.2019).
- King, Esther (2016), “Turkey ‘world’s biggest prison’ for journalists: report”, <https://www.politico.eu/article/turkey-worlds-biggest-prison-for-journalists-report/> (10.11.2018).
- Keyes, Ralph (2004), **The post-truth era: Dishonesty and Deception in Contemporary Life**, Martin’s Press, New York.
- Kingsley, Patrick (2016), “Turkey is no 'safe haven' for refugees – it shoots them at the border”, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/apr/01/turkey-safe-haven-refugees-shoots-border-illegal-deportations-syrians> (19.11.2018).
- Konstandaras, Nikos (2018), “Turkey-EU, when the carrots don’t work”, <http://www.ekathimerini.com/229397/opinion/ekathimerini/comment/turkey-eu-when-the-carrots-dont-work> (12.11.2018).

- Kopp, Carlo (2005), "Classical deception techniques and perception management vs. the four strategies of information warfare: The Analysis of Compound Information Warfare Strategies", Graeme, Pye and Matthew Warren (Eds.), **Proceedings of the 6th Australian Information Warfare Conference**, Deakin University, Geelong, 81-89.
- Kopp, Carlo and Mills Bruce (2002), "Information Warfare and Evolution", **Proceedings of the 3rd Australian Information Warfare & Security Conference**, ECU, Perth, 352-360.
- Krippendorff, Klaus (1969), "Models of Messages: Three Prototypes", Gerbner, O.R. Holsti, K.Krippendorff, G.J. Paisly and Ph. J., Stone (Eds.), **The analysis of Communication Content**, in (103), Wiley, New York.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2004), **Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology**, Sage Publications, London.
- Krugman, Paul (2018), "Turmoil for Turkey's Trump", <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/24/opinion/turkey-trump-erdogan.html> (18.12.2018).
- Lake, Eli (2018), "NATO's Real Crisis Is Turkey, Not Trump", <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-07-11/nato-s-real-crisis-is-turkey-not-trump> (03.10.2018).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2018), "Turkey Is Not Exactly a Model Citizen, Either", <https://www.bloomberg.com/opinion/articles/2018-10-14/turkey-s-treatment-of-journalists-rivals-saudi-arabia-s> (12.11.2018).
- Lemon, Jason (2018), "U.S. may Punish Turkey For 'cooperating' with Russia, State Department Official Says", <https://www.newsweek.com/us-punish-turkey-cooperating-russia-state-department-officialsays-997517> (10.10.2018).
- Lenski, Gerhard (1966), **Power and privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification**, The University of Caroline Press, New York.
- Lockie, Alex (2018), "Turkey's president threatened a major blow to the US — but Trump looks to have called his bluff", <https://www.businessinsider.com/turkeys-erdogan-threatens-nato-withdrawal-trump-sanctions-bluffing-2018-8> (23.11.2018).
- Lynch, Michael (2018), "If Turkey Catches Pneumonia, Will The Oil Market Catch A Cold?", <https://www.forbes.com/sites/michaellynch/2018/08/15/if-turkey-catches-pneumonia-will-the-oil-market-catch-a-cold/#693fb430557d> (17.10.2018).
- Marcus, Jonathan (2018), "A Turkish headache for the West", <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-45251729> (17.10.2018).
- Margon, Sarah (2017), "Donald Trump should not fall for Tayyip Erdogan; Our foreign policy must be one of conscience", <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/05/16/donald-trump-meets-erdogan-turkey-coup-human-rights-column/101687024/> (18.11.2018).

- Malik, Kenan (2018), “Turkey should look to its own brutal treatment of journalists”, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/oct/21/turkey-human-rights-abuses-journalist-shocking-jamal-khashoggi-osman-kavala> (11.10.2018).
- Mardell, Mark (2018), “The world this weekend”, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35594476> Mark Mardell (11.10.2018).
- Mayr, Andrea (2008), **Language and Power: An Introduction to Institutional Discourse**, Continuum, London.
- Micallef, Joseph V. (2018), “Op-Ed: Erdogan the Magnificent, Turkey's Neo-Ottoman Revival”, <https://www.military.com/daily-news/2018/03/13/op-ed-erdogan-magnificent-turkeys-neo-ottoman-revival.html> (03.10.2018).
- Michalopoulos, Sarantis (2018), “Greek soldiers are ‘political prisoners’ of Turkey, says Weber”, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/global-europe/news/greek-soldiers-are-political-prisoners-of-turkey-says-weber/> ( 18.12.2018).
- Miller, Fred (2017), “Supplement to Aristotle’s Political Theory; Political Naturalism”, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-politics/supplement3.html> (30.03. 2019).
- Ng, S. Hung and Deng, Fei (2017), “Language and Power, Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication”, <https://oxfordre.com/communication/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.001.0001/acrefore-e-9780190228613-e-436>. (30.03.2019).
- Nissenbaum, Dion (2017), “Detained in Turkey: A Journal Reporter’s Story”, <https://www.wsj.com/articles/detained-in-turkey-a-journal-reporters-story-1483721224> (19.11.2018).
- Nordland, Rod (2016), “An Aleppo-like Landscape in a Kurdish Redoubt of Turkey”, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/24/world/europe/an-aleppo-like-landscape-in-a-kurdish-redoubt-of-turkey.html> (25.09.2018).
- Nye, Joseph S., Jr. (2004), **Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics**, Public Affairs, New York.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich (1982), **Die fröhliche Wissenschaft**, Insel Verlag, Frankfurt.
- Osterlund, P. Benjamin (2018), “Turkey marks one year without Wikipedia; The country’s ban on Wikipedia is the most comprehensive in the World”, <https://www.theverge.com/2018/4/30/17302142/wikipedia-ban-turkey-one-year-anniversary> (10.11.2018).
- Orwell, George (1946), “Politics and the English Language”, **Inside the Whale and Other Essays**, 1st Edition, *in* (154- 157), Penguin, Harmondsworth.

- Pasha-Robinson, Lucy (2017), "Turkey will never become EU member, says Angela Merkel", <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/turkey-german-chancellor-angela-merkel-eu-member-president-recep-erdogan-nato-a7927861.html> (18.11.2018).
- Rabin-Havt, Ari (2016), **Lies, Incorporated: The World of Post-Truth Politics**, Anchor, New York.
- Revesz, Rachael (2017), "Donald Trump's presidential counsellor Kellyanne Conway says Sean Spicer gave 'alternative facts' at first press briefing", <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/kellyanne-conway-sean-spicer-alternative-facts-lies-press-briefing-donald-trump-administration-a7540441.html> (28.03.2017).
- Rogers, Jon and Pallenberg, Monika (2017), "'An abolition of democracy' Turkey should NOT be allowed to join EU, blasts Europe expert", <https://www.express.co.uk/news/politics/778566/Turkey-Erdogan-EU-Netherlands-Germany-> (18.11.2018).
- Robinson, Matthew (2018), "Turkey vs US: Donald Trump hits back at Turkey amid ongoing row over jailed pastor", <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1004539/Turkey-US-row-Donald-Trump-Recep-Erdogan-Andrew-Brunson-imprisoned-Turkish-lira-crisis> (25.09.2018).
- Rubin, Michael (2018), "Here's how we can make Turkey's president pay a price for his crackdown on journalists", [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/04/05/heres-how-we-can-make-turkeys-president-pay-a-price-for-his-crackdown-on-journalists/?utm\\_term=.44c7abffc83b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/04/05/heres-how-we-can-make-turkeys-president-pay-a-price-for-his-crackdown-on-journalists/?utm_term=.44c7abffc83b) (10.11.2018).
- Rudyk, I. (2007), "Power relations in president Bush's state of the Union Speech", **The International Journal of Language Society and Culture**, 23, 68-76.
- Saftoiu, Razvan (2015), "Introduction: Persuasive Action Games of the Power of Words in Dialogic Interaction", Razvan Saftoiu, Maria-Ionela Neagu and Stanca Mada (Eds.) **Persuasive Games in Political and Professional Dialogue**, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam and Philadelphia.
- Saydam, Ali (2005), **Algılama Yönetimi**, Rota Yay., İstanbul.
- Shafak, Elif (2018), "In Turkey, politics is a dangerous thing", <https://www.politico.eu/article/turkey-erdogan-elections-politics/> (10.11.2018).
- Schmitz, Ulrich (2015), **Einführung in die Medienlinguistik**, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt.
- Schwarzmantel, John (2008), **Ideology and Politics**, Sage Publications, London.
- Smith, Hannah, Lucinda (2018), "Erdogan's Turkey 'has become a dictatorship'", <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/erdogan-s-turkey-has-become-a-dictatorship-t5w3lf26p> (23.11.2018).

- Stubbs, Michael (1983), **Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language**, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.
- Stupak, Ronald J. (2000), “Perception management: An active strategy for marketing and delivering academic excellence, business sophistication, and communication successes”, **Public Administration and Management: An Interactive Journal**, 5, 250-260.
- Talbot, Marry et al. (2003), **Language and Power in the Modern World**, University Press, Edinburgh.
- Tamkin, Emily (2017), “Turkey Is Open for Business,’ Says Turkey After Flawed Referendum”, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/21/turkey-is-open-for-business-says-turkey-after-flawed-referendum/> (03.10.2018).
- Tesich, S. (1992), “A Government of Lies”, **The Nation**, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0BynDrdYrCLNtdmt0SFZFeGMtZUFsT1NmTGVTQmc1dEpmUC1z/view>(03.10.2018).
- Tharoor, Ishaan (2018), “Erdogan fights a losing battle with Trump”, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2018/08/13/erdogan-fights-losing-battle-with-trump/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.d6e4e895f402](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2018/08/13/erdogan-fights-losing-battle-with-trump/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.d6e4e895f402) (12.11.2018).
- The New York Times (2016), “Transcript of Donald Trump’s Immigration Speech”, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/02/us/politics/transcript-trump-immigration-speech.html> (26.03.2017).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2018), “Erdogan Hasn’t Killed Turkey’s Democracy Yet”, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/25/opinion/erdogan-turkey-election.html> (10.11.2018).
- Tisdall, Simon (2018), “Bully-boy Erdoğan is a threat to Turkey – and the world”, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/jun/22/erdogan-turkey-elections-middle-east-syria> (06.02.2019).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2018), “Donald Trump’s war with the media has deadly implications”, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/commentisfree/2018/aug/04/donald-trump-war-with-media-deadly-implications> (12.11.2018).
- Titscher, Stefan et al. (2000), **Methods of Text and Discourse Analysis**, Sage, London.
- Toksabay, Ece, Caliskan and Mehmet Emin (2018), “Erdogan says Turkey may extend Afrin campaign along whole Syrian border”, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria-afirin-turkey/erdogan-says-turkey-may-extend-afirin-campaign-along-whole-syrian-border-idUSKBN1GV14U> (12.02.2019)
- Tumber, Howard (1993), “Selling scandal: Business and the Media”, **Media, Culture and Society**, 15, 345-361.
- Toulmin, Stephen (2003), **The Uses of Argument**, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

- URL, "Rise of the Turkish crescent" (2009), <https://www.aljazeera.com/focus/2009/03/200934165449939647.html> (03.10.2018)
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Turks are barbaric & dirty': Greek MEP booted out of plenary for insults (2016), <https://www.rt.com/viral/335178-greek-mep-dirty-turks/> (27.09.2018).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Definition of post-truth in English" (t.y.), <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/post-truth> (14.05. 2017).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Turkey and the European Union: The pros and cons of membership" (2016), <https://www.theweek.co.uk/24083/turkey-and-the-eu-the-pros-and-cons-of-membership> (23.11.2018).
- \_\_\_\_\_, Armed Forces Chief: If Turks land on an islet 'we will flatten it' (2018), <http://www.ekathimerini.com/235861/article/ekathimerini/news/armed-forces-chief-if-turks-land-on-an-islet-we-will-flatten-it> (29.12. 2018).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The full speech – Trump's State of the Union address" (2018), <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/jan/30/the-full-text-of-trumps-state-of-the-union-address>(18.11.2018).
- \_\_\_\_\_, Turkey's Syrian Refugees: Defusing Metropolitan Tensions (2018), <https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/western-europemediterranean/turkey/248-turkeys-syrian-refugees-defusing-metropolitan-tensions> (21.10.2018).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Kurds and Trump's Syria withdrawal" (2018), <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/dec/25/the-kurds-and-trumps-syria-withdrawal> (03.01.2019).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Turkey 2018 Report" (2018), [https://www.ab.gov.tr/regular-progress-reports\\_46224\\_en.html](https://www.ab.gov.tr/regular-progress-reports_46224_en.html) (12.02.2019).
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Achilles heel" (t.y.) <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/s%C3%B6zl%C3%BCk/ingilizce/achilles-heel> (10.11.2018).
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1993a), **Elite Discourse and Racism**, Sage Newbury Park, CA.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1993b), "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis", **Discourse and Society**, (4) 2, 249-283.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997), **Discourse As Social Interaction**, SAGE Publications, UK.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2002), "Political discourse and ideology", Clara Ubaldina Lorda and Montserrat Ribas (Eds.), **Anàlisi del Discurs Polític, Producció, mediació i recepció**, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Institut Universitari de Lingüística Aplicada (IULA), 15-34.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006), "Discourse and Manipulation", **Discourse & Society**, 17 (3), 359-383.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006), "Politics, ideology, and discourse", Keith Brown (Ed), **The Encyclopedia of language and linguistics**, 9, in (728-740), Elsevier, UK.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2010), **Discourse, Knowledge, Power and Politics: Towards Critical Epistemic Discourse Analysis**, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Vohrajan, Anchal (2018), "Lessons from Turkey's irony — Democratically elected leader destroying democracy", [https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/lessons-from-turkeys-irony-democratically-elected-leader-destroying-democracy/\(12.11.2018\)](https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/lessons-from-turkeys-irony-democratically-elected-leader-destroying-democracy/(12.11.2018).).
- Washingtonpost (2016), "Despotism deepens in Turkey", [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/despotism-deepens-in-turkey/2016/03/07/12e1d692-e25b-11e5-8d98-4b3d9215ade1\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.97c86a35b1d6\(10.11.2018\)](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/despotism-deepens-in-turkey/2016/03/07/12e1d692-e25b-11e5-8d98-4b3d9215ade1_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.97c86a35b1d6(10.11.2018)).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2018), "Erdogan gets another lease on authoritarianism", [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/erdogan-gets-another-lease-on-authoritarianism/2018/06/25/7190174e-78a9-11e8-93cc-6d3becdd7a3\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.e993ca1c3621\(13.02.2019\)](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/erdogan-gets-another-lease-on-authoritarianism/2018/06/25/7190174e-78a9-11e8-93cc-6d3becdd7a3_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.e993ca1c3621(13.02.2019)).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2018), "Erdogan is transforming Turkey into a totalitarian prison", [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/erdogan-is-transforming-turkey-into-a-totalitarian-prison/2018/03/11/19a4cde8-23c9-11e8-94da-ebf9d112159c\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.12a922baebcf\(12.03.2019\)](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/erdogan-is-transforming-turkey-into-a-totalitarian-prison/2018/03/11/19a4cde8-23c9-11e8-94da-ebf9d112159c_story.html?utm_term=.12a922baebcf(12.03.2019)).
- Wareing, Shan (2004), "Language and Politics", 2th Ed., **Language, Society and Power: An Introduction**, Routledge, London.
- Weiss, Stanley (2016), "It's Time to Kick Erdogan's Turkey Out of NATO", [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/stanley-weiss/its-time-to-kick-erdogans\\_b\\_9300670.html\(03.10.2018\)](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/stanley-weiss/its-time-to-kick-erdogans_b_9300670.html(03.10.2018)).
- Weise, Zia (2010), "Turkey's new border wall to stop Syrian refugees", [https://www.politico.eu/article/turkeys-new-border-wall-will-stop-syrian-refugees-immigration-istanbul/\(19.11.2018\)](https://www.politico.eu/article/turkeys-new-border-wall-will-stop-syrian-refugees-immigration-istanbul/(19.11.2018)).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2016), "Erdoğan, the new Atatürk", [https://www.politico.eu/article/recep-tayyip-erdogan-new-aturk-turkey-coup-eu/\(10.11.2018\)](https://www.politico.eu/article/recep-tayyip-erdogan-new-aturk-turkey-coup-eu/(10.11.2018)).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2017), "Turkey loses its brains", [https://www.politico.eu/article/turkey-failed-coup-purge-scholars-loses-its-brains/\(11.10.2018\)](https://www.politico.eu/article/turkey-failed-coup-purge-scholars-loses-its-brains/(11.10.2018)).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2017), "Erdoğanomics risks overheating Turkey", [https://www.politico.eu/article/turkey-gdp-boom-risks-overheating-recep-tayyip-erdogan/\(10.11.2018\)](https://www.politico.eu/article/turkey-gdp-boom-risks-overheating-recep-tayyip-erdogan/(10.11.2018)).

- \_\_\_\_\_ (2018), “Erdoğan’s ‘enemies’ find sanctuary close to home”, <https://www.politico.eu/article/turkey-erdogan-enemies-find-sanctuary-in-greece-asylum/> (10.11.2018).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2018), “Turkish Cypriots fear being part of Erdoğan’s pious generation”, <https://www.politico.eu/article/turkish-cypriots-fear-recep-tayyip-erdogan-pious-generation-islam-mosque/> (10.11.2018).
- Wheaton, Sarah (2017), “Turkey’s referendum fell short of democratic standards, international observers say”, <https://www.politico.eu/article/turkeys-referendum-fell-short-of-democratic-standards-international-observers-say-recep-tayyip-erdogan/> (03.01.2019).
- Wodak, Ruth (2009a), **Language and Politics, English Language: Description, Variation and Context**, Palgrave, Basingstoke.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2009b), **The Discourse of Politics in Action**, Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Wodak, Ruth and Michael, Meyer (Eds.) (2009), **Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis**, 2th Ed., Sage Publications, London.
- Wodak, Ruth and Fairclough, Norman (1997), “Critical Discourse Analysis”, Van Dijk, Teun A. (Ed.), **Discourse as Social Interaction**, Sage, London.
- Yackley, A. Jean, “Turkey’s Losing Economic War”, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/08/21/turkeys-losing-economic-war-lira-currency-crisis/> (03.10.2018)
- Zaman, Amberin (2018), “In Turkey’s watershed election, it’s the Kurds who could tip the balance”, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/06/21/in-turkeys-watershed-election-its-the-kurds-who-could-tip-the-balance/?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.eafb90002e6a](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/06/21/in-turkeys-watershed-election-its-the-kurds-who-could-tip-the-balance/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.eafb90002e6a) (03.10.2018).
- Zirngast, Max (2019), “I’m a journalist in a Turkish jail. Why is Erdogan afraid of people like me?”, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/im-a-journalist-in-a-turkish-jail-why-is-erdogan-afraid-of-people-like-me/2018/11/29/e48c9720-f38a-11e8-80d0-f7e1948d55f4\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.57c69e103e86](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/im-a-journalist-in-a-turkish-jail-why-is-erdogan-afraid-of-people-like-me/2018/11/29/e48c9720-f38a-11e8-80d0-f7e1948d55f4_story.html?utm_term=.57c69e103e86) (06.02.2019).
- Zuesse, Eric (2015), “Turkey Tries to Lure NATO Into War Against Russia”, <https://www.strategic-culture.org/news/2015/12/03/turkey-tries-lure-nato-into-war-against-russia.html> (03.11.2018).



## **CURRICULUM VITAE**

Sümeyye BOZKURT was born in Türkeli, Sinop in 1986. She completed her primary education in Sinop and secondary education in İstanbul. After graduating from İbrahim Turhan High School in İstanbul, she started her university education at Ege University. She graduated from the Department of American Culture and Literature and got an English Language Teaching Certificate from the Faculty of Education at Ege University. She has been studying for a master degree in Applied Linguistics at Karadeniz Technical University. She has been currently working as an English teacher at a state school since 2011.

She has a passion for foreign languages and literature, knowing English at an advanced level and Spanish at a beginner level. She is engaged and currently lives in Ardeşen, Rize.